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A PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF COLORADO HISTORY

By Frederic Logan Paxson

The materials relating to the history of Colorado have never been described in a systematic manner and remain unnoticed in our libraries in the form of books, chapters, and magazine articles. The official records of the state have received some attention in "The Public Archives of the State of Colorado," by F. L. Paxson, in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1903, Vol. I, pp. 414-437. A beginning has also been made in the bibliography of formal books relating to the history of the state, by the same writer in his "The Historical Opportunity in Colorado," in the University of Colorado Studies, Vol. III, pp. 19-24. But no attempt has thus far been made to arrange the magazine articles and public documents in any sort of order. This last work is the purpose of this present paper, but no claim for an exhaustive bibliography is here made. It is hoped that the most important articles have been found and listed, but in some directions the collection is avowedly partial, while in all it is only preliminary.

The land which is incorporated in Colorado has been acquired at various times from France, Mexico, and Texas, the steps being recorded in F. L. Paxson, "The Boundaries of Colorado," in the *University of Colorado Studies*, Vol. II, pp. 87–94. The actual survey of the southern boundary touching New Mexico and Oklahoma was long deferred, the attempts to provide for it being described in H. Doc. 604; 57C.1; Serial 4377; May, 1902, and H. Doc. 120; 57C.2; Serial 4489; December, 1902. So much of the land as lies between the Rio Grande and the Arkansas, and the meridians of their sources, was bought from Texas on September 9, 1850. The existence of various Mexican grants in this region has been a source of

² This reference, and all others to the public documents, should be expanded in this manner: House Document 604; Fifty-seventh Congress, First Session; Serial No. 4377.

annoyance to the United States because of a confusion as to lands east and west of the Rio Grande, the latter having been acquired from Mexico in 1848, and the grants therein being under the guarantee of the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo. In 1886 the Committee on Private Land Claims recommended the erection of a special tribunal to handle these claims, H. Rep. 1380; 49C.1; Serial 2439. Two years later this same committee presented a second report to the same effect, stating that three millions of acres of Colorado lands were claimed under grants from Spain and Mexico, H. Rep. 675; 50C.1; Serial 2600; and finally in 1892 the same committee again reported to the House on the status of litigation over the Vigil, Maxwell, St. Vrain, and other grants, calling attention to the fact that the land policy of the United States had overlooked the Texan origin of the Colorado lands east of the Rio Grande, H. Rep. 1253; 52C.1; Serial 3045.

The geographical and geological foundations for the history of Colorado are well laid in the government documents. In general, it is necessary to call attention to the irrigation papers among the Bulletins of Experiment Stations, Department of Agriculture, and to the Bulletins of the United States Geological Survey, many of which relate to Colorado. There is a good bibliography of the various exploring parties that have worked in Colorado in pp. 18-26 of G. H. Girty, "The Carboniferous Formations and Faunas of Colorado," H. Doc. 479; 57C.2; Serial 4511; pp. 546. A resolution of the legislature of Colorado asking for a federal department of mines, with the comment of the Director of the Geological Survey upon the request, is in Sen. Doc. 170; 55C.1; Serial 3563; pp. 8. The Secretary of War reported to Congress in 1897 upon reservoir sites in Wyoming and Colorado, giving a general history of irrigation works, H. Doc. 141; 55C.2; Serial 3666; pp. 110; while A. L. Fellows, in Water Supply and Irrigation Papers, No. 74, has an exhaustive description of the "Water Resources of the State of Colorado," H. Doc. 200; 57C.2; Serial 4500; pp. 151. The economic historian will find much comfort in the annual Statistics of Mines and Mining, prepared by the federal Commissioner of Mining Statistics, the eighth annual being 1875' H. Ex. Doc. 150; 44C.1; Serial 1601.

The first few years of the life of the Territory of Colorado were passed in an obscurity that has rarely been driven away. Little interest was shown in the territory at the time, or since, and thus few articles have to be recorded for the period. Among the most interesting articles upon the period of settlement is the avowed forgery by "Fitz-Mac," which appeared in the *Colorado Magazine*, Vol. I, pp. 281–297, July 1893. This local magazine, which lived for only five months in the summer of 1893, was far beyond most similar journals in typographical and literary character. The article in question purported to be a series of six letters, written chiefly in the years 1859–1860, by early settlers in Denver. Although the author admitted that the letters were an honest fabrication, the descriptive value of the series is great, for "Fitz-Mac" showed an intimate acquaintance with the personnel and conditions of the short-lived territory of Jefferson.

