

THE COLORADO MAGAZINE

Published Quarterly by
The State Historical Society of Colorado

Vol. XL

Denver, Colorado, October, 1963

Number 4

The Journal of Amos S. Billingsley, A Missionary in the Colorado Gold Fields, 1861-1862, and Chaplain of House of Representatives

*Edited by Donald F. Danker and Paul D. Riley**

The Colorado gold rush attracted many adventuresome and hardy pioneers to the Rockies. The majority of them sought quick wealth but a few came seeking other rewards. Amos S. Billingsley sought to save souls and considered the raw and rowdy mining camps and the lusty, young city of Denver as promising areas for that endeavor.

Amos Billingsley was no stranger to the frontier, having served as a home missionary in Nebraska Territory from 1857 to 1861. He had been born near East Palestine, Columbiana County, Ohio, in 1818, the son of Robert and Jemima (Austin) Billingsley. He was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1854, and after a pastorate of about two years in Pennsylvania was sent to the West by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions.¹

Reverend Billingsley's journal reveals a man of strong convictions and one who never chose the easy road. After the decision was made to go to the mountains to preach he sought out the remote and primitive camps. His entries also present a picture of Colorado of gold rush days as it appeared to a zealous, devout, and fundamentalist minister. He met and commented upon many of the figures of pioneer Colorado and married or buried a goodly number of them.

The journal ends with his comments upon the Civil War. Soon after the last Colorado entry was made he decided that his path of duty was in the war. He became chaplain of the 101st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry. He was captured and spent several months in Libby Prison at Richmond, Virginia. After the war, still attracted to the area of greatest need, he went into the South to work among the newly freed slaves. He and his bride, Emily Hamilton, served as colporteurs and teachers and finally settled at Statesville, North Carolina, where Reverend Billingsley was pastor of the colored Presbyterian Church for many years. In the first years of this service

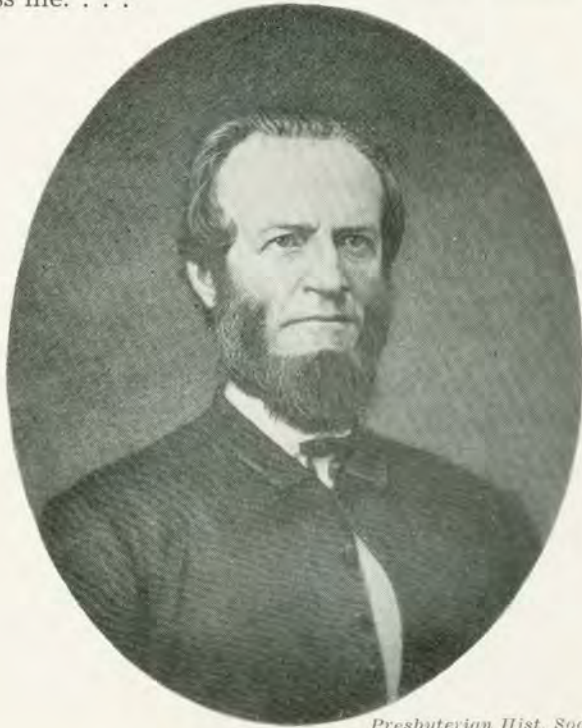
* Donald F. Danker, Archivist of the Nebraska State Historical Society, received a Ph.D. degree at the University of Nebraska in 1955. He edited *Mollie: The Journal of Mollie Dorsey Sanford in Nebraska and Colorado Territories 1857-1866*, in 1959, and *Man of the Plains: Recollections of Luther North 1856-1882*, in 1961. Both books were published by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska. Paul Riley, who attended the University of Nebraska and the University of Denver, was on the staff of the Nebraska State Historical Society for two and a half years. He wrote the 70th Anniversary edition of the *Trenton (Nebr.) Register* and collaborated with his grandfather, Ned A. Davis, in writing his historical memoirs. For more than two years Mr. Riley was with the United States Air Force, stationed in England. He is now with the RCA BMEWS Project in Greenland. He has won a number of short story contests in various armed services' competitions. Dr. Danker and Mr. Riley wish to thank Miss Hester M. Rohwer of Boulder, Colorado, and Mrs. Elsie Rohwer Worcester of Tucson, Arizona, distant relatives of Reverend Billingsley, who made the diary available. The diary is reproduced as written with the exception of spacing which has been condensed, and those words in italics were underlined in the original writings.—Editor.

¹ *Biographical and Historical Catalogue of Washington and Jefferson College, 1802-1902* (Philadelphia: n. n.:1902), 141.

"he received no countenance from his white neighbors and practically no recognition social or otherwise." At his death on October 12, 1897, however, he held "the respect and esteem" of the whole community. His estate provided for a bi-racial community hospital and bequests to Biddle University at Charlotte, North Carolina, and the Freedmans Board of Missions.²

"The die is cast"

Today, Feb. 14, 1861, after much prayer and meditation for months, I concluded to go to Denver City, K.T.,³ near the Rocky Mountains, to labor as a missionary. May God help and bless me. . . .



Presbyterian Hist. Soc.

A. S. Billingsley

Left Brownville⁴ April 3, 1861 at 10 a.m. in a carriage with Bro. J. W. Swan for Nebraska City en route for Bellevue to Presbytery.⁵

² *The Landmark* (Statesville, North Carolina), October 15, 1897.

³ Denver was in the Kansas Territory until the formation of the Colorado Territory, on February 28, 1861.

⁴ Brownville, Nemaha County, Nebraska, established in 1855, was one of the more enterprising Missouri river towns of the Nebraska Territory.

Reverend Billingsley was pastor at Brownville prior to his departure for Denver. See his letter of November 11, 1861, in *The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XIII (March, 1862), 65-66.—*Editor*.

⁵ The spring meeting of the Presbytery was being held in Bellevue at this time, and Billingsley stopped on the way to attend. See *ibid.*—*Editor*.

Got aboard *West Wind*⁶ at Peru,⁷ for Bellevue⁸—glad—Met no acquaintance but met my Savior in my Room. May God help and prepare me for my mission to Denver.

Apl. 4. slept well. with "a life preserver" under my head, as well as over me, who always encompasseth my path.

April 14. Preached for Bros. Gaylord⁹ and Kingley *very good congs at Omaha*

Apl 17. Feel my heart growing cold—O My God, take not thy holy spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation. Read "Still Hour"¹⁰ profitably.

Apl 17. Had a very happy hour in closet after reading Still Hour. Prayed with tears and much joy for blessing of God on my mission to Denver—on Brownville and on my relatives—Very happy. It was in Bro. Gaylords parlor.

Going to Denver Left Omaha City April 21. 1861 at 4 P.M. in express coach. Rev. J. M. Chivington¹¹—1 lady—boy—and 6 other men—pleasant crew.

22 Apl. Breakfasted at Davis' Station¹² Slept some last night.

23—At Fort Kearney by 10 a.m.—Forded the Platte river, where it is about 2 miles wide, interspersed with many islands.

⁶ *West Wind* was a side wheeler of 247 tons. During the Civil War, it was used as a troop carrier and was captured and burned by Confederates at Glasgow, Missouri, on October 16, 1864. *Annual Report of the War Department, 1897*. Report of the Chief of Engineers, Part VI (Washington, D. C., 1897), 3892.

⁷ Peru, Nemaha County, Nebraska, was founded in 1860.

⁸ Bellevue, a pre-territorial fur trading post and Indian mission on the west bank of the Missouri river, was the first village founded in what was to become the Nebraska Territory. It is just south of Omaha, in Sarpy County, Nebraska.

⁹ Reuben Gaylord (1812-1880), a Congregational minister, organized the first Congregational Church in the Nebraska Territory, at Omaha, in May, 1856. J. Sterling Morton and Albert Watkins, *Illustrated History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1907), II, 481-82.

¹⁰ Austin Phelps, *The Still Hour; or, Communion with God* (Boston: D. Lathrop & Co., [1859?]). The book is a compilation of fourteen short meditations on such topics as "Idolatry in Prayer," "Reality of Christ in Prayer," and "Modern Habits of Prayer."—*Editor*.

¹¹ John M. Chivington was a pioneer Methodist minister in the Nebraska and Colorado Territories. He is better known for having led the forces which attacked the Cheyenne and Arapahoe at Sand Creek, Colorado Territory, on November 29, 1864. The affair was investigated by a Congressional Committee. LeRoy R. Hafen, *Colorado and Its People* (New York, 1948), I, 312-18; Morton, *Illustrated History of Nebraska*, II, 196-97.

Chivington and Billingsley had known one another in Brownville. Chivington later remembered Billingsley as "a man of considerable ability, [and] a zealous worker for the cause of the Master. . . ." Isaac Haight Beardsley, *Echoes from Peak and Plain; or, Tales of Life, War, Travel, and Colorado Methodism* (Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings, 1898), p. 244. On this same journey, Chivington suffered a rather painful injury to his foot when he was "thrown from the step of the coach, and run over by the hind wheel." The injury was so serious that for a time he was able to walk only with the aid of crutches. *Ibid.*, 242.—*Editor*.

¹² It is probable that Davis Station was the establishment of William Davis whose farm was two miles east of the present town of Schuyler in Colfax County, Nebraska. A. T. Andreas, *History of Nebraska* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1882), 588; Federal Census for Nebraska Territory, 1860, Ms.; LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859, from Contemporary Diaries* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1942), 305.

*Cottonwood Springs*¹³—24 Apl. 300 miles from Omaha—½ way station—Fare very good for 75 cts a meal. Very pretty place.

*Lillian Springs*¹⁴ Very good fare. Breakfasted on good antelope, ham, eggs, good light wheat bread, custard and fine honey for 75 cts a meal, 400 miles from Omaha—Here we laid in some Lunch. We often "lunched it." This is a good plan.

Arrival At Denver City, Colorado Ter. April 26th 1861 at 8½ evening—6 1/5 days out, and "put up" at the "Cherokee House"¹⁵ on Blake Street, in the midst of business and stirring music in the gambling saloons hard by. Boarding and lodging \$12 00 a week—fare good—quite a variety—house crowded. Met 2 old Neb. friends—

Saturday 27 Apl. Made several acquaintances—introduced by my friend Mr Wilcox—No so tired as expected—

Sab. April 28, 1861 Preached my 1st sermon in the City Hall Denver to a cong. of some 40 or 50 on a few hours notice.¹⁶ Text "Precious faith" 2. Ptr 11¹⁷

May 5 Prch'd Twice—Large attentive Cong's. Some 130 at night.

May 12. Congs Still increase. Prospects encouraging.

May (1)4 Saturday—Heart hard—Trying to "fix it" for preaching tomorrow. Prayed often. Still cold. Reading "Earnest Ministry"¹⁸ as a help.

Sab. Evening—Preached twice today. In P.M. Advocacy of C---- to the largest cong about 230 seen west of Missouri River—Thus our congs still increase. May God help me

Wed. 23.¹⁹ Union. Prayer Meeting last night—about 20 pres-

¹³ Cottonwood Springs or McDonald's Ranch was, at this time, a Pony Express and stage station. Fort McPherson was established one-half mile west of this station in 1864, and it is one mile southeast of the present Fort McPherson National Cemetery. *Nebraska History*, XL (June, 1960), 103-04.

¹⁴ Lillian Springs Rancho was listed by *Collins' Emigrant's Guide to the Gold Mines of the Rocky Mountains* as a Western Stage Company station with a store, corral, good grass and water, and heavy sand. *Daily Telegraph* [Omaha and Council Bluffs, Nebraska Territory], April 12, 1861.

¹⁵ The Cherokee House, proprietors, Crocker and Blake, was located at Blake Street, near F Street. The Denver "Great Fire" of April 19, 1863, was discovered in the rear of the Cherokee House, "a large two story building, one hundred feet deep, with the usual number of outbuildings around it." *Daily Rocky Mountain News* [Denver], August 27, 1861, and April 20, 1863. Hereafter cited as *DRMN*.

¹⁶ The notice was apparently not quite that short since the services were announced in the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, April 27, 1861. The same announcement stated that "City Hall" was located over the Tilton and Co. grocery store on Blake St. Chivington had good reason to recall Billingsley's first sermon. As he wrote later, "He took me to task on the way out, for using slang words and phrases, as 'skeddaddle,' 'get up and dust,' 'go along and brindle,' and then used one or more of these same expressions in the first sermon he presented in the place; which shows how true it is that 'evil communications corrupt good manners!'" Beardsley, *Echoes from Peak and Plain*, 244.—*Editor*.

¹⁷ The chapter begins with the verse: "Simon Peter, a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ, to them that have obtained a like precious faith with us through the righteousness of God and our Savior Jesus Christ . . ." II Peter, 1:1.

¹⁸ John Angell James, *An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1848).—*Editor*.

¹⁹ May 23, 1861, fell on Thursday rather than Wednesday.—*Editor*.

ent. Meeting interesting. One lady—At our first prayer meeting here about 20 or 25. Very encouraging. O Lord service thy work ----.

Arrival of Gov. Gilpin Today, Monday, May 27, 1861 at 1 p.m. pr. C.O.C. and P.P. Express [Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express] coach. He's splendid

Reception At the Tremont House, came off this evening at 8. He was welcomed and greeted, and introduced by Judge [H. P.] Bennet, in a short speech. The Gov. made a good speech—Said he had traversed these valleys and mountains 18 years ago.²⁰—The band discoursed excellent music to a very large crowd of some 1500. May God direct and bless the Governor.

Tues May 28, 1861 9 Trustees of the Presbyterian Church were elected this evening at a Cong'l meeting at the Meth Brick Church.²¹ I presided and Genl. Larimer was elected Secretary.²² God direct and help us—

Interesting Prayer Meeting The most interesting P. meeting I have ever witnessed in Denver came off last evening. Very lively—solemn. Two ladies—Several new members. Some old ones absent May 29.—It was good to be There. God bless the Prayer meeting.

Sabbath June 2nd 1861. 12. m. Just preached on *Heaven*— heaven as a *place*. Jno 14.2 last clause²³ O the bliss of heaven! Very happy in preaching. Eternal Thanks be to God for the prospect of heaven. Saw tears in several—in eyes of one raised a quaker. God bless his soul. . . . Very large turn out of ladies. ½ a house full of them. Very fine large cong. . . .

Married June 1, 1861 Mr. J. L. Longbottom to Miss S. S. C. Gadsden in the Grooms house in Denver, both of Denver City Colorado Ter.—This is the first couple I have married in Denver. May God bless them richly—²⁴

²⁰ Gilpin had traveled to Oregon with Fremont in 1843. As a result of this journey, he became convinced that it was "the untransacted destiny of the American People to subdue the continent. . . ." See Gilpin's March 2, 1846, report to the Senate quoted in his *Mission of the North American People, Geographical, Social and Political* (second edition; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1874), 40.

²¹ Rev. Alexander T. Rankin organized a Presbyterian Church in Denver on September 2, 1860. Among the six trustees elected at that time were General William Larimer, George W. Clayton, Richard Sopris and Richard Whitsitt. It seems quite likely that at least some of these men were re-elected. See Arthur B. Cooper, *The Story of our Presbytery of Denver, 1870-1950, Including Earlier Days in the Rockies* (Denver: Arthur B. Cooper, 1950), 9.—*Editor*.

²² It has been assumed that between September, 1860, and May, 1861, Larimer associated himself with the Episcopal Church (see, for example, *ibid.*). This assumption now needs revision in the light of Billingsley's statement. See also William H. H. Larimer, *Reminiscences of General William Larimer and of His Son William H. H. Larimer, Two of the Founders of Denver City* (Lancaster, Pa.: Press of the New Era Printing Co., n.d.), 21.

²³ "In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you, I go to prepare a place for you."

²⁴ J. L. Longbottom was in the employ of the proprietor of the *Mountaineer* office and had been since shortly after it first came into existence. *DRMN*, Tues'day, June 4, 1861.

June 7 Day *warm—hot*. Heart cold O my leanness my leanness and yet I dont ½ feel it. O my God have mercy on me. *Strange!* strange that I can live in the midst of so many sinners whose “pulse are beating the march to hell”—prominating the road to ruin—“piling the fagots for their own eternal burning.” (Lord God of hosts have mercy on me), and yet feel so little for their salvation

Power of faith My subject to day. June 9 1861.—*Gov. Gilpin* among the hearers. My nose bled in the pulpit—detained me a *little*. Large cong Singing all by the *choir*. It didnt do me much good. I like to hear the whole cong. “sing with the spirit” heartily. Then it has *great power*. My teeth bother me. Text Mt. 21.22²⁵

An Inquirer Today June 11, 1861, Mr. James Haraxhurst came in my room to converse about religion. He seems to be anxious to serve the Lord. feels deeply—weeps—free to converse about his soul and feelings. Reads Bible—prays daily. tends ch and prayer meeting regly. Says he is reading Baxters Call.²⁶ I conversed and prayed with him and gave him tracts and a paper—God bless him. . . .

13. June—*Union Prayr Meeting*. Well attended and very interesting last night 15 or 18 present. all males but one. 5 prayers. singing and a talk on Job 23.3 finding God. God bless it.

Refreshing This evening June 13 at ¼ past 6 I enjoyed at precious ‘time of refreshing’ in prayr in my room. Was enabled to pray earnestly with tears and so far as I could judge with unusual power. Thank God . . . Prayed much for Mr. Haraxhurst a Banker—cried “I cannot let thee go unless you bless him” God grant it. Lord bless him. This prayr was the result of reading Chalmers on Repentance, in his preface to Baxter’s call.²⁷ God be merciful to Denver.

June 16. Sab. warm almost 104°. Sub. Rev. 5.9. 12.²⁸ Worthi-

²⁵ “And all things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive.”

²⁶ Richard Baxter, *A Call to the Unconverted*, introd. by Thomas Chalmers (New York: American Tract Society, [1835?]).

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ “And they sing a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou was slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; And hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts, and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands: Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.”

ness of Christ. Last Sab we had the Gov. of Col., today one of the *Judges*²⁹ of Ter. God bless the Civil Officers. . . .

O My Mother! I exclaimed this morning, very early before rising. upon thinking of meeting my parents in heaven when I go there, and upon reflecting upon the scenes of my childhood. . . .

Two Funerals Today June 18. One a young man, Mr. Sumner³⁰ 18 yrs old. Sister Mrs. Byers of “News.” other a man who was *shot*, in the flesh. Leg afterwards cut off. died. Had a small fnl.

Kindness Today, June 9, 1861, Sab. my nose began to bleed just as I was about to commence preaching. Having wet my own handkerchief with blood, and my nose still bleeding Miss I. Sophris³¹ sitting near thro’ kindness handed me hers. A true friend helps in time of need. May God bless her abundantly.

*Alexander’s tho’ts on Preaching.*³² June 25. Been reading this Book today. It leads me to pray often. ‘Tis a rich Book.—Tends to warm my cold heart.³³ Large turn out last Sabbath.—Design going to the mountains next Friday & preach next Sunday at Gregory.³⁴ Raised \$9.50 for a sick man to day. His name is H. A. Wilkinson. *Very poor*. Stays by himself. No friends.

