

The background of the cover is a historical map of the Arkansas River valley, overlaid with a grid. The map shows the river winding through a valley, with various towns and landmarks labeled. At the bottom of the cover, there is a sepia-toned illustration of a riverboat on the river. The title 'Arkansas' is written in large, faint letters across the middle of the map.

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# Preface

The University of Colorado Denver History Department's Historical Studies Journal showcases exemplary student work, and provides students with a chance to have their work published, and become familiar with the editorial process in a relaxed but professional environment.

I started working on the journal last year, under senior editor Darlene Cypser. I am fortunate enough to have taken over as senior editor for 2016, and I have learned a good deal throughout the process.

The articles in this journal cover a diverse and interesting range of topics. Erica Fontenot compares historic preservation in America and Great Britain, illustrating the emphasis that both place on their cultural heritage. Adam Guyon takes us through the history of the CF&I steel mill in Pueblo, Colorado, and its impact on the local community. Elsa Peterson explains the importance of the Massachusetts Bay Company in developing the international economy of a nascent New England. Taylor Warner describes the German POW experience in Colorado, by examining the complex relationships between prisoners, guards, and American farmers. Sarah Sifton addresses the myths and legends of the West, by following the lives of three railroad survey men across the frontier. Natalie Kellett chronicles the battle over quackery and the regulation of medical practice in nineteenth-century Colorado. It should be noted that the journal received a large number well-written articles from undergraduates, and they represent four of the six articles in this edition.

I would like to thank each and every one of the authors for their scholarship, hard work, and efficiency in working with the editors to ready their articles for publication. I would also like to thank my assistant editors, Glendon Butterfield, Erica Fontenot and Laura Hogg, for all of their hard work in creating this edition of the journal. In addition, I would like to thank Shannon Fluckey, who designs the journal, and always makes it look amazing. Lastly, I would like to thank Dr. Tom Noel, who has been tireless in his efforts to promote and improve the journal, and to assist the editors, for many years.

For faculty reading this, I would like to remind you all to submit papers that you find exceptional to the journal, anytime of the year, so that they might be included in the next edition.

**KIRBY PAGE-SCHMIT**

Senior Editor

One commonality between Britain and the United States is the value placed on historic preservation. Both areas have a long history of preserving historic buildings, monuments, and sites; each is the home of countless organizations devoted to saving heritage and culture. There are few differences when looking at comparisons between the two. In each country, preservation began as an expression of nationality, a way to save cultural heritage.

# Historic Preservation in Britain and the United States:

## Examining How We Save the Links to Our Pasts

By Erica Fontenot

This is not to say there are *no* differences. The differences in the way historic preservation and conservation are achieved are primarily in the legal framework. This paper will attempt to tackle this vast and diverse subject, looking at Britain and the United States separately. I will examine the history of preservation in each country, look at various laws and agencies specifically dealing with historic preservation, and end each by looking at diverse case studies.

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*Erica is a graduate student, pursuing her M.A. in public history, with an emphasis on historic preservation. Her main focus is on site preservation in Colorado and England.*

## THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION

Preservation in Britain has a long history that includes saving structures, landscapes, and antiquities. People have attempted to save as much of their history as possible, dating back centuries. A Royal Charter in 1751 began the Society of Antiquarians in London, encouraging the study and knowledge of antiquities and history.<sup>1</sup> The Society of Antiquarians began as a debating society whose aim was “establishing a cultural longevity for England.”<sup>2</sup> Throughout the years, it became less of a debating society and more of a historical society, whose function was advancing historical and cultural conservation. Their London campus, the Burlington House, holds the Society of Antiquarians, the Royal Academy of Arts, and four other societies: Chemists, Geologists, Astrologers, and Linnean.<sup>3</sup> This campus focuses on heritage preservation in England, and the Society’s Fellows use their influence to aid in preservation efforts throughout the United Kingdom. Britain’s cultural heritage, threatened by modern advancements and tourism, developed an increasing need for preservation efforts like those of the Society of Antiquarians.

Early antiquarian societies became especially interested in monuments like Stonehenge. A British treasure that has been the focus of much speculation, theories, and study for centuries, Stonehenge is a major tourist destination in England. Listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1986, Stonehenge faced threats for years. Early preservationists took note of the damage done by those carving off pieces of rock, or carving their names into the stones. A more serious threat came in 1883 when the private owner of Stonehenge decided to sell the land to the London and South Western Railway. People immediately complained about the destruction of the ancient monument, an argument countered by a railway official who said that the site “was entirely out of repair and not the slightest use to anyone now.”<sup>4</sup> The perilous nature of one of Britain’s oldest monuments proved beyond any doubt how much its structures were in need of preservation.

The answer to save Stonehenge came with John Lubbock, a banker, politician, and philanthropist whose family made many contributions to archaeology. A firm believer of Darwin’s Theory of Evolution, he became close friends with Darwin. He eventually



*Stonehenge*

*Source: Library of Congress*

became Vice President of the Linnean Society in 1865 and published the *Pre-Historic Times*, an archaeology textbook that saw its final printing in 1913. Lubbock purchased part of the Avebury estate solely to protect and study the prehistoric monuments on the site.<sup>5</sup> His interest in ancient history and monuments led him to make the first real attempt to save monuments such as Stonehenge. He began an intense campaign in Parliament for monument protection and introduced the Ancient Monuments Protection Act in 1882, just one of the new laws whose sole aim was to protect history and cultural heritage in Britain.

Lubbock was not the only person attempting to preserve historic structures. Early preservationist John Ruskin, born in London in 1819, was an avid painter who traveled across Europe studying great works of art of the period. During these travels, he developed an appreciation for architecture, looking beyond the beauty of the structure; he stressed the importance of its cultural history. Ruskin wrote *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* upon his return to England in 1849, a book that stresses the significance of architectural preservation.<sup>6</sup> Restoration movements had begun in Britain and the methods were a source of argument. Ruskin's strong beliefs on conservation and restoration put him at odds with another prominent architectural conservationist of the time, Viollet-le-Duc.<sup>7</sup> Ruskin believed a master's work should remain and not be 'restored'. It should remain as a testament to the creator's genius.

Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word *restoration* understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is *impossible*, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture.<sup>8</sup>

Ruskin did not remain the driving force behind the movement, and others took up the campaign and thrust it forward.

## **PRESERVATION ASSOCIATIONS AND LAWS PROTECTING CULTURAL HERITAGE**

In 1877, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), founded by William Morris, became one of the first groups whose sole purpose was to save historic structures. They took up Ruskin's cause and helped further the term 'anti-scrape', a vehement reaction to restoration efforts. SPAB engaged in aggressive protests, and by spreading the heritage and conservation movement beyond the wealthy in small towns, they helped create a national movement. They presented conservation as saving one's cultural landscape to save English heritage.<sup>9</sup> Early membership in SPAB cost £1 per year, a small amount today, but at the time equivalent to £400. Membership has since grown to over 8,000 members. Their first official conference, held in 1896 in London, was directed at educating Londoners about the treasures they possessed. They created



a register of ancient buildings to aid in minimizing any threat to them. Within 62 years, this list would become law, granting the buildings listed on it national protection.<sup>10</sup> Today SPAB has offices and protects structures in Scotland as well as England. They have also created SPAB Mills, aimed at saving historic windmills throughout Britain. Their goal is to not only protect and repair these windmills, but also to return as many of them to working order as they possibly can. This not only gives tourists an opportunity to see these structures, it furthers SPAB's mission and allows them to garner further support.<sup>11</sup>

The Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882 became one of the first real efforts to save ancient monuments and help begin conservation and preservation efforts in Britain. Passed after several failed attempts, it reflected the changing attitude towards ancient monuments in the wording of the act. It appointed an inspector for ancient monuments, the first being General Pitt-Rivers, a close associate of John Lubbock.<sup>12</sup> The 1882 act covered 68 sites initially, focusing on pre-historic monuments in immediate danger. This act protected these monuments in Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and England, from defacement and destruction, as well as prevented anyone owning property with a monument on it from selling the property without the knowledge of and permission from the government.<sup>13</sup>

The Ancient Monuments Protection Act gained further power with addendums in 1900. The term *monument* expanded its meaning beyond *ancient* with this act. It now included "any structure, erection, or monument, of architectural or historic interest."<sup>14</sup> It now allowed a council to take over or contribute to the cost of maintaining any monument as well as to become official guardians of monuments. Additions to the Ancient Monuments Protection Act continued until 1931, each change giving further protections to monuments and structures. The 1913 Act created a "preservation order" allowing a council to place any monument in danger under immediate protection. Definitions of monuments kept changing as well, adding to what councils could declare a monument. Churches, religious buildings and structures, and land adjoining monuments gained protection by 1931.<sup>15</sup>

Britain's heritage preservation movement at the end of the 19th century expanded exponentially. The creation of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty (NT) in 1895 intended to preserve landscapes, buildings, and rural areas in Britain. Founded by Octavia Hill, Sir Robert Hunter, and Hardwicke Rawnsley, the NT's expansion into landscapes furthered a desire to preserve cultural heritage. It allowed for the purchase of buildings and land for the sole purpose of preservation and conservation.<sup>16</sup> An Act of Parliament incorporated the NT, creating the National Trust Act in 1907 operating in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The purposes of the National Trust Act are similar to the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, the preservation of land, buildings, and their surroundings for the benefit of national cultural heritage. Like the Monuments Act, Parliament passed several addendums over the years, each adding more strength to the Act itself. Currently over 20,000 buildings and sites have protection under the National Trust Act, which has the ability to hold the sites inalienably.<sup>17</sup>

As the 20th century progressed, designation for historic sites in England grew at an increasingly fast pace, in part due to the extreme destruction caused by World War II. A ministry head at Oriel College, Oxford in 1949, in reference to historic and cultural sites in Britain, declared that people must “integrate it into the future of England and keep it alive.”<sup>18</sup> Postwar conservation in Britain boomed and began to tie itself closely with modern development. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1932 gave local authorities the power to stop any demolition of historic buildings as well as add structures with historical and cultural significance.<sup>19</sup> The Town and Country Planning Act of 1944 created a core list of important buildings needing preservation as well as a listing of lesser buildings. Many of these structures did not face bombs during World War II; they suffered from abandonment and dilapidation, an example being the Nash Regency Terraces at Regent’s Park. Thanks in part to this act, by 1969 England had Over 111,000 statutorily listed buildings. It determined that buildings “whose character remains substantially unimpaired” including streets, villages, works of well-known architects, and examples of buildings connected with social history, be given statutory listing.<sup>20</sup>

Conservation and preservation continued to spread throughout the 20th century, growing to include a number of new organizations and committees whose sole purpose is the preservation of historic buildings. The Building Preservation Trust (BPT) in Britain is an organization with over 300 specific trusts and groups throughout the United Kingdom. They cover national listings, local listings, landmarks and buildings. The United Kingdom Association of Building Preservation Trusts (UKABPT) includes the National Trust, Churches Conservation Trust, and the Landmark Trust. They provide a unified front for BPTs and lobby for them in government. The UKABPT has offices in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. They focus on “the rescue and sustainable use of historic buildings.”<sup>21</sup>

London, due to its size, population, and history, has a large number of structures designated as historically significant or in need of designation. The Heritage of London Trust (HLT) is the only organization whose sole focus is London. It offers grants for the restoration of historical buildings. Set up by the Greater London Council in 1980, its goal is to restore “London’s lost, neglected or ruined buildings and monuments.”<sup>22</sup> They aid other agencies and preservation organizations and do not focus on listed and designated buildings only. Any historic structure or feature can be aided by a grant from the HLT; the only criteria being that it have historical or architectural significance. To date, the trust has invested over £3 million into over 600 restoration and preservation projects in London. HLT is a charity organization similar to many other preservation groups in Britain and is dependent upon donations. A staff approves grant applications three times a year and guarantees all successful projects a three-year fund commitment from the HLT. It remains an integral part of the process once approving a project ensuring preservation is historically accurate. Some of the projects taken on by HLT include small things such as the candelabra at the Gloucester Gate Bridge, and restoration of the roof at St. Silas’ Church.<sup>23</sup> Their commitment to historically significant buildings and structures throughout London proves their desire to ensure the city’s cultural heritage remains for future generations.

## CASE STUDIES

### **Tattershall Castle – National Trust**

Tattershall Castle, built by Robert de Tattershale in 1231 and expanded upon between 1434 and 1447 by Lord Ralph Cromwell, is an uncommon and unique example of brick use in a historic building. An uncommon material used at the time, the 700,000 red bricks of the castle make it stand out. The castle eventually fell into a state of disrepair following several sales to different families. In 1910, threatened with demolition, the castle was sold and the still intact medieval fireplaces ripped out to be shipped to America. George Nathaniel Curzon saved the castle and began restoration work. He left it to the National Trust upon his death in 1925.<sup>24</sup>

### **Gloucester Gate Bridge – Heritage of London Trust**

The Gloucester Gate Bridge, built in 1877 by William Booth Scott, crosses the Cumberland Basin at Regents Canal. The width and the ornamentation on the bridge make it one of the most unique bridges in the city. Bombing during World War II destroyed the elaborate candelabra and filled the basin with rubble.<sup>25</sup> The bridge suffered more damage in 2002 following an automobile accident and the theft of a commemorative plaque. The Heritage of London Trust, along with London Borough of Camden and English Heritage restored the candelabra in 2005 and replaced the plaques with a grant of £75,000.<sup>26</sup>

### **Seven Dials Monument – Heritage of London Trust**

William III granted the area west of Covent Garden Market to Thomas Neal for raising over £1 million for the crown. The condition given to Neal was to raise the remainder of the lease £4,000 and pay an annual rent of £800. In order to aid with these payments, Neal devised a street system based on a six-pointed star, increasing the amount of rent he could charge. Neal had the Seven Dials monument constructed between 1693 and 1714, hiring Edward Pierce, a leading stone master, to create the 40' sundial. By 1773, the once affluent area became a slum, and the monument was removed. The city returned it in 1974 when they named the Seven Dials a conservation area. Restoration work began on the sundial in the 1980s after fundraising and a grant from the HLT.<sup>27</sup>

### **Barrington Court – National Trust**

Barrington Court in Somerset, built around 1550 as a Tudor manor home, became one of the first properties purchased and managed by the National Trust. The house passed through several prominent families before falling into disrepair and was used as a tenant farm. The Lyle family purchased the farm in the 1920s and contracted Gertrude Jekyll to design three formal gardens, a prominent feature on the property. Once the Trust acquired the home, the extensive repairs made the house an example of why the trust should be wary of taking on such a large home in need of such extreme work. Barrington Court is a tourist attraction and was used in filming BBC shows as well as Antiques Roadshow.<sup>28</sup>



*Barrington Court, England*

*Source: indianapublicmedia.org/focusonflowers/gertrude-jekyll/*



*Bath, England*

*Source: Erica Fontenot*

## **Bath, England – The Bath Preservation Trust**

Bath England is a unique case in British preservation. The city itself is home to hot springs and mineral baths, the Bath Abbey, as well as the home of Jane Austen before her death. Bath, located in Somerset, is a historical and cultural center in England. In 1934, a group formed to save the city when a proposed road would travel through the city destroying most of it. The road was not built, and the Bath Preservation Trust grew into a large organization that proposed its own agenda to save the city. Following damage during World War II, the Trust worked with the citizens to preserve and restore their own buildings. Bath now has over 6,000 buildings preserved by the trust. The Bath Preservation Trust is now an independent charity whose patron is Prince Charles of Wales.<sup>29</sup>

## **THE BEGINNING OF UNITED STATES PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION**

Historic preservation is closely linked to national identity in the United States. Two of the earliest sites receiving preservation efforts have ties to President George Washington: Washington's headquarters in New York, and his home Mount Vernon. Mount Vernon was truly the catalyst that pushed forward the preservation movement in America. The home passed through his family, who did not have the means to maintain and restore the structure, and John Augustine Washington Jr. became the final Washington to own the home. Eventually the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, headed by Ann Pamela Cunningham, purchased the house and several acres for \$200,000 and the Association took over control in 1860.<sup>30</sup>

Ann Pamela Cunningham, a phenomenal woman, challenged the women of the South and eventually the country to pull together in order to save Mount Vernon. She recognized the historic integrity and cultural importance of such a building after receiving a letter from her mother Louise Dalton Bird Cunningham, a South Carolina

socialite who saw the home in a state of neglect. “I was painfully distressed at the ruin and desolation of the home of Washington, and the thought passed through my mind: If the men of America have seen fit to allow the home of its most respected hero to go to ruin, why can’t the women of America band together to save it.”<sup>31</sup> These words inspired Cunningham to break convention and write a letter to the *Charleston Mercury* asking for women to band together and save Washington’s home. Her message, printed across several newspapers, led to the formation of several small groups, eventually resulting in the formation of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association in 1854. Cunningham’s plan for Mount Vernon was clear from the beginning; others suggested tearing it down or turning it into soldier’s housing, but she wanted it restored and maintained for its legacy.<sup>32</sup> This act cemented her legacy in history as the founder of one of the first and most prominent preservation associations in the United States.

Stephen Mather, an American industrialist and conservationist, lobbied Washington to create a separate organization to oversee National Parks and successfully led an effort for the appreciation and conservation of these lands. The U.S. National Park Service (NPS) officially began in 1916 to manage National Parks, American National Monuments, and various conservation and preservation efforts in the country. President Woodrow Wilson signed a bill that would “conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and wildlife therein, and...provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.”<sup>33</sup> Mather, appointed Assistant Secretary of the Interior, became head of the NPS in 1917. During his time with the NPS, he pushed for the creation of more parks before the land fell to developers.<sup>34</sup> Yellowstone became the first National Park, created in 1872 and turned over to the NPS in 1918. The NPS has a long history of preservation and conservation, as well as making scenery available to the public through programs like Mission 66, which expanded park facilities. According to the NPS, their mission is to revitalize communities and preserve local and national cultural heritage. There are currently over 400 designated sites within the NPS and over 27,000 historic structures preserved.<sup>35</sup>

One of the primary figures responsible for professionalizing historic preservation was Charles E. Peterson. Peterson was passionate about heritage architecture and preserving historic structures. He worked for three years with the NPS, but his great love remained with historic buildings and in 1931, his efforts were essential in saving the Moore House, the site of British surrender.<sup>36</sup> One of his most memorable contributions to the field of historic preservation is the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) established in 1933. HABS began as a way for architects, designers, and draftsmen to find work during the Great Depression. HABS created a database of historic architecture, becoming a source for early preservation work. Peterson believed the scope of HABS should be extensive.

The list of building types . . . should include public buildings, churches, residences, bridges, forts, barns, mills, shops, rural outbuildings, and any other kind of structure of which there are good specimens extant . . .

Other structures which would not engage the especial interest of an architectural connoisseur are the great number of plain structures which by fate or accident are identified with historic events.<sup>37</sup>

HABS expanded to include engineering and landscapes with the Historic American Engineering Survey (HAER) in 1969 and the Historic American Landscape Survey (HALS) in 2000. The HABS/HAER/HALS collection includes over 500,000 documents for approximately 40,000 structures. It is still widely depended upon by preservationists today.<sup>38</sup>

The history of preservation in the United States must include a look at the first two historic districts, Charleston, South Carolina and New Orleans, Louisiana. Preservation in Charleston dates back to the early 20th century when in 1902 the Daughters of the American Revolution purchased the Old Exchange, a prominent old building in the city. Years later, Susan Pringle Frost, a real estate agent, began buying historic homes in the city in an effort to save them and helped form the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings in 1920. The work to preserve old buildings through zonings, influence, and lobbying continued until a Board of Architectural Review was formed in 1931 as well as creation of the nation's first historic district.<sup>39</sup> New Orleans' residents, in efforts similar to those of Charleston, wanted to preserve the historic integrity of the French Quarter. An amendment to the Louisiana constitution in 1921 led to the creation of the Vieux Carré Commission, specifically aimed at the preservation of the French Quarter. It was not until 1936 however that a successful push of legislation helped insure the preservation of one of the only remaining French and Spanish Colonial settlements in the country. In 1937, the Vieux Carré Commission successfully created the nation's second historic district.<sup>40</sup>

## **U.S. PRESERVATION LAWS**

The Historic Sites Act, passed in 1935, allowed Congress to put the increasing number of organizations aimed at protecting cultural and historic places and structures, under the National Park Service. The most important statement it makes is defined in Section 1 of the act: "It is hereby declared that it is a national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States."<sup>41</sup> Historic Preservation officially became a national concern, shared not only by the people, but by the government as well.