Much of the literature produced in these first years was called forth by the various attempts at statehood made in the Pike's Peak country. As early as February, 1861, this matter was stirred up by B. D. Williams, who appeared in Washington and sought recognition as a territorial delegate. The memorials which he presented to Congress contain descriptions of the new settlements and a copy of the message of Richard W. Steele, governor of the provisional territorial organization of Jefferson Territory. They may be found in H. Misc. Doc. 10; 36C.1; Serial 1063. The same spontaneous territorial movement is described in a brief paper on "The Territory of Jefferson," by F. L. Paxson, in the University of Colorado Studies, Vol. III, pp. 15-18. The original materials for the period are not copious. The message of General Gilpin, the first territorial governor, is printed in H. Ex. Doc. 56; 37C.2; Serial 1131; while in the same month, February, 1862, a sixpage report from the Committee on Ways and Means, H. Rep. 36; 37C.2; Serial 1144, advocates the establishment of a branch mint in Denver. The great production and use of raw gold, together with the existence of a private mint, were the reasons leading the committee to its recommendation.

From 1864 to 1867 various attempts to bring Colorado into the United States occupy most of the time. An enabling act was passed

in 1864, but the constitution framed in accordance with it was rejected at the polls. The following summer saw a change of feeling, bringing with it a new and ratified constitution; but President Johnson declined to issue the proclamation of admission on receiving it, on the ground that the time for such action had expired. He transmitted the constitution with extracts from the reports of the convention and his reasons for refusing to act in Sen. Ex. Doc. 10; 39C.1; Serial 1237, on January 12, 1866. Congress followed this message by passing a second enabling act for the territory, only to receive back this act with a veto message of May 16, 1866. The printed message, Sen. Ex. Doc. 45; 39C.1; Serial 1238, contains a copy of the vetoed act. A third enabling act was passed the following January by this same Congress, and was likewise vetoed by the President. The second veto message, Sen. Ex. Doc. 7; 39C.2; Serial 1277, contains elaborate reasons for the veto, the chief ground being the small population of the territory, its recent shrinkage in numbers, and the injustice of such admission to the older states.

While the statehood agitation was in progress, the territory suffered from constant Indian attacks. Incidental to these attacks are the investigation into the Indian finances of Governor A. B. Cummings, H. Misc. Doc. 81; 39C.2; Serial 1302, and the statement of the expenses of the First Colorado Regiment in a campaign of 1865, H. Ex. Doc. 7; 40C.2; Serial 1330.

The interest of Congress in the territory and its Indian troubles is followed by the beginning of popular curiosity as to the new country. Among the articles which cater to this demand are two which are found in *Harper's Magazine* for June and July, 1867. In the latter issue, Vol. XXXV, pp. 137–150, there is an account of the trip across the plains by F. R. Davis, entitled "A Stage Ride to Colorado." The life of the pioneer emigrant is described in this account of a journey by the Smoky Hill route from Omaha to Denver. Some interesting statements are made as to the condition of the railroad end of the route. A month earlier than the account of Davis, A. W. Hoyt has in the same magazine, Vol. XXXV. pp. 1–21, a brief description of a similar trip "Over the Plains to Colorado," of which the more impor-

tant part consists of a description of the mining camps then existing in the territory.

Greeley, settled in 1869, is remarkable among frontier communities in that it was deliberately planted in lands which could easily be put under ditch. The village from the start was occupied by an eminently moral and temperate population, under the leadership of Meeker, and under the countenance of Horace Greeley. Its resulting prosperity is described by Richard T. Ely in "The Story of a 'Decreed' Town," in *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. CVI, pp. 390-401, February, 1903.

The census of 1870 gave some support to the contention of President Johnson, since it reported a population of only 39,841 for the territory. But the figures were attacked by the settlers in Colorado. There is to be found in Sen. Misc. Doc. 40; 41C.3; Serial 1442, a statement signed by territorial governor McCook, which denies the accuracy of the census. It gives various tables showing taxable values, agricultural statistics, railway growth, etc., and closes with an inaccurate abstract of the legislative history of the statehood movement. The early years of the seventies saw considerable settlement in the territory, and twice between 1870 and 1875 did the House Committee on Territories report in favor of the admission of Colorado. The former report is in H. Rep. 8; 42C.3; Serial 1576, dated January 6, 1873. The second comes May 28, 1874, in H. Rep. 619; 43C.1; Serial 1626. This latter report, by Chaffee, gives valuable figures as to the condition of the territory, based on a census of 1873. Its figures of railways are specially interesting.