June 27, 1861 Pray’r meeting last night interesting. Some new hearers. 3 ladies—One man who had not been at religious service for 6 years was to hear me last Sabbath. Had been in Mexico.

Pray’d often today. Wept—refreshed by hearing a black woman sing good old pious tunes.

²⁹ The three members of the judiciary were Chief Justice Benjamin F. Hall, and Associate Justices Charles Lee Armour and S. Newton Pettis. Colorado, Division of State Archives and Public Records, *Colorado Territorial Officers and Members of the Legislative Assembly under Territorial Government* (Bulletin No. 7, 1959), 7-8.—*Editor*.

³⁰ Charles Sumner, eighteen year old brother-in-law of William Newton Byers, senior editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, died Monday, June 17, 1861, of mountain fever. *DRMN*, June 17, 1861.

³¹ Indiana Sopris (1839-1925), daughter of Captain Richard and Elizabeth (Allen) Sopris, came to Denver with her parents in 1859 or 1860. On May 7, 1860, she opened a private school and later taught in Denver’s first public school. She married Samuel Cushman, Jr. (1831-1899) in 1866. In 1861, Mr. Cushman and L. S. Howe of St. Joseph, Missouri, ran mule freighters from both St. Joseph and Nebraska City to Denver and adjacent mining communities. *DRMN*, December 7, 1861, and December 16, 1899; see also Maria Davies McGrath, “The Real Pioneers of Colorado” (The Denver Museum, 1934), I, 326 (typescript).

³² James W. Alexander, *Thoughts on Preaching, Being Contributions to Homiletics* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1861).

³³ It may be that Alexander’s ten “Letter to Young Ministers” had particularly attracted the Reverend Billingsley. These letters covered such topics as: “The Happiness of Christ’s Ministry,” and “This Happiness Not Dependent upon Great Assemblies or Fine Churches.” *Ibid.*, 88 and 94.

³⁴ “By early August, 1859, a union church had been organized with preaching on Sundays and prayer-meetings on Wednesday evenings at the mouth of Gregory Gulch, now Black Hawk.” Agnes Wright Spring, “Rush to the Rockies, 1859,” *The Colorado Magazine* (April, 1959), 119.

Very much interested in Alexander's Thot's on Preaching.³⁵

Dedicated afresh to God today on my nees. Lord help me. heat 104° on the 24 inst—very dry. Start for the Mountains tomorrow.

July 2, 1861 *Trip to the Rocky Mountains*

Last friday at 8 p.m. I left by Express coach for the Northern Mines. Central City and vicinity. Arrived there after a pleasant trip up a deep ravine girdled on the right and left by lofty peaks & cliffs of grey granite which seem to be thrown together in a very peculiar strange manner. They project often very much. apparently just ready "to fall on us." They seem to hang on God, & were it not for his support would fall. They with the towering heights clothed with lofty pines & dressed in verdure decorated with grass & the most beautiful flowers, present a scene grand and sublime beyond description. The Rocky Mountains are a very interesting part of creation as well as a very important part.

Precious Stones I was very much surprized to find they abound in fine precious stones, such as constitute the foundations of the 'New Jerusalem' Rev. 21.11. 19.20 viz. Onyx, Agate, Chalcedony, Jasper, Amethyst, Topaz, Shaphire, (very fine, white hard) and Beryl,³⁶ all of which [were collected] by Rev. Mr. Hamilton³⁷ of Eureka Gulch³⁸—Besides the Alabaster is found there. How strange to find the stones in the Rocky Mountains!

Religious The whole region is rather destitute of preaching. Yet there is one N.S. Presbyterian³⁹ & one Methodist Preacher there. Mr. H. is engaged in other things. Supported poorly. Poor accommodations for preaching. I preach'd last sab. in

³⁵ See footnote 32.

³⁶ "Having the glory of God; and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal. . . . And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; the fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst."

³⁷ Reverend Lewis Hamilton of the Presbyterian Church was preaching in Auraria and Denver as early as June 12, 1859. After returning to Lima, Ohio, for a few months, he returned to Colorado in 1860, and founded a Union Church in Central City. The Presbyterian Church he founded there in January, 1862, presumably developed from his union church. He was a noted collector of natural history specimens in the Rocky Mountains. Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, II, pp. 208-09; and *DRMN*, May 19, 1869.

³⁸ Eureka Gulch was located between Central City and Georgetown, and was on the route of a toll road authorized by the Territorial Legislature in November, 1861. Arthur Ridgway, "The Mission of Colorado Toll Roads," *The Colorado Magazine*, IX (September, 1932), 165.—*Editor*.

³⁹ In 1839 the Presbyterian Church split into New School (N. S.) and Old School (O. S.) divisions. The New School group preferred a more spirited missionary effort and organized its own Church Extension Committee to carry out this policy. The Old School Board of Missions preferred a more conservative approach. Cooper, *Presbytery of Denver*, 7.

the a.m. in a log house in Leavenworth Gulch⁴⁰ to a very good cong. comparatively—nearly everybody turned out—Day—wet. cool. Preach'd with my overcoat on. In the P.M. at 5 I preached in a new building near the Express office, which was open at both ends. and 8 or 10 hands busily at work right close by joining the same building who made such a noise erecting a theatre that it was very difficult to speak or hear. Yet we had a good attentive cong.—The mountains swarm with people. I often thought of Mt. 5.1 "And seeing the multitudes"⁴¹ It is a very good field for Christian effort. Harvest *great*—laborers *few*. God bless the people. In a pop. of 7 or 8000 only one prayer meeting & one Sab. School all in three or four ms. square & the mtns. Many of the people are *poor*. Mines not paying very well.

A Great Want The great want of the church at present is the cultivation of the heart — a lack of spirituality Deep, earnest hearty piety. Living out the cross. God says "put on thy strength"—yet many go on with it off. Lord increase—our faith! Lord hep.

July 14. Preached yesterday at Golden City 15 ms. off. Had good attentive cong. & a very pleasant visit. people kind. Saw some fine sights.⁴² Preached Sat. night at Apex⁴³ and saw one of my old church members of Florence N.T.⁴⁴

22 July. Nearly out of money—hate to ask for credit for boarding. Will trust in God. How precious his promises!

Leanness July 24, 1861. Rec'd two copies of the "Still Hour."⁴⁵ I can read it with less interest than last winter. My heart is hard. O my leanness! I can see how little interested people are in religious books. They dont care for it. May God forgive me for C's sake. Lord help me. Lord revive me.

Concern for Daily Bread July 25/61. Never in my life, been so much concerned for my bread and butter as have been this week. Disappointed in getting money from the Board of Missions. Pay \$10 a week for boarding and lodging and dunned for it every week. My cong. is large but they dont pay much

⁴⁰ Leavenworth Gulch, in Gilpin County, is a tributary to North Clear Creek. Henry Gannett, *Gazetteer of Colorado*, U. S. Geological Survey Bulletin No. 29 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1906), 102.

⁴¹ "And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain; and when he was set, his disciples came unto him."

⁴² *DRMN*, July 11, 1861. "Rev. A. S. Billingsley will preach next sabbath at Golden City in Hardy's Hall."

⁴³ The town was about four or five miles from Central City. Muriel Sibell Wollé, *Stampede to Timberline, The Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of Colorado* (Denver: Muriel S. Wollé, 1949), 34.

⁴⁴ Florence, Douglas County, Nebraska, is located just north of Omaha. During the early years of the Nebraska Territory, it was a rival of Omaha for the territorial capital.

⁴⁵ See footnote 10.

yet. Have spent over \$100 more since been here than have rec'd for my services. Have not enough to pay next weeks board. Still I trust in God and believe he will provide.

Have faith in God Never so much concerned for my daily bread as last week, and having looked to God & trusted in him. I rec'd last week \$15 from a good friend—\$5 for marrying a couple Monday evening. Day warm—July 31, 1861—Raising money to paying board. Lord help me. Bless us as a nation.

Married Monday evening, July 29, 1861, in Denver City Mr. Wm Maine⁴⁶ to Miss Charlotte Ronck, both of Denver City Col. Ter.

Preached at Central City Aug 11, to a very large cong of some 225 hearers in Mr. Harrison's new theatre⁴⁷ with a liquor store and saloon below. Theatre 80 by 40—fine pictured scene behind the speaker. Had very good music with a melodian and 12 or 16 singers. It was, Dr F told me, the largest cong hed seen in that place. The notice was only 26 hours—

Preached twice in the P.M. in Nevada City⁴⁸ Hard place to speak in Mr. Mortons Hall. The mountains is a very good field for preaching. Went to Idaho⁴⁹ monday & preached at night to a house overflowing. large cong.—Very good attendance. The trip cost me \$5.00 but rec'd no pay. Idaho is a pretty place—There is a warm spring hard by—water very warm. Strong spring, with a cold water spring within 2 feet of it.

Aug 18, 1861 Preach'd in Denver very large cong. singing good. Meeting interesting One of the largest turnouts I have had here. Great many ladies. Took up a collection of \$9.20 to pay for my box Books. *Sermon choice* of Civil Rulers at night from Ex 18.25⁵⁰ very important subject. A fellow boarder said when I returned, to me, "you have won laurels tonight."

⁴⁶ William H. Maine (1838-1924) came to Denver in 1859, and was the builder of some of the first houses in Denver. He married Charlotte Julia Rouk or Ronk (1842-1921) on July 26, 1861. She came to Colorado in 1860. They were the parents of seven children. McGrath, "The Real Pioneers of Colorado," II, 390. Maine had worked his way to Fort Union, New Mexico Territory, in 1858. After being paid off at the fort, he and a friend worked for several months as carpenters in nearby Las Vegas. For a fascinating account of his experiences see William H. Maine, "Uncle Billy Maine; His Own Story of Experiences in Crossing the Plains in 1858 and of Coming to Denver in 1859," *The Trail*, XVIII (April, 1926), 3-11; XVIII (May, 1926), 3-10; and XIX (June, 1926) 8-9.—*Editor*.

⁴⁷ George W. Harrison opened his new National Theatre in Central City, on September 11, 1861. Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, II, 444.

⁴⁸ Nevada City, Nevada, or Nevadaville, Gilpin County, was located two miles above Central City, founded in 1859. The post office was known as Bald Mountain, but the name was never used by the residents.

⁴⁹ Idaho or Idaho Springs, Clear Creek County, is near the site of Jackson's Diggings, a lode discovered in 1859. The town was surveyed in 1860.

⁵⁰ "And Moses chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens."

Soldier's Funeral Today Aug 18—at 3. His name is Rogers, a member of Capt Slough's co. of volunteers. He was killed by a saloon keeper saturday evening with a butcher knife.⁵¹

Great many deaths now adays. Judge Sherman formerly of Council Bluffs Iowa died yesterday from liquor and sun stroke⁵²—leaves a wife and one child. How hard—May God have Mercy on the people.

Soldier's Funeral. Today Aug. 25, 1861 at 4 P.M. I preach'd from Eph 6.11 Christian Armor.⁵³ Good subject. Large attentive audience. Solemn procession. The dead march. Solemn music was impressive, particularly at the grave. Capt. Logan⁵⁴ and many others were moved to tears. He died accidentally from a shot.

Prize Fight Aug. 27 Between Orain (American) and Davis an Englishman came off last Sat⁵⁵ before a *very large* crowd. Some said 2000, one man said 3000. I suppose about 1500. How brutal! Low, demoralizing, yea *humiliating* May God have mercy on us.

Preached 3 times last Sat in town and was hoarse.

⁵¹ Trooper Thomas A. Rogers, a recruit in Company A, First Regiment of Colorado Volunteer Infantry, was killed by Moses Adler, saloon-keeper of the Poland Exchange near Perry Street, on Saturday, August 17, 1861, after an argument over an unpaid bill. John P. Slough, Denver lawyer, formerly of Cincinnati, Ohio, and later Chief Justice of the Territory of New Mexico, commanded Company A. Stanley W. Zamonski and Teddy Keller, *The Fifty-Niners. A Denver Diary* (Denver, 1961), 260-61; William C. Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War, The New Mexico Campaign in 1862* (Denver: The State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, 1906), 47-57.

⁵² Judge John H. Sherman had been closely associated with the Vigilantes in Denver in 1860. See Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago: The Blakely Printing Co., 1889), I, 240-53; *Rocky Mountain Herald* (Denver, Colorado), September 15, 1860; and Henrietta E. Bromwell, "Fifty-niners' Directory: Colorado Argonauts of 1858-1859" (1926), II, 286 (typescript).—*Editor*.

⁵³ "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil."

⁵⁴ The soldier, a man named Rafey, was under the immediate command of Lieut. S. M. Logan. He was accidentally shot while falling in for roll call. *DRMN*, August 24, 1861.

⁵⁵ Con Oren, 26 years old, had been in Denver and adjacent mining camps for approximately two years, working as a blacksmith. He was a native of Virginia. His first fight had been with a man named "Texas," fought at the Denver race course on April 6, 1861. Oren had "beaten him easily in two rounds." Enoch Davies, born in 1819, at Birmingham, England, had been a bellows maker before becoming a professional boxer a few years previous to his arrival in Denver. He had fought his first fight in 1835, at the age of 16. The two men had given a "grand sparing and pugilistic entertainment" at the Apollo Theatre on Wednesday, June 19, 1861, and spent six weeks in training before their bout. The fight, with stakes of \$500 on each side, took place "within a large corral, situated about two miles north of this city, down the Platte Road." Davies was defeated when his seconds "threw in the sponge" at the end of the 109th round after fighting for one hour and forty minutes. Oren claimed the "Championship of Colorado," and later went on to fight for the "championship of Montana," on January 1, 1865. He then went to New York, where he became a boxer of national import. *DRMN*, June 17, August 20, and August 21, 1861; Harold E. Briggs, *Frontiers of the Northwest* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940), 95; Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, I, 250-51.

On August 26, 1861, Oren published the following announcement in the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*: "I have . . . retired from the prize ring. I shall pay no attention to challenges to fight from any source."—*Editor*.

Sept 2, 1861 Preach'd yesterday in Morn on the mourning church—Isa 60.20.⁵⁶ Evening on the 2. Tim 2.3⁵⁷—Felt drowsy and gloomy before church but preaching did me much good. Wept much Saturday in praying for our country. Reading the 60th ch. of Isa. and contemplating the final triumph of the church drew me near to God. Thanks be to his name.

Preached at Camp Weld⁵⁸ Today Sept. 22 at 3 p.m. to the soldiers and good attention and respectable attendance. Subject *Jesus and Captain*. Heb 2.10.⁵⁹—Preach'd twice in town besides. Very good turn out. Cong. seems to be increasing. Subject in morning *Indecision* very good.—

Our town presents quite a martial appearance. About a 1000 soldiers⁶⁰ raised in the Ter. now. May God help and bless me. Cool today Sept. 23.

Married Sept. 8. 1861 at the Tremont House in Denver City. Mr. J. C. Remington⁶¹ to Miss Matilda Davis—the former of Golden City—the latter of Cole Creek Colorado.⁶² May God Bless them.

I now pray every morning for the House of Representatives. Was elected chaplain on the 10th.⁶³

National Fast⁶⁴ Sept 26th 1861. Day cool. fine, bright clear dry dusty. Good attendance. attention—Good singing. Text

⁵⁶ "The sun shall no more go down; neither shall the moon withdraw itself; for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended."

⁵⁷ "And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also. Thou therefore endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ."

⁵⁸ Camp Weld, established in the summer of 1861, was named after Territorial Secretary Lewis L. Weld. It was on the Platte River, two miles above Denver City. Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers*, p. 45.

⁵⁹ "For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings."

⁶⁰ Because of the many Confederate sympathizers in the territory and the additional threat of an Indian uprising, Gilpin began to organize a volunteer infantry regiment to defend against possible hostile action. Hafén and Hafén, *Colorado Story*, 205-6; see also Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers*, 39-40.—*Editor*.

⁶¹ Joseph C. Remington, born in 1831, at Connersville, Indiana, came to Golden, in the spring of 1859. He was a member of the Smith Party, prospecting through Southern Colorado and New Mexico in 1861. In that same year, he was elected the first sheriff of Jefferson County. After a trip to Montana in 1862, he served as local agent for the Ben Holladay Overland Stage Company at Fort Bridger for three months before he returned to Golden, where he resumed his work as a blacksmith. *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin and Co., 1880), 583-84.

⁶² Although the newspaper report also lists Miss Davis's home as "Cole Creek," there seems to have been no such settlement at the time. It is quite likely that the town was Coal Creek, fourteen miles north of Golden. See *DRMN*, September 9, 1861. *The Daily Rocky Mountain News* of September 16, 1861, carried the following notice which is not included in the diary: "Married on the 12th by Rev. A. S. Billingsley, Edward C. Jacobs, Esq., to Miss Kate Moore, all of this city."—*Editor*.

⁶³ The Reverends Billingsley, Kenny, and Shinn were nominated for the post; Billingsley received a majority of the votes. Territory of Colorado, *House Journal of the Legislative Assembly* (1861), 7.

⁶⁴ In response to the request of a joint committee of Congress, Lincoln, on August 24, 1861, had proclaimed a day of "Public Humiliation, Prayer and Fasting" to be observed throughout the country on the last Thursday of September, 1861. The purpose was threefold: "to pray that we may be spared further punishment, though justly deserved, that our arms may be blessed and made effectual . . . and that . . . civil and religious liberty may be restored." *DRMN*, September 25, 1861.—*Editor*.

Ps. 50.15.⁶⁵ House of Representatives by Resolution tended our services in a body. Part of the Council were present also. Services in Meth and Episcopal churches also. Some of the stores are shut.⁶⁶

Arrests. Sept. 28, 1861 Preached on attractions of the cross. Dry cool—cloudy, unfavorable. Cong. less than usual. Rained at night, dark, only 4 or 5 persons came. We had a short service. Much martial *Excitement* 3 or 4 men *arrested* for treason and put in jail. Great deal of firing guns this p.m. Didn't look much like the Sabbath. I fear now we are going to have trouble. May God have mercy on us.⁶⁷

Oct. 1 Cool, windy. Had frost two weeks ago. Very stormy last evening before dark. Have about a 1000 soldiers in or near Denver now, all around. More being collected. Am writing out my fast day sermon for publication by request.

Sins Oct 7, 1861, Today I was so deeply wrought upon because of my sins that I could use the language of David, when he said, "I am so troubled that I can not speak." . . .

Sab. Oct 13—Preach'd in the Hall of House of Representatives⁶⁸ to good large attentive cong's morn and evening on 'Prov. mor.—How shall ye escape' . . . Had cong. singing. Like it better than choir.

My Room Oct. 14—Moved last week to cor. of St Louis and 6th streets up stairs. Have no chair—sit on a low box with papers on top to make it soft. No Table—no bed, save a tick of hay lying on the floor—no sheet—a borrowed pillow, no blanket but use an old faded, borrowed comfort. Have a broken looking glass—Borrowed stove and a borrowed bureau.—Mice bothered me last night. Cover myself nights with my over coats and usually sleep quite well. And although thus with out all these things God is here. I have my Bible and my Savior Prayed often yesterday. Heart cold—hard. Rec'd papers and one letter this morning. May God help and bless me.