The most viewed and referenced set of laws regarding United States preservation is the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) passed in 1966. Signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson, the NHPA carries several subsets and agencies underneath it designed specifically to add additional protections for historic structures and places. It encourages the identification of culturally historic resources on a national, state, local, and tribal level. An advisory council, established by the NHPA, meets four times a year to advise the president on national issues regarding historic preservation. Like the Historic Sites Act, the NHPA immediately defined the importance of historic preservation: "the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part

of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people.”<sup>42</sup> The NHPA contains several sections to aid in the preservation and protection of historic sites including Section 101, Section 106, Section 110 as well as sets up State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO), and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPO), as well as creating the National Register of Historic Places.<sup>43</sup> The National Register of Historic Places is the official government list of places deserving preservation. Each state under the register has its own list as well, and is vital in surveying and evaluating sites. A 1980 amendment to the NHPA added Certified Local Governments (CLG) in states. CLGs worked together with communities, state, and federal governments to save historic sites. Communities with a CLG have access to federal funding for historic preservation.<sup>44</sup>

One of the most important pieces of the NHPA is Section 106. This part of the law states that any federal action that may affect a historical site must be reviewed and attempts made to make any negative impact negligible. It does not mandate a specific result, for there is always the chance the property could be damaged or destroyed regardless of the review, but it does allow all parties involved to come to an agreement and find possible alternatives.<sup>45</sup> Other laws containing similar wording are Section 102 of the National Environmental Protection Act that states any major federal action affecting environmental, cultural or historic sites be reviewed, and Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act. Section 4(f) is the only one of these laws with substantial teeth. A transportation project approved by the federal government must minimize harm to listed sites, and only go forward when there is no feasible alternative.<sup>46</sup>

## **PRESERVATION AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS**

Like in Britain, the United States has a large number of organizations dedicated to historic preservation. One of the most prominent organizations is the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP), modeled to a degree after the British National Trust. The NTHP's primary function from its formation is the acquisition and preservation of historic buildings and structures. President Harry Truman signed the legislation creating the NTHP in 1949 with David Finley, the man who proposed the creation of such an organization, as its leader. The NTHP acquired its first property in 1951, the Woodlawn Plantation in Virginia. For 30 years, the federal government appropriated funds to help support the NTHP; however, this has since stopped, and it is dependent on the private sector.<sup>47</sup> Several programs began as a direct result of the National Trust including the National Main Street Center, Community Partners, and programs focusing on heritage tourism and rural preservation. A new program introduced in 2011 focuses on National Treasures, identifying significantly threatened places in the United States.<sup>48</sup>

Another program with a similar British counterpart is the National Alliance of Preservation Commission (NAPC). Similar to the UKAPT, the NAPC's creation stemmed from the amendments made to the National Historic Preservation Act in 1980 that gave financial assistance to programs meeting guidelines set up under CLGs. Shortly after the formation of CLGs, thousands of preservation agencies formed, all voicing a

need for preservation in their communities. The NAPC is the voice for all of these agencies. With the help of the NAPC, community voices were heard at meetings for the NPS, the National Trust, and at SHPOs across the country. The NAPC grew to the point in which it began to have educational sessions and aided in training CLGs in each state.<sup>49</sup>

Colorado currently has one of the strongest preservation programs in the country. Four organizations, Historic Denver, Colorado Preservation Inc, the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, and the Denver Landmark Commission are the primary spearheads for the success of historic preservation in the state. Colorado Preservation Inc, founded in 1984 as Preservation Action Colorado, grew from a small network of 43 people to a force that works directly with citizens, local government, and state government. CPI began its endangered places program in 1987, and gained national attention for its success.<sup>50</sup> The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, operating under History Colorado, began in 1879 as the State Historical Society of Colorado. It houses a vast collection of information open to the public regarding state and local buildings and sites. History Colorado cares for the objects of cultural and historical significance as a Smithsonian alliance museum. OAHF handles all documentation regarding archaeology and historic preservation.<sup>51</sup> Historic Denver, founded to save the Molly Brown house in Denver in 1970, is now one of the major driving forces for preservation in Denver. Beginning with one house, assisted by Dana Crawford, Historic Denver has been behind restoring 9th St. Park on Auraria Campus, the rehabilitation of Curtis Park, and saving the Paramount Theater. They are currently working on a massive survey of the city, Discover Denver, mapping and surveying the history of each house in each neighborhood.<sup>52</sup> The Denver Landmark Commission has several members that are part of other organizations such as History Colorado, the Denver Planning Board, and the American Institute of Architects to name a few. The Commission's function is to designate local landmarks of historical value. Design review for landmarks, tax credits, and new construction go before the commission during their bi-monthly meetings.<sup>53</sup> All landmarks receive a plaque placed on the building facade that all good preservationists rub for good luck when they see it.



*Molly Brown House, Denver  
Source: [historicdenver.org](http://historicdenver.org)*



### **The Molly Brown House**

Denver citizens saw an increasing number of historic homes destroyed during the urban renewal phase of the 1960s. In 1970, several people banded together with Dana Crawford, a local preservation legend responsible for saving Larimer Square, to save the historic home of Titanic survivor Margaret (Molly) Tobin Brown. Their efforts resulted not only in saving the home from demolition, but in restoring it and creating a house museum located in the Capitol Hill neighborhood.<sup>55</sup> The home's interior reflects the years Margaret lived there with information from its years as a boarding home. Guided tours given by docents let visitors realize the way the Browns lived, the reasons they loved their home and city, and understand why this particular home and museum is vital to Denver preservation.

### **Chimney Rock**

Chimney Rock, a U.S. National Monument in Southwestern Colorado, has spiritual significance to many Native American tribes in the area. It is one of the highest elevations for Ancestral Puebloans, and archaeological digs have uncovered several structures in the area. Chimney Rock was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, and President Obama elevated it to National Monument status in 2012.<sup>56</sup> Chimney Rock is unique in its importance to Native Americans as well as preservationists.

### **The Georgetown Silver Plume Historic District**

Designated a National Historic Landmark in 1966, the Georgetown/Silver Plume Historic District is a unique setting in the Colorado Mountains. It consists of the towns of Georgetown and Silver Plume, and the Georgetown Loop Railroad that runs between them. In 1970, the residents of Georgetown created Historic Georgetown Inc, a private organization aimed at saving the historic quality of Georgetown. Very few of its structures have been lost since the creation of the organization. The history of the area as well as the number of historic properties in the town makes it one of the more special parts of Colorado, particularly for preservationists.<sup>57</sup>



*Georgetown Loop Railroad*  
Source: *whistlefix.com*

## **Wynkoop Brewery**

The Wynkoop Brewery began as an idea from an out of work geologist who discovered craft beer upon visiting his brother in California. This geologist is now Governor John Hickenlooper. He wanted to create an experience in Denver similar to what he had in Berkeley California, a beer crafted in a pre-Prohibition way, with better ingredients, and serve it in an atmosphere that made people want to stay. The answer was the old J.S. Brown Mercantile building on Wynkoop Street, in the former Skid Row area of Lower Downtown. He saw this as an opportunity to save an old building and make great beer. Governor Hickenlooper, with this decision, became one of a group of people who saw Lower Downtown—LoDo--as a place that could bring people in and foster this community.<sup>58</sup> Hickenlooper and his friends purchased the building in 1987, opening their brewpub in 1988. That same year, the J.S. Brown Mercantile Building, now the home of Wynkoop Brewery, received its designation on the National Register of Historic Places.<sup>59</sup> Hickenlooper not only sought to save a historic building, he also made an effort to restore the interior as much as possible, keeping the historic elements intact. The result is one of the more unique and charming brewpubs in the area.

## **CONCLUSION**

Historic Preservation is an important concept in Britain and in the United States. Each place strives to save their cultural and historical heritage, to hold on to pieces that made them who they are before they are lost. Major differences include Federal U.S. agencies employing specialists to aid in areas like Section 106, whereas British regions such as England, Wales, and Scotland each have their own governmental agencies they appoint to oversee and advise on historic properties. Another major difference is the way the government manages historic structures. The U.S. constitution places limits on government interference regarding land development on most properties. In most cases, the property owner of the structure or the land has leeway to alter or even demolish National Register sites. British laws are very strict regarding historic properties and land management on historic areas. There is very little outside of a set legal scope that owners can do. Tax incentives are vastly different as well; the U.S. relies strongly on tax credits to restore and preserve structures while Britain has a very different approach. Any repair work on a historic structure is subject to value added tax, VAT, (sales tax) while new build projects are not. Regardless of these differences, one common theme crosses the Atlantic; historic preservation and conservation are important to nations, to people, and to our history.

“Pueblo is more than just a town, it is a way of life.” While this often-used phrase of my family is humorous in nature, it alludes to the fact that cities have a funny way of taking on personalities as they develop. In the wake of the one hundredth anniversary of the 1914 strike against Colorado Fuel and Iron (CF & I) and the ensuing violence at Ludlow, Colorado has experienced a renewed interest in labor history. Across the

# The Stable of the Iron Horse

by Adam Guyon

state, locals flock to museum exhibits to learn more about the horrors of coal miner strikes, scholars find their books on labor history suddenly popular, and children learn about labor issues in the classroom. What is often forgotten is the fact that the influence of CF & I was never limited to the mines and railroads of southern Colorado. In the case of Pueblo, Colorado, the establishment and maintenance of one particular industry forged a town’s culture and deeply influenced its residents: the steel mill of CF & I. The smelters and furnaces of Pueblo represented the final destination for many of the raw materials taken out of the ground by mining operations state and region wide. They enabled the expansion of Pueblo from a collection of company towns into a city. Pueblo owes the development of its neighborhoods, its commercial success, and many of its cultural peculiarities to the historical and ongoing operations of the steel mill.

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## **BUILDING THE STABLE:**

In order to discuss the influence of the steel mill on Pueblo, it is necessary to briefly explore the history of the mill itself, particularly the establishment of the site. In 1972, CF & I produced a timeline of major technological advances within the steelworks, beginning with the construction of the steelworks in 1880-1881 and the first blast furnace, “Betsy”.<sup>1</sup> The steelworks sprang from the ventures of William Jackson Palmer in the railroad and coal companies. In 1880, Palmer combined three smaller firms into the Colorado Coal and Iron Company and constructed the plant to produce iron, steel, and coke.<sup>2</sup> The new plant converted ores and coke into iron, iron into steel, and steel into rails, pipes, spikes, barbed wire, and a wide variety of other products. Ten years after Palmer’s Colorado Coal and Iron constructed the first steel mill at Pueblo, the company consolidated with John Osgood’s Colorado Fuel Company to form CF & I.<sup>3</sup> This consolidation gave the new company control over not the just the smelters and blast furnaces at Pueblo, but also the majority of the southern Colorado coal fields. After consolidation into CF & I, Pueblo became situated at the center of a vast industrial ecosystem supported by mines, quarries, coking plants, and subsidiary railroads.<sup>4</sup> This support structure allowed the steel mill to become largely self-sufficient by the early 1900s and encouraged the development of the city of Pueblo around the mill.

The first of the neighborhoods to spring up in the shadow of the steel mill was Bessemer. In 2012, the Bessemer Historical Society, which also curates the CF & I archival records, prepared a full history of the neighborhood for the city of Pueblo. Bessemer began as a working-class settlement just outside of the gates of the new mill, developed into a company town, and eventually into one of Pueblo’s most populous neighborhoods.<sup>5</sup> In addition to being the largest employer in Colorado for much of its history, the mill was also responsible for the prosperity of numerous supporting businesses that sprang up in the surrounding area. The influence of the mill during the early development of Bessemer is easily seen in Bessemer’s local businesses and has dominated the neighborhood.<sup>6</sup> Names of pubs like Gus’s Place and the Mill Stop and restaurants like El Nopal are quickly recognizable to residents of the neighborhood and have a long history of catering to the steelworkers as they return home or embark on breaks. Members of the United Steelworkers Union frequent the local watering holes and conduct much of their business locally in Bessemer. The Bessemer neighborhood’s boundaries are presently defined as Washington Street, I-25, Berkeley Avenue, and Streator Avenue.<sup>7</sup> This area includes Lake Minnequa, parts of historic neighboring Minnequa Heights, and the Eiler Heights area.

## **PROMOTION AND OUTREACH:**

The roughly defined area of Bessemer just outside the gates of the mill has historically been the focus of company promotion and the primary location of corporate paternalism in Pueblo. As early as 1903, CF & I was producing materials to draw visitors to the area. The July 11th version of *Camp and Plant* that year scolded visitors for seeing Pueblo as merely the “Pittsburg of the West” and provided pictures of the town to show that there

were picturesque and beautiful sites in Pueblo if one cared to look for them.<sup>8</sup> These pictures were the work of local photographers in the employ of CF & I and focused on areas such as Lake Minnequa and the Arkansas River. Company outreach was of great importance during the early years of CF & I operations in Pueblo. The Bessemer neighborhood earned a rough reputation early in its development as an area dominated by men living in ethnic enclaves.<sup>9</sup> This proximity led to a significant amount of mingling and mixing between the neighborhoods, as the area around the mill became a haven for immigrants from all corners of the world. From CF & I's perspective, there were some negative effects to ethnic mingling in Bessemer, such as the 1901 strike, which CF & I felt to be the result of racial and ethnic conflict.<sup>10</sup> The 1901 strike motivated CF & I to increase their support for the Sociological Department, which attempted to resolve local differences through community outreach programs.

The Sociological Department, which produced the corporate periodical *Camp and Plant*, left a particularly long lasting impact on the area through the work of Dr. Richard Corwin. Pueblo natives will immediately recognize that name as it is now carried by both the hospital in Bessemer as well as a local middle school. Corwin worked at CF & I as the chief surgeon of the Medical Department and the Superintendent of the Sociological Department from 1881 to 1928.<sup>11</sup> He is generally held in high regard in the local medical community for his work in modernizing and expanding the old Minnequa Hospital on the shores of Lake Minnequa. Under Corwin's leadership, the Sociological Department of CF & I helped improve the quality of life in the community of Bessemer by offering educational opportunities, domestic and industrial training, and providing leisure activities for workers.<sup>12</sup> Many of these efforts were focused on company field days and programs offered through local organizations like the YMCA (Steel Y). The efforts of Corwin's department in the early twentieth century represent an excellent early example of welfare capitalism, which is defined as a corporation instituting outreach and development programs for their employees with the intent of attracting new workers and retaining older ones.<sup>13</sup> Much of Corwin's later work in the Sociological Department coincided with a shift in CF & I managerial policy after 1914, resulting in a greater amount of company interest in the neighborhoods surrounding the mill.

In the wake of the Ludlow Massacre in 1914, John D. Rockefeller Jr. introduced the idea of a company-run union to CF & I. This Industrial Relations Plan, a type of Employee Representation Plan (ERP), emphasized the company's role in improving the lives of CF & I employees, particularly in coal mining communities.<sup>14</sup> Rockefeller's new plan established a long partnership between CF & I and the YMCA in Bessemer. This relationship was particularly evident during annual "Field Days," which were essentially early company picnics with athletic events for both employees and their families.<sup>15</sup> CF & I sponsored a variety of competitions for all members of the community, but with different events for each member of the family, emphasizing their social roles in the eyes of the company. Perhaps the most recognizable example can be found among the types of competition available for men and women in the community. The men's competitions included events such as a first aid contest, broad jump, and 100- yard dashes.<sup>16</sup> The women's events conversely included events such as a sewing competition, largest



*Largest woman competition, sponsored by CF&I*  
*Source: EVRAZ Steele*

family contest, and a heavyweight contest, which was literally a prize for the heaviest woman in attendance.<sup>17</sup> Given that these competitions took place during the same time as the Suffrage Movement in America, the efforts of CF & I in sponsoring YMCA Field Days have typically been seen by ethnic studies and gender studies of the company as part of a larger company effort to reinforce older social norms in opposition to the Suffrage Movement.<sup>18</sup>

Company outreach continued well into the twentieth century. The Employee Representation Plans of Rockefeller crumbled in the 1930s with the arrival of the Great Depression, and never resurfaced during the downturn. During World War II, the mill returned to prosperity by accepting naval contracts to build shell casings and shells.<sup>19</sup> These contracts sustained the mill throughout the 1940s and enabled the expansion of the plant. After the war, the United Steel Workers replaced the old ERPs, ending the era of company unions and establishing a new relationship between CF & I and its employees. Under these new circumstances, CF & I began producing a company newspaper, the *CF & I Steel Blast*, as a means of outreach. The newspaper recorded quarterly earnings, posted safety bulletins, and stories of company interest in the community. Among the most interesting examples of this new form of outreach can be found in the February 1 edition of the 1960 *Blast*, in which CF & I pledged to help fight local mail-order pornography. The company writers express their concern quite clearly with statements like, “the filth peddlers treat these victims as if they were dope addicts, sending them progressively more degenerate material and charging them for it.”<sup>20</sup> These statements reflect a genuine attempt by CF & I to continue its paternalistic outreach programs to employees by offering company support for local problems.

Company outreach rose and fell with the prosperity of CF & I. Every year the *Blast* would record quarterly earnings and explain variations in the amounts. In 1971, the mill set their record for visitors as tourists, schoolchildren, and former employees toured the facility under the supervision of plant guards.<sup>21</sup> These tours represented another form of outreach as visitors could admire the various processes of the plant and learn about the industry that built Pueblo. The mill hit its economic peak in 1974 and that year provides the best portrait of CF & I’s economic impact on Pueblo throughout the history of the mill. The *Blast* reported record earnings for the plant and noted that the CF & I was responsible for 13.1% of total Pueblo employment that year and 25.6% of county salaries.<sup>22</sup> These figures cemented CF & I’s status as the largest regional employer. The peak in the 1970s was the last major era of company outreach and promotion, as

the 1980s represented the beginning of CF & I's decline.<sup>23</sup> Despite the end of major corporate outreach in the 1970s, the steel mill has remained influential in the lives of Pueblo residents.

### **LOCAL MEMORIES OF CF & I'S INFLUENCE**

The best indicators of the mill's influence on Pueblo are the stories and memories of the town's residents. Many steelworkers today have multigenerational ties to the mill, and memories of various changes that took place there. On a local level, CF & I outreach programs are generally seen as a positive influence in the community, and the Bessemer Historical Society has collected several oral testimonies about the neighborhood and the Steel Y.<sup>24</sup> Up through the closing of the YMCA in the late 1940s, a large percentage of Bessemer and neighboring Minnequa Heights was involved in some capacity with the Steel Y.<sup>25</sup> It served as both a place of company outreach and as a point of community interaction. Multiple structures made up the Steel Y compound and the main structure boasted four floors with various indoor recreational opportunities, an entire floor dedicated to classrooms and two floors for housing residents.<sup>26</sup> Mona Grisham, a former resident of the area and CF & I employee, explained that, "Every night was a class."<sup>27</sup> Mona went on to elaborate that she had received instruction in tap dancing and swimming at the Steel Y as a girl. She reflected positively on the impact of the Steel Y as a place where people came together, where people mingled and interacted with little conflict.<sup>28</sup> A second interviewee, Josephine Borzilieri, also mentions attending the Steel Y as a little girl with her mother, noting that; "All the mothers of the local community came to the Steel Y to keep an eye on their daughters."<sup>29</sup> Josephine did not speak at length about the Steel Y, but did echo Mona's positive impression of the programs offered at the facility.

CF & I exerted direct influence on Pueblo's development through company outreach programs that encouraged communal bonding but also exerted indirect influence by enabling the growth of local neighborhoods. As more and more people came to Pueblo for millwork, multiple neighborhoods sprang up around the mill with local businesses catering to mill workers. Many residents of Pueblo have asserted that in addition to Bessemer, the mill was responsible for the settlement of Eiler Heights (Bojon Hill), Goat Hill (Pueblo's East Side), Minnequa Heights, and downtown Pueblo.<sup>30</sup> Eiler Heights was eventually absorbed into Bessemer and was an enclave for Slovenians and other Slavic workers. The term "Bojon" is something of a Pueblo peculiarity as, among other things, it referred to the Slovenian tendency to wear bowties to their interviews at the mill.<sup>31</sup> Neighboring Minnequa Heights and the downtown area developed as sites of local businesses that supported mill families. Sharon Kochis, a former resident of Minnequa Heights, remarked that, "Almost all of the people there worked at the mill."<sup>32</sup> This observation reflects the fact that the mill was largely responsible for the neighborhood's settlement, as most of its residents came there for millwork. This settlement necessitated the rise of local businesses within the neighborhood to support those families and influenced the growth of the neighborhoods.