Colorado became a state in 1876, and the framing of its constitution is the subject of an article by E. H. Meyer in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April, 1904, Vol. II, pp. 256–274, with the title "The Constitution of Colorado." The admission of the state was by presidential proclamation, in accordance with an act passed at the end of the Forty-third Congress. In the following Congress the point was raised as to the constitutionality of this method of admission, and the House Committee on Judiciary presented majority and minority reports to the house upon the propriety of seating James W. Belford as representative from Colorado without further legislation, H. Rep.

67; 44C.2; Serial 1769; pp. 24. The majority report advised the seating of the delegate, while both reports went into the details of the territorial policy of the United States.

The admission of the new state brought into a new prominence the problem of the military control of the Southwest, with the result that exploration and survey of new routes advanced rapidly. The lines of communication between southern Colorado and points in Arizona and New Mexico inspired a report from the Secretary of War on March 31, 1876, H. Ex. Doc. 172; 44C.1; Serial 1691; pp. 34. The next Congress saw a similar report on communication between Colorado and New Mexico, based upon a reconnaissance of the San Juan country in 1877, H. Ex. Doc. 66; 45C.2; Serial 1806; pp. 38. This report includes three maps, one of which shows the outlines of the Ute Indian reservation at the time. And another map, published in a report of the same department in May, 1878, H. Ex. Doc. 88; 45C.2; Serial 1809, shows all the surveys and explorations made west of the hundredth meridian during the ten years then ending.

The earliest prominence of Colorado in the magazines came with the discovery of the large deposits of silver in and near Leadville, about 1877. Before these discoveries, the federal surveys had inspired a description of the work of the "Wheeler Expedition in Southern Colorado," by W. H. Rideing, in Harper's Magazine, Vol. LII, pp. 793-806, May, 1876. But this account of a party which started from Pueblo and crossed to the southwest in search of wagon routes, is exceptional, and it is not until about 1880 that a real interest is aroused. The new Leadville camp drew visitors from all the United States, and among them was Helen Hunt Jackson, who then lived in Colorado Springs, and told of her trip "To Leadville" in the Atlantic Monthly for May, 1879, Vol. XLIII, pp. 567-579. This, like other articles from the same pen, is light and discursive, valuable not for its contribution to facts, but for its contribution to color. E. Ingersoll's "Camp of the Carbonates," in Scribner's Monthly for October, 1879, Vol. XVIII, pp. 801-824, is more serious than Mrs. Jackson's article, and gives some useful accounts of definite conditions in Leadville. Stakes and Millions," by A. A. Hayes, in Harper's Magazine, for February, 1880, Vol. LX, pp. 380–397, is of similar character. More serious than any of these is an article on "Colorado" which appeared in the Fortnightly Review for January, 1880, Vol. XXXIII, o. s., pp. 119–129, over the name of J. W. Barclay. Here, prepared for an English public, is an account of the conditions prevailing throughout the state, with special and conservative reference to the possibilities of the state in mining, agriculture, and grazing; while the appeal of the mountains to the hunter and sportsman is sounded by the Earl of Dunraven in the Nineteenth Century for September, 1880, Vol. VIII, pp. 445–457, with the title "A Colorado Sketch."

The silver interests are not the only ones which attracted the visitor about 1880. A. A. Hayes described "The Cattle Ranches of Colorado" in Harper's Magazine for November, 1879, Vol. LIX, pp. 877-805. The grazing possibilities of the Arkansas valley are exploited in this paper, while its general argument is carried a step further by the same author in Harper's for January, 1880. Vol. LX, pp. 193-210, with the similar title, "Shepherds of Colorado," and his "Vacation Aspects of Colorado" found place in the issue for May, Vol. LX, pp. 542-556. The same year which saw these articles of Hayes saw further papers from Mrs. Jackson, who journeyed out from her home in Colorado Springs to various points of interest, and continued to write little discursive sketches of camps and scenery and people. Her "A New Anvil Chorus," in Scribner's Monthly for January, 1878, Vol. XV, pp. 386-305, tells of a visit to Fort Garland and the San Juan valley, of racial types and railway construction; "Little Rose and the House of the Snowy Range," in the same monthly for May, 1878, Vol. XVI, pp. 55-58, carries her to the Sangre di Cristo range and the Wet Mountain valley; and finally she contributed to the Atlantic, in December, 1883, Vol. LII, pp. 753-762, an account of her trip to Crested Butte and the Gunnison fields of 1880, with the title "O-Be-Joyful Creek and Poverty Gulch."