Camp Weld Oct 23/61 Preached 3 times last sab. to the soldiers at Camp Weld at 3 p.m. Good attendance—close atten-

⁶⁵ "And call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."

⁶⁶ *The Rocky Mountain News* suspended publication for the day. *DRMN*, September 25, 1861.—*Editor*.

⁶⁷ Martin Riley, Robert J. Reed and a Captain McKee were arrested by the U. S. Marshal. According to the *Daily Rocky Mountain News* of September 30, 1861, the charges were not made public, but "all were known to be rank secessionists, and some of them were preparing to leave for the South. . . ." Two of the men were released within a few days, after posting bail and taking the oath of allegiance. *DRMN*, October 5, 1861.—*Editor*.

⁶⁸ The House of Representatives met in a building next door to the Post Office, *DRMN*, November 11, 1861. The present address of the site is 1451-55 Larimer St. LeRoy R. Hafén, "Colorado's First Legislative Assembly," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (March, 1943), 42.—*Editor*.

tion The Barracks is quite an interesting place. Some 700 soldiers and officers there now. Preaching in the Hall of the House of Representatives now.

Married On 19 Oct. 1861 at the residence of Mr. Barber in Denver City, Col. Ter. Dr. D. F. Parkhurst to Miss Nancy Cook, both of Denver.⁶⁹

Oct. 27, Sab. Preach'd to night from "They made light of it"—good text—notes are a *hindrance*—a clog to the head and heart. Tended Funeral of Mrs. Byers son Charles yesterday at 10 a.m. Little Boy. God bless her.⁷⁰

Married On the evening of Oct. 14, 1861 at the residence of the Brides Father in Golden City, Col Terr. Mr John Wall⁷¹ to Miss Lottie A. Williams both of Golden City. Had a nice, good time.

Married On the morning of October 24, 1861 at the residence of the Brides Father in Denver City, Col Ter. Mr. M. J. Dougherty to Miss Lucinda M. Converse both of Denver.⁷² Pay \$10.00. Bright clear pleasant morning. May God bless the newly married. 4 funerals in 2 weeks.

Oct. 28, 1861 Tended funeral of Mr Cobbs little Boy—4 mts old.

About two weeks ago attended funeral Mr Cooks little girl 2½ years old.

[Funeral] Today Oct 29 of a young man 28 years—Mr Clark from Caledonia Ohio—Small attendance—a few men 8 or 10—no ladies—Took place from City Hall—Sick 8 days—

⁶⁹ Dr. C. F. Parkhurst (as his initials are given in the newspaper report) was president of the New England Mining Company of Hamilton, South Park. His bride is named Mary E. Cook in the newspaper, rather than Nancy Cook, as in the diary. *DRMN*, October 21, 1861.

⁷⁰ "Charlie Fred Byers, son of William N. and E. M. Byers, died Friday, October 25, 1861, at the Byers home on Cherry Street above 5th. He was one year, four months and twenty-one days old." *DRMN*, October 25, 1861.

⁷¹ "Among the first to respond to the lure of 'Pike's Peak' gold regions was a group of eight young men, from South Bend, Indiana. After purchasing horses and necessary equipment, they [Wilkinson Defrees, Archibald Defrees, Charles Zigler, William Ducey, Richard Bright, John Wall, David Wall and David F. Spain] left their home town March 8, 1859. . . . The Hoosier party . . . located about two miles, east of present-day Golden, Colorado." See "The Letters of David F. Spain," edited by John D. Morrison, *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (April, 1958), 81.

⁷² Michael J. Dougherty was a well-known comedian and theater manager in Denver. He came west from Leavenworth, in 1859, and found the Michael Dougherty Lode near Central City. He joined the Haydee Star Theatrical Company at the Apollo Theatre, Denver, in November, 1860. One year later, in partnership with Jack Langrishe, another theatrical pioneer in Denver, he opened the People's Theatre on Larimer Street; the new theater had a stage forty-five feet deep, ten feet deeper than any theater west of Chicago. The scenery, painted by DeWitt Waugh, was reported to have cost \$2000. The opening of the People's Theatre helped to bring about the business failure of the Pioneer Company, a theatrical group belonging to Samuel Hunter (see below, footnote No. 100) and A. L. Gooding. Lucinda M. Converse was possibly related to the Converse of Converse and Petrie's Minstrels, playing in Denver at this time. Lillian De La Torre, "The Haydee Star Company," *Colorado Magazine*, XXXVIII, No. 3 (July, 1961), 201; Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, II, 443-44; and *DRMN*, October 31, 1861.—*Editor*.

Mountain fever—no relatives here but 1 cousin.⁷³ Been at 3 weddings and 4 funerals in about two weeks. Made two tables today out of a Box—did in about 3 hours.

Severe Storm Oct. 28. Blew very hard all day—cool

Nephew's Death My oldest nephew Robt. J. Billingsley Died of a fever in Camp at Cheat Mountain Pass W. Va. Oct. 3. 1861. He was 1st Sergeant of 24th Ohio Reg. His remains were brot home and buried on the 9th Oct. beside his Mother in Ohio, Col. Co. by his Bro. of the same Co. & Regiment I hear of it today. Nov 8/61. Read the ac't. with deep emotion and tears.

God bless the poor soldiers—

Married. On evening of 7th Nov. 1861 at Tremont House Mr. L. H. Gill to Miss Rachel Overpeck, both of Denver City—Good time. Fee 5\$

Fire in town to night—Sat 7 p.m. Little shop burnt up on Blake street—*Very large* crowd some, 2000 Dr. Cass' Bank escaped very narrowly—⁷⁴

A dark Day. Yesterday, Nov. 12 was rather a gloomy day to me—felt cast down—Cong. small last Sat. night—cold evening—Feel more comfortable to day. Why get cast down since Christ is with me always.

Come thou Fount of every blessing. Drive these dark clouds from my skies—Restore thy presence.

Genl. Fremont was removed & bid farewell to his Army on the 2nd inst. 1861⁷⁵

Married On the evening of 15 Nov. 1861 Mr. Charles G. Parsons to Miss Ellen A. Converse, at the residence of the Brides Father, both of Denver City. Fee \$10.

Encouraged Today in collecting, raising money to purchase a Stove and defray contingencies for our church the ensuing winter—raised about \$50—about ½ paid—Thank God—Nov. 15 1861. How good it is to mingle with the people. Mr. Town paid me \$10 today to buy an overcoat. May God incline the

⁷³ William P. Clark, 23, of Caledonia, Marion County, Ohio, came to Denver in the spring of 1861. He was employed by A. E. and C. E. Tipton, and, while in the mountains on business, he contracted mountain fever. He was brought to Denver, but, after eight days of illness, he died on Monday morning, October 28, 1861. *DRMN*, October 28, 1861.

⁷⁴ Dr. Oscar Cass and his brother, Joe, were bankers, living in a double cottage at Lawrence and 13th Streets. They were noted as lavish entertainers in the early days of Denver. Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, II, 561.

The fire actually occurred on Friday night, November 8, in the old Louisiana Saloon across the street from the *News* office. See *DRMN*, November 9, 1861, and November 11, 1861.—*Editor*.

⁷⁵ Fremont had issued a proclamation of emancipation, which Lincoln had overruled. When complaints of military incompetence were added to Fremont's insubordination, Lincoln removed him from Command of the Military District of Missouri. J. G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (second edition; Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1961), 371-72.—*Editor*.

givers to give their hearts to God—Help, enable me to give myself wholly to Jesus—Tis a reasonable service.

17 Nov. Preached today in the Council Chamber,⁷⁶ good cong. in the A.M. but small at 3 P.M. Moving about our Congregation lessens it.⁷⁷ Will move again next Sabbath. Lord help me.

City Election The first city election of Denver under the Territorial Govt. came off today, Nov. 19. 1861. quite orderly—several drunk—C. A. Cook was elected Mayor⁷⁸—over 1700 votes polled. Good many soldiers voted.

Very High wind today—It blew the dust and sand everywhere. I could have written my name on my plate this morning when I sat down to breakfast. It was the most severe I have seen Studying Paul's sermon on Mars Hill. 17th Chpt of Acts King James version.

Nov. 24, 1861 Sab. preached today & to night in the International Hall⁷⁹ the first time. Encouraged from the good attendance—larger than I anticipated. O may God help me—*Strengthen* me. Grant me thy spt.

Beging. Nov. 25, 1861. Last week I spent two or 3 days beging money to procure a stove, fuel and light for our church the ensuing winter. Raised some \$75 paid and subscribed—\$43½ paid down. Feel encouraged from the liberality shown.⁸⁰

First pay from the Board of Missions recd. yesterday—Recd. a draft for \$150 # Thank God.

Bless the Lord, O. my soul. Pardon my ingratitude. make me more faithful. Save me from every besetting sin, O. Savior!

Travilla's Funeral. Today Monday Dec 9, 1861, 9 A.M.—I preached from Amos 4.12. "Prepare to meet thy God." Day

⁷⁶ The Council Chamber was located opposite the Broadwell House on Larimer Street. *DRMN*, November 16, 1861.

⁷⁷ One additional reason for the small attendance may be that Rev. John Kehler had held Episcopal service there just before Billingsley's services. *Ibid.*—*Editor*.

⁷⁸ C. A. Cook came to Denver from Leavenworth in 1859. The following year, in partnership with Jasper P. Sears, Jr., he established a general store at 15th and Larimer Streets. He was a native of Marion County, Ohio, born there in 1838. Cook entered the race for mayor only three days before the election, but he still received 510 votes. The other candidates and their votes were General William H. Larimer, 210 votes; E. W. Cobb, 71 votes; and W. H. Farner and L. Pollard with one vote each. Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, II, 292; McGrath, "Real Pioneers," III, p. 223; and *DRMN*, November 16, 1861, and November 19, 1861.

⁷⁹ The International Block was located on Ferry Street. Billingsley also preached there on Sunday, December 8. *DRMN*, December 7, 1861.

⁸⁰ In a letter to some unidentified friends, dated November 11, 1861, Billingsley stated that after the end of the legislative session, "I went all over town, begged money, purchased a stove, and fitted up a hall (seventy-two by twenty-two feet) formerly occupied as a billiard saloon and now over a very large liquor store." Thus he could describe his church as having "the spirit of alcohol below, and . . . the spirit of God above. . . ." Quoted in *The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XIII (March, 1862), 65-66.—*Editor*.

very warm—bright—roads fine. Services solemn—many wept. Attendance exceedingly large—Largest I have ever seen "Out West" or I believe, anywhere else—must have been some 25 carriages and Buggies—besides many on horse back. He died from a shot recd in the foot in the Platte Valley Theatre, or in the Saloon attached to it. May God bless & confort the widow and children. Sick but a few days—was delirious—was quite wealthy. A particular friend of mine. Had the lock jaw. Name Joshua S. Travilla.⁸¹

Presbyterian Church Organized today. Sat. Dec. 15, 1861—in Denver City—on Ferry Street between 4th and 5th in *International Hall* of 19 members⁸²—one Ruling Elder installed—Simon Cort⁸³—and two others elected. Attendance—large—Preached funeral Sermon of Mrs. Rouk. On "To die is gain" May God bless us as a church—bless & fire up all the members.

R. Elder Ordained Dec. 30 1861. yesterday, (sab) after sermon Mr. John Irvine⁸⁴ was ordained and installed Ruling Elder of the 1st. Presbyterian Church of Denver City—Attendance good—Text. Acts 9.6.⁸⁵ Prayer-meeting last week small, only 4 persons—10 the week before—Both interesting—The Lord help us.—

Shooting Affray, on last Monday—Dec. 23, 1861—between Mr Railey & Mr. Rollins. They fired 5 times each, and perhaps one a little oftener. Railey is shot in the leg—Rollins in breast—very bad—difficulty rose from a Livery bill of \$6.00—May God have mercy on us.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Joshua S. Travilla died on Sunday, December 8, 1861, from lockjaw, the result of his having been shot in the foot by an unknown man on November 28. "Mr. Travilla was standing in the Platte Valley Theatre, when an unknown man accosted him and began an excited conversation. While talking in handling his pistol, it was discharged, the ball entering and lodging in Mr. Tavilla's foot. . . . Almost every carriage in the city was in attendance at Travilla's funeral. The Home Guards attended by a band of music, were among the large, respectful procession." *DRMN*, November 29, 1861, and December 9, 1861.

⁸² According to a note dated January 14, 1862, in *The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, XIII (March, 1862), 65-66, there were only eighteen members and two elders. The change in number evidently reflects the fact that John Irvine had joined Simon Cort as Ruling Elder.—*Editor*.

⁸³ "Simon Cort, who died in Los Angeles, California, on the 13th of March, had reached the age of 98. He was a pioneer of 1859 in Denver, and built the first brick house . . . now occupied by the Barteldes Seed Company. . . . He took an active part in organizing the first Presbyterian Church here." *Sons of Colorado*, I (April, 1907), 24.

⁸⁴ John Irvine, who was born in a Scottish settlement in County Antrim, Ireland, had operated a shingle mill in Gilpin County near Black Hawk. He moved to Denver in the fall of 1861. After serving with the Colorado Volunteers during the Civil War, he moved to a ranch in the Fountain Valley. McGrath, "Real Pioneers," II, 224.

⁸⁵ See footnote 88.

⁸⁶ Martin V. B. Rollins of the Veranda Hotel on 5th Street and Marcus H. Railey, who roomed on F Street and owned Railey's Livery Stable on 4th Street, became involved in a dispute over a livery bill. On the morning of Monday, December 23, 1861, the two men settled the dispute with a gunfight in front of the livery stable. According to the *Daily Rocky Mountain News* of December 23, "Neither flinched but rather approached during combat. When Railey's pistol was exhausted, he threw it at Rollins, and then drew his knife and advanced,

New Year's day 1862. Dined at the Tremont House—good dinner—Made several calls, after dinner—Good prayer meeting to night—One new attendant. Mr. Rollins died yesterday at 11 a.m.—Just 9 days after the fight—He was deranged 2 or 3 days previous—What a solemn warning.

New Year's Self Dedication Jan 1, 1862—½ past 9, Evening. And now, by the grace of God, through Christ, I would heartily and wholly afresh dedicate *myself*, all that I have—and all that I am, O Lord, to thee.

Lord help and *enable* me to keep this solemn vow. Without thee, I can do *nothing*. O, my God, have mercy on me, and help me.

Funeral of Mr. M. V. B. Rollins of the Veranda Hotel to day Jan. 2, 1862 at 11 a.m. attendance large—Spoke from Prov. 27.1.⁸⁷ Good singing—Services solemn—Attentive cong. Left wife & two children—Day Cool—Buried in a new grave yard 7 mi. from town, *alone*—What a Solemn Warning! God bless the widow and children. Little snow this p.m.

Jan. 8 1861 [sic] Our *Prayer Meeting* to night was the largest we have had for 3 or 4 months—about 20 Very interesting—Thank God!—The Lord helping—Tis encouraging

Baptized John L. Fields today Jan 5 1862 after sermon on Moses' choice—May God abundantly bless John.

Ruling Elder—John Irvine Ordained and installed today—Dec 29, 1861—after sermon on Acts 6.9⁸⁸ May God richly endow him with every grace of his Spirit—

Jan. 19, 1862—Sab. night Baptized Mary Louisa Carlile, Infant of Iasiac & A. L. Carlile—May God bless the child & parents. Preached tonight on "Escape for thy life"—good *attentive* congregation—Lord bless us as a church. Increase my faith.

Married this evening, Jan 21. 1862, in Denver City at the Residence of the Groom, Mr. Ambrose W. Barnard,⁸⁹ to Miss

Rollins' pistol held out one or two shots the longest. Before coming together after they were done firing, the police reached the spot, and arrested both parties." An unnamed lawman arrested the two men and they were carried to their respective private addresses on litters. Rollins died at the Veranda Hotel at noon on Monday, December 31, survived by a wife, two children, and two brothers in Colorado. Railey was examined for the killing on Friday and Saturday, January 10 and 11, by Justice of the Peace, Thomas McGavran, who bound him over to District Court on a charge of manslaughter. Bail was set at \$1000 and later raised to \$4000. In February, he broke bail and fled the Territory. *DRMN*, December 23, 1861; December 31, 1861; January 14, 1862; and February 27, 1862.

⁸⁷ "Boast not thyself of tomorrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth."

⁸⁸ Probably the reference here is to Acts. 6:6: "... and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them."

⁸⁹ Ambrose Barnard came to Denver in 1859 and worked as a printer for the *Rocky Mountain News*. On May 1, 1867, Barnard and J. E. Wharton began

Lizzie S. Weddell, both of Denver City, Colorado Territory.

I felt refreshed this morning in reading over my experiences and feelings at Brownville—Thank God for past favors. O how I have declined in spirituality! O Lord forgive. Yet I was enabled to pray yesterday, with unusual earnestness & a little tears Had expanded views of God.

Jan. 25, 1862. New Set of *Teeth* put in today. Thank God for Dentistry—Put in by Dr. Griswald, my friend.

Felt gloomy, drousy, cast down nearly, all this week—Better to day—Refreshed this p.m. in reading Whitefield's sermon on Soul-dejection 43 Ps.⁹⁰—Very good—It led me to prayer. Thank God for Whitefield—O that I had his zeal, unction & power—Lord help me.—

Last night *cold*—9° below 0—11° one night since.

Man shot. Feb. 4. 1862 Deputy [City] Marshall, Mr. Ritchie, a decent looking young man was shot last evening about 8—died this evening about 8. Mr. Curran shot him—Ritchie was about to arrest Curran, and he shot him in the abdomen—I saw him *just* after he died.⁹¹ Be ye always ready—

Prayer Meeting *Interesting* to night Feb. 6 Spoke from Ins. 12.32⁹²—Dr. Irving Spoke on *Love*. Christianity is Love. Had 5 prayers about a dozen present. Closed at 9—*May God Bless us*.

Collection Today Sab. Feb. 10, 62 after sermon on Joy Ps. 16.11⁹³—raised an subscription \$16 for Board & Mission—Expect to increase it to 25\$. How *good* to give! Subject to night, the almost Christian Acts 26.28.⁹⁴ Spoke with some freedom.

publication of the *Colorado Miner* in Georgetown. In August, 1867, Barnard became sole owner of the *Miner*. He later sold out and engaged in mining ventures. Hall, *History of Colorado*, III, 320; *Denver Daily Gazette*, August 21, 1868; *DRMN*, September 21, 1874; and Helen Sidney Digerness, "Jesse Summers Randall and Pioneer Georgetown," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (November, 1945), 259.—*Editor*.