*Processing at the mill*  
*Source: Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives*



*Wire Mill*  
*Source: Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives*

The economic success of CF & I has always been directly related to Pueblo's commercial success. Jim Giltner offered one of the most colorful illustrations of the connection between CF & I and Pueblo's economic prospects when he called the mill the, "kingpin of everything that happened around here."<sup>33</sup> Jim's comment was not the only one to associate the mill with Pueblo's commercial success. Jack Gwartney commented, "The mill was the town."<sup>34</sup> Both Jim and Jack are third generation employees of CF & I and credited the mill with driving Pueblo's fortunes. Conversely, when CF & I struggled, the town struggled with it. Paul Thullen noted that, "Strikes depressed the town."<sup>35</sup> As Paul was not a direct employee of CF & I, his observation reflected the economic effects of work stoppages on the rest of the city. Stoppages in the mill also shut down nearby supporting businesses, as most of their patrons were the striking steelworkers.

#### **THE WAY OF LIFE**

This particular section of this exploration of CF & I's impact on Pueblo represents an excellent opportunity to explore collective memory relating to the steel mill. Some stories delivered in oral testimony reflect unique curiosities that deserve their own brief sections. These memories include the impact of the local union, the



plant whistle, and marijuana in blast furnaces. Urban legends and local stories have a funny way of revealing bits and pieces of a population's attitude towards the subject of those tales. The mill is no different. When former employees and residents of Pueblo share stories of the mill, they offer insight into how the plant personally affected their lives.

After the fall of Rockefeller's ERP plans, the steel mill became a closed shop. This meant that union membership was mandatory for workers coming into the mill, "You had to be in the union."<sup>36</sup> For the most part, the union has been seen locally as a positive influence at CF & I. The complaints that have surfaced therefore stand out in the recordings. Ron Swope, for example, offered one minor criticism with the statement, "In a closed shop they're going to get your dues whether you are represented or not."<sup>37</sup> Swope felt that although the union was good for the mill, it benefited more from an open shop than a closed one as that would keep the union accountable to the workers. If union participation was mandatory, the union could become too political without fear of losing the members that provided its political advantage. This irony was not lost on residents outside the mill. Paul Thullen pointed out in his interview that the downfall of the union was its tendency to overreach and that it would eventually be the death of the mill.<sup>38</sup> Paul's opinion of the union is largely reflective of the fact that his time at the mill was spent as an outside contractor inspecting CF & I products and the fact that he was not overly impressed by the work he reviewed. Despite not being a member, Paul's opinion of the union reflects a potential danger of all representative organizations, the possibility of forgetting their purpose and losing touch with the population they are supposed to represent. Overall, former workers have generally seen the union as a positive influence within the mill, and yet another facet of CF & I's impact on Pueblo as a whole.

Another interesting facet of CF & I to come up in interviews is the plant whistle. The shift whistle was installed in 1926 in the powerhouse and replaced two older whistles.<sup>39</sup> The shift whistle was audible throughout the surrounding area and allowed local residents to effectively monitor time by listening for its blasts. The whistle initially served as part of the city defense strategy as a warning bell.<sup>40</sup> As the majority of Pueblo's neighborhoods, particularly Bessemer and Minnequa Heights, were situated close to the mill, the shift whistle would have served as a highly effective warning system. Many of the residents interviewed told stories of hearing the whistle regularly during their day. One particular resident, Jim Giltner, had a unique story concerning the whistle. The last time the whistle is reported to have sounded was in 1994 on New Year's Eve, the night that Jim was reprimanded for blowing it to commemorate the construction of the powerhouse.<sup>41</sup> Jim had apparently told the crew in the powerhouse that he would operate the whistle if they would reassemble the apparatus that supported it. The powerhouse crew completed the reassembly and Jim kept his word.

Marijuana has become a topic of great interest in recent Colorado history and does show up in the history of the mill. The mill has traditionally discouraged recreational smoking at the plant for obvious safety reasons. There is, however, one particular urban legend regarding marijuana that shows up in multiple reports concerning the mill. In the early 1980s, a government plane landed at the Pueblo airport near the mill.<sup>42</sup> The

cargo was a large quantity of marijuana that was left on the runway. CF & I agreed to dispose of the bales and did so by burning them in the blast furnace.<sup>43</sup> This somewhat questionable method of disposal led to a cloud of marijuana fumes over the plant and the nearby neighborhoods. The blast furnaces produced both their fumes and byproducts at the top of the furnace, which had to be regularly cleaned. Any marijuana that was not consumed by the blast could therefore be potentially recovered at the top of the furnace. This realization led one of the workers on shift that day to climb up the blast furnace and attempt to recover the marijuana on top, leading to his death from carbon monoxide poisoning.<sup>44</sup> Carbon monoxide is a natural byproduct of the blast furnaces and deadly to maintenance workers on the towers. While deaths did regularly happen at the mill, this particular one resonated with the workforce and quickly grew into an urban legend.



*Blast Furnace*

*Source: Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives*

## COMPANY TOWN

Despite two management changes in the last thirty years, the collapse of the American steel market in the 1980s, and losing several production facilities on the property, the mill remains more than just a business on the south side of Pueblo. The mill is Pueblo. CF & I brought immigration on a large scale and facilitated the creation of neighborhoods. Company outreach events promoted community mingling and many residents talk about routinely leaving the boundaries of their own neighborhoods and interacting with other residents. Over time, these neighborhoods combined into the city as it stands now, with enclaves like Eiler Heights being absorbed by Bessemer and other large neighborhoods. The commercial success of the mill inspired the creation of local businesses to support the families of steelworkers. The pubs and other local businesses around the mill existed in its shadow, supporting themselves by offering services to mill families and meeting spaces for the union. On a local level, almost every resident of Pueblo has some sort of connection to the mill. Third and fourth generation steelworkers are common in the city. Individuals remember uncles, brothers, and other family members working there if they did not themselves. The outreach efforts of Corwin's Sociological Department, the YMCA and company periodicals stick in the memories of older residents much like the routine blasts of the shift whistle. The iron horse of industry was the backbone of American settlement in the West. There is little question that Pueblo was its stable in southern Colorado.

On a cold, icy day in early January, Manasseh Minor hitched his draft horse to a small cart and trudged off on a thirty-mile journey to the fishing town of Narraganset. The Puritan farmer was traveling to the Massachusetts coast to buy cod. Minor's diary entry for January 5, 1699, is brief: "I went to naraganset for fish." The entries preceding and following this date describe town meetings, the selling of horses, bushels of malted barley, and new births in Minor's hometown of Stonington, Connecticut.<sup>1</sup> A few days beforehand, Minor and his sons had killed their lame steer. On January 5, he was headed on a trip to the coast for cod.

# A Harbor Commodious:

## How the Massachusetts Bay Company Developed the New England Fishing Trade During the Seventeenth Century

by Elsa Peterson

The entry is unobtrusive, but the fact that it is included in the diary of a pious barley farmer begs several questions. Why did he need to travel to Narraganset to purchase cod? It was thirty miles each way in the freezing dead of winter. Traveling to Narraganset is an almost monthly occurrence in his diary. Why so often? What kind of internal economic structure did New England have in place that required a farmer to travel to the coast to buy fish that an enterprising merchant might easily have packed and carted over to Connecticut? Manasseh Minor's diary entry hints at a larger realm of colonial life: the economy founded on the lucrative New England fishing trade. By 1600, as English and Spanish colonies took root along the Atlantic coast, the founding countries saw these outposts and settlements as important

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channels of textiles, grain, lumber, and fish. Massachusetts acted as a general warehouse and major shipping centre for the English colonies. At the time of Minor's entry, the exportation economy in Massachusetts was strong and well established.

The growth of Massachusetts into a vital player in Britain's transatlantic trade has been widely studied by historians for four centuries, fostering extensive discussion and analysis of why Massachusetts took the form of an extraction economy so quickly. Broadly, colonial American historians tend to argue that the demands from the Old World spawned the colony's thriving, diversified production economy. "America... was to be an alternative to Europe both as market and a source of supply," wrote K.G. Davies. "England in America could, indeed must, build a new trading area as varied as the old and much more stable."<sup>2</sup> Economic historian Bernard Bailyn asserted that the fishing, lumber, and fur industries of New England depended on Europe's needs and on the markets of Great Britain's vast empire for their growth and development.<sup>3</sup> In other words, demand fostered a robust exportation of goods from New England to foreign countries. Another geographical historian, Earle Carville, noted, "trade and commerce in staple crops regulated the location and early growth of frontier towns."<sup>4</sup>

The Massachusetts Bay Company was the colony's governmental entity, and it carried hefty influence throughout New England. While the exportation levels that Great Britain required of its colonies certainly encouraged the local economy to grow by providing a hungry market, the Company's role as a prominent, silent actor in the economic evolution of New England is often overlooked. The demands from Old World required a strong, internal economic structure able to effectively manage Massachusetts' resources.

Using the example of the fishing trade, this essay argues that the Massachusetts Bay Company actively fostered and grew the New England economy. "By the end of the seventeenth century," wrote one historian K. G. Davies, "the fisheries of the north-western Atlantic were beginning to provide American colonists with an economic life independent of the mother country."<sup>5</sup> The Massachusetts Bay Company institutionalized the fishing trade into the colonial system by ingraining it into an economy dedicated to foreign exports, not internal development. In a way, the Company created the necessity for Manasseh Minor to hitch up his cart and travel to Narraganset in the freezing winter of 1699. This essay explains the founding of the Company, the rich resources of fish shoals along the Massachusetts coast, and the subsequent installation of fishing as a pillar of the New England economy and the transatlantic trade.



"Cod fishery at Heart's Content, Newfoundland."  
Source: Library of Congress  
(<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3c17940/>)

## **FORMATION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY**

In 1627, a group of English Puritan investors, headed by minister John White and lawyer John Winthrop, requested a land grant and a royal charter directly from King Charles I. The king authorized the land grant, named the group the Company of Massachusetts Bay, titled John Winthrop as Governor, and gave the Company authority over the land, settlements, and harbors between the Charles and Merrimack Rivers. The founding Puritan businessmen signed the 1628 Cambridge Agreement, which enabled them to exercise control over the colony and its charter in return for setting up the new colony of the British Empire. This complete, local control over the new Massachusetts settlement in Boston Bay created an unusual and virtually theocratic government where the Puritan leadership, who reported solely to the English crown, directly controlled politics and the economy.

From the very beginning, the Massachusetts Bay Company thrived remarkably well in the New World, especially compared to the Virginia colony- which floundered until its independent charter was revoked in 1624- and the Plymouth colony, which was eventually absorbed into Massachusetts in 1691.<sup>6</sup> The arrival of John Winthrop and his Puritan followers at Salem in June 1629 laid a sturdy and promising foundation for the Company's future. By 1635, over eight thousand settlers had arrived in Massachusetts Bay.<sup>7</sup>

Most Puritans arrived in Massachusetts in the early 1630s with intact family structures. Unlike the other chartered British colonies, many men arrived with their wives and children, creating a unified community with shared priorities. The settlement's leaders were respected, ambitious and well-to-do men. The Puritan Christian beliefs fostered an atmosphere of dedicated hard work, close family ties, and enthusiastic community development that led to zealous entrepreneurial undertakings.<sup>8</sup> Most male Puritans who emigrated from England to the Massachusetts Bay shared (for the most part) similar backgrounds: small business owners, tradesmen, and artisans, nearly all extremely pious, enterprising, and devoted to their work. The general orientation of the average Puritan emigrant was exceptionally favorable to creating a thriving community in the New World. A skilled, business-minded drive was the common denominator among the male leadership of the Puritan communities that spread along the Massachusetts Bay coast, and that mindset encouraged the developing economic structure in Massachusetts.<sup>9</sup> The Puritans who began the Massachusetts Bay Company believed that the founding of the new Massachusetts colony was a political act of asserting freedom, and the new Company thrived in this context.<sup>10</sup>

## **NATURAL WEALTH OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COAST**

Under the encouragement of the English Crown, the Massachusetts Bay Company immediately began to pursue economic prosperity in the New World by linking the resources of New England to the deficits of those resources in the British Empire, including the West Indies. The forests and rivers of New England quickly produced a vibrant lumber and fur trade that stretched over Britain, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, and the Caribbean. By 1632, the Massachusetts shipbuilding industry was strong enough

to set the foundation for vigorous, inter-colony trade routes and eventually for freight networks into the Indies and Europe.

Massachusetts was a prime geographic location for a lucrative fishing trade. The climate and the Native American tribes in the Massachusetts Bay were much more accommodating to the Puritan settlers than the sultry climates and antagonistic tribes in Virginia and the Carolinas. Plantation owner and merchant Samuel Maverick, writing in 1660, created a list of every large settlement in New England. In his index,



*"Nantucket whalers harpooning their catch."*

Source: Capemay.com via Nantucket Whaling Museum (<http://www.capemay.com/blog/2009/11/whalers-the-link-to-our-past/>)

nearly every port town in Massachusetts has some reference to fishing, whaling, or deep harbors. In the town of Newbury, "the River is broader then the Thames at Deptford, and in the Summer abounds with Sturgeon, Salmon, and other fresh water fish." Salem "is very commodious for fishing, and many Vessells have been built there and (except Boston) it hath as much Trade as any place in New England." Marblehead had the reputation as the richest fishing location in the colonies. The town of Nashoway had fertile fields,

a solid trade network with local Indian tribes, and "Excellent Salmon and Trout." In short, "On all the Coasts of Canada from Cape Britton to Cape Sable is excellent fishing and full of good Harbours."<sup>11</sup> John Josselyn, a traveler exploring New England in 1663, noted over forty types of fish that were commonly caught and marketed, among them sturgeon, salmon, alewife, and codfish, Massachusetts' signature staple.<sup>12</sup>

The Massachusetts Bay Company took full advantage of the rich resources that the Massachusetts coast offered. The timber, shipbuilding, barrel manufacturing, and fur trades flourished in the uncleared forests and cold streams. However, fishing remained the largest and most profitable extraction industry.<sup>13</sup> One of the first court mentions of an official, active whaling-fishing industry in the Massachusetts Bay occurred in 1635. The general court of the Massachusetts Bay authorized six men- Mr. Beecher, Mr. Waltham, Mr. Duncom, Mr. Tylley, Mr. Pierce, and future Massachusetts governor Thomas Dudley- to create, "consulte, advise, & take order of the setting forwards & after managing of a fishing trade."<sup>14</sup> While this is one of the first documented mentions, the fishing trade in Massachusetts was thriving well before 1635.

Fishing methods varied widely. Long before the Puritan settlers arrived in the Massachusetts Bay, the Algonquian-speaking Native American tribes had refined and perfected the technique of deepwater fishing with spears and nets. Their bone harpoons had caught sturgeon, sea bass, seals, and whales in the deep offshore waters. Nets, weirs, and hemp screens helped them take advantage of the spawning runs in the rivers; trawling nets, some of them seventy fathoms long, swept the waters along the wide rivers and at the mouth of inlets.<sup>15</sup> European fishermen used similar techniques for deepwater fishing, but focused their activities on the bays and offshore waters rather than the rivers. Small

shallops carried crews of three to eight men, who operated trawling nets and weighted lines with lead hooks. Coast towns employed several dozen boats and crews for year-round fishing: St. John on the Newfoundland coast had 300 boats to its credit, and one colonist remarked that when all 300 were out on the waters, the sight was as large “as a great drift of cattle [that] may be seen in a fair field despasturing.”<sup>16</sup>

The Massachusetts Bay Company institutionalized the fishing trade, and, by extension, the need to export commercially into Massachusetts common life by cementing it into the competitive local economy. It encouraged men to enter the fishing trade by permitting seven-year tax exemptions for ships, boats, and “other stock, as shall be properly employed & adventured in takeing, makeing, & transporting of fish.”<sup>17</sup> Fishermen were granted certain privileges for working the fishing industry. In 1629, several fishermen were offered shares of interest in the Company’s shallops in exchange for hauling freight.<sup>18</sup> In 1639, the court ruled that “[a]ll fishermen, while they are abroad during fishing seasons...[and] ship-carpenters...shalbee exempted from [required military] training, yet they are to be furnished with arms.”<sup>19</sup> Fishermen were armed and sanctioned to protect themselves and the Company’s investment. Promoting and privileging the participants in the sea-fishing industry ensured that fishing facilities, docks, and safe harbors were staples in every new development along the Bay coast.

Fishing plantations, like one the general court ordered built at Nantascot in 1641, were small communities scattered along the northern New England coast. They included shallow docks and storage facilities where packed, salted, and dried fish awaited transportation to Boston, Marblehead, Charleston, or other trade hubs for international shipping.<sup>20</sup> Established all along the Massachusetts Bay, these often-seasonal plantations provided the mass bulk of the packed fish that was taken to Boston and then shipped across the Atlantic.<sup>21</sup> The plantations included storehouses for shipwrights and fishermen to house provisions and gear and use as repair shops.

The Massachusetts Bay Company appears to have laid out rules for nearly every aspect of the exporting process.<sup>22</sup> For instance, in 1648, the General Court passed the Cooper Orders, an edict that dictated not only the types of barrels to be used for different exports such as wine, oil, beer, fish, but also determined that only the fish packed by Company-approved coopers (barrel-makers) was authorized to be exported outside the colony.<sup>23</sup> This new regulation caused some disturbance among the foreign merchants and fishermen who were not affiliated with the Massachusetts Bay Company and habitually packed their own fish for sale. One colonist noted that “no [fish] were accounted marchentable but such as they [the coopers] pak; and here both marchents and seamen compl[ain] of much abus in this kind.” The Company’s careful micromanagement of the fishing trade even translated into the common lives of Massachusetts housewives. In 1639, the general court issued a ruling that condemned the selling or using codfish and bass fish for garden manure.<sup>24</sup>

Socially, the fishing trade attracted a less-than-desirable demographic to New England. Commercial fishing was a filthy, low-wage, and hazardous work in a harsh environment of dangerous currents and unpredictable storms. Few in the middle-class, let alone those among well-to-do society, risked the physical act of commercial fishing,



preferring instead to profit off of it as merchants, brokers, ship owners, or investors. The actual fishing was left to the lower-class immigrants from England, Ireland, and Newfoundland, particularly sailors and laborers who had worked the fishing docks in their home countries. With the influx of a rougher population, taverns, brothels, and entertainment houses sprang up all along the small towns of the New England coast. Marblehead was notorious for drunkenness and fornication, garnering an unprecedented number of court cases against sailors for blasphemy, adultery, riots, and theft.<sup>25</sup> The fish traders and merchants of New England disapproved of the boisterous, rowdy side of port town culture and its affects upon their dockworkers, sailors, and fishermen. In 1650, in a petition to the Council of State in England, a group of Plymouth “merchant adventurers” asked for protection from the influences of Sir David Kirke, the governor of Newfoundland. Kirke showed continual support of “rude, prophane, and athisticall planters, whom hee not only licenceth to keepe tavernes at severall yearly rents in the most choyssest fishing ports & harbours, butt furnisheth them with wynes, att his own rates & prises, to the debauchinge of the seamen, who are thereby taken off from theyre labours in the principallest tymes of fishing.”<sup>26</sup> There is no record of the Council of State taking action against Kirke. Perhaps the “debauchinge of the seamen” was a necessary, if unpleasant, side to a thriving, coastal economy that relied on foreign shipping and trade.