Parallel to the mining interest of the Leadville boom came a desire to explore the lands of the southwestern part of Colorado, and a demand that the Ute Indians be removed from the state by the federal government. The Secretary of War replied to a resolution of the House

with a message of May 23, 1878, H. Ex. Doc. 91; 45C.2; Serial 1809; pp. 4, in which he described the means taken for the protection of residents of western Colorado and gave a map showing parts of the Ute reservation, with the portion in dispute in the Uncompangre country. As a result of this pressure the removal was provided for by Congress, and the lands in question were ceded by the Utes June 15, 1880. A letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs tells of the condition of the Indians to be removed, H. Misc. Doc. 57; 45C.2; Serial 1820; pp. 5; while after the bill had been passed, the Committee on Public Lands, through T. M. Patterson, advocated the survey of the boundary between Colorado and New Mexico, on the ground that the mineral deposits in the new territory made such a survey necessary, H. Rep. 708; 45C.2; Serial 1825. Four years later, the removal having been accomplished, on August 28, 1881, the Committee on Public Lands again brought up the matter of the Ute agreement, and asked for legislation to protect the settlers in their titles in the old reservation, its boundaries not having been surveyed, and the land itself not yet having become a part of the public lands, H. Rep. 561; 47C.1; Serial 2066. The same report, with slight verbal changes, is found also in Sen. Rep. 186; 47C.1; Serial 2004. The question of titles in these lands was long a matter of confusion, a homestead bill for them being considered in 1902, and advocated by Shafroth of Colorado, H. Rep. 1275; 57C.1; Serial 4403.

The decade of the eighties is one of rapid development in all directions, bringing as a by-product many difficult questions concerning the administration of the public lands. The common occurrence of agricultural school lands turning out to be mineral lands produced in 1880 a report from the Committee on Public Lands, Sen. Rep. 256; 46C.2; Serial 1893, and another in 1898, H. Rep. 792; 55C.2; Serial 3719. Similarly, the confusion among the railway land grants to the Union Pacific and the Denver Pacific Railways is responsible for a bill introduced to protect purchasers of such lands in their titles, H. Rep. 2846; 50C.1; Serial 2605. All of the agricultural lands received a new value as irrigation progressed. The proposal to lease the arid lands of 'Colorado evoked in 1882 majority and minority reports from

the Committee on Public lands, H. Rep. 197; 47C.1; Serial 1065. The Secretary of the Interior made an estimate in 1889, the year after the formal irrigation survey had begun under the Geological Survey, of the irrigation capacities of the Platte and Arkansas valleys, Sen. Ex. Doc. 120; 50C.2; Serial 2612, in response to a call from the Senate; and the House Committee on Public Lands, in the same session, recommended the establishment of three new land offices in Colorado, to meet the demands of increasing sales, H. Rep. 3617; 50C.2; Serial 2673. The establishment of forest reserves created complications in mining lands, a bill to open such reservations to mining claims receiving in 1896 favorable reports from both of the committees, Sen. Rep. 191; 54C.1; Serial 3362, and H. Rep. 152; 54C.1; Serial 3457.

The early nineties saw a considerable degree of interest in Colorado, inspired by the great discoveries at Cripple Creek, and the prominent part played by the great discoveries at Cripple Creek, and the prominent part played by the state in the prevailing monetary discussions. The general question of mining and mining education came in for consideration, and the latter extracted from the House Committee on Mines and Mining a recommendation that a portion of the proceeds from the sale of public lands should be turned over to the aid of the School of Mines in the state in which the lands were sold, H. Rep. 1136; 51C.1; Serial 2810. The Nation on October 5, 1893, Vol. LVII, pp. 245-246, gave space to a geographical and romantic description of "Pike's Peak and Colorado Springs" by Mabel L. Todd; and Harper's Magazine for May of that year had already printed, Vol. LXXXVI, pp. 935-948, a description by the New York correspondent of the London Times, Julian Ralph, of "Colorado and its Capital." More specific accounts of the mining excitement of this year are Cy Warman's "Story of Cripple Creek," in the American Review of Reviews for February, 1896, Vol. XIII, pp. 161-166, with its description of the early rush into the camp and the resulting construction of railways; and his similar article in the Colorado Magazine, Vol. I, pp. 67-76, April, 1893. Warman had already contributed to the Colorado Magazine, Vol. I, pp. 163-172, May, 1893, an article on "Crede," describing the discovery of the Amethyst vein in 1891, the