⁹⁰ The sermon is based on verse five: "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God." John Gillies, *Memoirs of Rev. George Whitefield* (New Haven, Conn.: Whitmore & Buckingham, and H. Mansfield, 1834), 506-15. Billingsley eventually wrote his own life of Whitefield. See his *Life of the Great Preacher, Reverend George Whitefield* (Philadelphia: Ziegler, 1878).

⁹¹ Deputy City Marshal, J. C. Ritchey, 22, formerly of Cincinnati, Ohio, "was passing along the street in company with a woman" late in the evening on February 3, 1862, and became involved in an argument with John Curran and a young man named Hunter. The dispute took place on Front Street, "near Walley's cabinet shop," after Ritchey threatened to have Curran arrested and "advanced on him." The two men scuffled, and Ritchey was shot in the abdomen. He died early in the evening on Tuesday, February 4th. *DRMN*, February 4, 1862, and February 5, 1862.

⁹² The reference here is not clear.—*Editor*.

⁹³ "Thou wilt shew me the path of life: in thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore."

⁹⁴ "Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."



Library, S.H.S.C.

Buckskin Joe (Laurette)

Two Men Shot last week & killed⁹⁵—another died, I guess from liquor—Lieut. Julius Buell⁹⁶ Three men gone to eternity in one week Two by violence & *Probably* the other from poison—how alarming! Lord have mercy.—Feb. 11th

Stormy Night Feb. 16, 1862. Sab. evening ¼ past 7—No service I went to the Hall door—no light—door locked—no sexton—dreadful snow storm—not *very* cold. I was *afraid* not to go myself—Turning out bad weather shows some self denial—I never stop for bad weather. Have rode when *afraid* almost every minute of being frozen—

Preached today on “Lovest thou me”—good meeting. “Turn or die” was my subject for tonight.

Cold. Feb. 17. 1862 Mercury 22° below 0 this morning—Snow 4 inches deep—Coldest been this winter.

Daily Habits—Duties First thing after dressing, before washing is a word of prayer at bedside—Then wash in cold, ice water, wipe, comb, necktie, put on gloves & go through cold across 3 squares to breakfast—come back, make a fire, sweep, fix up room & bed, now a chap or two, or a few Psalms, and usually a passage in a devotional book, such as “Joys Exercises,” “Still Hour,”⁹⁷ or Bridges on 119 Ps.⁹⁸—Then *pray*—Then Study or write—read news—

Then ¼ before 1 go to dinner—Return & read & pray—Study till night—cut and carry up wood—go to supper—Make a few calls, often give away tracts,—Read daily paper, study till 11 p.m. Read Bible, pray & retire & sleep under two overcoats & gown beside the quilts—Often pray 4 or 5 or 6 times a day. Feb. 20, 1862. Often sit & study.

No Service To day Feb. 23. I agreed to be absent today, but gave out prayer Meeting, with a slack consent of the Elders—

⁹⁵ Of the two men, Billingsley is probably referring first to Deputy Marshal Ritchey, and second to a man named Anderson, who was murdered while a prisoner in the guardhouse at Camp Weld. Anderson was being held at Camp Weld for having been implicated “in a recent attempt to liberate prisoners and burn Camp Weld.” He was found dead on the morning of Friday, February 7, still in his bed. It was surmised he had been shot either from the window or by someone in the room. A volunteer guard had been on duty rather than the regular guard. *DRMN*, February 7, 1862; and February 15, 1862.

⁹⁶ Julius O. Buell, 19, was 1st Lieutenant of Company E, 1st Regiment of Colorado Volunteers and a nephew of General James H. Lane of Kansas. He had attended afternoon drill on the parade ground at Camp Weld, on the 5th, and became ill that evening. The assistant surgeon gave him morphine, and Buell died early the following morning. Buell was one of the officers signing a petition volunteering for duty with Canby in the New Mexico Territory. This petition was the answer to Denver newspaper insinuations questioning the loyalty of the men at Camp Weld. The petition was dated the afternoon before Buell’s death and was published the following Saturday. The insinuations continued and, on February 12, men from Camp Weld raided the offices of the *Denver Herald*, destroying much of the equipment. *DRMN*, February 6, 1862; February 8, 1862; and February 13, 1862.

⁹⁷ See footnote 10.

⁹⁸ Charles Bridges, *Exposition of Psalm CXIX: As Illustrative of the Character and Exercises of Christian Experience* (eighteenth edition: London: Seeley, Burnside and Seeley, 1846).—Editor.

I did not get off as expected—Some unknown obstacles in the way—Went to Hall this morning for prayer at 11, but no fire—no prayer meeting people there. Strange! Sad-disappointment! Spiritual declension.

When I read over my diary of a year or 13 months ago, & find what floods of joy then enjoyed, such as on Jan. 11, 1861, I find I have slid back—How strange—to backslide from *such* a Savior! God forgive for C's sake—Lord strengthen me—

Married. Feb. 22. 1862, at the res. of Mr. Ambrose W. Barnard,⁹⁹ in Denver City, Mr. Saml D. Hunter,¹⁰⁰ to Miss H. E. Alden both of Denver City.

Trip to the Mountains. Mar. 10

Went up to Nevada City—last friday week—preached in Nevada twice sab. good turn out considering Weather bad Cold—snowy—windy—rough—Preached last sab. in Golden City—Day *unfavorable* Respectable attendance at night. Cost trip \$12.75—about 5\$ more than boarding at home. *Privilege* to preach here often costs some 4\$ and I paid \$5 to get to preach one sermon. Rec'd. 5 letters yesterday—about 20 papers today—How glorious to preach the gospel upon the *Rocky Mountains!* May God have mercy on the people—Bless the miners, O Lord.

Fifteen Years to day March 13, 1862, since I joined the Church. It was at Canonsburg Pa. Was examined by Prof. Dr. Wm. Smith, after sermon by Prof. A. Brown, on Saturday.—Communion next day, with tears and deep emotions of sorrow and joy—of sorrow for my sins, & joy, to enjoy such a privilege. Have passed through many scenes of joy and sorrow since. The Lord has been my dwelling place. Have studied have preached, often—(frequently 3 times a day) Prayed much, wept frequently—sinned greatly, Repented, gone about doing good. Instrumentally saved several souls, Preached about 11 years, now getting quite gray—and surrounded with troubles and trials, with “my soul among lions,” Yet God is my *refuge & strength.*

Prayr is Refreshing I often go the altar of prayr cold, and come away refreshed, strengthened, and suddenly burst forth into singing. This proves the *power* and influence of commun-

⁹⁹ See footnote 90.

¹⁰⁰ Samuel Hunter arrived in Denver, on August 16, 1859, a member of the Thorne Star Company. He served as “utility actor, scene painter, stage carpenter, and general handyman.” With the stranding of this group in Denver, he became a member of the Haydee Star Company. In partnership with A. L. Gooding, he managed the Pioneer Theatrical Company, but, with the opening of the new theater managed by Dougherty and Langrishe, he was forced to close. *Hafen, Colorado and Its People*, II, 442-43.

ing with God! and the power of divine truth. In Prayr, divine truth is brot to *bear* upon the mind & heart.—

Refreshed yesterday, in meditating on the “preciousness of Christ”—it drew me to the closet and tears from my eyes. Thank God! How precious is *Jesus!* Preached today 1 Pet. 2:17.¹⁰¹ Meeting interesting March 16, 1862. May God have mercy on our church in Denver.—

Excuses. Conscious of a duty, if we fail to do it, we always look for an excuse. Excuses are often sinful—Usually lie not in our *circumstances*, but in the *heart.* *Beware.* Examine

Country Tour. Returned to day, March 25, 1862 from a Country tour from Golden City, down Clear Creek 13 mi—to Denver—longest walk for many years—Tired—Staid last night with Bro. S. Cort—treated *very kindly*—Clear Creek fine farming Country. Large settlement—good place to preach. How pleasant to go to the country—First night spent in Country in Col.—May God bless that neighborhood.—Preached last sab. in Golden City—

Snowed 6 in to day Apl. 10 '62 Severe storm—snow wet. Begin this morning. *Hard time* cutting Wood—Borrowed a *very dull* axe at 3rd asking. Lord have mercy on poor *soldiers.* Little unwell for 3 or 4 days—bowels out of order.

Middaugh's Funeral. Mr. Wm. H. H. Middaugh was buried to day, Apr'l 4, 1862 from the house of his son in Law—Mr. Wier—He was killed by Mr. Robinson 250 mi. down the Platte shot in the face—died instantly—Seems to have been a quarrel—M. had a revolver in his hand when he died, or lying near him—It was not cocked—Poor man—47 year old—Native of Pa. Lawrence Co. His daughters took it hard. He died last Monday—brot home by Express man in a box—NO bad smell—His face looked awful—13 buck shot made a very large hole—May the Lord bless the widow and children.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Although it is not entirely clear, the reference seems to be 1 Pet. 2:17: “Honor all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king.”

¹⁰² William H. H. Middaugh, first sheriff of Arapahoe County, came to Denver from Wilmington County, Pennsylvania, in 1859. He started “to the States” in mid-March, traveling with a team and buggy. After resting his horses at Lillian Springs (see footnote No. 14), he drove on, reaching Diamond Springs (a stage station and probable Pony Express station just west of what is now Brule, Keith County, Nebraska), on Monday, March 31, 1862. That same morning, Middaugh and stage station manager, John Robinson, drove to near-by Baker's ranch, but returned to Diamond Springs in time for dinner. After they returned the two men became involved in an argument, and Robinson killed Middaugh with a single shotgun blast—“thirteen buckshot lodged in his head and face.” Mrs. Robinson ran to the door in time to see Middaugh fall. A few hours later, a Mr. Alex Benham arrived at Diamond Springs and, procuring a coach, brought the body back to Denver. Shortly after Benham's departure, Robinson “mounted a horse and fled for parts unknown.” *DRMN*, April 3, 1862; and April 5, 1862. *Nebraska History*, XL (June, 1960), 106.

It was widely supposed at the time that Robinson had murdered Middaugh in retaliation for Middaugh's part in the Vigilante trial and execution of Jim Gordon a year or so earlier. Hall, *History of Colorado*, I, 240-41; and William N. Byers, *Encyclopedia of Biography of Colorado* (Chicago: Century Publishing and Engraving Co., 1901), I, 57.—*Editor.*

April 9. Little unwell today diarrhea—snowed last night 4 in. nearly all melted same day on plains.

Glorious Victory At Pittsburgh Landing, Tenn. April 9 1862.¹⁰³ Federals—victorious—Federal loss 18 to 20,000—Rebels about twice that number—God grant that the Federals may go on Conquering to Conquer until the Rebels yield and submit to the powers that be." No. killed on F. side was 1500.

Faith. Long ago, while meditating on faith and God as a *Refuge*, the idea occurred to me that God would defend me from the cannon's mouth, I.E. I would not be afraid to face a firing cannon, because of *trust* in God—that, God would interpose & save.—This was an exhibition of my *trust* in God.—My heart seems so bad—so treacherous, that I feel like tearing it out of my breast.—

Big Snow. Apl. 17 1862 Snowed all day yesterday—and I guess all last night—still snowing—10 a.m. Snow about 12 or 15 inches deep—It comes from the north.

Aprl. 30 Warm—Streets dry—Expect to start to Laurette 100 mi S. West, in the mountains—Lord prepare me for it. Leave Denver, for the present, with regret.

"Buckskin Joe."¹⁰⁴ Arrived here May 6 1862 at 10½ p.m. Come in two days from Denver in Express Coach—distance 100 miles—cost about \$19—with trunk—Roads very ruff—Mountainous—Upset once in a snow drift—no one hurt—Had good fare for 75 cts. a meal—Scenery fine—delightful—water very good.—This place contains some 600 or 700 people—lies between two lofty mountains, covered with snow and pine—Scenery fine—Tis also called Laurette. It is without form. Log, pine houses. Good mining point. My room is not ceiled (Snowed yesterday & to day. May 10) May God help here to win souls. Lord bless the people.

First weekly Pr. Meeting In Laurette last evening—May 14-1862 Good attendance—some 20 or 25 present—Interesting meeting—Lecture from Mk. 10.46¹⁰⁵ to last—

Preached last sab. to good houses. Crowded full at night. Services impressive. Attention close — all solemn. Prospects look encouraging—Text at night. "Lo I am with you always"—

¹⁰³ This was the controversial battle at Shiloh Church, April 6 and 7, 1862.

¹⁰⁴ Buckskin Joe, Park County, was named for Joseph Higginbottom, nicknamed "Buckskin Joe," who made a rich strike in the area in 1860. In 1861, the mining district was reorganized, and the town was named Laurette. The following year, the post office took the name of Buckskin, but the camp continued to be known as Laurette. *Colorado Magazine*, XVII, No. 3 (May, 1940), 106.

Laurette was named for the only two ladies residing in the town, Mrs. M. B. Dodge (Laura) and Mrs. Allen Dodge (Jeanette). Thus, "Laurette," Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (second edition; Chicago: The Blakely Printing Co., 1895), IV, 261.—*Editor*.

¹⁰⁵ This is the story of Jesus healing the blind man near Jericho. Mark 10: 46-52.

Very heard place to preach—Church has no floor—is a log house, covered with slabs and poor, narrow slabs for seats.—The air is so *light*, that I cant speak without stopping to breath—

I fear I will not be able to stand preaching here, the air is so light. Can't walk up hill without puffing like anything. Am Hoarse—Some cold—May God direct and bless me. Reading Life of Whitfield 'tis very refreshing.

Preached in *Montgomery*¹⁰⁶ May 18, 1862 to good attentive cong.—Very good singing. The choir sung me into tears.—Had good meetings a.m. and p.m.—Preached in a Store—People poor—destitute—Kind—Provisions *very scarce*—very dear Not a sack of flour for sale in the town.—Good many entirely out.—About the same here in Laurette. People at Mt. very anxious for preaching—Town has about 120 houses & is only 6 months old—Good mining prospect.—May God have mercy on the poor. "Give us our daily bread." Never seen such a scarcity—

May 23 Distributed several tracts to miners in huts. Glad to get them. No floor in their huts—Had good prayr meeting Wednesday night. I pay \$9 a week for board, room & Lodging.—

Mountain Walk This morning, May 27 to Musketo¹⁰⁷—It was high, low, hard, fatiguing, interesting—Pleasant calls in M.—gave away a few tracts. M. is small—on the S. Platte.—Makes the heart beat fast to walk up these Mts.—

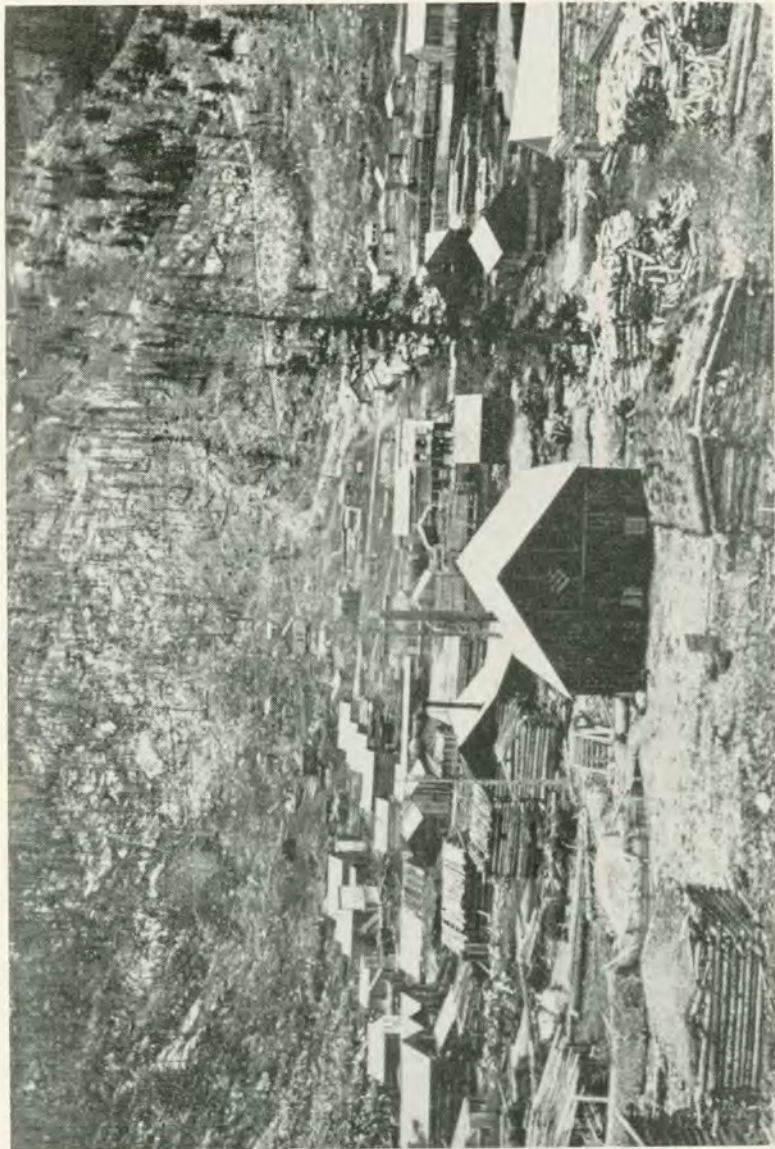
Reading Life Whitefield Tis refreshing—How diligent! happy and usefull that Good man.—He died of Asthma—Age 56.—in 1770. Burried at Newberryport—My heart is cold. Pray often, yet without that fervor I desire. May God have mercy.

May 30. Evening—Two snow storms this p.m. one down the Gulch, other up—Been trying to fix my heart on God—'Tis hard to do. How *forgetful* am I of God. O God take away my hardness of heart.—Read Life Whitefield since been here. Very good and profitable—Had very good prayr meeting Weds. night—Lord prepare me for sab.—

Tired June 2 1862 1 PM. Went a foot over to Montgomery last Saturday, went round through the town invited the people out to church. Preached twice yesterday, assisted in organizing the Montgomery Union Sab. School. walked ½ a mile up the steep gulch through mud & dark last night over huge rocks—then took a walk this morning way up the Gulch, became tired & then started here. 7 miles from Montgomery. Very tired

¹⁰⁶ Montgomery, Park County, was founded in June 1861, after the discovery of gold at the base of Mount Lincoln. With a population of about 1,000, it cast the largest vote in Park County during the 1862 election.

¹⁰⁷ Mosquito (Musquita), Park County, one mile south of Buckskin Joe, was settled in 1861. It later became Sterling City.



Library, State Hist. Soc. of Colorado

Montgomery, Colorado

and hungry. May God bless the truth I preached & abundantly bless the Sab. School.

Destitution—Good many families they told me at M. have no flour—they live on boiled Corn & a little meat. *Very hard up*—no money—but little to eat.—Flour was 30 cts a lb. last week there

Fair Play.¹⁰⁸ June 9 1862 To this village and gulch mining district I went a foot last Sab.—Invited the people to ch.—Secured a house with no door nor floor to preach in and had very good turn out—Much crowded at night—Was glad to preach to the poor miners in their gray flannel shirts with no vests to cover them. Saw tears in eyes of some in the cong. in the a.m.—Subject Rev. 5.9¹⁰⁹—May God bless Fair Play—I still feel Cold hearted. I read and pray often yet my heart is hard. Lord help—have mercy.—Eyes sore. Flour is 15 cts a pound.