### **THE COMPANY'S FISHING INDUSTRY IN TRANSATLANTIC TRADE**

Compared to the French, Spanish, or Portuguese, English merchants appeared much more willing to invest in joint stock operations designed to facilitate resource extraction in the New World.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch markets were wide open to the cod, herring, fur, and timber available in the North Atlantic, and New England merchant agents had their pick of competing markets.<sup>28</sup> England and France especially valued their colonies along the Atlantic American coast, because those settlements and trade routes challenged the Dutch stranglehold on the European import and export industry. As Massachusetts established itself as a strong, steady source of fish and oil, England's importation and re-exportation of Atlantic cod through London bolstered the economy of Great Britain and, by 1720, London was the biggest re-exportation centre in Europe.<sup>29</sup> Part of the North American colonies' economic exportation success was due to the food crisis in overcrowded European cities. In 1735, for instance, British merchant fleets took 20,000 tons of Newfoundland cod back to England, to alleviate London's rising food prices.<sup>30</sup>

Boston was both the commercial centre of North America and the governmental hub of Massachusetts. Armed with an excellent harbor and quick access to agricultural markets, Boston took the role of the primary economic fountain in the New World. By the 1650s, hundreds of thousands of tons of freight including cod, oil, grain, lumber, and fur passed annually through Boston's packing and shipping yards.<sup>31</sup> The Massachusetts Bay Company was well aware of its foreign trade connections and focused on thoroughly developing them. The colony supplied fish, timber, wine, oil, grain, cheese, soap, and finished lumber to the Spanish and Portuguese Atlantic colonies, the West Indies,

Jamaica, Britain, and the plantation colonies of Virginia and Carolina.<sup>32</sup> Governor John Winthrop wrote to a friend in England in 1669, “Be pleased to know that this harbour is the most commodious for trade on any on all this coast. This cuntry affords all commodities fitt for Spaine, Tangeir, Jamica, and all the Cariba Ilands.”<sup>33</sup>

Given the vast wealth and opportunity that lay in the eastern coastal shipping hubs, the Company duly perceived the frontiers of Maine, west Massachusetts, and Connecticut as warehouses of fish, lumber, cloth, butter, and cheese, not as places where New England’s valuable resources should be diverted to sustain the local towns. There was too much money in foreign trade to focus on developing frontier economies. The strategy worked; in 1675, New England fisheries engaged more than four hundred boats and over a thousand men who caught and sold six million pounds of fish to Europe and the West Indies.<sup>34</sup> After 1660, the New England fisheries were commercially independent of Britain’s economy.<sup>35</sup> A century later, fish formed 12 percent of the entire value of American colonial exports.<sup>36</sup> The colonies’ economic independence sparked tension in the eighteenth century when the political and economic interests of Great Britain began to collide with those of the American colonies.

The rapid growth of the Massachusetts economy through the fishing trade makes a case for the Massachusetts Bay Company, which invested immense energy into ensuring foreign exportation and the fishing trade were a piece of the Massachusetts economy that no merchant could afford to ignore.<sup>37</sup> The Company understood that profit lay overseas in the Old World, and it carefully produced an economy that would benefit and grow from that demand. New England’s strong economic foundation was not a result of Great Britain’s demands; it was a mechanism to profit off them. In the case of Manasseh Minor, hitching his horse to his cart on January 5, 1699, on his way to Narraganset for codfish, he was participating in a powerful, vigorous trade system that the Massachusetts Bay Company had created for efficient, lucrative, foreign exportation.

On August 9th 2000, Robert Sandau received a letter written in German from Wili Titcher. The letter was friendly, and opened with Wili stating that it had “been more than 50 years” since he was a prisoner of war in the United States. Wili Titcher had worked on various farms, including Robert’s father’s farm near Greeley, Colorado. He described the work as being hard and the days hot, hotter than anything Wili had experienced in Europe. Despite the memories of difficult labor, Wili stated that for him, the best years of the war were spent in the United States. The letter fondly recalled the natural beauty of Colorado as

# Knowing the Enemy:

## **The Influence of Identity on the Treatment of German POWS in Colorado During World War II**

by Taylor Warner

well as the food, and the hospitality that Titcher had received during his time as a prisoner. This letter was not the first sent to the Sandau family. Wili had maintained contact with them since 1947. Most of the letters discussed family events such as marriages, births, deaths, and often included various family pictures. Aside from the letter sent in 2000, all were written in English, and the only mentions made to Wili’s time as a POW were fond recollections about the Sandau family farm and the beauty of Colorado.<sup>1</sup>

These letters were not the only examples of Americans and German POWs keeping in touch after the war. Many former POWs wrote to the farmers for whom they worked during their time in captivity, especially in the years immediately after the war. There were even instances of reunions between former POWs and camp staff taking place in both

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the United States and Germany during the post-war years. These reunions primarily took place during the 1960s and were intended to promote international friendship and understanding. A number of former POWs even planned to move to the United States during the postwar period.<sup>2</sup> Some relationships and attitudes towards the prisoners were understandably negative. Other relationships appeared relatively friendly, such as the one between the Sandau family and Wili Titcher. Why were some Americans so receptive to German POWs, and how did these relationships form?

Previous scholarship on prisoner of war camps in the United States during World War II has examined the treatment of prisoners by the War Department, and whether that treatment had been in accordance with the Geneva Convention. A considerable amount of scholarly attention has been granted to the topic of fraternization and how many Americans- farmers in particular- had positive relationships with German POWs. The discontent among German prisoners of war and the difficulties of camp personnel in recognizing and responding properly to these internal conflicts are also topics that historians have explored.<sup>3</sup>

Racial tensions and cultural factors also have been examined in relation to the perception of German prisoners. In particular, scholars have studied how the treatment of the German prisoners differed from the treatment of Japanese and Italian prisoners. The cultural dynamics of communities surrounding POW camps and their effects on the interactions between Americans and German POWs have also been given attention by historians. I will be expanding upon past scholarship by examining the various identities held by the German prisoners of war, as well as those of the Americans who interacted with them and how that subsequently influenced the relationships between Americans and German POWs. I will be exploring these themes through the examination of prisoner of war camps located in Colorado, as well as focusing on both positive and negative perceptions of the POWs in relation to identity.<sup>4</sup>

National identity, ideological identity, and cultural identity influenced the relationships between prisoners and Americans in various ways. Over the course of the war, Nazi Germany gained additional manpower by drafting into the military people who were not German nationals. Troops came from various backgrounds including Austrian, French, Czech, and even Arab. Not all German prisoners of war were actually German, which became a source of conflict among prisoners in the camps.<sup>5</sup> The most intense conflict stemming from this fact was that some prisoners were not as strongly indoctrinated into Nazi ideology as others. This eventually prompted the U.S. Army to segregate prisoners through screening programs.<sup>6</sup> There are indications that the backgrounds of the men captured and the identities of the camp personnel and civilians interacting with them had an impact on the way the prisoners were treated. I will be examining identity in a number of ways. First, I will be discussing the various nationalities of the prisoners, and how that influenced their treatment and led to tensions within the camps, followed by an exploration of the treatment and attitudes towards prisoners by camp personnel. Finally, I will examine how local communities interacted with the prisoners.

## THE PRISONER OF WAR PROGRAM AND CAMPS

Before issues of identity can be discussed in detail, background about the prisoner of war program must be established, both nationwide and in Colorado. Numerous prisoner of war camps were established across the country to hold enemy troops who had surrendered during battle. Prisoner of war camps had to uphold the standards outlined by the Geneva Convention of 1929. The standards stipulated that lodging and food rations had to be similar to that of the troops who had captured the prisoners, that prisoners had to be paid for their work, and that prisoners maintained their civil liberties while in captivity. There was particular pressure on the United States to uphold the Geneva Convention because Germany was paying attention to the reports from the Red Cross about the treatment of their own POWs. Poor treatment of German prisoners in the United States could have translated to horrible retaliation against American POWs who had been captured in Europe.

The majority of the captured troops in Colorado belonged to Rommel's North Africa Corps, and began arriving in 1943. The major prisoner of war camps in Colorado were Camp Greeley, Camp Carson, and Camp Trinidad. These camps also had subsidiary camps such as Camp Stonewall and Camp Hale.<sup>7</sup>



*Main gate at Camp Trinidad  
Source: Denver Public Library*

## NATIONALITY AND IDENTITY: TENSIONS AMONG "GERMAN" PRISONERS

National identity and cultural identity were key in examining the treatment of German prisoners of war in Colorado, and elsewhere. The nationality of POWs was taken into account when dealing with transfer requests and screening programs to separate Nazis from anti-Nazis. In fact, many prisoners made the case that they should not be interned in the prisoner of war camps because they were not German.<sup>8</sup> Across the country, and throughout the course of the war, German POWs were treated differently than Italian and Japanese POWs.

The treatment of German prisoners was considerably better than the treatment of Japanese prisoners. There were very few Japanese POWs in the United States, as compared to German and Italian. Most of those captured were handed over to American allies such as Australia and New Zealand. However, the Japanese prisoners who were held in American POW camps were treated far more harshly than other Axis prisoners. This was in part due to Japan signing, but not ratifying the Geneva Convention, as well as strong racist attitudes towards the Japanese.<sup>9</sup>

Compared to Japanese and German prisoners, Italian POWs were given the most freedom by far. In 1943, Italy joined the Allies and became a co-belligerent. This left the question of what to do with the Italian POWs who had been captured. Even though Italy had changed sides, the Italians in American POW camps were technically still prisoners. Many Italian prisoners were given the opportunity to join the Italian Service Unit (ISU). ISU members still were prisoners, but were able to help serve the Allied cause and were given a considerable amount of freedom. This led to some tensions with German POWs, who felt that they were “traitors to the Axis cause” because of their new privileges and collaboration with the United States’ war effort.<sup>10</sup>

It is important to understand that ethnic and national identity influenced how American treatment of POWs differed based on country of origin. In Colorado, most prisoners were German. However, because of the various nationalities within the German military, tensions arose in the camps, and prisoners made multitudes of transfer requests.

The Geneva Convention dictated that prisoners of different races and nationalities should be kept in separate camps if possible.<sup>11</sup> When Arab troops were captured with Rommel’s men in North Africa, it was requested that they be moved to separate premises on the basis that they were “a constant source of trouble” because they claimed “that they were drafted by force of arms to work for the German occupational troops in Africa.”<sup>12</sup> Segregating the camps by race and nationality might have curtailed some of the conflicts that would arise in a prisoner of war camp, but it did not completely solve the problem. The German POWs were a group of various European backgrounds, and tensions often arose. Many prisoners, not just the Arab ones, did not consider themselves to be German soldiers.<sup>13</sup> These differences in identity became more apparent to the War Department as time progressed.

There were some interesting cases among some of the prisoners captured regarding their nationality their allegiance to Germany. One POW, Joseph Garignani, sent a letter to the War Department demanding to become a volunteer for the American Army. Garignani explained that he was a Frenchman from Alsace who had been drafted to fight in the German Army starting in 1941. Garignani’s letter explains that when he was born in 1908 Alsace had been a part of Germany, “but since 1918 [he] was French.” The various nationalities among the prisoners, particularly those within the German military, influenced how they were handled and treated. After his request was processed, Joseph Garignani was placed in a program titled “Screening German Prisoners of War of Polish, French, Czechoslovakian, Belgian, and Luxembourg Origin.” Cases such as this one, where German prisoners came from various backgrounds, were given special consideration.<sup>14</sup>

As evidenced by the multitude of transfer requests, there were varying degrees of allegiance to Germany within the camps, which also meant that there were varying attitudes towards Nazi ideology. Matters of ideology became problematic for the prisoner of war camps and created intense divisions among prisoners.

Some of the ideological tensions came out through camp newspapers. The Geneva Convention allowed prisoners to produce publications, which could be screened by camp personnel to make sure subversive activities were not taking place. Camp Trinidad's POW newspaper, *Der Spiegel*, was suspended because of instances of Nazi propaganda.<sup>15</sup> There was also a demonstration where some prisoners burned an edition of *Der Ruf*, which was a newspaper published in America under the supervision of the War Department to be distributed among POW camps. The paper was burned "as a protest because the first number was contrary to [the prisoners'] ideals."<sup>16</sup> *Der Ruf* was usually met with hostility from the prisoners, because it was seen as American propaganda. However, it was popular among "anti-Nazis" and was read openly at Camp Stonewall. Most prisoners at Camp Stonewall were confirmed to be anti-Nazis of Austrian background.<sup>17</sup>

The War Department gradually began to segregate camps based on ideology, screening Nazis from anti-Nazis. A number of transfer requests to and from Camp Trinidad and its subsidiaries were over matters pertaining to politics and ideology. Throughout the war, prisoners were routinely moved between camps, either at their own personal request or at the request of camp personnel. A group of five prisoners, four Austrians and one Slav, who were "confirmed Anti- Nazis" requested to be transferred "for their own protection."<sup>18</sup> The nationality of prisoners was taken into consideration in regards to transfer requests. It was assumed by the War Department that members of the German Army who were of a nationality other than German, such as French or Slavic, might not be as indoctrinated into Nazi ideology as members who were native Germans.

## **CAMP PERSONNEL AND PRISONERS**

Over the course of the war, the International Committee of the Red Cross visited Camp Trinidad and other camps in Colorado to assess conditions. The Red Cross was tasked with making sure the physical aspects of the camp were up to standard in addition to making sure the prisoners themselves were content. The standards of the Geneva Convention were a source of conflict for some members of the camp staff. There were questions over how to discipline prisoners who were causing trouble without violating Geneva Convention standards. In addition to this concern, there were indications that many guards felt that the Red Cross was pampering the prisoners needlessly.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to conflicts between prisoners, there were sources of tension between the camp personnel and prisoners. Some of the personnel were of Jewish origin, and understandably felt hostile towards their German charges. The Red Cross and Prisoner of War Division visits to the camps revealed that there was open hostility towards the German prisoners by Jewish guards. Even those who were confirmed to be anti-Nazi were viewed with suspicion. Kurt Landsberger, a Jewish guard working at Camp Trinidad, remembered occasions where he had interacted with the prisoners. Landsberger recalled

in his autobiography, “one of them was an Austrian engaged to a Jewish girl who is hidden by his family (or so he claimed).” The suspicion felt by Landsberger and other Jewish personnel was understandable. While some of these prisoners claimed to have no sympathy for the Nazi party, they were captured fighting for Germany. Also, because these men had been captured, there was the obvious possibility that they were masking their true sentiments around their captors. Kurt Landsberger wrote about his time working at Camp Trinidad, “I often wondered how they felt about me, me who had escaped the gas chambers... and now they had to come to me if they had the slightest requests.” The identity of the camp personnel influenced the interactions and relationships they had with the prisoners, and this was particularly true for Jewish personnel.<sup>20</sup>

The relationship between German prisoners of war and the soldiers stationed at the camps was an interesting one. The official handbook given out by the U.S. Army to those stationed at the prisoner of war camp in Trinidad covered general army information, as well as the protocol for interacting with prisoners of war. According to the handbook,



*German POWs on a sugar beet farm*

*Source: Denver Public Library*

“Civilian employees will at all times be civil and courteous to Prisoners of War but will not be unduly friendly nor fraternize in any way.”<sup>21</sup> The line between fraternization and courtesy was not clearly defined. One person’s idea of being “unduly friendly” could differ from another person’s. In addition to this rule, personnel could not trade with prisoners in the form of money, books, magazines, or contraband. If an employee were to violate these conditions, they would be dismissed immediately.

There were some instances of fraternization that went beyond being friendly or trading contraband with prisoners. A number of escape attempts occurred at Camp Trinidad, and other subsidiary camps, over the course of its operation. In one noteworthy escape attempt, a tunnel was constructed under the premises, but some of the more shocking escape attempts involved American camp personnel. One of the most prominent cases of escape occurred at Camp Hale in 1944. Dale Maple, who was employed at the camp, broke two prisoners out, and was en route to Mexico before being caught. The investigation



revealed that Maple had harbored pro-German sentiments during his time at Harvard University and was even jokingly called a “Nazi” by his friends. Maple’s ideology did not falter during his time in the Army, and his attachment to Germany led to the event at Camp Hale. Maple wrote in a statement to the F.B.I., “I was then left in the position of being in a country at war with a country whose ideals I wish to uphold.” While Maple’s case is an extreme one, his ideological identity and the associated sense of loyalty he felt towards Nazi Germany and its values led him to develop a relationship with the prisoners in which he was willing to risk his life for them.<sup>22</sup>

### **OUTSIDE OF THE CAMPS: LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND LABOR**

While the camps were isolated and built away from residential areas, many people from nearby towns were apprehensive about having POWs in relatively close proximity. Local residents were particularly hostile towards Camp Stonewall, a Trinidad subsidiary. A visit report to Camp Stonewall stated, “As indicated in the last report, there appears to be quite a bit of local opposition to the prisoner of war camp. Anonymous letters are continuing to harass the camp commander.”<sup>23</sup> The hostility felt towards the camps was to be expected, especially in their early days of operation, when locals did not know what to expect.

Local communities may have felt open hostility towards the prisoner of war camps, but curiosity was a much stronger feeling. When POWs first started arriving in the United States, people would flock to train stations to catch glimpses of them. When Camp Trinidad opened, the local newspaper, *The Morning Light*, published a five-part series of articles on the camp. These articles chronicled the physical state of the prisoners, the way food rations were handled at the camps, and the arts and recreational programs at the camps. These articles no doubt helped to satisfy public curiosity about Camp Trinidad, as well as fuel it. Newspaper articles about the prisoner of war camps, while informative, still kept readers detached from the prisoners.<sup>24</sup>

That is not to say that there was no interaction between local communities and POWs. Off-site labor and farm work were important parts of the POW experience. John Aboud, a former member of the Camp Trinidad staff, recalled that he arranged work for the German prisoners, and established a number of farm work camps of about five hundred prisoners each. These camps were located in Monte Vista, Lamar, and Springfield. Aboud recalled that there were no escape attempts from the German prisoners working “unattended” in the fields. This is a stark contrast to the more heavily guarded Camp Trinidad, which saw many escape attempts. To many Germans, working on farms was a privilege. “The German General had orders that no German prisoner should escape from a work camp — it was a refreshing deal for the Germans to live away from the barricaded and guarded army camp.” There appear to be several reasons why the Germans valued the farm work. First of all, it provided them with some sense of freedom, as they were not strictly guarded and worked unattended for the most part. Additionally, in adherence to the Geneva Convention, Germans were paid around 80 cents an hour for their labor. Overall, farm work and other off-camp labor was a generally positive experience for POWs.<sup>25</sup>

Off-site work provided many war prisoners the opportunity to interact with local communities. Many farmers developed friendly relationships with the German prisoners who they employed on their farms (as many Colorado farmers were able to speak German). Farmers who spoke the language were able to promote more productivity among German POWs, as they could provide more accurate instructions. Also, hearing their language spoken helped to boost prisoner morale, which further contributed to increased productivity. For those who spoke German with the prisoners as they worked the fields, bonds began to form. Some farmers came to know the prisoners as individuals, rather than enemy POWs.<sup>26</sup>

One relationship between farmers and POWs developed between Wili Titcher and the Sandau family. The Sandau family employed POW labor on their farm near Greeley. Wili Titcher wrote to the family for decades following the war, frequently reminiscing about his time in Colorado. In 1947, while waiting in England to return to his home in East Germany, Titcher wrote, "If... [we] could spend the time with you on your farm till our release we all would be much happier."<sup>27</sup> Clearly, the time spent working on the farm made an impact on Wili Titcher, as well as the Sandau family. One reason as to how this relationship developed and lasted as long as it did might be that both the Sandau family and Wili Titcher came from rural agricultural backgrounds. Following the war, Wili returned home to a small village in Germany where he had a farm. Frequently, Wili referenced farm work in his letters to the Sandau family.<sup>28</sup> The shared understanding of rural life and background of agricultural work was a source of common ground. This common ground helped foster the lasting friendship between Titcher and the Sandau family. The duration of this unlikely friendship reveals just how comfortable relationships between Americans and German prisoners could be during wartime.

Many farmers- not only in Colorado- developed friendships with German prisoners who worked on their farms. This was in part due to the lack of surveillance from camp guards who accompanied POWs to the farms. The farmers and prisoners were more comfortable around one another when the guards were not watching them. Also, as these were small, family owned farms, many farmers worked alongside the POWs. Close contact with German prisoners and a lack of supervision created environments where farmers were more receptive to forming relationships with prisoners.<sup>29</sup>



Many different types of relationships developed between German POWs and Americans on the homefront during World War II, both positive and negative. Identity, in its various forms, played a role in how these relationships developed. The nationality of the troops fighting in the German military influenced not only their degree of allegiance towards Germany, but also how they were treated and transferred between camps. Ideological identity also influenced camp dynamics and treatment in that there needed to be screenings to determine who was a Nazi and who was not. The identities of camp personnel also were crucial in understanding dynamics between POWs and

Americans. Some personnel's own ethnic and religious identities impacted whether they acted in a hostile manner towards the POWs or favorably towards them. Civilians also had interesting dynamics with the prisoners. Some farmers were more receptive to German POWs and formed lasting bonds with them through the shared understandings of farm work and rural life. Identity, whether national, ideological, linguistic, or cultural, shaped the dynamics between Americans and German prisoners of war, both inside of the camps and outside in the surrounding communities. There were numerous instances where prisoners of war were received negatively on the basis of identity, but there were also cases of acceptance and outright support. The varying degrees of responsiveness towards German POWs due to identity and shared experiences demonstrates that the American homefront was not nearly as cohesive and uniformly united against the enemy as would be expected. Personal experiences and interactions with POWs, combined with personally held beliefs and backgrounds, influenced opinions and attitudes about German prisoners far more than the collective cause of the war effort ever could.