extension of the Denver & Rio Grande tracks to the camps in the autumn of that year, and the resulting fortunes for Crede, the discoverer, and Moffat, his partner. A little later, Francis Lynde published in *Scribner's Magazine*, which is to be distinguished from the earlier *Scribner's Monthly*, a narrative description of "Cripple Creek" in the issue for May, 1900, Vol. XXVII, pp. 603–616. And, finally, the *Colorado College Studies*, General Series, No. 17, June, 1905, pp. 1–48, presents a paper on "The Cripple Creek Strike of 1893," by B. M. Rastall, with an introduction by Professor T. K. Urdahl.

On the monetary situation there are magazine articles without number, only a few calling for mention here. In September, 1893, when the question of silver had come into existence, the *Review of Reviews* presented a friendly account of "The Silver Situation in Colorado," Vol. VIII, pp. 276–280, by E. W. Bemis, of the University of Chicago. The *North American Review* brought out in January, 1894, Vol. CLVIII, pp. 24–29, an article by the new Populist governor of Colorado, Davis H. Waite, on "Are the Silver States Ruined?" and in its next number, February, 1894, Vol. CLVIII, pp. 247–249, allowed J. E. Leet to reply to Governor Waite with "Colorado's Bright Outlook". The "Situation in Colorado" was again discussed in May, 1896, in the *Yale Review*, Vol. V, pp. 50–57, by L. R. Ehrich, who saw the manner in which gold production was gaining upon silver, and changing the financial balance of the state.

The struggle for women's suffrage in Colorado began long before the admission of the state, but became successful only during the Populist period in 1893. James H. LeRossignol, in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. XVIII, pp. 552-556, has a brief article on "Woman's Suffrage and Municipal Politics," with a useful bibliography. Later, Elizabeth McCracken contributed to the Outlook, Vol. LXXV, pp. 737-744, November, 28, 1903, in her series "The Women of America," a distinctly witty and unfriendly statement upon the workings of "Women's Suffrage in Colorado," which evoked from Mary G. Slocum, wife of the president of Colorado College, an indignant, but dignified, refutation in the Outlook, Vol. LXXV, pp. 997-1000, December 26, 1903. Women's

suffrage, like the silver question, cannot receive more than a suggestive bibliography in this place.

In an international way Colorado provoked remonstrance from Baron Fava, the Italian minister, and from Secretary of State Olney, when certain Italian subjects were lynched in Walsenberg in March 1895. The lynching arose out of a murder of an American saloon-keeper named Hixon, and became the occasion of an extensive correspondence between the United States, Italy, and Governor McIntire of Colorado, parts of which are printed in H. Doc. 195; 54C.1; Serial 3420, pp. 20. Six years later a mob destroyed a fish hatchery belonging to one William Radcliffe, a British subject, at Delta, and again the intervention of the federal government was provoked. In this case President Roosevelt, in a message of March 14, 1904, recommended an indemnity of \$25,000 to the victim, and transmitted the documents in the case to Congress, Sen. Doc. 271; 58C.2; Serial 4592; pp. 40.

Of slight importance in the history of Colorado, but of some consequence in its sociological aspect, is the attempt of the Salvation Army to found and conduct a community at Fort Amity, Colorado. Because of an alleged inability of this body to pay promptly for the arid lands purchased from the United States and irrigated by the settlers, it is the occasion of a number of public documents, especially H. Rep. 364; 56C.1; Serial 4022; February, 1900, Sen. Rep. 1135; 56C.1; Serial 3894; May, 1900, and Sen. Rep. 2950; 57C.2; Serial 4412; February, 1903. All of these documents are very brief, but they give some notion of the scope and activity of this type of poor-relief. The journalistic reports of the same settlement, as in "Making Successful Farmers out of City Failures," in World's Work, Vol. VI, pp. 3929–3930, and in the Outlook, Vol. LXXIV, pp. 640–641, show much success at Amity, and require some reconciliation with the statements of the public documents.