Musketo—Sermon 1st. Last evening — June 13. Had no aptmt.—Went round—invited people out—they turned *very well*—Interesting meeting—close attention Spoke with much liberty—On Rev. 5.9—Visited a poor sick Man—bleeding at Lung—had conversation prayed with him—He thanked me Kindly—G. help him.

Very Cold. Jun 16 '62 Last Saturday night—June 14, at Montgomery (at Mr. Girton's was very cold)—on Sab. morning I saw ice in a tub $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick—Windy—Began to freeze Sab. evening long before night. Coldest I ever saw in summer.—

Preached there yesterday, in a store and meat market together—Attendance small.—Some come early & went away during the Sab. School which made preaching late. May God have mercy on that place.—*Very tired* when I got hom.—Lord increase my faith.

*Tarry all Diggings*¹¹⁰ July 1st 1862 Today returned from Tarryall Meetings interesting—Good attendance Sab. evening—preached at Hamilton¹¹¹ on Thursday evening—in a hall formerly a saloon.

Very Tired—Hard Walk, over the Mountains. Yesterday. June 30 walked 10 or 12 miles over the Snowy Range and up a deep Gulch above Tarry All—*Very laborious*—Mt. Very high—air very *light*. good deal snow—walked over it—Saw beautiful flowers growing up through it on the lofty mountain. Thot often of the *greatness*, majesty of God.—Had a very pleasant

¹⁰⁸ Fairplay, Park County, was founded in 1859. It is located on the South Platte River.

¹⁰⁹ See footnote 28.

¹¹⁰ Tarryall, Park County, was founded in June 1859, on a branch of the South Fork of the South Platte River. It is older than its near neighbor and mining camp rival, Fairplay.

¹¹¹ Hamilton, Park County, is located on Tarryall Creek and was probably named for Earl Hamilton, one of the original discoverers of this diggings.

visit at Tarry All—Saw a few old acquaintances.—May God bless that place.—This is the sixth place I have preached at in less than 7 weeks.

The Saloon becomes a *Church*. July 14, 1862 Yesterday for the first time we opened the Old gambling and drinking Saloon for preaching—And had the largest cong. last night ever assembled here, I believe. Thank God—Sermon to cong. Men.—on Sowing and Reaping—Gal. 6.7¹¹²—Cong. *Very attentive*—The meeting broke up the auction & drew the auctioneer to church. This is moral progression—Roll on the charriott—May God bless Laurette—

Satan Foiled. Thank God, "if you resist the devil, he will flee from you." he was foiled last Sab. night.

Prayed in Tree Top It was the 19 of July—I went down to Fair Play—Rode on a Hay Waggon. Diner at Mr. Griffin—Went out and prayed in a tree top—Gave out my appointments—Stuck up notices—Invited everybody out—Crossed the river—Called at Mr. Hatche's—Saw his good wife—She is a pious Mother in Israel—took tea with her—Told her how I got ahead of the Devil in Buckskin—She made me nice *Present*—gave me two good undershirts, a pair Gloves and a nice comb.—God bless & reward her. This is the 1st I have rec. in the Mountains. She had not heard a sermon for 8 years.—Been in Mexico—We had very good attendance & interesting meeting. Preached 4 time in 25 hours. God Bless Fair Play

Returned from Montgomery today Aug, 18/62—Tired—Went over Saturday P.M. procured a house to preach in—drummed the people out to ch.—good turn out—Preached over a Billiard, Gambling, drinking *Saloon*—

Rained at night—yet had good attendance—Spoke with such warmth—on David's charge to Solomon — Lord bless Montgomery—

Raining Aug. 27—"Rainy season" still continues—Heavy shower with loud thunder & sharp lightning last night.—Rained today—

Lord, Grant us a shower of grace.

Walk Up a high Mountain. Today, Aug. 27 '62 about 8 a.m. I started for one of the highest peaks in the R. Mtns. Went up slow—The day was cool—Cloudy—up the gulch foggy—It took me thrice as long as expected—The peak must be some 14000 feet above the sea.—Nothing but a few red plantain grow there—Was deeply impressed with the *greatness* of God—prayed for his blessing—fine view of the S. Park, and the Mtns. west—

¹¹² "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

Slaked my thirst with pure Cold driven snow. The drifts was some 40 rods long & 5 or 8 feet deep—Got home *tired & hungry* about 2 p.m.—Mts. *very* deceiving in height & distance.—"O Lord thou art very great"—

Night Walk. Last night sept. 1, I walked home from Montgomery, some 6 mi. through the woods. The Mtns. by moon light, tho. dim, look grand—Lost my way for a minute but went back to it.—Thought much about God.

Began the work of erecting a Pres. Church in Montgomery¹¹³—Had the largest turn out there yesterday of any time before—Had *very good* meetings—met in a Drinking Saloon & Recruiting Office.—Crowded full—

Lord Bless Montgomery.

Signs of the times—Subject of Lecture last night, to a full house—broke two seats. Sept. 7, 1862.

Dull Times This is the common cry—Men stand in their doors and look down and up the street—gaze about—Nothing to do—Sept. 10. People going away—Mines here not paying very well now—going through the Cap Rock—Frequent showers.—Snow still hangs to its old winter bed—Sept. 10, 1862. Theatre here last Week.

Trip over the Range. We left Sept. 20, 1862—Returned to day Oct. 1 at 1 P.m. It was a preaching tour—We walked and preached as we went every night—Laborious work—After spending the Sab. at Montgomery & preached a war sermon there Sab. night to the largest Crowd I have seen in all this region. About 10½ a.m. Monday I started in Co. with Col. Harber to Mr. Bresser over the great Range dividing the Atlantic from the Pacific slope. We crossed at the Ute Pass near Montgomery City—The sight is fine & magnificent—To look down both great *slopes* fills the eye with wonder. The Ute pass is low and narrow—makes a good place for the passage of the Pacific Railroad—It would require a tunnel of about 1 mile—It could be cut through—"The North Star" Lode is ¼ mile from it—Soon as we got over we slaked our thirst for the first time with the waters flowing into the Pacific Ocean—One of the tributaries of the Blue River—Water *very good* over the Range—climate mild—fine—Preached 6 times over the Range at 4 places—Buffalow Flats—Lincoln City—Delaware—& Georgia Gulch¹¹⁴—Good attendance—Close attention—Miners in some places nearly "played out"—Many

¹¹³ According to the *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, October 30, 1862: "We have here in Montgomery divine services every Sabbath, alternately by Rev. Mr. Billingsley of the Presbyterian Church and by Rev. Mr. Antice [Antis], of the Methodist."

¹¹⁴ J. J. Conway and Co. operated a mint in Georgia Gulch in 1861. "Editorial Notes," *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 4 (July, 1933), 160; and Hall, *History of Colorado*, IV, 328.

people gone away—Villages quiet—lonely—People clever—Kind—Had interesting meetings—good choir at Georgia Gulch—House jamfull there Sab. evening—preached on the “signs of the times”—Then they had a political Meeting after in same Hall—Sab. is the Miners business day. Lord bless the Western Miners.

Grand Sight. Monday, Oct. 13. 1862, I took a trip to the head waters of the Platte and Blue rivers—Went by the North Star Lode, a little above Montgomery. The Lode is right on top of the *Main Range*. They have dug down about 35 feet & all is frozen that depth—From this I went up to the heads of the S. Platte & Blue Rivers—They rise in two small Lakes about 1/3 of a mile apart, separated by a high, *sharp* narrow mtn.—the sight is grand—a small breeze decides into which ocean the rain falls here—Both streams run paralell—(south) for a short distance—one going into the Pacific & the other into the Atlantic Ocean.—After attempting the ascent of another steep rugged mtn. but went back, for want of time & a snow storm approaching. I returned very tired through a severe storm of snow—How admirable these Mtns.—

California Gulch—Oct. 18. I visited the Gulch first.—*Grand view* in crossing the Range going to it. Preached three times—Very large turn out Sab. evening—Pleasant places—people not so hard up as here.—Returned home very tired Monday—

“It don’t Pay.” I was here in Bucksin Joe, over 3 months before I received a cent for my services—Been here now nearly six months & have received only about \$30 for my services—have preached always twice & sometimes 3 times Sab. & very often week-day nights—Though it don’t pay pecuniarily, yet it does pay *spiritually*—The Lord will reward me for all I do for him. He pays, that is sure. Have paid \$8 a week all the time, and ten for several weeks when I first came here last May. Have preached to the destitute.—Have sown much seed—God grant that it may bring forth an 100 fold.—The Lord bless the people of the Mountains. Expect to go to Denver soon—My health has ben very good all summer. Have gained some 12 pounds since came here.—Had many hard walks, & some “times of refreshing.”—

I wept much last friday while writing about the indignant contempt with which the Rebels have used our glorious old Flag—May God have mercy on us as a nation—Lord save or we perish.—¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Reverend Billingsley left for Palestine, Ohio, in December, 1862. Cooper, *Story of Our Presbytery*, p. 10. Chivington said that, after his return to the East, Billingsley “dealt out to the people of Colorado some left-handed compliments, saying the territory would be entirely depopulated in less than five years.” Quoted in Beardsley, *Echoes from Peak and Plain*, 244.

Denver's Student Conductors

*By C. Arthur Hochmuth**

Well over a half-century has passed since the Denver City Tramway Company first employed high school and college students to work as part-time conductors on its street car trailers. Being ambitious and energetic, these young fellows were enabled, by this arrangement, to pay for all or part of their living and educational expenses. In addition, the value of the training and experience they received and were to use as a foundation of the many and varied careers they were to follow in later years, could never be estimated in dollars and cents. Although trailers had been in use for several years previously, the first students for that purpose were hired late in 1911. While the company, which later changed its name to the Denver Tramway Company, designated student conductors by a separate series of badge numbers, it is doubtful whether any record was ever kept of the actual number employed. If there was, it was lost when the company destroyed all its old records when it moved its offices from downtown to its present location. Nonetheless, the figure could have approximated well over a thousand youths during the period of more than twenty years the plan was in effect.

Provided they met certain requirements, lads of seventeen years and over were eligible to become student conductors. Every high school and college in Denver was well represented by them. By having them work before and after school hours, the company was able to man, conveniently, the trailers which it operated only during the morning and evening rush hours; a system that proved of mutual benefit to both.

While officially listed as "student" conductors, they were often referred to as trailer "boys," "kids," and in later years, "hounds," by the older regular trainmen who were not always in sympathy with the youthful enthusiasm of life they exhibited. Nevertheless, should anyone, today, take the time to run his finger down the list of former trailer conductors, he would come across many names well known and high up in the business world and professions, not only in Colorado but all over the country as well.

*Mr. Hochmuth was born and raised near Denver, and became a student conductor in 1913. During World War I, he served with Denver's Base Hospital No. 29 in London, England, and after his return to, and graduation from the University of Denver, he went to Chicago. In 1926, he was employed as chemist by the Wm. Wrigley Jr. Company, and remained with that concern for twenty-five years, the last eight of which he was laboratory director. Retiring at the age of 56, Mr. Hochmuth returned with his wife to Denver. He started writing as a hobby at the age of 64. Several of his articles have appeared in various current publications.—*Editor.*



Student Conductors

Top: Conductors at Car Barn Starting Point

Lower: Boy Conductors Had Fun

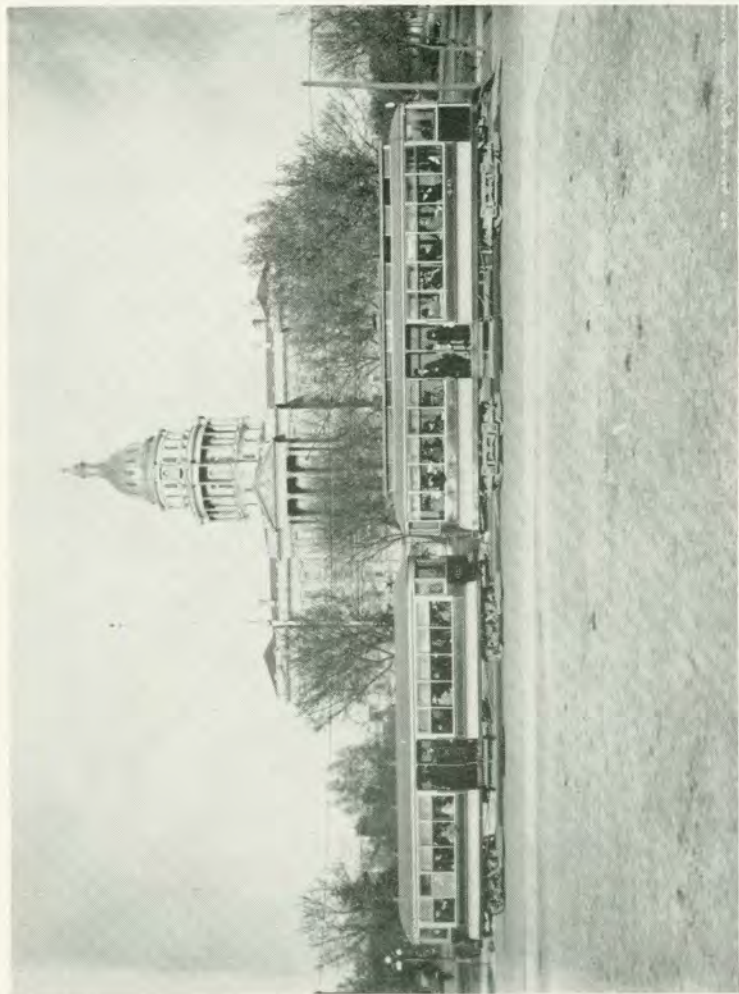
C. A. Hochmuth, 1913

The first few winters after the pioneer student conductors' advent proved to be a rugged test of their stamina and fortitude. Although the trailers, at that time, were enclosed with windows, three open doorways in the middle left the car pretty well exposed to the weather. No heat, whatever, was provided. Most of them stood out in the open when not in use and after a stormy night, it was not unusual to find a half-foot or so of snow waiting to be swept out the next morning. Before reporting for work, which usually was between six and seven A.M., the trailer conductor would bundle himself up with a heavy sweater-coat under his regular one, perhaps an extra pair of trousers, at least two pairs of heavy socks and 4-buckle overshoes. Several of the boys also used gloves and ear-muffs.

As a rule, on an especially frigid morning, the motor cars, of which the front portions were enclosed and heated, would be overcrowded while but a few of the more hardy souls would board the ice-boxes that trailed along behind. After paying their fares, they would huddle down in the cold seats and lapse into a semi-torpid state until they reached their destinations. Occasionally, a conductor would come in off his run without enough money for his pay which he took out of that collected. With wages at 24 cents an hour and the fare a nickel, it is not difficult to figure out about how many passengers risked freezing to death to ride with him that morning.

Besides working their regular trailers, the more ambitious student conductors would often relieve the motor car conductors for the remainder of their night's run. These reliefs were called "tail-ends" and to prevent this extra work from interfering with their studies, the boys were permitted to take them only on week-ends during the school season. The hourly wage-rate, after one year's service with the company, automatically rose to 26½ cents; after two years it went up to 28 cents and after five years, 30 cents, which was the top for all trainmen. No further adjustment was made until 1918, during the war.

In 1912, the company began remodeling the trailers by enclosing the front section with doors and installing electric heaters. While these changes resulted in greater comfort for both passengers and conductors after the trailers were out on the street for a while, they were just as cold on a winter morning after standing out all night as the old ones had been because the electricity could not be connected until they were coupled on to the motor car. Later, the pay-as-you-enter system was put in use which made it no longer necessary for the conductors to go from passenger to passenger to collect the fares. Sitting



Standard Tramway Train of Motor Car and Trailer—1915
 D.P.L. West. Hist. Coll.
 Denver, Colorado

behind a fare-box with a heater beneath it added further to their ease and comfort. With all the changes and innovations the boys, nevertheless, remained boys and to each new one, like all those preceding him, working a trailer was one grand adventure in his young life.

With adventure, romance often goes hand in hand. This was true in a number of instances where student conductors, over the years, became acquainted with young lady passengers on their trailers and in the course of time, the friendships reached the "married and lived happily ever after" stage. Visiting with passengers was against the rules and this infraction alone accounted for a good percentage of the violations assessed against the student conductors. When reported, the division superintendent would call in the offenders and after reading the details of the infringement to them from a yellow slip, he would forthwith lecture the miscreants mildly on the proper conduct of trailer conductors.

Very seldom was any malicious mischief or misdeed encountered although occasionally it became necessary to discharge a youth for some unforgivable action. On the whole, the superintendents and supervisors were very tolerant, remembering, perhaps, that in the past, they had been boys, themselves. In a group of 15 or 20 lads congregated to wait for time to go to work, there were always a few eager and ready to start an impromptu rough-house or cook-up some other sort of deviltry. With them present, life around a car barn was by no means stagnant, much to the harassment of the officials, clerks and older trainmen.

The company carefully screened all student applicants before hiring them but even then, after a 10-day breaking-in period with a regular conductor, some of them were not retained. Sloppiness in attire was not tolerated and starched white collars and clean uniforms were a must at all times. Company officials often expressed, especially in the columns of the monthly *Tramway Bulletin*, their satisfaction with the appearance of their student conductors. A few folks, unaccustomed to and hostile to the ways of the then modern youth, regarded all the boys with a certain amount of disfavor. Those who were rude or discourteous to passengers or who failed to exercise good judgment, needless to say, did not last long. The many who went on to graduate from their respective schools and become good, successful citizens were those who discreetly found time both for work and for play.

Old-time Denverites well remember the big snow of December, 1913, when four feet of it covered the ground. All

street cars were brought to a standstill and some lines were not completely open for a week or more. There were a few instances where trailers were left behind at the end of the line while the motor cars tried to make it back to the car barn. Technically, the men were supposed to remain on their cold, derelict trailers but kind-hearted families in the particular neighborhood where they were stranded took them in and cared for them. This made a very agreeable windfall as their pay went on until they were relieved or brought back to the barn with their trailers.

To those not so fortunate as to be isolated in the outlands, picks and shovels were distributed and they, along with the regular trainmen and outsiders hired by the company, were put to work removing the snow from the tracks throughout the city. While business and industry all over Denver was brought to almost a complete stop, the big storm produced a very gainful diversion for all the street car men.

Summertime provided a welcome opportunity in the way of extra earnings for the student conductors and most of them took advantage of it. The Berkeley route of the North Division was the best paying in this respect. Running from City Park through town and thence to Elitch's Gardens and Lakeside amusement parks and Berkeley Park and its bathing beach, the trailers were in use on an average of about 12 hours a day. A 30-hour week-end was no rarity; neither was a collection of thirty or forty dollars, mostly in silver, on a day's run. Carrying this amount in his pockets, the trailer conductor, after a continuous run of twelve or fourteen hours, would drag himself in at midnight or later, tired but happy with his day's wages and glad to be rid of the heavy cash he carried. Then with but a few hours sleep, many of them had to report back early the next day to take out their trailers on the morning run.