On February 24, 1884, a railroad surveyor wrote home to his mother from Custer County, Nebraska. He informed her that the prairie dogs were out, and that the ice on the South Loup River was finally melting. He told her about where he had been lately, and that he had plenty of blankets to spare, since he shared them with the expedition's chief. He concluded his letter by telling his mother not to worry about him, and that everyone on his team was eager to start a new railroad line. "I think this is just the life for one to lead early in life as it fits them for to endure hardships gives them an idea of living & of new country."<sup>1</sup> We know this man only by his signature: "J.E. Thomas."

# Western Mythology:

## The Literary World of Railroad Survey Camps in the 1880s

by Sarah Sifton

In Thomas' letters he would often tell his mother about how well he was doing, how he was gaining weight and getting tanner, how he was getting stronger for having lived this rugged lifestyle the past few months. Thomas' survey camp would point the way for the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad to lay new lines across Nebraska, and he believed he would bring progress to the West. He lived in a time of myths and legends, where men were larger than life.

The nineteenth century saw the expansion of the United States across the continent as the realization of the nation's manifest destiny. While the early overland routes by wagon were harrowing experiences, the railroad changed all of that. Its path determined settlement patterns across the West, and conclusively decided the fate of nascent towns and cities. While many are familiar with the great race between the

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Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads to complete the first transcontinental railroad in 1869, the story of the railroads does not end there. With no small amount of backing from the federal government in the 1870s, and an abundance of private investment in the 1880s, railroad companies built branch line after branch line across the country until anti-trust laws and an economic depression bankrupted most of them in the 1890s.<sup>2</sup>

Before any of these extensions could be built, the railroads had to scour the land with survey camps, ever searching for the path of least resistance, and seeking out the best grade and curvature for construction crews to lay track. These men wandered the wilderness for weeks at a time, at the mercy of everything the West had to throw at them. Historians have largely passed over these railroad survey crews. In his groundbreaking work on the army explorers of the early nineteenth century (and the railroad surveys that followed their footsteps), William Goetzmann chalked this up to the work of one particular historian: in 1902, Hiram H. Chittenden, along with others at the time, believed that the fur trappers had been the true explorers of the West. In his work, he goes so far as to discredit the army explorers by implying that they were only following the paths found by fur traders earlier. Goetzmann remarked that because of Chittenden's dismissal, these explorers and surveyors had "been largely ignored and the cast of western heroes deprived of what should be one of its principal archetypes."<sup>3</sup> Writing eleven years after Goetzmann, Richard Reinhardt echoed his sentiment, calling the surveyor "the last authentic hero in the epic of the American frontier."<sup>4</sup> He characterized the lifestyle of this heroic figure as the pinnacle of manliness and adventure. Almost half a century ago, both scholars agreed that these men were the forerunners of US expansion through the West. Beyond the work of these two particular historians, however, surveyors seem to be a mere afterthought in modern scholarship.

The long efforts of labor historians have resulted in a proliferation of work regarding the treatment of the construction crews, the racial tensions between various groups, and even treatises on which ethnic groups were employed by specific major railroads as they were built. The dearth of modern scholarship on the surveyors should certainly not be for lack of evidence, as men conducting the surveys were often well educated. Many of them left memoirs about their work for the railroads, and most seemed to take great pride in what they did. Yet they occupied a borderline between skilled and unskilled labor, as their job required only the training and certification that would be roughly equivalent to a highway surveyor today. In addition, their use of newer tools and mapping techniques set them apart from earlier explorers, so they were not often included in such studies. These differences certainly served to distinguish them from other groups, but may not have been enough to save them from what Thomas Andrews called "the inevitable westward expansion of cultural forms antagonistic to labor."<sup>5</sup> Andrews argued that a combination of pointed marketing (on the part of railroads) and the changing attitudes about both work and workers ensured that those undesirable groups of laborers that constructed the railroads were deliberately shoved aside in the nation's consciousness. The survey crews that paved the way for those construction teams would have been collateral damage.

Belonging neither to the pre-Civil War explorers studied by Goetzmann, nor to the marginalized labor crews that Andrews and others discussed, historians seem to have dismissed these survey crews. Yet their work and experiences set the stage for many of the myths we associate with the West. In their letters and memoirs, these men built up their own accomplishments to legendary proportions. This self-mythologizing was probably an unconscious attempt on the part of these men to tie themselves to the stories and history of the era. Whether it was written at the time, or decades after the fact when they were filled with nostalgia for a time in their lives that had been romanticized almost beyond recognition, they sought to be a part of the growing myth of national destiny. This paper will set the rose-colored lens aside, and examine how their writings contributed to the mythic west. Through the unpublished letters of J.E. Thomas, combined with the memoirs of Edward Gillette and Major-General Grenville M. Dodge, this paper will look at the ways in which they characterized their camp life, their coworkers and superiors, their promotions, and the Indians they encountered in their work. The emphasis will be on how these men contributed to the myth, rather than examining them as the heroes typified by Goetzmann and Reinhardt.

## SURVEY CAMPS

By the 1880s, the railroad companies were still building the network of rail lines that would crisscross the United States. Dodge, in his role as Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific, was often out touring his work, while Gillette and Thomas spent their time in the survey camps. Thomas wrote his letters largely from Nebraska while he worked for the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. Gillette on the other hand was sent to survey locations across the Midwest, from Arizona to Montana to Seattle, and back to Nebraska. The railroads he would work for changed depending on the area. Having finished his training as a civil engineer in 1878, Gillette took a job with the United States Army and was immediately sent to work in a railroad survey camp to “secure as light a grade as possible over the continental divide” in Arizona and New Mexico.<sup>6</sup> The main railroad he was to work with only stretched as far as Colorado at the time; from there he had to take a stagecoach to reach his destination. Gillette recounted in his memoirs that he found the experience of going so far west to be very unnerving, as he “had never been west of New York or Washington, D.C.”<sup>7</sup> Thomas echoed this same sentiment in his letters, remarking that it was odd to think of states that had been to his west all his life now lying to his east instead. They were each in a strange



*Survey crew on a Sunday*

*Source: City of Oswego*

<https://www.ci.oswego.or.us/tools/library/photos/details.aspx?4448>

new part of the country, and though it would be wrong to say (in the 1880s) that they were in uncharted territory, their jobs sent them to live in the wilderness for long periods of time. Of his earliest days on the railroad, another engineer noted in his memoirs that if you were unfortunate enough to burn instead of tan out on the prairies, “the wind would burn you like the sun.”<sup>8</sup> Hats were apparently of little help. The survey teams worked



*Survey camp in winter*  
Source: Gillette, “The Iron Trail”

in all weather, and for shelter in winter they had little more than what they wore, even at night. Despite facing all kinds of extreme conditions while living outdoors, the surveyors largely viewed themselves as fortunate in their jobs. In fact, a fascination with the unbroken landscapes they encountered emerges as a common theme in their memoirs, especially in Gillette’s. More than missing the comforts of home, they reveled in the adventure of living in the wilderness.

In regards to the skill and experience necessitated by these expeditions, the survey teams were a mixed bag of goods. According to Dodge, the surveyors of the Union Pacific Railroad were organized within strict tiers of skills, with some unskilled workers to tote them around. In the case of the Union Pacific, he noted “Each of our surveying parties consisted of a chief, who was an experienced engineer, two assistants, also civil engineers, rodmen, flagmen and chainmen, generally graduated civil engineers, but without personal experience in the field, besides axe men, teamsters and herders.”<sup>9</sup> When necessary, a hunter would be added to provide food for them, or they might be attached to a military escort when travelling through lands thought to be hostile. In Thomas’ letters, it was evident that the chief was extremely involved in directing the surveys and an active part of camp life, in addition to being the group’s direct line to whichever company employed them.

Having started at the bottom of the heap as a rodman, J.E. Thomas signed on with the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad in the dead of winter. He was shipped out to Lincoln, Nebraska, and from there was sent out almost weekly in different directions, wherever the railroad wanted to build a track. If Thomas ever got sick, injured, or even more than a little cold, he never mentioned it in his letters home. This may have simply been to assuage his mother’s fears, but when combined with the various pronouncements he made about how the experience was a blessing, it instead becomes evidence of the new man he was trying to portray to his family. If the tent burned down, it was not problem for a railroad man on the frontier like J.E. Thomas. If they almost drowned trying to cross a river in the dead of winter with giant ice chunks floating past, he wrote home that it was not a problem because he did not even get his feet wet. When a wagon got stuck and nearly turned over in the river, he was safely “carried ashore on the shoulders of one of the men.”<sup>10</sup> No big deal. Despite the rough nature of camping in the winter and the constant travel, his single most disparaging remark for the whole of his experience was that “The camp life is rough on morals.”<sup>11</sup> To contrast his story to those told by Gillette

and Dodge, Thomas was attempting to cast himself in the myth of the civilized man made stronger in the forge of the West.

This was a popular myth at the time, where a man left to work in a man's world, in an environment filled with danger and new experiences. It was evident not just in their writings, but also in the photographs that they sent home. Some photos would feature them in their best attire, sitting for a professional photographer along with their instruments; they were clearly not in the field, but had the tools of their trade to distinguish them. Another popular photograph was laundry day on Sundays. It was clearly a very funny joke to them: they were out in the wilderness doing a man's job, which meant there were no women to do the laundry, so they had to do it themselves. Men would stage these photos to maximize the joke, with those in the back holding axes or beer bottles, while the men in the foreground would scrub and dry the laundry.<sup>12</sup> Similar photos would have them doing other chores, such as mending clothes. The notes attached often read that they did not need a woman, implying that the men who worked in the railroad survey camps were entirely self-sufficient. These cases of self-mythologizing can be seen as minor when it comes to camping outdoors or bragging about doing one's own laundry, but they are only a small part of the larger picture.

### **COWORKERS AND SUPERIORS**

As mentioned, railroad survey teams consisted of varying levels of skill. The rodman was in charge of equipment, the chainman would find the distance (with a standardized chain), and the flagman would be the point of reference for the engineer who took the readings. Completing a line therefore required teamwork, so it was no surprise to see through his letters how quickly Thomas bonded with the different parties he worked with. The first half of his letters were written almost exclusively in first person singular, while by the time of his second transfer he had swapped almost entirely to first person plural (with the obvious exception of such statements as "I was much pleased to hear of the good health of all"<sup>13</sup>). For example, in one of his early letters, while still working in the office in Lincoln, he told his mother "I have attended church today at the Baptist."<sup>14</sup> Within a relatively short amount of time, almost all of the activities he reported to his mother were suddenly in the plural: "Well we all went to church Sunday evening & listened to a good sermon by the Methodist preacher."<sup>15</sup> He was no longer wandering off to talk to the local farmers, and no longer concerned with convincing his family to move out west to settle on railroad lands. Everything he did was in the context of having done it *with* the rest of his team, showing that he had adjusted quickly and comfortably to their lifestyle. This same sense of belonging contributed greatly to the process of self-mythologizing; these men felt that they needed to connect to the popular narrative of the West in order to claim their place in it.

Gillette had rather a different take on this kind of camaraderie. As mentioned earlier, when he first signed on with the Army he had to take a train most of the way to his first posting. The railroad journey proved an uncomfortable introduction to his fellow army engineers, "a pretty tough gang."<sup>16</sup> He wrote in his memoirs that, after having watched them shoot at African American men on the platforms and kick a congressional candidate



right off the train, “I was adopted in the freest and heartiest manner possible as a member of the gang and the two fellows in the seat with me constituted a guard to see that I did not escape.”<sup>17</sup> This feeling of being pressganged on his first trip might help explain why Gillette spent so much time away from the other members of his survey parties rather than bonding with them as Thomas did. Instead, the connection that Gillette sought to immortalize in his memoirs was to the landscape and the wilderness of the West.

In a fashion very similar to Thomas’, Dodge often spoke of his experiences in first-person plural. This was not only true of his early experiences working in the field before the Civil war, but also of his work with the Union Pacific. Though in his position as Chief Engineer, he would have been unlikely to actively participate in the surveys, he included himself in their efforts whenever he spoke of his engineers and what they had accomplished. Yet at the same time, Dodge was very quick to use “I” when it came to emphasizing his role in momentous events. In one example, while attempting to connect a line with the Central Pacific, Dodge briefly mentions his efforts as a peacemaker: “I endeavored to have the contractors bring all hostility to a close, but, for some reason or other, they failed to do so.”<sup>18</sup> Here he distanced himself from the other group, and portrayed himself as having taken the moral high ground. He squarely placed the blame for this conflict (and he subsequent deaths) on the shoulders of the Central Pacific’s contractors. Similarly, when he was touring the West in the summer of 1867 with a party of businessmen and politicians, he encountered a survey party while his group was on their way to the Black Hills. “I completed the location of the line to Crow Creek”<sup>19</sup>; not the party he had just encountered, not his subordinates, he wrote that that he himself had completed the line for that very last segment of railroad in the Black Hills.

The majority of Gillette’s stories were rather solitary. In one particular story, Gillette wrote about how he went off on an extended surveying trip alone while surveying Colorado during his second year on the railroads. He confessed that he was simply bored, and “concluded to make a short survey of a route said to be fifteen miles, which proved later to be fifty-five miles in length.”<sup>20</sup> Nothing was said of the repercussions of having been gone from camp, and the various people he encountered rarely seemed to have names. The members of his party were described in terms of their jobs or origins, though occasionally special persons were described with both. He remarked that “our chief packer, a French Canadian”<sup>21</sup> taught him that men on the frontier gave freely rather than expecting to be repaid. Gillette’s experiences were apparently comprised of a long string of solo adventures through the West, which made his memoirs seem more adventurous than the other two. This lends itself to the same sort of self-mythologizing, but rather than trying to belong with other groups of people or within a stereotype, he wanted to belong to the places he had visited in the West.

This manner of nameless encounter was seen in both Dodge and Thomas’ accounts as well. Thomas and Dodge almost never used names for the people they met, with one exception: when discussing their superiors. Being out in the field, surveying crews rarely had contact with the higher-ups in the company (like Dodge) who made the decisions about where each team would go, who would be transferred, and who would be promoted. As such, their direct superiors would have been the party chiefs. In Thomas’ case, one

could easily contrast the long passages in his letters where he told his mother all about the chiefs of his parties with only two places where he mentioned his rodman, and only once by name: "Well my rodman (Mr. Birch) & I started & the rate we ran across the country was a caution."<sup>22</sup> We must assume that he was working with Birch (or another rodman) every time he was out doing work with levels or lines, and yet this was the only time he mentioned Birch in his letters. The rest of the time, though his teams would have been formed primarily based on the roles each of them served, the rest of the party (excepting the chief) was relegated to the amorphous "we." Dodge did the same thing. As mentioned, he used "we" to discuss what the company as a whole (though usually his engineers in particular) had accomplished. He only named those who were above him (whether in the military or within the railroad company), unless it was to speak of tragedies or situations that showed his courage, skill, or superior judgment. Almost every time he named a party chief, they died and he rescued the rest of their party.

Dodge and Thomas felt they belonged within their surveying groups, and this was ultimately the key to their self-mythologizing. These two men were separate from that most popular of Western characters, the do-gooder fighting alone. They worked closely with their team to extend the railroads' progress. Dodge's affection for that group within the railroad continued even after he served in the Civil War. After accepting the job of chief engineer of the Union Pacific, he would continue to work on railroads for the rest of his life. Though in Dodge's case that sense of belonging would appear to be at odds with his need to distinguish himself, in his memoirs he always returned to that first-person plural. It was never "they," never "them" when it came to his engineers in the Union Pacific. Even in the title of his memoirs: "How *We* Built the Union Pacific Railway."

## PROMOTIONS

As early as the 1850s, science had played an increasing role in the fieldwork of these survey teams. Gone was the era where in 1842 the Topographical Corps had attempted to make their way through the Rocky Mountains for the first time, an event that "promised to advance the cause of the national destiny."<sup>23</sup> Though Thomas and Gillette missed the era of the romanticized explorers who were lionized to the point of being integral to the national expansionist identity, they (together with Dodge) were still key elements of the myth of the West in terms of the self-made man. Even in the 1880s and beyond, part of the appeal of the West (much like that of America in general), was that a man could become something different.

It is possible that Thomas' rapid rise through the ranks of the survey teams was smoothed by his acquaintance Arthur. As mentioned, Thomas began his job with the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad as a rodman, but Arthur was a reoccurring figure in Thomas' letters, who was apparently pushing Thomas' advancement through the company. Thomas wrote home that Arthur reportedly "keeps them up [at the home office] about giving me a transit & says when I come in I may get one \$75 & expenses."<sup>24</sup> At this point in the letters, Thomas was being paid \$40 a month, so Arthur's success in later securing this promotion for him was a considerable windfall for Thomas. Arthur's connection to Thomas was never explicitly stated, but he was clearly well known to

Thomas' family, as he added a note to one of Thomas' letters to his mother, "Joe has been a very good boy so far. I will keep a fatherly eye open."<sup>25</sup> Given the familiarity with which he referred to Arthur in the letters to his mother, they were obviously close; Arthur was the only person (besides his sister) whom Thomas addressed by nickname. This was strange given Thomas' formality throughout the rest of his letters. All but one other person on the railroad was named only "Mr. \_\_\_\_\_", and Thomas signed his name so formally that Arthur's added note was the only hint of Thomas' first name. Thomas also seemed to have enjoyed good fortune when it came to the succession of party chiefs he worked for, noting with some gusto that the chief he served with the longest, one Mr. Billings, "explains everything I ask him to [to] me. [sic]"<sup>26</sup> Whether it was Thomas' unusual degree of charisma in getting close to his chiefs, or Arthur's persistent efforts at the home office, Thomas's rise through the ranks was inconsistent with the degree to which others had to work for their place.

Dodge, on the other hand, had worked for years to prove his capability. In contrast to Thomas, who spent less than two months as a rodman, Dodge worked eight months as a rodman before being promoted to an assistant engineer, what he called "certainly a very fine promotion for the limited experience I had."<sup>27</sup> Dodge himself personified the American dream of social mobility during this period, and this remarkably humble statement from the otherwise egocentric Dodge lead his readers to believe that it would normally have taken a significantly longer amount of time to reach such a position. Thomas' favorite chief, Mr. Billings, had in fact worked in survey camps for fifteen years, while Gillette had spent decades in the field with not even a mention of promotion (though he did have a town named after him), as he was still conducting surveys thirty years later in 1910.<sup>28</sup>

The time that these men lived in has been writ large in US history, due in no small part to memoirs like those of Dodge and Gillette. As mentioned, these stories were critically tied to the ideas of economic and social success during this time. A modest farmer's son like Dodge could rise to a position where he was paid \$1,000 a month in 1866.<sup>29</sup> A wanderer like Gillette could have his name permanently stamped on the map of the United States. Simply put, men who went west could be successful, whether it meant owning their own farm or more lucrative endeavors. While most of these men worked years to achieve that success, the prospect of getting lucky drew people by the thousands to remote corners of the country.

## INDIANS

The types of stories discussed so far defined these men as having claimed a part in the history of the West. Historian Richard White wrote that "early white settlers used their memoirs to provide their credentials."<sup>30</sup> For example, White noted that contemporary accounts (such as Thomas') rarely mentioned Indians, and such cases were positive. Yet when they recorded these same stories later in life, the same men "tended to re-imagine this past by inserting Indians as an omnipresent danger."<sup>31</sup> This was congruent with the stories of Thomas, Gillette, and Dodge. Thomas' sole account of Indians in this collection came as a bit of a fragment, in which he told his mother of the strange things he saw:

“In on[e] valley or draw as they call them in this country we came into a Indian Wigwam....I saw a squaw with a papoose.”<sup>32</sup> There were almost a dozen tribes living in Nebraska at the time. In Thomas’ letters this particular meeting sounded like an innocent encounter with a foreign culture, far from the bloodbaths present in Dodge’s memoirs.

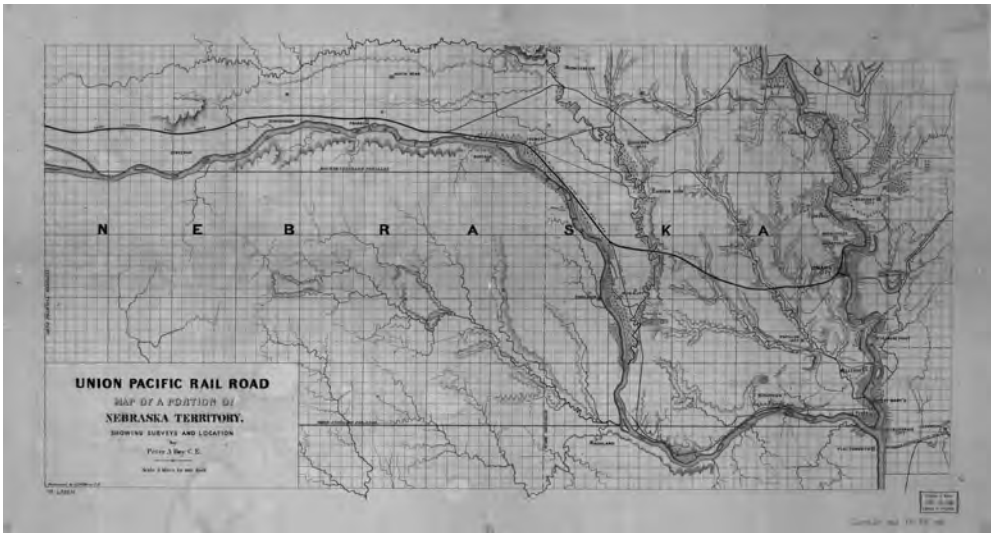
A number of other Western historians have written at length about how, even when they had earlier journals or letters like Thomas’ to refer to, a settler would go out of their way to write memoirs whose accounts of Indian interactions differed wildly from the original sources. For example, it has been estimated that between “150 primary accounts from all the major overland trails between 1830 and 1900...in only 15 were major troubles with the Indians reported and in none were claims made about extensive loss of life.”<sup>33</sup> Despite these kinds of statistics, there would be many Indian encounters in their memoirs that would invariably turn into terrible life-threatening situations and near escapes for the authors. As with the famous story of the Sand Creek Massacre, the story would grow in the telling.<sup>34</sup>

In Dodge’s case, his first encounter with the Indians (in his memoirs) was as he made his way alone to his first post of authority in the railroad survey teams. As he slept, an Indian tried to steal his horse. In terms of embellishment, Dodge also wrote about how that very same Indian later served under him in the Indian Wars.<sup>35</sup> Upon arriving at the camp he was in charge of, he found that a group of Omaha Indians were making themselves at home and eating all of the team’s provisions. He stated that: “It taught me a lesson, never to allow an Indian in my camp or around it without permission, and this was my instructions to all our engineering parties.”<sup>36</sup> In the rest of his memoirs, every single Indian encounter ended in slaughter. Many of the accounts were disjointed from the rest of his narrative. He wrote that in 1867: “While we were camped [near Denver], the Indians swooped down out of the ravine of Crow Creek and attacked a Mormon grading train....We buried the men and started the graveyard of the future city, now the capital of the State of Wyoming.”<sup>37</sup> This may simply have been an anecdotal story about the founding of Cheyenne, or maybe a tale to emphasize Dodge’s bravery in successfully defending the party of officials he was travelling with, but was entirely characteristic of his other Indian stories. Like the settlers and pioneers before him, it was likely expected that Dodge would have had many encounters with the Indians during his time with the railroad, and this expectation was amplified because of his role as a high ranking military man.

While Gillette did not recount any actual battles with Indians, his accounts of them were steeped in fear. His first encounter with Indians in New Mexico was when he was “invited” to an Apache war dance. He wrote:

That night the Indians had a war dance. Our tent opened towards the fire around which the Indians danced, singing, or shouting rather, “hi-yah, he-yah”, high tones and low tones, while the tom-toms were beaten, giving forth a monotonous sound. We lay awake watching this dance for hours but no one in the party had the temerity to go to the dance as the reception we had received earlier was a chilly one.<sup>38</sup>

One would almost think this case as innocent as when he described the rolling hills of Missouri or the beauty of Albuquerque, except that he then wrote starkly about how they were told on leaving that the war dance would continue for several nights as the Apache braves slowly left to hunt white troops, like those accompanying the survey party. Gillette's terror was palpable in this story, though he had never before met an Indian of any tribe. This fear of course was less present when he later traveled with Indian guides over the course of his various assignments, but he consistently characterized them with heavily accented speech, similar to the way black slaves were often depicted earlier in the century. He mentioned one encounter near Denver in 1881 where "We asked an old Indian if there was any danger and he replied, 'Mebbe so, mebbe not, all the same white man better skin out.'"<sup>39</sup> Though Gillette, Dodge, and Thomas probably never met, they were all characteristic of White's earlier assertions about the written accounts (contemporary and after the fact) of other men during this time. In attempting to write themselves into the wider narrative, they essentially took an artistic license with their memoirs.



*The Union Pacific Railroad through Nebraska*  
Source: Library of Congress



Like millions of modern fans of Hollywood Westerns, Gillette, Dodge, and Thomas were enamored with the "new country." The West had been open for decades before their experiences and it was already well on its way to becoming a myth without their help. They would have encountered bits of history that had already been mythologized (Thomas avidly told his mother about how he saw the hotel room where Jesse James had been shot) long before writing their own myths.<sup>40</sup> The accounts that they wrote, both in their letters and in their memoirs, along with the hundreds of others written by their generation, served to solidify the myths that they wrote themselves into. While Thomas'

letters were written at a time when they were still fresh in his mind, Dodge and Gillette's accounts were written long after the fact. By the time they had set down to write them, the frontier was closing. While all three stories contain ample evidence of the myths that still resonate with the romantic images of the West today, the unfortunate truth is that many of the other available sources have been distorted in much the same way. The question of their actual experiences during this time would require a much more in-depth study of a wider variety of primary sources.

Before the passage of Colorado Senate Bill 48 in 1881, Colorado was rife with medical chaos because *anyone* could claim they were a doctor and practice medicine. Numerous stories recount the horror of medical malpractice throughout the state. One of the most shocking accounts of such medical quackery appeared in the first edition of *The Rocky Mountain Medical Times* in 1882, in which Dr. Milo Wilson of Denver

# Medical Regulation Mayhem:

## The Struggle over Medical Professionalization in 19th Century Colorado

by Natalie Kellett

relayed a story about a woman he had treated in 1880. The woman had been seen by a number of physicians between November 1879 and February 1880. She had been suffering from abdominal pain and hemorrhaging, and had a high fever and fast pulse. This ailing woman had already been seen by physicians from the “magnetic,” “electric” and more “traditional” medical practices before Dr. Wilson was called. The magnetic physician just “passed his hands over her stomach,” and said that nothing was the matter with her; the electric physician used uterine instruments to examine her and said that “there was nothing whatever within the womb” and that she was “only swollen and inflamed a little”; the traditional physician was too drunk to be of any medical use. Upon Dr. Wilson’s examination of the patient, he swiftly deduced that the woman had been in the midst of a miscarriage. Using his medical knowledge, he quickly and effectively treated her. When assessing other doctors,

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Dr. Wilson recalled, "I cannot avoid thinking that the proper Regulation of the Practice of Medicine by the State Legislature, might have saved this patient many weeks of suffering, to say nothing of the great danger in which she was so long held by incompetent men."<sup>1</sup>

In Colorado before 1881, there were many types of medical doctors representing different schools of medicine, which included, but were not limited to the traditional, homeopathic and electric schools of medicine. Dr. Wilson's journal article advocated the traditional physicians to professionalize medicine. All of these doctors, with their widely different treatments and cures, made the medical profession very unprofessional. This caused the people of Colorado to question which doctors they should trust with their health and livelihood. These citizens' apprehensions caused the Colorado State Medical Society and the Colorado State Legislature to focus in on weeding out those they considered to be "incompetent men," and on promoting what they considered a "legitimate" school of medicine.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, for the purposes of simplification, "traditional" medicine will refer to the school of medicine practiced by established, educated, mainstream western doctors. Conversely, non-traditional will refer to medicine outside of the mainstream, or practiced by unlicensed practitioners.

To modern readers, this push towards a more traditional medicine may seem an inevitable outcome, yet during this period, traditional physicians were often seen as the "old school of medicine," and the lines between the medical practices of traditional physicians, non-traditional physicians and medical quacks were not clearly drawn.<sup>3</sup> When legislation was finally proposed by the Colorado State Medical Society and the Colorado legislature in 1881, the unclear boundaries divided legitimate and illegitimate physicians. How did the traditional practitioners of the Colorado State Medical Society win the battle? Why was there such uproar over the regulation of medicine in Colorado, when such regulation protected Colorado citizens from medical malpractice and quackery?

When looking at the uproar over medical regulation, it is essential to examine the arguments of historians in the field. Medical historians have critically analyzed the tensions surrounding the medical licensing requirements and resulting professionalization that swept across the country in the late nineteenth century, and have come to a couple of widely accepted conclusions. These historians have argued that traditional physicians and their corresponding state medical societies pursued state licensing and regulation because of the increasing number of physicians represented. This influx of physicians caused the traditional practitioners to feel that their professions and livelihoods were being threatened by non-traditional physicians, who were taking their clientele.<sup>4</sup> Some historians have taken this argument a step further, and have claimed that traditional physicians, in tandem with their corresponding state medical societies, obtained monopolies at the state level, in order to control the regulation of medicine for their economic and political gain.<sup>5</sup>

Although medical historians make differing points concerning the push towards professionalization, they all agree that traditional physicians were responsible. However, most historical accounts have approached the topic from a broad, nation-wide viewpoint. While this approach has shown the wide-reaching causes and effects of medical professionalization in the United States, historians have not addressed this issue with a state centered approach. Specifically, historians have not outlined the steps that



traditional practitioners had to go through in order to professionalize medicine in their respective states. This lack of state focused detail in previous scholarly work surrounding medical professionalization can be remedied by looking at it through the Colorado state lens. Colorado's push toward medical professionalization can further illuminate general patterns in state-level clashes over medical professionalization, while also allowing readers to appreciate the differences in this battle from state to state.

Those who were traditional physicians but did not have medical degrees, as well as those who had homeopathic degrees or electric degrees, felt that Colorado medical regulation legislation would overpower them. These non-traditional physicians believed that the mainstream would eventually use their power to declare their practices unprofessional in a society that was gradually moving towards professionalization. The clique of traditional physicians who wrote and helped to pass the Colorado law to regulate the practice of medicine went above and beyond their original appeal to outlaw what they deemed medical quackery in Colorado. They were also ruthlessly professionalizing the medical field to their discriminatory standards of what they believed medicine should be. They were able to achieve this goal through strength in numbers, meticulous organization through the Colorado State Medical Society, and connections within the Colorado government.

#### COLORADO'S MEDICAL CLIMATE BEFORE MEDICAL REGULATION LEGISLATION

Traditional physicians were a class unto themselves, and believed in germ theory, which stated that some diseases were caused by microorganisms that could spread from person to person. These practitioners also believed in the general idea that anything that caused desired changes in the pathological systems of a patient was negating the symptoms of a disease, and was therefore a useful therapy.<sup>6</sup> All schools of medicine that did not believe in these general medical theories were deemed as 'non-traditional' or 'irregular' schools of medicine.

In Colorado, the most abundant non-traditional physicians belonged to the homeopathic and electric schools of medicine. Homeopathic practitioners did not believe in germ theory, aseptic techniques, or many of the measures taken to protect public health. They



*An electric belt – a typical tool used by electric physicians  
Source: Denver Public Library*

argued that drugs that created similar symptoms to diseases that their patient had would help to cure the patient. For example, if a patient exhibited symptoms of a fever, the homeopath would prescribe a diluted form of a drug that produced symptoms of a fever in their belief that “like cures like.” At the height of their popularity, homeopathic practitioners accounted for fifteen percent of America’s medical practitioner population, and this same trend was evident in Colorado. The electric school of medicine originated with the magnetic school of medicine, which believed that medical therapy could be accomplished by the redistribution of the body’s forces with the use of magnets. During this period, electricity was invented and eventually replaced the use of magnetism as a way to redistribute the body’s forces. Due to its new relatively recent conception, only a small number of physicians were practicing electric medicine, and little was known about its medicinal uses when regulation legislation was passed in Colorado.<sup>7</sup>



**DR. DeWITT'S  
SYRUP TAR AND WILD CHERRY**

In the only POSITIVE CURE for Coughs and Colds in this Climate; Recommended by Physicians, Lawyers, Clergymen, Merchants, Mechanics and Miners, and pronounced by all the ONLY BURE CURE; Testimonials by the thousand throughout the country. For sale by all Druggists - Boston, N. H. Coast.

*Tar and cherry tree syrup –  
a common example of “quack” advertising  
Source: Denver Public Library*

Yet another class of people practicing medicine in Colorado during this period were those referred to as ‘quacks’ and charlatans by both the traditional and non-traditional practitioners. Medical practitioners were deemed quacks when they did not have a medical degree of any kind, and did not have any surgical or medical knowledge.<sup>8</sup> In late nineteenth century Colorado, medical quackery was rampant due to a lack of any sort of regulation that would prevent non-qualified individuals from practicing medicine. Haunting tales of quack remedies and surgeries performed by unskilled practitioners abounded in the state. One physician, who gave a lecture on Charlatanism to the Colorado State Medical Society, recounted the horrors of such medical malpractice.

In his lecture, he noted a baby who died from an excessive prescribed dose of morphine, and a quack surgery on a simple hernia that had deadly effects.<sup>9</sup> Traditional physicians in Colorado were not ignoring medical malpractice, and it was a constant topic of debate. However, to the traditional physicians’ dismay, Colorado citizens were not so quick in agreeing with concerns surrounding medical quackery. The line between legitimate and illegitimate physicians was not as clear as the traditional physicians claimed. Due to the public’s lack of trust of any physician, the traditional physicians began an intense campaign to show the people of Colorado that their school of medicine was legitimate, and that all other physicians were not legitimate or professional. “When people are brought to realize the frightful reign of quack doctors and quack druggists,” one concerned physician wrote, “they may well demand legal protection.”<sup>10</sup> Traditional physicians were arguing that medical quackery was common and dangerous in Colorado, but Colorado citizens were not in agreement, in part because they distrusted the legitimacy of all doctors.

Although Colorado citizens were not demanding any sort of medical regulation, Colorado’s traditional physicians decided to eradicate those they deemed to be quacks from the state, while also marginalizing non-traditional physicians. They did this by creating and passing regulation legislation on their own. In January of 1879, Dr. Gale,

a physician from Alamosa, proposed Senate Bill 64, which was the first bill in Colorado to propose the regulation of medical practitioners. This bill was ultimately aimed at clearing the uncertainties surrounding the professionalization of medicine in Colorado. Within the bill, a proposal for medical professionalization was made, in which doctors who did not graduate from “a legally chartered medical institution of good standing” would have to pass a lengthy examination, which included subjects such as anatomy, physiology, chemistry, pathology, and medicine. Senate Bill 64 also proposed that a Colorado State Board of Medical Examiners be appointed by the governor, with no clear outline as to which school of medicine these doctors would belong. However, the bill was barely even debated before it was given the status of indefinite postponement, until a more amiable bill without so many loose ends could be produced.<sup>11</sup> This first proposal brought a flurry of attention from those who practiced different types of medicine throughout the state, and traditional physicians became even more adamant about professionalization.

Only one year after the proposal of the 1879 bill, the Colorado State Medical Society (CSMS)—a society that only allowed physicians who had graduated from a four year recognized medical institution join its ranks—appointed a committee of physicians to draft a bill “to protect the public health and to regulate the practice of medicine in the state of Colorado.” In a typed letter sent to all members of the Colorado Senate, a declaration of medical war was issued against the physicians whom the CSMS deemed to be unprofessional and unworthy of practicing medicine in Colorado. The letter stated, “This [the drafting of a new medical bill] was considered necessary by the State Medical Society, not for the purpose of protecting themselves, but protecting the people, from the horde of incompetent and unscrupulous charlatans, who driven from many states east of us, by stringent laws, have settled upon our State, being protected here by the absence of any law against them.”<sup>12</sup> Also within the letter, the Society stated that “liberal provisions” were made towards the electric and homeopathic medical practices.<sup>13</sup> Clearly, the Colorado State Medical Society was ready for an upgrade in the professionalization of the medical field of Colorado. However, some hidden messages in this letter showed that the Society realized some physicians would be worried about the new bill, since it was coming from only one specific school of medicine. Their fears were not unfounded, but first it bears mentioning how the society gained the power and prestige needed to create and propose such a bill.

### **THE COLORADO STATE MEDICAL SOCIETY'S ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL POWER**

The Colorado Territorial Medical Society formed in 1871, was renamed the Colorado State Medical Society in 1876 when Colorado became a state, and by the year 1879 it contained a total of sixty-four members. At every single meeting from its founding until the year 1883, the presidential address contained concerns about the allowance of quackery in the state, as well as suggestions for solutions to the problem. One such president, W.H. Williams, relayed in 1878 that “it is evident that the laws of the



*Frederick Jones Bancroft, one of the founders of The Colorado Territorial Medical Society and an influential figure in the passage of medical regulation legislation. Source: Denver Public Library*



*The founders of the Denver Medical Society*  
*Source: Denver Public Library*

state should protect the people from the raid of the charlatan.”<sup>14</sup> Many other CSMS presidents went even further. H.K. Steele stated that legislators should “make it a penal offense for a man or woman to profess and publish himself or herself a doctor, or at least an M.D., unless he or she bears the diploma of an authorized medical school.”<sup>15</sup> The traditional physicians of Colorado, especially those in the Colorado State Medical Society, were ready to rid the state of so-called charlatans. This society was able to create and impose such legislation in Colorado through their meticulous organization, their strength in number, and their political connections.

The Colorado State Medical Society was well organized when a new medical regulation bill was proposed in 1881. When the society was first created, there were only about twenty members, and doctors from around the territory decided to create their own medical societies that were closer to home and conformed to their own ideals. In 1877, the Colorado State Medical Society pushed to get traditional physicians across the state to unite with the state society. In a letter sent across the state, the secretary of the Colorado State Medical Society wrote, “It is very desirable that all traditional members of the profession, located in the state, should become members, and a cordial invitation is hereby extended to all who may be desirous of uniting with the society.”<sup>16</sup> Within a separate letter written to the President of the Rocky Mountain Medical Association, the secretary wrote, “The medical profession of the northern section of our state is well represented, but none yet of the southern part have avoided themselves the appointments for membership.”<sup>17</sup> More than four separate letters were written to Michael Beshoar, the President of the Rocky Mountain Medical Association, to influence him and his members to join the state society. Eventually these pleas were successful, and the Colorado members from the Rocky Mountain Medical Association disbanded and became part of the society. At the 1880 Colorado State Medical Society convention, society President B.P. Anderson expressed his happiness at finally “bringing together scattered members from every portion of the state.”<sup>18</sup>

The reasons for unification became clear when the Colorado State Medical Society made a renewed push for medical regulation legislation. At their tenth annual convention in 1880, the society resolved that the Committee on Legislation should prepare a new bill regulating the practice of medicine. They also resolved that four copies of the bill should be sent to every traditional physician in the state, “with the request that previous to the meeting of the State Legislature the physicians of each Senatorial district shall secure the pledge of their senator and representative for the support of such bill when presented to Legislature.” Later on in the convention, the new bill was brought up again, with officers of the society requesting that each member “use his personal influence with

legislators to make the bill a law of the State.”<sup>19</sup> Evidently, society members were well connected with various legislators across the state, and the society expected them to use this to their advantage. Through these connections, the society was able to make use of their new members from across the state and acquire more political and legislative support than they had ever had before.

While these new members helped the Colorado State Medical Society gain more political influence, they also provided the society with an organizational strength in numbers. By 1880, they were 123 members strong.<sup>20</sup> Other medical sects in Colorado did not even have societies established by this time, with the first Colorado State Homeopathic Society not forming until June of 1881.<sup>21</sup> These non-traditional medical sects were therefore unorganized and underprepared for the legislative onslaught that was about to come.