In World War I, many of the fellows who were or had been student conductors, took part. After it was "over, over there," they came back to continue their studies or go on with the life-work they had chosen. But not all of them returned. Some were invalided back in such a condition that made it impossible for them to live a normal life again. And of a few, there remained only a memory and perhaps a gold star in some mother's service flag.

Less than two years after the end of the war, in August, 1920, occurred Denver's unfortunate street car strike. This disrupted the schooling of many of the student conductors but after it was settled, a new crop of them came on and with some of the old ones who returned, work went on as before.

Conditions changed rapidly after that but the youths who subsequently became student conductors through the years, followed in the steps of their predecessors, living every minute of their lives and at the same time, learning and preparing themselves for the future. Someone once said that experience is the best teacher and in the case of these boys, the statement was very true. The many essentials and requisites of successful careers they learned were to be of no mean value to them after they went out into the world to make their way.

With the rapid increase in the use of automobiles, the street car patronage decreased accordingly. Forced to cut down on operating expenses, the company went to one-man motor cars which made the use of trailers impractical. On March 31, 1932, they were discontinued and on that date the last of the student trailer conductors turned in the day's receipts and passed into history along with the many other things and practices that became outmoded by the changing times.



View in the Purgatoire River Valley in 1846
 This was drawn in 1846 by Lieut. W. H. Emory, accompanying Kearny's Army
 in its conquest of New Mexico.

Early Days of Trinidad

By Samuel W. DeBusk

Edited by Morris F. Taylor*

In the first years of this century, especially prior to World War I, the Early Settlers' Association was a large and active organization in Trinidad and Las Animas County. At its annual meetings papers were read, officers selected, a bounteous picnic spread, and pioneer citizens talked over old times. The speeches and papers were given to audiences which had within them many who knew the early days at first hand. Simple mention of people, places and events of the past were all the speaker had to make to be clearly understood. But rarely does a present-day reader of one of those papers have the personal familiarity to enable him to recognize and understand references which were taken for granted when they were first made. In order that such a paper may be historically meaningful today, and in the future, it is often necessary to amplify its subject matter with annotations based upon research. Similarly, whenever inaccuracies can be detected, it is possible to correct them. Mr. DeBusk's paper, presented over sixty-two years ago, takes on new and more useful dimensions when so treated, but before demonstrating this it seems reasonable to insert, first, a biographical sketch of him.

Samuel Wesley DeBusk (1848-1933) deserves grateful remembrance from historians, as well as from other people in Trinidad and Las Animas County who are interested in the early days of their locale, for his devoted and successful work in interviewing and setting down the recollections of some of the area's real pioneers. Without his efforts the historical record of southern Colorado would not be nearly so rich.

He was born in Washington County, Virginia, June 16, 1848. His education was sound and traditional: from Emory and Henry College in Emory, Virginia, he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in the classical course, and then he went on to

*"Some Items of Early History, Reminiscences of the Early Days of Trinidad," was the title of a paper read by S. W. DeBusk before the Early Settlers' Association, Trinidad, Colo., August 27, 1901. Morris F. Taylor, Regional Vice President of District 16 of the State Historical Society, has edited the DeBusk manuscript and has filled in a great deal of background. Mr. Taylor is an Instructor of History, Trinidad State Junior College; president of the Trinidad Historical Society; and author of *A Sketch of Early Days on the Purgatory*.

Although Mr. Taylor has made an historical analysis of this informal reminiscence he has departed from the usual system of footnoting and has chosen to intersperse parts of Mr. DeBusk's paper with his own explanations and comments.—*Editor*.

obtain his Master's degree from the same institution in 1870. For about two years he served as principal of Science Hill Institute in Johnson City, Tennessee.

In 1872, DeBusk brought his wife and family to Las Animas County, Colorado. He eventually established himself as a farmer and stock raiser about twenty miles east of Trinidad on the Purgatory River at a spot that was already associated with the old days. His home place for some years had been the residence of Jefferson W. Lewelling, who settled there about 1864; but more important, historically, was the fact that the ranch included the site of the first attempt at permanent settlement in the region undertaken by John Hatcher in 1847.

New surroundings did not cause DeBusk to forsake his old interests. In the little farm-ranch community where he lived he taught the first school, opened in 1876, and he carried on for some years. Also, it was he who organized the Methodist Episcopal Church South in Las Animas County, serving as its pastor for a long time. The area on the Purgatory in which he settled was granted a post office in 1878, called Raton, and Samuel W. DeBusk was its first postmaster. In time the name Raton gave way to Alfalfa, and a new post office under the latter name was established in 1881, with his daughter, Jennie, installed as postmistress. Today the name of Alfalfa is of little more than historical recollection.

DeBusk's association with the public and religious life of Trinidad was always close. During the 1880's and early 1890's, he was prominent in the town as editor of one of its daily papers, the *Trinidad Daily Citizen*. One of the most interesting features of the paper was his strong but not uncritical support of settlers on the Colorado portion of the Maxwell Grant in their long, bitter, and unsuccessful contest with the Maxwell Land Grant Company.

Years of first hand contact with pioneers aroused his active mind in behalf of the parts they had played in the region's history. DeBusk was a major factor in the Early Settlers' Association and its annual meetings in the years prior to the First World War. Newspaper accounts of those meetings (unfortunately too general in treatment) underscore this, but his speech in 1901, on which the accompanying article is based, appears to be the only one fully preserved. It was during those pre-war years that he was particularly busy interviewing some of the earliest settlers. Copies of some of this material are in the library of the State Historical Society of Colorado in the *DeBusk Memorial*.

Distinguished recognition of Samuel W. DeBusk's abilities came with his election as Republican state senator from Las Animas County in 1917. In this capacity he continued his public service until 1925.

Excerpts from DeBusk's paper presented here, with comments, all relate to local history. His references to the general sweep of history have been omitted because they make no particular contribution.

In 1860, a local writer claims that between Pueblo and Santa Fe were only three places prepared to entertain both man and beast, the man being sure of pork and corn bread and the horse sure of the shucks, for the grain was worth about 13½ cents per pound. These places were Zan Hicklin's ranch on Greenhorn Creek, Maxwell's on the Cimarron, and Las Vegas. To this list might be added Jim Gray's ranch, at El Moro, located this year, and which became a stage station before Trinidad reached that degree of importance.

Although Zan [Alexander] Hicklin's place on the Greenhorn, a tributary of the St. Charles, and Jim Gray's ranch close to the Purgatory, another stream feeding into the Arkansas, were both within the boundaries of Colorado when that territory was created in 1861, they were in the year to which DeBusk refers, 1860, in New Mexico Territory. It is interesting to recollect that from 1854, the year of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the later Territory and State of Colorado was part of the four Territories of Utah, Kansas, Nebraska and New Mexico. Utah took in all west of the Continental Divide; Kansas and Nebraska shared the land east of the Divide and north of the 38th parallel; New Mexico embraced that part of Colorado south of the 38th parallel and east of the Continental Divide. All of the stage stops mentioned by DeBusk, then, were in New Mexico with the exception of Pueblo, which was then in Kansas.

Jim Gray's ranch on Gray Creek (named for him) near its juncture with the Purgatory was about four miles down the Purgatory (commonly known as the Picketwire) from the later site of Trinidad. DeBusk says that Gray's ranch was at El Moro. This requires a few words of explanation. The original town of El Moro (established about 1876 as the southern terminus of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad) was on the north bank of the Purgatory, nearly opposite the mouth of Gray Creek. The El Moro to which DeBusk referred was the exciting railhead town that bid fair to overshadow Trinidad in growth and importance in the days before, and for a period after, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was built up the Purgatory Valley through Trinidad and over the Raton Pass into New Mexico. But it must be remembered that

when DeBusk wrote his paper (1901), El Moro had long before spread to the south side of the river as well, clustering around the glowing and smoking "El Moro" Coke Ovens of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. His listeners at the Early Settlers meeting knew this well, but it is a possible point of confusion for the reader and researcher of today and in time to come.

Neither was DeBusk precise about the actual location of Gray's ranch, which was a stage station "before Trinidad reached that degree of importance." Daniel L. Taylor, one of Trinidad's most prominent pioneer citizens who very likely was in DeBusk's audience, later left a brief description of the site. Taylor kept the general store at Gray's ranch in 1865 and 1866. He said that the place was on the west side of the big arroyo which empties into the Purgatory, not far from where the present Colorado and Southern Railroad and the Pulaski Irrigation Ditch cross that arroyo.

About 1861 Uncle Dick located in Raton Pass and became keeper of a toll gate, as Missouri Bill (Basil Metcalf) kept a gate in the Emory [Emory] Gap, or pass, fifty miles farther eastward. Soon the settlers on farms followed.

The familiar appellation, without surname, refers to Richens Lacy (Uncle Dick) Wootton, well-known mountain man and Indian fighter who figures in the earliest annals of Denver and Pueblo. Probably inadvertently, perhaps through an undetected typographical error, DeBusk's paper gives the wrong date (1861) for Wootton's appearance as a resident of the Raton Pass between Colorado and New Mexico. In Howard Louis Conard's "*Uncle Dick*" Wootton, which was in large measure dictated to Conard by Wootton, we are told that he picked the spot and established his home in Raton Pass in the spring of 1865,¹ after having obtained charters for his toll road from the legislatures of Colorado and New Mexico the previous winter.

Metcalf's toll gate, set up at a later date than Wootton's, was in New Mexico in what has long been called Toll Gate Canyon. Today the road from Branson, Colorado, to Folsom, New Mexico, runs through Emory Gap and Toll Gate Canyon, passing through the narrow gap in the rock across which Metcalf had his gate.

These early settlers naturally took to agriculture for in order to eat they must cultivate the ground. In 1861 the Gurule ditch and the Lopez ditch, both just above Trinidad, were dug. In 1862 the Baca, the Chilili, the Leitensdorfer and the El Moro ditches were constructed. In 1863 came the Dunton, the Madril [Madrid], the Montoya, the Fernandez, and Espinosa ditches. In 1864 the Medina, the Garcia, the Salas, and the Tijeras ditches were dug.

¹ The legislature approved the charter for the toll road on February 10, 1865.

In 1865 came the Davis & Martinez, and the Lewelling & McCormick ditches. In 1866 were dug the Burns & Duncan, the Salas No. 2, the Phelps, and the Sizer ditches. And in later years many more. The first ditch of all was constructed by John Hatcher, before the year 1850. But the Indians chased him away. Agriculture waited for a better beginning.

The above enumeration of irrigation reads almost like a roster of the earliest settlers of Trinidad and vicinity. In an article in *The Colorado Magazine* (September, 1929), A. W. McHendrie, writing on "Trinidad and Its Environs," comments on some of those settlers and their ditches:

In 1861 there were three irrigation ditches built, each diverting water from the Purgatoire [the French spelling which is often used] River and irrigating tracts of land largely within the present limits of the city of Trinidad. Gurule [which one—Damacio or Tomaso—is not indicated] built the first ditch, beginning work on May 31, 1861; Antonio Lopez and his associates built the second a little farther up the stream, beginning November 1, 1861; Felipe Baca and two Frenchmen, one named Charles Romonds, built the third ditch, which was the most elaborate effort, beginning November 30, 1861. Practically all the land irrigated by this ditch, amounting to about four hundred acres, was located within the present limits of the city.

It is not my intention to identify fully all the other individuals and places associated by name with these ditches and mentioned by DeBusk in his paper. But there are several that merit further treatment here because of other things which the names recall. The Chilili Ditch apparently was named for the early Mexican plaza which was about three miles down the Purgatory from Trinidad. The name Leitensdorfer evokes vistas of history in this part of the state going back to days prior to the war with Mexico. The Leitensdorfer brothers, Thomas and Eugene, were derivative claimants to the vast and mostly unconfirmed Vigil and St. Vrain Grant, a claim which Tom pressed for a long time to land in the bottoms of the Purgatory and its tributary, Gray Creek. The claim cast a cloud on the titles to many business and other properties in Trinidad and its environs. Eugene Leitensdorfer had been a well-known trader on the Santa Fe Trail and had served as territorial auditor in the first government of New Mexico Territory, in which Charles Bent was governor. The Dunton Ditch was named for Riley Dunton, a very early settler, originally from Maine. He, with William Frazier, a native of Scotland, was building a "house" on the bank of the Purgatory at the site of Trinidad on March 3, 1861, when the Archibald brothers (Albert and Ebenezer) reached the crossing of the river on their way south by wagon from the valley of the St. Charles, where they had spent the winter. Jefferson W. Lewelling and D. W. McCormick had settled along the Purga-



Las Animas County Pioneers

L. to R.: Jacob Beard, S. W. DeBusk
D. L. Taylor, E. J. Hubbard, Albert W. Archibald.

tory downstream from Trinidad by the early sixties, Lewelling having taken up what was known as the old Hatcher ranch, where remnants of the earliest ditch of them all could be seen.

It was in the autumn of 1846 that William Bent sent John Hatcher and others to begin developing what he called the Upper Purgatory River Ranch. An acequia (ditch) was commenced on the south side of the river, and by the spring of 1847 about 130 acres were under the ditch, which was about a mile and a half in length.² What the war threats in the winter of 1846-47 had not been able to do, the Indians accomplished the following summer when they attacked and ran off the livestock. The first attempt at permanent settlement in Las Animas County was abandoned, and the site on the Purgatory was not utilized again until Jefferson W. Lewelling reopened the ditch in 1865 and built his fort-like adobe residence.

On Christmas day 1867 the population of the surrounding country was mostly in town. Even in that early day the saloon men sold blended and rectified liquors. On that Christmas day a stage driver named [Frank] Blue, who was also an athlete and gambler, felt well and wanted to box, or wrestle, with anyone present. A match was arranged for a stake in cash. Soon Blue and a stout Mexican were wrestling on Main street in front of the present Sopris block. The Mexican was disposed to be rough. Blue threw his antagonist to the ground, breaking a leg. An uproar resulted. Blue shot and killed a man, then took refuge in a jacal on the south side of Main Street. Angry Mexican people tore the roof off to get at Blue. By kicking in a fire place Blue passed into an adjoining room. The mob proceeded to demolish that room also, but increasing violence disturbed the proceeding and meanwhile shooting had become prevalent.

Before going on with DeBusk's version of the big disturbance in Trinidad on Christmas Day, 1867, some observations are in order. His account is one of several versions which disagree in relatively minor details; accounts of it appeared in contemporary Denver papers (in the *Rocky Mountain News*, January 8, 1868, for example). It so happens that the block designated is still standing and until recently housed the McAnally Furniture Company and apartments. It was named for General Elbridge B. Sopris, prominent Trinidad pioneer and founder of the now defunct coal camp of Sopris a short distance west of Trinidad. The wrestling match was staged, then, on Main Street just west of Beech. The term "jacal" properly refers to a building the walls of which are made of upright wooden slabs or posts chinked with adobe mud, but

² "The Hatcher Ditch (1846-1928), The Oldest Colorado Irrigation Ditch Now in Use," by A. W. McHendrie. *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. V, No. 3 (June, 1928), 81-95.

DeBusk's usage, a common one at the time, seems to indicate a generally inferior type of structure, a shanty type.

Philo B. Sherman, the fat, good natured man from Connecticut, kept the only hotel. His rooms were jacals. The Americans gathered at his hotel, as the riot took on the aspect of a race quarrel. All got indoors, for bullets were uncomfortably frequent.

Sherman had been in Trinidad but a short time, having come down earlier that year from Denver where he had been clerk at the Tremont House. The two story adobe building which housed his hotel stood on the southeast corner of Main and Beech Streets (where the Toller Motor Company showroom is now located), on the south side of the street a short distance east of the site of the wrestling match.

Riley Dunton and some companions were riding into town. Riley was surprised at so much shooting notwithstanding the day was a holiday, and was further surprised that so many bullets came near him. They spurred their horses and galloped to the hotel. They were quickly taken inside and then learned particulars.

Joe Dimmock was coming into town on the north side of the river. He reached Felipe Baca's residence, near the new Santa Fe freight depot, and from there they saw the fray going on. Dimmock carried a needle gun and felt a strong impulse to pick off a few men; but Baca urged him to come inside the adobe walls and take no part in a disturbance which neither Baca nor Dimmock had any hand in bringing about.

The "new" Santa Fe freight depot, which DeBusk mentioned to help his audience visualize the approximate location of the Felipe Baca residence, is still there. But the Baca place referred to by DeBusk should not be confused with the two-story adobe house on East Main Street, Trinidad, which was acquired by Baca about 1870 and which is now a part of the Old Baca House and Pioneer Museum-Bloom Mansion complex presently owned and operated by the State Historical Society of Colorado. The earlier Baca residence appears, from an old panoramic photograph of Trinidad, to have been a fort-like structure with a central courtyard and very few windows opening onto the outside world. DeBusk suggests the secure, defensive feeling of the place when he said that Baca urged Dimmock "to come inside the abode walls." The place has long since disappeared.

The Americans were closely besieged by the Mexicans. Some of the shooting was effective, but accounts differ as to the number of wounded, and the two or three who were probably killed. Water was scarce, Ft. Sherman being cut off from the river. Evidently reinforcements must be had, or the American contingent would perish in the course of the siege [sic]. It was decided to send out a coach, just as if nothing had happened. Jos. Davis volunteered to act as driver and set out with spirit. Mexican pickets stopped him, but he urged that he was on business for the federal government and was allowed to pass in order not to delay the mails. At Baca's residence Dimmock joined

Davis and the two drove like John toward Ft. Lyon [the recently established post on the north bank of the Arkansas and downstream a bit from the confluence with the Purgatory, which comes in from the south]. Col. Penrose, in command of the fort, dispatched Lieut. Weston with a detachment of the Seventh U. S. cavalry. These made a forced march to Trinidad, and relieved the besieged Americans. The troops remained for some time to guarantee order. Enterprising citizens of Trinidad rendered large bills against the government for fuel and forage furnished the soldiers. Some of the Americans thought landlord Sherman should not have charged them full price for board and lodging during their enforced stay with him. A large stock of flour in sacks was made ready to serve as breast works. A printed account in my possession states that Blue, the murderer, had a pal named Dunn who escaped on the night of Dec. 25th and went to Red River [New Mexico], returning on the morning of Jan. 1st with a band of ten roughs who took the prisoner Blue, from the sheriff, setting him at liberty. This account further states that 200 Ute warriors, including several chiefs, tendered their services to the Mexicans to aid in reducing the American stronghold, and that the proffered aid was declined by the Mexican sheriff [Juan N. Gutierrez, Jr.]. The chiefs, so the account states, were eager to help and made several propositions.

Joseph Davis, the volunteer who drove the stage coach from the beleaguered hotel, had but recently come to Trinidad and was associated with Sherman in the hotel. Originally from Massachusetts, Davis had come west and was working in Denver for A. Jacob, who ran a clothing store. Jacob acquired an interest in a stage line from Denver to Trinidad, making connections with the east-west Barlow and Sanderson line which came through the latter place. Davis opened an agency in Trinidad for Jacob in 1867.