### **MEDICAL LEGISLATION AND THE RESULTING UPROAR**

Senate Bill 48, entitled “An Act to Protect the Public Health and Regulate the Practice of Medicine in Colorado,” was officially proposed in the Colorado Senate on January 10th, 1881. Its prose was much the same as that of the previously proposed 1879 Senate Bill 64. Licensing by the Colorado State Board of Medical Examiners was again proposed, with those that had graduated from medical institutions automatically getting a Colorado license, and everyone else required to take a licensure examination that contained questions dealing with anatomy, physiology, chemistry, pathology, obstetrics and the practice of medicine. Physicians were no longer allowed to call themselves Doctors, M.D.’s or surgeons if they did not meet the requirements as specified by the bill, and were expected to pay a hefty fine if they did not. The only significant change from the previous bill was that the Colorado State Board of Medical Examiners was to be composed of nine practitioners who had graduated from “Medical Schools of undoubted respectability,” with six physicians from the traditional school, two physicians from the homeopathic school, and one physician from the electric school.<sup>22</sup> The Colorado State Board of Medical Examiners had the final say about who should be licensed, regardless of what a person’s examination score was or their previous experience. These specifications about the composition of the Colorado State Board of Medical Examiners was almost the Bill’s undoing, as it became clear that the CSMS was intent upon making the Board a one-sided entity that not only eliminated medical quackery, but made everything but traditional medical practice illegal.

When the bill was presented in the Colorado Senate, uproar ensued across the Colorado medical community. However, instead of an uproar from the quacks that the bill was working to eliminate, it was those who had licenses from other states, and those who had other non-traditional medical degrees who retaliated. A doctor by the name of L.T. Howard, who received a similar traditional medical license when Kansas passed a similar law, wrote a letter to one of the bills’ drafters stating his fears regarding the new bill. He stated, “would it not be keeping with rights and justice to have a board representing each of the schools? As it is, I feel like the Electric and Homeopathic classes

are hopelessly in the minority and are bound to be 'left.'<sup>23</sup> This doctor was one of many who articulated similar sentiments, as many professionals throughout the state saw this bill as a medical coup that would leave those who were not in the traditional school of medicine in the dust of medical professionalization.

Another doctor from the traditional school who also seemed to be the most verbal about this new bill was Dr. Thomas D. Worrall, of Leadville. Dr. Worrall was vehemently against Senate Bill 48, and his opinions and views were published in newspapers such as Leadville's *The Daily Chronicle* and Denver's *Rocky Mountain News*. When Worrall wrote about the Colorado State Medical Examiners Board he said that "the enforcement of the laws of the state would be taken out of the hands of officers recognized by the laws and constitution of Colorado, and be placed in the hands of men whose interests and prejudices may make them unfit to do justice to the citizens."<sup>24</sup> In a separate letter written to one of the drafters of the bill, Worrall wrote, "I disapprove entirely of the bill, since I regard it as a mere attempt to give control of the matter [of the regulation of medicine] to an entirely illegal and unnecessary board."<sup>25</sup> It is clear from Dr. Worrall's writings that there were many who considered this new bill as a way for those who belonged to the elite class of traditional physicians to advance the professionalization of medicine in their direction. This was obviously not only abhorrent to those who belonged to the homeopathic and electric schools of medicine, but also to those licensed doctors like Worrall who classified as traditional physicians, but did not have medical degrees. Practicing doctors from all schools of medicine were facing exclusion from Colorado's push towards professionalization because of the new bill's prejudiced examination and medical board mandates.

Not only were physicians from all schools of medicine noticing the prejudices of the new bill, Colorado citizens were also getting involved. In an editorial in *The Rocky Mountain News* shortly after the bill was proposed, the author wrote that the bill was meeting with opposition in both the state Senate and the House of Representatives because it was not "democratic in spirit or form." The editorial went on to explain that such the bill would "give the 'traditionals' about seven-ninths of the entire board, and permit them to legally brand as 'quacks' a number of gentlemen who are trained in the healing art, but whose diplomas do not come from a medical school of 'medical respectability.'"<sup>26</sup> Fear of exclusion from the ever-tightening bonds of professionalization had swept through the various fields of medicine around the state, and this fear had even made an impression on the citizens it was to impact.

Pressure and outrage grew to such a point that Dr. Worrall introduced new legislation, House Bill 128, in order to provide representation more friendly to those physicians not practicing within the traditional school of medicine. Attached to his new bill, Dr. Worrall wrote a scorching petition to the Colorado State House of Representatives about the unjustness of the previously proposed bill. He argued:

The creating of a board or commission to enforce the provisions of such a law is not necessary, and would inevitably give control of the whole practice of medicine to the dominant class, who, as a majority, under the influence of prejudice and interest would outvote any small minority of physicians of other schools who may be appointed on the board.<sup>27</sup>

Worrall's House Bill 128 proclaimed that there should be no distinctions made between practitioners from different schools of medicine. The bill also stated that probate judges from different counties, along with physicians of various fields, should make the decisions regarding physician licensing.<sup>28</sup> Dr. Worrall's goal was to equalize the playing field for all practitioners of medicine, but even with his diligent efforts, the tide was turning towards professionalization favoring the traditional school of medicine. Unfortunately, House Bill 128 never made it off the Colorado State House floor and Senate Bill 48 was passed into law only a month after it was proposed. The passage of this bill began the shift towards Colorado's medical professionalization. It wasn't necessarily the qualifications that these physicians held that allowed them to push medical regulation standards, but rather their strength in numbers, their meticulous organization, and their political connections. In fact, the traditional practitioners were so well organized and politically connected that all efforts to stop such legislation on behalf of the non-traditional and non-degree holding physicians like Dr. Worrall were too little, too late.



Colorado was one of the last states in the West to propose a law that would regulate the practice of medicine, meaning that unlicensed doctors from other states were able to move to Colorado and continue to practice medicine. Traditional practitioners—and especially those in the Colorado State Medical Society—were adamant about marginalizing non-traditional physicians and eradicating so-called quackery from Colorado, pushing for more than a decade to pass medical regulation legislation. The Colorado State Medical Society supported legislation resulting in the Colorado State Board of Medical Examiners being weighted very heavily in favor of the traditional practitioners. This specific stipulation within the bill allowed the board to justly or unjustly label anyone without a “respectable medical degree” as a medical quack. Therefore, the uproar and chaos surrounding the proposal and eventual passing of Senate Bill 48 was caused by those who were labeled as quacks, those without degrees, and those with “non-traditional” degrees, who felt they were being pushed out of their medical practice by an elite group of traditional practitioners. The mainstream practitioners used the bill to push Colorado's medical field to their standards, even though some of their medical techniques at the time might have classified them as quacks as well.

# Notes

## Historic Preservation in Britain and the United States: Examining How We Save the Links to Our Pasts

by Erica Fontenot

- 1 Miles Glendinning *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation, 42 - The Society of Antiquarians began in 1707 as an informal group but did not gain National attention until their Royal Charter.*
- 2 <https://www.sal.org.uk/about-us/our-history/> The webpage for the Royal Society of Antiquarians
- 3 <https://www.sal.org.uk/>
- 4 Bill Bryson, *At home, A short history of private life* - Kindle Loc 7186
- 5 Mithen, Steven (2006). *After the ice: a global human history, 20,000–5,000 BC.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- 6 Olimpia Niglio, lecture, Jon Ruskin, *The Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, Kyoto University, Graduate School of Human and Environmental Studies, May 23, 2013.
- 7 le-Duc, born in France, believed historic restoration with interpretations could improve the state of historic architecture.
- 8 John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 194
- 9 Glendinning, 127
- 10 <http://www.spab.org.uk/what-is-spab-/history-of-the-spab/>
- 11 *ibid*
- 12 Bryson
- 13 [http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/gb/uk\\_act\\_1882\\_orof.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/gb/uk_act_1882_orof.pdf)
- 14 Charles Mynors, *Listed Buildings, Conservation Areas, and Monuments*, 8-9
- 15 *ibid*, 9-10
- 16 Glendinning, 160
- 17 Mynors, 206.
- 18 Glendinning, 288.
- 19 Mynors, 10
- 20 *ibid* 286-287
- 21 <http://www.ukapt.org.uk/>
- 22 <http://heritageoflondon.org/about-us/>
- 23 <http://heritageoflondon.org/projects/#ourgrantscheme>
- 24 <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/place/tattershall-castle>
- 25 <http://heritageoflondon.org/projects/#pastprojects>
- 26 <https://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/press/2009/march/camdens-bridges-shine-again-/>
- 27 <http://www.camden.gov.uk/ccm/content/press/2006/january-2006/seven-dials-renaissance-historic-london-street-to-rival-great-european-cities.en>
- 28 <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/barrington-court>
- 29 <http://www.bath-preservation-trust.org.uk/about-us/>
- 30 <http://www.mountvernon.org/about/mount-vernon-ladies-association/>
- 31 Connery, William S. *Civil War Northern Virginia 1861*. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011, 63
- 32 <https://www.nwhm.org/education-resources/biography/biographies/ann-pamela-cunningham/>
- 33 Sutter, Paul. 2002. *Driven Wild: How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement*. Seattle: University of Washington press, 104



- 34 Shankland, Robert. *Steve Mather of the National Parks*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951, 127-136
- 35 [www.nps.gov](http://www.nps.gov)
- 36 Sims, Ronan Gayle (August 20, 2004). "Charles E. Peterson, 97, Preservationist". Philadelphia Inquirer.
- 37 <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/background.html>
- 38 <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/background.html>
- 39 <http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/charleston/preservation.htm>
- 40 <http://www.knowla.org/entry/574/>
- 41 [http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/FHPL\\_HistSites.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/FHPL_HistSites.pdf)
- 42 <http://www.achp.gov/docs/nhpa%202008-final.pdf>
- 43 [http://www.nps.gov/history/tribes/Historic\\_Preservation\\_Laws.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/tribes/Historic_Preservation_Laws.htm)
- 44 <http://www.nps.gov/clg/>
- 45 <http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/law-and-policy/legal-resources/preservation-law-101/federal-law/section-106/>
- 46 <http://www.preservationnation.org/information-center/law-and-policy/legal-resources/preservation-law-101/federal-law/transportation-act.html#.VlJsFr8vzpY>
- 47 <http://www.preservationnation.org/who-we-are/history.html#.VlKJcL8vzpY>
- 48 <http://www.preservationnation.org/who-we-are/history.html#.VlKJcL8vzpY>
- 49 <https://napcommissions.org/about-us/history/>
- 50 <http://coloradopreservation.org/about-colorado-preservation-inc/>
- 51 <http://www.historycolorado.org/oahp>
- 52 <http://www.historicdenver.org/about-us/>
- 53 <https://www.denvergov.org/content/denvergov/en/community-planning-and-development/landmark-preservation/landmark-preservation-commission.html>
- 54 Due to the number of examples previously in the paper regarding the United States, these case studies will focus on Colorado and Denver.
- 55 <http://www.mollybrown.org/about-us/>
- 56 <http://www.chimneyrockco.org/whatisCR.php>
- 57 <http://www.historycolorado.org/oahp/georgetownsilver-plume>
- 58 Erica Fontenot, Interview with Governor Hickenlooper, Friday March, 13, 2015
- 59 <http://www.historycolorado.org/oahp/denver-city-county-c>

## The Stable of the Iron Horse

by Adam Guyon

- 1 CF & I, "100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of CF& I," *CF & I Steel Blast*, January-February, Vol. 46, 1972, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado, pg. 1 and 4. Much like its predecessor *Camp and Plant*, the *CF & I Steel Blast* was a company-produced periodical that was distributed throughout the mill up until the early 1980s. The 1972 edition included a company timeline chronicling major technological advances at the plant.
- 2 Carl Abbott, Stephen Leonard, and Thomas Noel, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 2012), 138.
- 3 CF & I, "100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of CF & I," 1: Abbott et al., *Colorado*, 138.
- 4 Thomas Andrews, *Killing for Coal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 66. For further reading on the early development of CF & I as a company, H. Lee Scamehorn's *Pioneer Steelmaker in the West* should be considered the definitive historical text. It is not directly treated here due to the emphasis on one particular section of CF & I rather than a broader corporate history.
- 5 Jeffrey DeHerrera, Cheri Yost, and Adam Thomas, "Forged Together in the Bessemer Neighborhood" (Report prepared for the City of Pueblo, Local Government Grant Project CO-11-021), Bessemer Historical Society, 1.
- 6 DeHerrera et al., "Forged Together in the Bessemer Neighborhood," 3.

- 7 DeHerrera et al., “Forged Together in the Bessemer Neighborhood,” 2.
- 8 CF & I Sociological Department, “Picturesque Pueblo,” *Camp and Plant*, July 11, Vol. 4, 1903, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado, pg. 5. *Camp and Plant* was the earliest company periodical produced by CF & I. While certainly slanted in favor of the corporation, especially its sociological department and community outreach efforts, it represents an excellent look at CF & I’s relationship with the surrounding community during the early twentieth century. The Bessemer Historical Society currently holds a complete collection of the newspaper.
- 9 DeHerrera et al., “Forged Together in the Bessemer Neighborhood,” 37.
- 10 Brian Clason and Jonathan Rees, “Dr. Richard Corwin and Colorado’s Changing Racial Divide,” in *Making an American Workforce: The Rockefellers and the Legacy of Ludlow*, ed. Fawn-Amber Montoya (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014), 36. CF & I blamed the 1901 strike on workplace tension that they assumed to be the result of the ethnically diverse neighborhood rather than paternalistic company policies and practices. The efforts of the Sociological Department represented an attempt by CF & I to alleviate these issues by unifying the neighborhood through company outreach.
- 11 Clason and Rees, “Dr. Richard Corwin and Colorado’s Changing Racial Divide,” 35.
- 12 H. Lee Scamehorn, *Mill and Mine: The CF & I in the Twentieth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 84.
- 13 Clason and Rees, “Dr. Richard Corwin and Colorado’s Changing Racial Divide,” 37.
- 14 Fawn-Amber Montoya, “Field Days, YMCA, and Baseball: CF&I’s Industrial Representation Plan of 1914 and Gender Relations in Southern Colorado Coal-Mining Camps,” in *Making an American Workforce: The Rockefellers and the Legacy of Ludlow*, ed. Fawn-Amber Montoya (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014), 104. Professor Montoya primarily addresses company paternalism and Rockefeller’s ERP plans in Bessemer through the lens of gender issues, particularly through the efforts of the YMCA. These issues are best addressed in their own studies and are therefore only treated briefly here. The ERP plans represent an interesting period in general for CF & I as the experiment had very limited success. While a full history of Rockefeller’s ERP plans is beyond the scope of this essay, they remain well worth further study.
- 15 Fawn-Amber Montoya, “Field Days, YMCA, and Baseball,” 109.
- 16 Fawn-Amber Montoya, “Field Days, YMCA, and Baseball,” 115-116.
- 17 Fawn-Amber Montoya, “Field Days, YMCA, and Baseball,” 112-113.
- 18 In Fawn-Amber Montoya’s case, associating CF & I with reinforcing older social norms regarding the role of women is rather interesting. Women gained the right to vote within Colorado in 1893-1894 as part of a political alliance with miner’s unions and local farmers/ranchers well before national suffrage. Montoya appears to be associating CF & I’s efforts to reinforce social norms with company opposition to the influence of these other groups over the roughly forty year period between local and national suffrage.
- 19 CF & I, “100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of CF&I,” *CF & I Steel Blast*, January-February, Vol. 46, 1972, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado, pg. 1 and 4.
- 20 CF & I, *CF & I Steel Blast*, February 1, Vol. 34, 1960, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado, pg. 1.
- 21 CF & I, *CF & I Steel Blast*, March/April, Vol. 46, 1972, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado, pg. 7.
- 22 CF & I, *CF & I Steel Blast*, Vol. 49, 1975, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado, pg. 1. The *Blast* circulated more and more infrequently as time went on. By the 1970s the paper was limping out of circulation and was only published quarterly. The figures reported do not take into account CF & I supporting businesses, such as the Mill Stop, which depended almost entirely on CF & I employees.
- 23 Ron Swope, Interview by Adam Guyon, Pueblo, March 8, 2015. The collapse of the American steel market in the 1980s forced CF & I into bankruptcy in 1990 and prompted Oregon Steel to buy the company. In 2007, the Russian-based Evraz firm assumed control from Oregon Steel and continues to operate the plant into the present.
- 24 In response to any potential quibbles about my use of oral testimony to explore the impact of CF & I programs: all memory is inherently subjective regardless of the medium by which it is recorded, which is why no source is inherently problematic.

- 25 DeHerrera et al., "Forged Together in the Bessemer Neighborhood," 53. The exact date of the Steel Y's closing is disputed. The last city directory listing is dated to 1948, however the building stood until the early 1960s and therefore could have plausibly operated in some capacity into the 1950s.
- 26 DeHerrera et al., "Forged Together in the Bessemer Neighborhood," 51. The multiple structures refer to CF & I's adherence to American social norms of the early twentieth century, most notably segregation.
- 27 Mona Grisham, Interview with David del Norte, July 14, 2012, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado. Mona worked for CF & I from 1952-1955. She was one of a surprisingly large number of female employees that the Bessemer Historical Society interviewed.
- 28 Mona Grisham, Interview with David del Norte, July 14, 2012, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado.
- 29 Josephine Borzilieri, Interview for the Bessemer Historical Society, June, 14, 2008, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado. Josephine worked for CF & I from 1943-1970 as a machine operator and was left with a very positive impression of her 27 and a half years with the company.
- 30 Jack Gwartney and Jim Giltner, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Bessemer, Pueblo, March 26, 2015; Jack worked at CF & I for 25 years from 1959-1984 and Jim worked there for 18 years from 1976-1994. The two were interviewed together and provided an excellent local description of the neighborhoods as well as a variety of stories.
- 31 Jack Gwartney and Jim Giltner, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Bessemer, Pueblo, March 26, 2015; Paul Thullen, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Pueblo, March 15, 2015; Josephine Borzilieri, Interview for the Bessemer Historical Society, June, 14, 2008, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado. There are certainly other explanations for the term "Bojon," many of which are racially and culturally descriptive. The definition used above is the most common one found in the interviews.
- 32 Kochis Family, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Pueblo West, February 28, 2015. Sharon and her husband Bob were interviewed at the same time. While both are native to Pueblo, neither personally worked in the mill but had family that did.
- 33 Jack Gwartney and Jim Giltner, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Bessemer, Pueblo, March 26, 2015.
- 34 Jack Gwartney and Jim Giltner, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Bessemer, Pueblo, March 26, 2015.
- 35 Paul Thullen, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Pueblo, March 15, 2015.
- 36 Jack Gwartney and Jim Giltner, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Bessemer, Pueblo, March 26, 2015.
- 37 Ron Swope, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Pueblo, March 8, 2015. Swope worked at the mill for 40 years from 1970-2010 and reflected on a variety of gradual changes at the plant.
- 38 Paul Thullen, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Pueblo, March 15, 2015.
- 39 CF & I, *CF & I Steel Blast*, January 4, Vol. 34, 1960, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado, pg. 2.
- 40 CF & I, *CF & I Steel Blast*, January 4, Vol. 34, 1960, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado, pg. 2.
- 41 Jack Gwartney and Jim Giltner, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Bessemer, Pueblo, March 26, 2015. The whistle had been shut down during the mill's decline in the late 1970s-1980s, which is why the power house crew felt that it was an appropriate commemoration for the new power house.
- 42 George Chapo, Interview with Joe Sandoval, December 22, 2008, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado.
- 43 Jack Gwartney and Jim Giltner, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Bessemer, Pueblo, March 26, 2015; Ron Swope, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Pueblo, March 8, 2015; George Chapo, Interview with Joe Sandoval, December 22, 2008, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado.

- 44 Jack Gwartney and Jim Giltner, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Bessemer, Pueblo, March 26, 2015; Ron Swope, Interview by Adam Guyon, tape recording, Pueblo, March 8, 2015; George Chapo, Interview with Joe Sandoval, December 22, 2008, Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado. There is some debate as to the exact date of the burn. The blast furnace was demolished in 1988 and there is consensus that the events were post 1980. The local newspapers were surprisingly quiet about the events and nothing is mentioned in CF & I periodicals. What is known is that many residents have reported the marijuana cloud in the neighborhoods.