The early merchants were not in business for health alone. A paper of needles cost a quarter. If the buyer complained the seller would refer to the high freights. A spade cost \$2.50. E. J. Hubbard [came to Trinidad in February, 1868] received the first arm chair in Trinidad. It was manufactured in Denver of native pine, and cost \$7.00, delivered. Riley Dunton received the first horse radish roots brought from "the states" by express, on a Barlow & Sanderson coach. Express charges on the small package \$4.50.

Bill Hoehne (Dutch Bill) imported the first corn sheller. This machine superceded the method of beating corn from the cob with sticks. For a long time bacon and butter sold for a dollar a pound. When corn went below ten cents a pound, the farmers declared they couldn't grow it for that price.

In this part of Las Animas County the name of Hoehne is very familiar. One immediately thinks of the little farming community, originally called Hoehne's, about eleven miles down the Purgatory from Trinidad. For many years it was a station on the Santa Fe Railroad, and prior to that it was a stage coach stop. The name derives from its presumed first settler, German-born William Hoehne, who, however, had been prominent in early-day Trinidad before going to settle downstream. He was one of the first two merchants in Trinidad,

having come up from Mora, New Mexico, about 1863, with a stock of goods.

Suaso's mill was the first built in this county. Jacob Beard [came to Trinidad in 1863] built the mill. [Tomaso] Suaso also owned a mill in Huerfano county (Pueblo county at that time). [It is impossible to say what DeBusk had in mind when he inserted the material in parentheses. Both Pueblo and Huerfano Counties were among the original seventeen counties set up in the Territory of Colorado.]

C. M. Farrand built the Quickstep mill in 67 or 70, the mill now owned by Bancroft. But Bill Hoehne built mill No. 2 in the county, on his farm, and turned out flour a short time before Farrand's mill started. As late as '72 and '74 many wagons of grain came from La Veta and other points to these Trinidad mills.

The vagueness about establishment of the Quickstep Mill may be due to typographical error. Another source in the possession of the writer is only less vague, saying that the mill was set up in 1869 or 1870. Although the old water-powered mill is gone, its location is still the site of a derivative business known as the Bancroft-Marty Feed and Produce Company.

Bill Hoehne set the first orchard. People told him apple trees would not grow here. He said he would make them grow. So he put out an orchard, all crab apple, intending when the trees were well grown to graft into the crab trees such kinds of apples as he might determine. He thought he would have a hardy crab stock and hardy branches to work on. The changes of time prevented the grafting in future years and the crab apple trees still stand and live. As late as 1880 men were pronounced insane who set orchard trees. We always had false prophets. As late as '74 small nursery [sic] trees were freighted in on oxc wagons and sold for a dollar each.

In the second and third sections of his paper DeBusk rambled widely under the headings of Politics and Lynchings. Selections have been chosen here for examination, it is hoped, on the basis of interest and pertinence for historical identification. General comments by him, not related to local history, have been omitted.

Casimiro Barela ran a train of freight wagons late in the sixties. A friend urged him to try for an office but the young Castilian was very slow to take the advice. He understood the freighting business and was making money at it, but he knew nothing about politics. After much hesitancy Barela consented to be a candidate and turned out to be a real lively one. He has not missed a campaign in Las Animas county since.

For DeBusk to say that Barela was a "real lively" candidate and had not missed a campaign in the county since was a deliberate understatement. His slow start in political life was in the county assessor's office in 1871. Subsequently he served as sheriff of Las Animas County and then two terms as the county's representative in the Territorial legislature (1872 and 1874). Barela was one of the three delegates from Las Animas County to the Colorado Constitutional Convention



Casimiro Barela
The Perpetual Senator

in 1875, and, with Daniel L. Taylor, constituted the first senatorial team from the seventeenth senatorial district (Las Animas County) in the state's first General Assembly. From achievement of that distinguished first in 1876, Casimiro Barela, called the Perpetual Senator, served uninterruptedly as senator from Las Animas County until he suffered a re-election defeat in 1916. Interestingly enough, his successful opponent was Samuel W. DeBusk.

Juan Vigil was our sheriff four years in the early '80's. Caldwell Yeaman stumped the county for Juan. I've always been sorry that I didn't preserve the verbatim reports of Yeaman's speeches advocating Juan Colorow.

The nickname of Colorow was often applied to Juan Vigil, attesting to his red hair. He came to Trinidad from New Mexico, where he was born about eighteen miles north of Santa Fe, June 18, 1843. It was in October of 1862 that he and his father arrived in the Colorado town; shortly thereafter they purchased two log houses on Main Street on the site later occupied by the Aiello Dry Goods Store and presently the Toller Garage. Vigil later bought land a short distance west of Trinidad where the Raton Creek flows into the Purgatory. At this place developed a little cluster of buildings on the west bank of the creek, the settlement being known as Vigil or Colorow Plaza. Little trace of it remains today. Juan Vigil was serving as assessor for Las Animas County when Colorado became a State, and he continued in that office until 1879. The next year he became sheriff and held that position until 1885. His death occurred on April 14, 1932. His son, Nicolas Vigil, still lives in Trinidad at the date of this writing.

* * * * *

The first clerk of the district court in Las Animas County was Sherman Lynde, a medical doctor, once a partner, I think, of Doctor Beshoar. [It does not appear that Lynde was an M.D., but perhaps he was a pharmacist. He opened the first drugstore in Trinidad for Doctor Beshoar in 1867.] It beats all how the doctors run to politics in this corner of the state. Lynde was the first and Grass [Dr. John Grass came to Trinidad in 1881. He practiced medicine there for thirty five years] the latest, with futures to come. A man named Thrasher was the second clerk of the district court and H. L. Pearson the third.

The mention of Dr. Beshoar is, of course, a reference to one of Trinidad's most prominent pioneer residents who was still living when DeBusk delivered his paper before the Early Settlers' Association. Beshoar, a Southerner and Confederate veteran, came to Trinidad in 1867, after having distinguished himself in Pueblo, Colorado Territory, as one of the founders of the *Colorado Chieftain*. Not only was he Trinidad's first

doctor, but he became influential in the councils of the Democratic party and turned again to journalism, in the eighties and nineties being publisher of the *Trinidad Daily Advertiser*. During his active years he filled numerous local offices and one term as representative to the state legislature.

* * * * *

For a long time Colorado was solidly Republican. J. B. Chaffee [Jerome B. Chaffee, eminent Republican and one of Colorado's first senators sent to Washington, 1876] was an able republican manager. Once, after a state election, the result of the vote seemed to be kept secret in Denver, as people here could get no definite information in answer to telegrams. It looked like the republican committee received every telegram sent in by democrats. Finally Dr. Beshoar offered to lay a wager that he could find out if the republican committee was being furnished copies of all democratic telegraph correspondence. So he sent the following to the democratic state committee: "How many votes do you need from Las Animas county to defeat Belford," or words to that effect. Quickly came word from the republican state committee to local republicans that Las Animas county democrats were nursing a scheme to steal the election, and to look out. This was proof sufficient that a rascally telegraph operator in Denver was furnishing copies of correspondence—probably for a few slush dollars. This was the origin of the joke about Las Animas county always inquiring as to how many votes were needed and then trying to fill the order.

It is probable that the "state election" DeBusk referred to was that of 1876 or 1878, and Belford was almost certainly the successful Republican candidate for the House of Representatives from the new state on both occasions. James B. Belford was the representative from Colorado in the first two Congresses following attainment by Colorado of designation as the Centennial State; it should be remembered that in those first days of statehood, Colorado was just one congressional district; hence the dependence of Trinidad upon news from Denver about Belford's electoral contest.

Some politicians in this county have been smart enough to work both political parties. In this way E. B. Sopsis and Julius Clark slipped into the state legislature as republicans when the county was democratic by 1,200 to 1,500 majority. Geo. R. Swallow, (rep.) got a big democratic support for state treasurer. He quit us afterward. Fred Dick was superintendent of schools two terms because democratic leaders favored him. On the other hand many republicans have voted for democrats when they felt justified in so doing.

Chronologically, Julius H. Clark preceded Elbridge B. Sopsis as representative from Las Animas County, serving from 1879 to 1881. Sopsis was in the lower house for the years 1885-1887, and George R. Swallow performed the job of state treasurer for the same period.

* * * * *

We had some prompt administrations of justice in the old times. The first man I ever saw lynched was Clark, the murderer of Barney O'Neal. His crime was done in open day. He was arrested. After the matter had been duly considered, a committee took him from his guards and hung him. No expense attached—unless a coroner's fee. Another lynching was of a brutal man who murdered a woman. He was hung from a limb in the river bottom, not far from the Chestnut street bridge. [The bridge is no longer there.] Another lynching was of two men who murdered Richardson and wife on their ranch on Apishapa. The murdered woman was a delicate little lady weighing not over 90 pounds.

Such obscure references are difficult to pin down exactly. It is probable that the lynching of Clark took place not long after DeBusk's arrival in Trinidad. The circumstances of the murder and the identity of Clark are not known; information about the victim is not plentiful. Barney O'Neal appears to have been one of a group of Trinidad's pioneers, including such men as Daniel L. Taylor and Jacob Beard, who were for a while at Mora, New Mexico, before coming north to Trinidad. O'Neal was married at Beard's house in Mora in 1861 or 1862. There is simple mention of his being settled not far down the Purgatory from Trinidad in 1868. Data available now about the double murder on the Apishapa appears to be limited to DeBusk's reference to it.

Calvin Jones was the most unique character I knew among the pioneers. A trapper, resembling some pictures of Santa Claus; a fine memory. When he passed away much local history perished. Theodore Luning was proficient in five languages. Jacob Beard, still with us, retains in memory vivid pictures of the old days which ought not to be lost.

DeBusk probably was right in describing Calvin Jones as a "unique character." But in this case, as in impressions of Jones left by others, the characterization is tantalizingly insufficient. There are a few bits of evidence, however, that allow us to attempt to place him in the context of the times. A brief newspaper item (*Trinidad Daily Advertiser*, October 31, 1883) says that Calvin Jones came to Colorado "nearly a half century ago, in company with Kit Carson." We know from his own testimony in a local water rights case (taken in 1885) that in the spring of 1847 he visited William Bent's Upper Purgatory ranch, where John Hatcher and his men had built an irrigation ditch and were cultivating land in what was the first effort to settle in what later became Las Animas County. Jones' description and statistical evidence are invaluable information about that first, ill-fated venture. He was born in 1821, and it is fairly certain that he knew Carson, the Bent brothers, the St. Vrains, and others of that distinguished and hardy breed. Just how closely he was associated with them is less clear. Later Jones herded sheep for Lucien

B. Maxwell on the Beaubien and Miranda Grant, later to be known as the Maxwell Land Grant. Knowledge and experience gained in this job convinced Jones that the north boundary of the Maxwell, in Colorado, was fraudulent; for that reason his testimony in the long litigation by the government against the Maxwell Land Grant Company, in the 1880's, was both a source of fear to company officials and of hope to anti-grant settlers. In 1885, he described himself as a farmer with post office address at Alfalfa, a now defunct office that served a rural community about twenty miles east of Trinidad on the Purgatory.

Information about Theodore Luning is scarce. Born about 1836 in Germany, he is mentioned as living down river (the Purgatory) from Trinidad in 1868. There is a Luning Arroyo, no doubt named for him, which heads up not far east of the present Model Lake or Reservoir and continues due east until it joins the Purgatory.

Jacob Beard's "vivid pictures of the old days which ought not to be lost" were not lost because Samuel W. DeBusk was determined that they, along with the recollections of a number of other real pioneers, should not be. DeBusk's work in the original sources, aided by his own familiarity with happenings in Trinidad and Los Animas County after 1872, place those interested in local history greatly in his debt.



W. H. Jackson

Mount of the Holy Cross
 From this mountain, the now-abandoned mining camp, Holy Cross City, received its name. Oddly enough, the peak is not visible from the camp. The summit of this peak, 13,996 feet above sea level, is the highest point in the Eagle River drainage.

Early Days on the Eagle

By MacDonald Knight and L. A. Hammock

The following article is based upon a thesis submitted by MacDonald Knight in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Western State College, Gunnison, Colorado. Mr. Knight writes: "Mr. Hammock and I met while attending Western State College in Gunnison where we were both working on majors in history and political science. We were both interested in mining and prospecting, and this led to interest in early Colorado mining history. When I determined to write about the early history of the Eagle River Valley for my master's thesis, Mr. Hammock volunteered his help. This past summer and fall we have worked together taping old timers' stories and visiting sites of early-day settlements in addition to doing the more commonplace type of research. At present Mr. Hammock is Curriculum Director for the Eagle Valley RE 50J School District and Principal of the Eagle Elementary and Junior High Schools. I teach at Basalt, Colorado."—*Editor*.

There is always an attempt by any historian to establish the identity of the first explorer into the region under study, in order to fix a definite beginning. Most such reveal only inconclusive evidence, as in the question of the first white man to enter the Eagle River Valley.

The Ute Indians certainly used the country as summer hunting and fishing grounds before the arrival of the whites. Escalante mentions meeting Ute Indians about one hundred miles southwest of the area in 1776.¹ Many arrowheads have been found on Battle Mountain above Gilman and in other places, one having been discovered at an altitude over ten thousand feet by the writer's wife near Holy Cross City.

Tradition claims that a party from the Coronado Expedition first passed through the area about 1540 and noted the Mount of the Holy Cross. There is nothing available to support this, and Thomas in his article has disproved the entrance of the Spanish into Colorado in the period 1540-1600.² Jackson and Marshall arrived at the same conclusion in their research concerning the Mount of the Holy Cross.³

Another related tale is given credence in the Eagle area, linking the story in Longfellow's famous poem *Evangeline* and John Jacob Astor. According to the story, John Jacob Astor founded a trading post in the flat just above the place where Cross Creek empties into the Eagle. The date given is about 1806. With rather poor chronological order, the same tale

¹ Herbert E. Bolton, *Pageant in the Wilderness* (Salt Lake, 1950), 44-52.

² A. B. Thomas, *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. 1, 289-291.

³ C. S. Jackson and L. W. Marshall, *Quest of the Snowy Cross* (Denver, 1952), 9.

links Evangeline with the Astor trading post; yet the American Fur Company had not formed at this time.⁴

With this, another similar tale is associated, which claims the post was set up by two Spanish friars acting as missionaries to the Indians. One of them took Evangeline up to the Cross where she gained much solace from the sight.

Both of these myths make very pretty telling, but there is absolutely no evidence available to support them and much to testify against their truth. In the first place, there is no mention of such a fort in the American Fur Company's papers, recently edited and published.⁵ Secondly, neither the Fremont party in 1845, nor the Hayden survey party in 1873, make any mention of the ruins of the fort. It was supposedly made up of several log cabins and a number of large stones rolled together to form a stockade or pasture for stock. However, the authenticated account gives the date of the birth of Astor City about the same time as Red Cliff and other mining settlements.⁶ It seems unlikely there was a settlement before 1879.

One account claims that the Hayden Expedition of 1873 wintered in the old cabins of the fort. The official account of the expedition says succinctly that the expedition returned to Denver that fall and was disbanded on October 23.

There is no doubt that white men—Spanish, French, or American—had traversed and perhaps trapped in the valley prior to 1845 when Fremont, led by Kit Carson and other "mountain men," passed through it. In fact, Fremont's memoirs definitely prove the presence of at least one man of English name there before him:

Passing the night of the 4th on Piny River, an affluent of Grand River, of the Colorado of the Gulf of California, we encamped the next day on the same river at "Williams Fishery," in longitude 106° 44' 21", latitude 39° 39' 12". We caught here a singular fish, which was called buffalo-fish from a hump on the back, rising straight up immediately behind the head.⁷

The map attached to his book shows the Piney River to be the modern day Eagle. There is no further explanation of what Williams Fishery might have been, but it undoubtedly proves the presence of white men. The writers naturally turned to "Ol' Bill Williams" as the most likely candidate of name donor. A detailed search of his several biographies, however, failed to mention any hint that he dabbled in the fishing business here, though, of course, this does not preclude the possibility.

⁴ L. R. Hafen and C. C. Rister, *Western America* (New York, 1950), 214.

⁵ *Calendar of the American Fur Company* (Washington, 1945), 2 vols.

⁶ See below in reference to *Leadville Chronicle*.

⁷ John C. Fremont, *Memoirs of My Life* (New York, 1887), 428-429.

How fish of any sort would be valuable at this period and place is difficult to fathom. The "buffalo fish" presents a problem; of the two kinds of fish known to inhabit the Eagle, trout and suckers, only the sucker could conceivably be so described.

It is unfortunate that this account of the 1845 trip is so little detailed in comparison with those of previous journeys. The only other pertinent item is Fremont's claim to have killed the last buffalo on the Western Slope, somewhere near Tennessee Pass.

Some historians, such as Hall, have asserted that Captain Randolph Marcy passed up the Eagle River on his way from Fort Bridger to Fort Massachusetts (or Fort Garland, as it was called by then, 1858). On close reading of Marcy's account of the trip, one finds that he never touched any point on Eagle River, nor even came very near. From Fort Bridger the party followed southeast to the Grand River, striking it somewhere near Grand Junction. They followed up the "Uncompadre River" to the ruins of Roubidoux's trading post (near the present site of Delta) and headed into the Elk Mountains in search of Cochetopa Pass. Twenty-five mountain men accompanied the soldiers, and many of these had crossed through the area previously. The next mention of the party's whereabouts is told in the following quotation, which shows why some readers might have concluded that Marcy had passed up the Eagle River:

At one period of this toilsome journey while we were ascending the Eagle-tail River, a branch of the Grand River, my guide made a mistake and took the wrong direction for the "Cochetopa Pass," the point at which we were aiming and which was, as I was well aware, the only place where it was possible for us to cross the summit of the chain; as on the north and south of this passway the mountains were much more elevated, and the snow was so deep at that season that it would have been utterly impossible for us in our enfeebled condition to have forced our way through it.⁸

One of the men pointed out the low spot on the horizon, which was Cochetopa Pass, and the party headed for it. Since it is geographically impossible to go up the Eagle River to Cochetopa Pass, and there is no pass in the Eagle area which might have been mistaken for Cochetopa, it can only be surmised that the Eagle-tail River mentioned by Marcy is not the present Eagle River. Hafen has determined that Eagle-tail River mentioned by Colonel William Loring, who crossed the Cochetopa Pass in the summer of 1858, is the present Razor

⁸ Randolph B. Marcy, *30 Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York, 1866), 236.

Creek, a tributary of Tomichi Creek which heads near the Cochetopa Pass.⁹ It seems probable that the statement that the Eagle-tail River is an affluent of the Grand River was made because Marcy thought the river which they had followed all the way from Delta was the Eagle-tail.