## A Harbor Commodious: How the Massachusetts Bay Company Developed the New England Fishing Trade During the Seventeenth Century

by Elsa Peterson

- 1 Manasseh Minor, *The diary of Manasseh Minor, Stonington, Conn., 1696-1720* (Frank Denison Miller, 1915), 37.
- 2 K.G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, (St. Paul: University of Minnesota, 1974), 142.
- 3 Ibid., 167.
- 4 Earle, Carville E. "The First English Towns of North America." *Geographical Review*, vol. 67, no. 1 (January 1997), pp. 34-50.
- 5 K.G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, 166
- 6 K.G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, 38.
- 7 Ibid., 95
- 8 Ibid., 95-96
- 9 Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Conflict of Civilisations 1600-1675* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 406-7.
- 10 K.G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, 198; David Brion Davis and Steven Mintz, *The Boisterous Sea of Liberty: A Documentary History of America from Discovery through the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 70
- 11 Samuel Maverick, *A Briefe Discription of New England and the Severall Towns Therein together with the Present Government Thereof* (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1885), 11, 12, 14, 26.
- 12 John Josselyn, *New England's Rarities Discovered in Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Serpents, and Plants of that Country* (Boston: William Veazie, 1865), 59-76.
- 13 Paul Goodman and Frank Otto Gatell, *The American Colonial Experience: An Essay in National Origins* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), 79.
- 14 Nathaniel Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the governor and company of the Massachusetts bay in New England Vol. 1 1628-1641* (Boston: William White Press, 1853), 158.
- 15 Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Conflict of Civilisations 1600-1675* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 24.
- 16 Peter E. Pope, *Fish Into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 24-25.
- 17 Shurtleff, ed., *Records*, 257-8.
- 18 Shurtleff, ed., *Records*, 403.
- 19 Ibid., 258.
- 20 Ibid., 326.
- 21 Peter E. Pope, *Fish Into Wine*, 25.
- 22 The British Royal Navy dabbled in the packing, drying, and exporting regulations of the New England fisheries, but their involvement was minimal. 1651 was the first instance of Royal Navy convoys protecting English fishing ships from the French colonists that were leaving Newfoundland. K.G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, 166.

- 23 *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society Vol. 1 - Fifth Series* (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1871), <https://books.google.com/books>, 498.
- 24 Shurtleff, ed., *Records*, 258.
- 25 Alan Taylor, *American Colonies* (2001), 175.
- 26 Shurtleff, ed., *Records*, 500.
- 27 K.G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, 61.
- 28 K.G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, 161.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 313.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 157.
- 31 Bernard Bailyn in *Essays on American Colonial History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc, 1972), ed. Paul Goodman, 204-205
- 32 Alan Taylor, *American Colonies*, 176
- 33 *Winthrop Papers - Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society Vol 7 - Fourth Series* (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1865), 318.
- 34 Alan Taylor, *American Colonies*, 175.
- 35 K.G. Davies, *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*, 167.
- 36 Paul Goodman and Frank Otto Gatell, *The American Colonial Experience: An Essay in National Origins*, 79.
- 37 The high diversity of New England's extraction economy—the local economies of Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies in particular—freed it from relying on a single crop or industry, unlike Virginia, the Carolinas, and the plantation islands. Partially because of the less-favourable climate and the less-fertile soils, New England farmers and plantations produced a wide variety of crops and agricultural exports: they couldn't afford to focus on a single export, like tobacco, indigo, or rice.

## Knowing the Enemy:

### The Influence of Identity on the Treatment of German POWs in Colorado During World War II

by Taylor Warner

- 1 Letter to Robert Sandau from Wili Titcher. August 9, 2000, The Sandau-Titcher Correspondence (1947 -2006). MS1999, FF16, The Stephen H. Hart Library and Research Center at History Colorado. Wili Titcher left Colorado in March, 1946, living in England for two years before finally making it home to East Germany. Wili maintained contact with the Sandau family for decades until his death in 2006.
- 2 Lauren Hahn, "Germans in the Orchards: Post-World War II Letters from Ex-POW Agricultural Workers to a Midwestern Farmer," *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 34 (2000-2001), 170 - 178; Copy of a Letter by Thomas East, October 7, 1965. WH618, FF35, Reunion POW Program, Letters. Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department; Newspaper Clippings, n.d. Supplements of the Morning Light, WH618, FF15. Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
- 3 Antonio Thompson, *Men in German Uniform: POWs in America During WWII* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2010), 132; Lauren Hahn, "Germans in the Orchards: Post-World War II Letters from Ex-POW Agricultural Workers to a Midwestern Farmer," *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 34 (2000-2001), 170 - 178.
- 4 Rock, Adam. "The American Way: The Influence Of Race On The Treatment Of Prisoners Of War Held In The United States During World War Two." PhD diss., University of Central Florida Orlando, Florida, 2014; Krammer, Arnold. "Japanese Prisoners of War in America." *The Pacific Historical Review* (1983): 67-91; Elizabeth Atkins, ""The Prisoners Are Not Hard to Handle:" Cultural Views of German Prisoners of War and Their Captors in Camp Sharpe, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania." PhD diss., Bowling Green State University, 2008; Matthias Reiss, "Solidarity Among "Fellow Sufferers": African Americans and German Prisoners of War in

- the United States During World War II,” *The Journal of African American History* 98 (2013), 531 - 561. Most African American Historians have examined how racial biases led to German POWs being treated more favorably than African American soldiers and how those biases were perceived by African Americans.
- 5 For more information on the various conflicts within camps, see, Antonio Thompson, *Men in German Uniform: POWs in America During WWII* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2010). Thompson lays out tensions between prisoners and camp personnel through examinations of POW camps across the United States.
  - 6 Antonio Thompson, *Men in German Uniform: POWs in America During WWII* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2010), 18; Arab Troops Transfer, December 2, 1943, WH618, FF25, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department; Thompson, *Men in German Uniform*,
  - 7 “Convention Between the United States of America and Other Powers, Relating to Prisoners of War; July 27, 1929”, *The Avalon Project at Yale Law School: Lillian Goldman Law Library*, accessed October 14, 2015. [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/geneva02.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/geneva02.asp); Thompson, *Men in German Uniform*, 11; Kurt Landsberger Unedited Biography, WH618, FF1, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department; Carl Abbott, Stephen J. Leonard, and Thomas J. Noel. “Chapter 17: World War II.” In *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*, 299-314. 5th ed. Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2013.
  - 8 Arab Troops Transfer, December 2, 1943. WH618, FF25.
  - 9 Arnold Krammer. “Japanese Prisoners of War in America.” *The Pacific Historical Review* (1983): 70; Chad W. Timm, “Working With the Enemy Axis Prisoners of War in Iowa During World War II” (2011): 225.
  - 10 Antonio Thompson, *Men in German Uniform*, 45.
  - 11 Arab Troops Transfer, December 2, 1943. WH618, FF25.
  - 12 *ibid.*
  - 13 There were even some cases POWs captured requesting to join the Free French Army. See: September 28, 1943, Prisoner Transfers (1943-1945), WH618, FF26, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
  - 14 Letter by Joseph Garignani, February 11, 1945, Prisoner Transfers (1943 -1945), WH618, FF26, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department; Letter by A.M. Tollefson to Commanding General and 7th Service Command, April 5, 1945, Prisoner Transfers (1943 - 1945), WH618, FF26, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
  - 15 Major Paul A. Neuland, Field Report from Camp Trinidad: Prisoner of War Special Projects Memorandum, February 22-24, 1945, Reports of Visits, WH618, FF23, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
  - 16 Visit to Camp Trinidad by the Red Cross, February 7, 1944, Reports of Visits, WH618, FF23, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
  - 17 *ibid.*
  - 18 Prisoner Transfer Report, October 12, 1943, Prisoner Transfers (1943 -1945), WH618, FF26, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
  - 19 Note by Robert B. Heinkel Part of the Prisoner of War Division, December 14, 1943, Photocopies of Prisoner Transfers, WH618, FF26, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department; Kurt Landsberger Unedited Biography, WH618, FF1.
  - 20 Visit Report, March 21-22, 1945, Summary of Visits 1944 - 1945, WH618, FF23, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department; Kurt Landsberger Unedited Biography. WH618, FF1
  - 21 “Your Handbook” United States War Department, July 1943, Pamphlet, WH618, FF20, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
  - 22 Visit to Camp Trinidad, Photocopies of Visit Reports 1944 -1945, WH618, FF23, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department; Dale Maple Court Martial, 1944, Court Martial Records Vol. 1 (1944 - 1952), The Dale H. Maple Collection MS#1569, FF1. The Stephen H. Hart Library and Research Center: History Colorado; Statement by Dale H. Maple, February 21, 1944, FBI Materials, The Dale H. Maple Collection, MS#1569, FF11. The Stephen H. Hart Library and Research Center: History Colorado.

- 23 Camp Stonewall Visit, April 27, 1943. WH618, FF23, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
- 24 Antonio Thompson, Men in German Uniform, 34.; John M. O'Connor, September 21, 1943 - September 25, 1943. *The Morning Light*, Trinidad Morning Light Clippings, WH618, FF13, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
- 25 Recollections from John Aboud, January 9, 1990, Recollections, WH618, FF3, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department; Camp Stonewall Visit, April 27, 1943, WH618, FF23, Trinidad POW Camp, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
- 26 Lauren Hahn, "Germans in the Orchards", 172.
- 27 Letter to Lydia Sandau, July 7, 1947, The Sandau Titcher Correspondence (1947 - 2006), MS#1991, FF1. The Stephen H. Hart Library and Research Center: History Colorado. Note: English was not Wili Titcher's native language and the quote has been presented as it appeared originally in the letter, despite awkward phrasing.
- 28 Letter to Lydia Sandau, February 3, 1963, The Sandau-Titcher Correspondence (1947-2006). MS#1991, FF2.
- 29 Recollections from John Aboud, January 9, 1990, WH618, FF3; Lauren Hahn, "Germans in the Orchards", 172.

## Western Mythology:

### The Literary World of Railroad Survey Camps in the 1880s

by Sarah Sifton

- 1 J.E. Thomas to mother, February 24, 1884, Folder 10, J.E. Thomas Papers, Western History and Genealogy Collection, Denver Public Library.
- 2 Richard White, "*It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own*": *A History of the American West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 249-56.
- 3 William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West: 1803-1863* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959), 4.
- 4 Richard Reinhardt, *Workin' on the Railroad* (Palo Alto, CA: American West Publishing Company, 1970), 61.
- 5 Thomas G. Andrews, "'Made by Toile'? Tourism, Labor, and the Construction of the Colorado Landscape, 1858-1917," *The Journal of American History* 94, no. 3 (December 2005): 840.
- 6 Edward Gillette, *Locating the Iron Trail* (Boston, MA: The Christopher Publishing House, 1925), 35.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 13.
- 8 Joseph A. Noble, *From Cab to Caboose: Fifty Years of Railroading* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 21.
- 9 Grenville M. Dodge, *How We Built the Union Pacific Railway, and Other Railway Papers and Addresses*, (Council Bluffs, IA: Monarch Printing Co., 1914), 15.
- 10 J.E. Thomas to mother, March 16, 1884, Folder 13, J.E. Thomas Papers.
- 11 *Ibid.*, January 20, 1884, Folder 3.
- 12 "Railroad Surveying Crew," City of Lake Oswego, accessed December 10, 2015, <https://www.ci.oswego.or.us/tools/library/photos/details.aspx?4448>.
- 13 J.E. Thomas to mother, March 21, 1884, Folder 11, J.E. Thomas Papers.
- 14 *Ibid.*, January 6, 1884, Folder 3.
- 15 *Ibid.*, February 10, 1884, Folder 7.
- 16 Gillette, *The Iron Trail*, 13-14.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 Dodge, *How We Built the Union Pacific*, 29.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 24.
- 20 Gillette, *The Iron Trail*, 38.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 19.

- 22 J.E. Thomas to mother, February 10, 1884, Folder 7.
- 23 Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West*, 68-69.
- 24 J.E. Thomas to mother, February 5, 1884, Folder 6, J.E. Thomas Papers.
- 25 Ibid., December 29, 1883, Folder 2.
- 26 Ibid., February 20, 1884, Folder 9.
- 27 Dodge, *Union Pacific*, 6.
- 28 J.E. Thomas to mother, February 10, 1884, Folder 7, J.E. Thomas Papers; Gillette, *The Iron Trail*, 160.
- 29 Dodge, *Union Pacific*, vi. This information is from the foreword to the reprint, written by Umatilla Gregory.
- 30 White, "It's Your Misfortune", 618.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 J.E. Thomas to mother, no date, Folder 15, J.E. Thomas Papers
- 33 Clyde A. Milner, "The Shared Memory of Montana Pioneers," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 37, no. 1 (Winter, 1987): 6. In this statement, he is summarizing the research of Glenda Riley and Lillian Schlissel to connect it to his own examples of pioneer groups in Montana.
- 34 For a detailed account of this argument, read Ari Kelman, "What's in a Name? The Fight to Call Sand Creek a Battle or a Massacre," in *Battles and Massacres on the Southwest Frontier: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 116-133. Kelman discusses how the accounts of the engagement changed over time; in an effort to clear their names and establish themselves as heroes, the soldiers and their supporters told increasingly vilified stories about their victims while painting themselves into the larger story of the Civil War.
- 35 Dodge, *Union Pacific*, page 7.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid., page 23.
- 38 Gillette, *Iron Trail*, 20.
- 39 Ibid., 39.
- 40 J.E. Thomas to mother, February 10, 1884, Folder 7, J.E. Thomas Papers.

## Medical Regulation Mayhem: The Struggle over Medical Professionalization in 19th Century Colorado

by Natalie Kellett

- 1 Milo A. Wilson, "Miscarriage—Severe, Prolonged for Nearly Four Months—Unrecognized Pregnancy—Possibility of Twins—Recovery," *The Rocky Mountain Medical Journal* 1, (1882): 256-257
- 2 Robert H. Shikes, "Organized Medicine," in *Rocky Mountain Medicine: Doctors, Drugs and Disease in Early Colorado* (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company, 1986), 105.
- 3 H.A. Lemen, "Address of President H.A. Lemen." Address made at the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Colorado State Medical Society, Denver, Colorado, June 13-14, 1882.
- 4 William G. Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 305. See also John Duffy, *From Humors to Medical Science: A History of American Medicine* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Norman Gevitz, *Other Healers: Unorthodox Medicine in America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).
- 5 Jeffery L. Berlant, *Profession and Monopoly: A Study of Medicine in the United States and Great Britain* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975). See also James C. Whorton, *Nature Cures: The History of Alternative Medicine in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).



- 6 William G. Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 42-43.
- 7 Robert H. Shikes, "Alternative Medicine," in *Rocky Mountain Medicine: Doctors, Drugs and Disease in Early Colorado* (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company, 1986), 213-221.
- 8 Shikes, *Rocky Mountain Medicine*, 222.
- 9 Jesse Hawes, "Charlatanism in Colorado." Paper presented at the Thirteenth Annual Convention for the Colorado State Medical Society, Denver, Colorado, June 19-21, 1883.
- 10 "Medical Malpractice," *Rocky Mountain News*, (Denver, CO), January 13, 1881.
- 11 Senate Bill No. 64, Proposed January 17, 1879, box 67439, Colorado Bill Backs, Colorado State Archives.
- 12 Colorado State Medical Society Letter about Senate Bill No. 48, n.d., box 3, folder 80, Coll. WH1083, Beshoar Family Papers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.
- 13 Colorado State Medical Society Letter about Senate Bill No. 48, n.d., box 3, folder 80, Coll. WH1083, Beshoar Family Papers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.
- 14 W.H. Williams, "Address of President W.H. Williams." Address made at the Seventh Annual Convention for the Colorado State Medical Society, Denver, Colorado, June 12-13, 1877.
- 15 H.K. Steele, "Address of President H.K. Steele." Address made at the Fifth Annual Convention for the Colorado State Medical Society, Denver, Colorado, June, 1875.
- 16 Secretary's Letter to all Regular practitioners, August, 20, 1877, box 3, folder 89, Coll. WH1083, Beshoar Family Papers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.
- 17 Secretary's Letter to M. Beshoar, August, 30, 1877, box 3, folder 89, Coll. WH1083, Beshoar Family Papers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.
- 18 B.P. Anderson, "Address of President B.P. Anderson." Address made at the Tenth Annual Convention for the Colorado State Medical Society, Denver, Colorado, June 29-July 1, 1880.
- 19 Transactions of the Colorado State Medical Society, Minutes from the Tenth Annual Convention for the Colorado State Medical Society, Denver, Colorado, June 29-July 1, 1880.
- 20 Transactions of the Colorado State Medical Society, Minutes from the Tenth Annual Convention for the Colorado State Medical Society, Denver, Colorado, June 29-July 1, 1880.
- 21 William H. King, "Homeopathy in Colorado, Montana and Florida," in *History of Homeopathy* (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company: 1905), 407.
- 22 Senate Bill No. 48, Proposed January 10, 1881, box 67440, Colorado Bill Backs, Colorado State Archives.
- 23 Letter from L.T. Howard to Dr. Beshoar, January 21, 1881, box 3, folder 80, Coll. WH1083, Beshoar Family Papers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.
- 24 Thomas Worrall newspaper clipping, February 1, 1881, box 3, folder 80, Coll. WH1083, Beshoar Family Papers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.
- 25 Thomas Worrall letter to Dr. Beshoar, January 27, 1881, box 3, folder 80, Coll. WH1083, Beshoar Family Papers, Western History Collection, Denver Public Library.
- 26 "Medical Bill," *Rocky Mountain News*, (Denver, CO), February 5, 1881.
- 27 House Bill No. 128, box 67440, Colorado Bill Backs, Colorado State Archives.
- 28 House Bill No. 128, box 67439, Colorado Bill Backs, Colorado State Archives.

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by Erica Fontenot

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# The Stable of the Iron Horse

by Adam Guyon

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## SUGGESTED FURTHER READING

- Bessemer Historical Society. *X Reports*. Colorado Fuel and Iron Archives, Bessemer Historical Society, Pueblo, Colorado.
- The X Reports are a collection of reports filed by CF & I union infiltrators. The reports are highly useful for further study into the influence of the union on both CF & I and of the city of Pueblo. The society's archives also contain financial records, a complete set of *Camp and Plant*, most of the *CF & I Blast* publications, and numerous oral histories that are of great interest for further study into the company.
- McGovern, George S. and Leonard Guttridge. *The Great Coalfield War*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado: 1996.

McGovern's text on Ludlow offers an excellent look into CF & I practices outside the steel mill in the mining towns. The Ludlow Massacre is the most visible of the numerous strikes during the early history of the company and has become the primary case study for those interested in labor relations, company paternalism, etc.

Montoya, Fawn-Amber ed. *Making An American Workforce: The Rockefellers and the Legacy of Ludlow*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014.

Two articles in Montoya's anthology are referenced above, however, the rest of the book is actually rather interesting. The articles cover corporate outreach following Ludlow, particularly ERP plans. There are also discussions of the Eugenics Movement, recreational outreach, and miscellaneous company properties like the Sunrise Mine to be found in the book.

Patmore, Greg and Jonathan Rees. "Employee Publications and Employee Representation: The Case of Colorado Fuel and Iron 1915-1942." *Management and Organizational History* Vol. 3 (2013): 257-272.

ERP plans have drawn a lot of attention from labor historians in recent years. There are many to choose from but Patmore and Rees show up frequently in searches on the matter and are listed here as a good starting point for individuals interested in company unions.

Rees, Jonathan. *Representation and Rebellion: The Rockefeller Plan at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company 1914-1942*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010.

There are numerous texts on Rockefeller's ERP plan. This solo effort by Rees is among the most thorough and contains some of the source material that Rees contributed to Fawn-Amber Montoya's anthology cited above.

Scamehorn, H Lee. *Pioneer Steelmaker in the West*. Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1976. Scamehorn's twin texts, *Pioneer* and *Mill and Mine*, are considered the definitive history of CF & I as a corporation. He has also contributed to many of the Bessemer Historical Society's oral history projects and should be studied by anyone interested in the broader corporate history of CF & I.

The United Steelworkers have also published legal proceedings related to the union and can therefore be considered a good source of information on the union's ongoing perception of CF & I management. Union grievances typically also track community attitudes towards corporate policy, making the records of the United Steelworkers worth exploring for insight into community attitudes towards CF & I as a company.

## A Harbor Commodious: How the Massachusetts Bay Company Developed the New England Fishing Trade During the Seventeenth Century

by Elsa Peterson

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## Knowing the Enemy:

### The Influence of Identity on the Treatment of German POWs in Colorado During World War II

by Taylor Warner

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## Western Mythology:

### The Literary World of Railroad Survey Camps in the 1880s

by Sarah Sifton

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# Medical Regulation Mayhem: The Struggle over Medical Professionalization in 19th Century Colorado

by Natalie Kellett

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### **Historic Preservation in Britain and the United States:**

Examining How We Save the Links to Our Pasts

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UNION PACIFIC RAIL ROAD

MAP OF A PORTION OF NEBRASKA TERRITORY

SHOWING SURVEYS AND LOCATION

by Peter A. Day, C.E.

Scale 3 Miles to one Inch