In the next year, however, we know that a white man came to the Eagle country and had at least one literate person in his company. About one-half mile above the town of Red Cliff, on the left bank of the river, is a grave which has a headstone made from a flat boulder of red sandstone. On it is tersely carved: "A. McEldry D. C. Aug. 19th, 1859." Why he was there and how he died can only be a matter of speculation. By this time, gold had been discovered in Colorado, and the stream of prospectors, which was to spill over the entire length and breadth of the Rockies and ferret out almost every major ore deposit in the state in the short period of twenty years, was already beginning to flow. It might have been that McEldry was one of the Pike's Peak or Bust movement.

The next recorded trip into the valley came in the following year, 1860, when a party of one hundred persons left Breckenridge in July to explore White River and its tributaries for mineral deposits. They went up Ten Mile Creek for ten miles and then crossed the range to the southwest where they reached "Piney Creek" (Eagle River). They followed this creek down to its canyon—probably the lower end of Eagle Park, about three miles above Red Cliff. From here, they turned southwest again until they reached the Roaring Fork, probably striking the Frying Pan Valley first.¹⁰

Although Henderson is not clear on this point, it seems very probable that the party must have gone up the valley of the Homestake and crossed the range at its head, somewhere above Homestake Lake. Elsewhere the terrain is so rugged as to be almost impassable to horse travel. Why this detour was made is a mystery since we know that an Indian trail probably led down the Eagle to its junction with the Colorado and would have been the most direct route to the White River. It is strange, too, that a group of a hundred prospectors could have passed by the mineral riches of the Eagle area without even mentioning them. It is hard to understand. However, they left the Eagle before reaching Battle Mountain, and while a little placer gold had been found in the sands of Homestake Creek, especially near Gold Park, it was not enough to interest these

⁹ *The Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, p. 70.

¹⁰ Charles W. Henderson, *Mining in Colorado* (Wash., Government Printing Office, 1926), 46-47.

fortune-seekers. Very likely, many of them were ignorant and inexperienced in prospecting, for they toured a very large part of the Western Slope and came back empty-handed.

An unverified report in the Leadville *Herald-Democrat* states that a party from Georgia and Tennessee prospected up the Arkansas River, crossed the Divide at Tennessee Pass (naming it in passing), and followed the Eagle down to the Grand, ending up in Salt Lake City.¹¹ Another explanation of the origin of the name, however, is on the historical marker atop the pass, which states it is named from the Tennessee Fork of the Arkansas River which heads nearby.

Familiarity with the territory proceeded. In 1862, Judge David C. Collier of Central City is reported to have examined and admired the mineralization on the walls of Eagle Canyon.¹²

The first use of the name Eagle River is to be found in the files of the *Rocky Mountain News* for 1866. The editor had suggested a plan to provide transportation to the west of the new territory of Colorado by building a route over the mountains to the head of navigation on the Colorado River, which he believed apparently to be navigable from the Gulf of California to within a hundred miles of Breckenridge. A man was dispatched east to raise money to finance the road.¹³

A few days later an unnamed man, signing himself "Ego," wrote a letter to the editor from Central City, praising the scheme:

From a glance at your notices of the navigation of the Colorado River, I am most favorably impressed with the prospect you have in view and considering the mineral wealth of Summit County and other portions of the territory convenient to Utah, I think such a communication as that proposed would vastly benefit the miners of Colorado. The fertile valleys along the Grand, Eagle, Colorado and Little Rivers are well adapted for agricultural purposes and may be rendered so productive as to greatly facilitate mining in that section of the country.¹⁴

Although it is not certain the Eagle River referred to is the one under study, it would seem likely by this date.

¹¹ *Herald-Democrat*, Jan. 1, 1887, Part IV, 4.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Rocky Mountain News*, Feb. 12, 1866, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1866, p. 2.



Preston King Surveyed in Routt and Neighboring Counties

Egeria Park—As I Remember It

By Mary Adella King Wilson*

SUMMER STORMS

I remember my Grandfather A. J. King, who was a Spiritualist and a student of Astronomy. He gave us several lectures on the stars, which were quite interesting and well attended.

One time we had quite an audience, but in the middle of the lecture, a sudden storm came up and it began to thunder and lightning and then it began to hail. We went home in one of the worst hail storms we ever had in that country.

It must have been in 1889 that Myrtie, Clyde, and Lila Crosson took Miss Cullen, who was teaching at Toponas, and me, down to Yampa to hear John Brown preach. He was a brother of Mrs. Albert Bird and had been to Bible school.

That Sunday there came another one of those thunder storms. We went in a lumber wagon and when we got home we were wet to the skin.

More and more they began to have services at Yampa. Mrs. Arnold Powell, I believe, had the Sunday School, and finally, after Jim Norvell, a cattle buyer and Evangelist, was converted, he came there and preached for us.

In the meantime the Congregational Church had sent a man by the name of Pettit up on Elk River as a missionary. Every other Sunday he preached at Yampa. Of course, that was in later years, but I think that must have been the beginning of the church that was organized after we had a wonderful revival.

You know those storms came up every once in a while and we had a black cloud and thunder and lightning. I have seen some terrible storms in Egeria Park, and we had some terrific hail storms. I remember how afraid I was.

One time, when a cloud came up over the Flat Tops, I had just gone out to bring in the clothes. This was when I was getting older, too, and I never saw just that same kind of peculiar, greenish light on the clouds. It wasn't exactly a funnel, but it was so near to it, a cyclone or tornado was what I thought of. The men had just gone out to milk. The thunder began to roll and the lightning flashed, and we thought it

* This is the second article which we have published based on Mrs. Wilson's reminiscences. The first appeared in the April, 1963, issue. Mrs. Wilson recorded these experiences on tape, and her daughter, Mrs. Hazel W. Henson, later transcribed them into a book-length manuscript entitled "Mother Remembers." With the exception of several minor editorial changes, the article is printed as it appeared in the manuscript.—Editor.

would strike us any minute. Mama was scared and she got the children up in the middle of the feather bed. I was so scared that I certainly began to pray. I don't know why it is, but when a person gets scared, the first thing he thinks of—the first thing I thought of—and I think it is true of others—was what an awful sinner I was. I began to pray and ask God to be merciful to me. Finally, Mama called me and told me to come in where she was, but by that time the storm was getting lighter. It wasn't so bad after that, but Oh, how it did rain, and how it did hail! The men had found refuge in the milk room, and nobody that I ever heard of was hurt—but it was an awful storm. I think Mama was just as badly frightened as I was.

THE BIG FOUR

When the Morris girls came to live with their Uncle Charlie Morris, one of our neighboring ranchers, it brought a complete change into the lives of Myrtle Crosson and I.

Ruby and Gertie Morris were cousins. Ruby was black haired, short, and full of life. Gertie was a golden-haired girl, very fair, taller, and more the blonde type. They had moved away from a large family and away from everybody they knew to come to this strange country to live with their uncle, so they felt very lonesome.

Of course, Myrtie and I had always been the greatest of friends. I told her everything I knew. I guess all girls are that way—they talk too much. Myrtie and I went to visit Ruby and Gertie Morris, and the four of us became close friends.

The coming of those girls made a distinct change in everything. Now there were four instead of two girls in that neighborhood. Just the four!

We used to visit from one house to the other. When they came to our house, we took the straw tick off of my bed and laid it on the floor, and all four of us slept crosswise of that straw tick.

As time went on, more people moved into the country, and there were public dances over at McCoy. We four girls got so we attended the dances there. I guess it was twenty-five miles to McCoy, over on Rock Creek. We would drive over in a wagon and get there before sundown. We four young ladies from Toponas went there and other places, but it was at McCoy they started calling us "The Big Four," perhaps because we were always together. The name stuck.

Once a year, before the Morris girls came, and even afterwards, Myrtie and I made a trip down to see Mrs. Choate who

had been our teacher, Miss Bowen. We would ride down there on horseback and stay two or three days. We used to enjoy it very much.

It was while we were on one of these trips that Lewis Wilson came by. Mark Choate came in and told us that there was a young fellow outside, and he had tried to get him to come in, but he wouldn't. I didn't see him that time. Lewis Wilson was a cowboy and rancher who had come to Lower Egeria at the age of thirteen. He later became my husband and we had sixty-three happy years together. In 1901 we went to Chicago, where he attended the Moody Bible Institute. We had seven children. After we had raised our family, we both became ordained ministers and remained in the ministry until we retired.

To drop back—Myrtie and I knew Lon Wilson, Lewis' brother, and we knew the Grays, Jack, Dave and Cammie. Riley Wilson, brother to Lewis and Lon, and Alice Gray were married. We Toponas people were acquainted with all those people down in Lower Egeria.

My last teacher was Miss Hadley. She taught two terms, and I went the first and started the second, but I did not finish that term. I felt that I had learned all there was in our books, and I began to take teacher's examinations.

I took my first teacher's examination at Mrs. Choate's. I passed and got a third grade certificate. May Stevens, a girl who had come into the country, and I took the examination at the same time. She taught the school at Toponas before I began to teach. She was a very attractive young, blonde girl. The boys thought she was really wonderful. On the last day of school, even though I wasn't attending, I went to the school picnic up in Sutton Gulch. I remember she had a hat trimmed with red ribbon, and I thought how becoming that ribbon was.

HARD TIMES

That was when our family felt the poorest we had ever felt in our lives. That was when I made a skirt out of a gunny sack. It was a linen gunny sack, so it wasn't so bad, but we were in pretty bad shape that winter. I remember Papa went over to Burns Hole and killed an elk. We surely needed the food.

About all we had to live on that time was what my father got for the butter he used to take out to Red Cliff, Leadville, and even as far as Aspen. He would sell the butter and bring back groceries. He worked all the time and men all over the

country owed him money, but times were hard and the price of cattle was down to almost nothing, so it was very hard to collect.

The winter of 1890 was the winter that everything went bad for us. Papa had bought a bunch of mares and a young stallion named Prince, expecting to make money raising horses; but the horses got snowed in, and some of them died. He had bought a bunch of steers on time, expecting to feed them through the winter and that they would pay for themselves; but some of them died, and in the spring some got away, so he had to pay for some that he didn't get.

Some of our original stock got hay that had been put up late. We had spent the month of August in Steamboat and, in my father's absence, the men at the ranch didn't get the hay up when it should have been. The hay dried out and didn't have the nutrition it should have had, and the cattle got weak.

That winter the water in the streams froze up so that the ice was two or three feet thick. Holes had to be cut in the ice so the cattle could drink. The water would overflow, and the ice would thicken, and they would have to chop the hole out again. Some of the weak cattle fell into the water holes. Those with horns would hook the others into the water holes. The weak ones would have to be dragged out by a horse and worked with to get the circulation going again. Much of our stock died in this manner.

A BIG HOUSE IS BUILT

While we were in Steamboat that summer, Father was down on the Bear River making a survey of a new road to Hayden. The old road wound over the hills, but the new road was to go down the river. Although I had work to do, we enjoyed the vacation, plunging into the hot spring water at the bath house and drinking the mineral waters from the many springs at Steamboat.

That was also the year we built the big house. It was a two-story, ell-shaped house, built of hewed logs. In the main part of the downstairs was the kitchen, dining room, Papa's office, a big hall and a bedroom, and in the ell was a huge room used for our sitting room and Mama's bedroom.

Upstairs we had four bedrooms, a big hall and a large clothes closet off the hall. We didn't have clothes closets in every bedroom as they do now, and we hung our clothes on nails, not on hangers. It was a big, cold house, but we did have plenty of room in it. The trouble was that the house was so high and built up off the ground. They had built a stone

foundation under it, but the mortar was frozen when they put it in, and it cracked, and the stones fell out, so the wind just whistled under the house. The kitchen floor was so cold that I got chilblains on my feet.

Well, we got the house built, and our hired girl from the family up on the mesa back of Grandfather King's stayed with us until after my brother Julian P. King was born, January 16, 1890. The middle initial was for Peveril. Papa used to read to us during the long winter evenings from Dickens and Scott. We all liked "Peveril of the Peak," by Sir Walter Scott, so that's where Julian got his middle name. [Julian P. King and his wife Fay, with their children, are now living in Denver.]

I had quite a close association with the hired girl who was with us at that time. We used to take walks in the evening after the dishes were done. Sometimes I teased her and was not very nice to her, of which I was later ashamed. I was thirteen at the time, and although she was older than I was, I felt that I was beginning to be a young lady.

While she was working for us, one of our hired men, older than she was, decided to marry her. She did not care for him and treated him very unkindly. She stayed with us until after Julian was born and then she went back to the ranch on the mesa with her family. The next spring she married this hired man. He told my Father, who was a Justice of the Peace, all about it when he asked him to perform the marriage ceremony. He said he had asked the girl to marry him, but she had refused, so he had gone to her older brother. The brother had told him, "Go get the Justice of the Peace and bring him up here, and she'll be ready!" I always had a feeling that the poor girl had been forced to marry against her will.

PIONEER HARDSHIPS

I have often thought of the hardships my mother and father endured and the disappointments they had. They had expected to make enough money on the ranch in a few short years to enable them to spend the rest of their life in financial comfort. Papa had a vision of the great possibilities of that new country.

Mama had to take charge of everything and supervise the ranch when Papa was gone. Part of the time we had a hired man, but other times the boys did the work. They were little boys, too, but they took over and did the best they could. These boys were young and they didn't have much judgment—I know it was a pretty hard life for her.

Papa was an insurance agent, civil engineer, had studied law, and had studied some medicine. He surveyed all the first roads around Yampa and Toponas clear to Steamboat, up on the Elk River, and all over the whole country. I believe he laid out the town of Steamboat Springs, at least some of the addition. He also laid out the cemetery there, where he and my mother are buried. He surveyed the anthracite mine up on Elk River and Pritchett's onyx mine at Steamboat Springs. He surveyed roads, ditches, and ranch boundary lines all through that country. He even worked down as far as Maybelle. For years, he was the only surveyor in the upper part of Egeria Park and he surveyed pretty nearly everything. Later there were others who did some of the surveying in the lower part of the country, but he worked in Knott Bottom, Pleasant Valley, Twenty Mile Park and all through that country.

He also was Justice of the Peace. He presided at several trials and performed marriage ceremonies for a number of people.

When anybody was sick in that country, they sent for him, because there were no doctors. My father's medical supplies were kept in a box eighteen inches long, twelve inches wide and six inches deep. It was partitioned off for vials of certain basic medicine. He had aconite and belladonna, and other medicines. He used to put a few drops of the medicine in half a glass of water and give it, a teaspoon at a time every half hour, if the patient was real sick. He stayed with them till they began to get better, sometimes all night, or maybe longer.

I remember one time they sent for him to come over on Red Dirt, somewhere. The snow was deep and he had to snowshoe ten or fifteen miles to get there. He was gone all night and when he came home, he was snowblind. He had burned his eyes and was in awful shape. He finally got over it—but he was called here, there and everywhere under all kinds of circumstances.

I guess he helped with the first operation that was performed in that country. A boy of eight or ten years who lived over on Red Dirt not far from the Grand River got sick. He had been sick several days when they sent for Papa. They said the boy had been eating green chokecherries. Somebody stood on a chair and took him by the heels and shook him, and they got rid of some of those chokecherries. Papa thought he had "inflammation of the bowels," and he did what he could for him and came home.

They sent for him a second time, but in the meantime there

had been a doctor going through on the stage, and they had got him up there when Papa arrived. We had never heard of appendicitis, but that was what the doctor said was wrong with the boy. He said he would have to perform an operation, and since Papa was there, he helped the doctor in performing the operation. It was not successful, for the boy died—but that was the first operation ever performed in that country.

My father delivered many a baby in that country. They sent for him when there was a baby to be born, and he always went, whether it was on horseback or snowshoes. Mama went with him sometimes, but sometimes she couldn't. I don't know how many times he officiated when a baby came into the world.

They used to send for him to set broken bones. I remember he set my brother Preston's broken arm. Preston and I rode over to Crosson's one Sunday morning, and Preston was riding a wild horse he was breaking. When he started to get off, he took hold of the bridle cheek, and the horse shook his head and snapped the bone in Preston's arm. Crossons sent for the folks and Papa set the arm. He packed it in plaster of paris and when the time came, I remember we had an awful time to cut it off, but the arm was straight and perfectly all right.

As Justice of the Peace Papa had to settle a good many quarrels. Whenever anyone had a legal question, they brought it to him. He had one lawsuit involving some horses and cattle. They imported a lawyer from Red Cliff, and Papa was the Judge. They didn't have any jury. I wanted to hear what was going on. The stovepipe had been changed in the spare bedroom and there had been a hole left, so I laid on the floor upstairs and listened to the trial going on in the office below.

He conducted other trials too. Ulyss Bird was the game warden, and I remember coming home from school one day when he had arrested a bunch of men who broke the game laws and brought them before Papa. One man talked to Ulyss a long time, and he almost cried. They fined him and then suspended his sentence.

In the early days, people came in there and shot any game they wanted. They took it out or left it, just as they pleased. Lots of deer and elk were killed just for the head and horns. There was protest, and they began to have game laws. At one time the game there was almost extinct, but the last I heard, under the protection of game laws, the game had increased till there was more than ever.

In those early days, Papa was on the election board and they had the elections at our house before the school house

was built. At first, that district took in territory clear over on the Green River, maybe as far as Burns Hole. People came fifteen or twenty miles to vote, and it took hours to make the journey by horse and buggy or on horseback. At that time the county seat was at Hahns Peak, and the election returns had to go there. It often fell to my father's lot to make the journey to Hahns Peak with the ballot box. He also did some surveying at Hahns Peak.

My father had two surveying instruments, a large one and a small one. I think they weighed sixty pounds, tripod and all. Many a time I have seen Papa get on Old Daisy and take the small instrument over his shoulder and start off on a surveying job which was within a day's ride. If it was a longer trip, he took both instruments in the buckboard. As a general thing, he drove Jennie and Sallie, two little bay ponies, gentle as could be. He traveled all over the country with that outfit. He got to be known all over Routt County, and in some of the other counties, because you could always tell he was coming by the rattle of his old buckboard. I always knew when he was coming home, for you could hear that rattle away down the road, and whenever you heard it, you knew he was coming, for there was nothing else that sounded just like it.

Sometimes Papa would be gone a few days, and sometimes a few weeks. Often when he was away, we wouldn't hear from him for a long time, and we wouldn't know where he was or what he was doing.

He went to Wolcott once to get groceries and take out a load of butter. He was supposed to do a couple of days work for someone and come home, but somebody in Middle Park wanted him to come over there and do some surveying, so he went, and we didn't know where he was.

When he was gone and we ran out of provisions, we had to borrow from the neighbors. That time he went to Wolcott was the worst time we ever had in that way. We had to borrow flour, sugar, salt and other groceries. Mama would make a list, as though she was sending to the store, and send me over to Crossons. I hated to borrow for so long. At first it wasn't so bad, but I think we had to return a hundred and fifty pounds of flour that time. We thought he would never come home. There were weeks of strain—waiting, watching, listening.

Throughout my life, and sometimes even in these later years, I have dreamed of listening for the rattle of that old buckboard.