Miscellaneous items of Coloradoana in the middle nineties are a favorable report on a pipe-line bill for Colorado and Wyoming, H. Rep. 1563; 54C.1; Serial 3462; a report favoring the grant to Colorado of the abandoned Fort Lyons military reservation for a sol-

diers' and sailors' home, H. Rep. 1847; 54C.1; Serial 3464, and another, on granting to the Cripple Creek District Railway Company a right of way through the Pike's Peak timber land reserve, H. Rep. 1592; 55C.2; Serial 3722. About 1900 came Shafroth's report on the preservation of pre-historic ruins in Colorado, H. Rep. 1104; 56C.1; Serial 4025; Hansbrough's recommendation of permission to Montrose to enter 160 acres of public lands for reservoir purposes, Sen. Rep. 2955; 57C.2; Serial 4412; and Palmer's report recommending the erection of terms of federal circuit and district courts at Montrose in place of Del Norte, H. Rep. 3378; 57C.2; Serial 4414. Finally, there is in 1901 a long report of a committee named by the General Assembly of Colorado, on the Australasian system of taxation and the revenues of Colorado, Sen. Doc. 209; 56C.2; Serial 4043; pp. 36. The Outlook during these same years calls attention to the sociological work under Dr. R. W. Corwin of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, Vol. LXXII, pp. 149-150; to the "Religious Life in Colorado," Vol. LXXII, pp. 365-371 to the home-rule charter of Denver, Vol. LXXV, p. 97, and to the franchise amendment Vol. LXXVI, pp. 249-250.

The great mining strike of 1903-1904 caused much attention to be given to industrial and constitutional conditions in Colorado. Beginning with the sympathetic strike of the Cripple Creek miners in August, and continuing through the calling-out of troops, the explosion at the "Vindicator" mine, the recall of troops, the Independence disaster, and the deportations, there is a long series of pertinent articles to be recorded. The Outlook, Vol. LXXV, p. 390, October 17, 1903, comments upon the beginning of the strike, and its provocation in the eighthour agitation. In later issues it calls attention to the less important strike of the coal miners, and to the complications produced by the appearance of the Citizens' Alliances, Vol. LXXV, p. 763*; to the general support given by the business interests at Cripple Creek to the drastic measures of Governor Peabody, Vol. LXXVI, pp. 143-144; and to the dangerous social cleavage which divided the mining communities into the hostile Mine Owners' Association and the Western Federation of Miners, Vol. LXXVI, pp. 1001-1003. As the spring

of 1904 advanced, Current Literature, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 482-484, called attention to the attempt at an ending of martial law while "G," writing to the Outlook, Vol. LXXVII, pp. 21*-22,* commented upon the arbitrary assumption of powers as well by the state authorities as by the leaders of the Western Federation. The terrible disaster at Independence station produced paragraphs in the Outlook, Vol. LXXVII, pp. 384-385, and in Current Literature, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 3-5. The deportations of miners following close upon this disaster created what Current Literature Vol. XXXVII, pp. 104-106, characterized as a "carnival of crime," in which, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 594-506, both sides were largely to blame—a conclusion with which the Outlook, Vol. LXXVII, pp. 394-396, agreed. Current Literature suggested a little later, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 303-305, the possibility of federal intervention in Colorado. A socialistic view of the strike is to be found in Wiltshire's Magazine, May, 1904, pp. 219-224, by Henry O. Morris, under the title "The Conspiracy against Labor in Colorado." It is accompanied by editorials on the "Mine Owners' Infamous Purpose." On the other side is "The Supremacy of Law," by William M. Raine, in the Reader Magazine, Vol. IV, pp. 399-409, September, 1904. These paragraphs and editorials by no means comprise the whole output upon the strike. All the weekly papers give some attention to it.

The proportions which the strike came to assume in its constitutional bearings ultimately produced three important missions to Colorado. The brilliant report of Ray Stannard Baker on "The Reign of Lawlessness, Anarchy, and Crime in Colorado" appears in *McClure's Magazine*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 43–57, May, 1904. The Rev. Washington Gladden made a similiar report for a syndicate of newspapers beginning with the *Columbus Press Post*, and appearing, among others, in the *Denver Times*, for April 22 and 23, 1904. It is worthy of note that the *Denver Republican* did not consider these letters worthy of any considerable mention. The third special report was by William English Walling, a resident of the New York University Settlement, and appeared in the *Independent*, Vol. LVI, pp. 539–548, March 10, 1904, with the title "The Great Cripple Creek Strike."

In Congress the political aspect of the strike had its result in three documents which are of high value as sources for the history of 1003-1904. A statement of the employers' side, prepared by C. C. Hamlin, secretary of the Mine Owners' and Property Owners' Association of Cripple Creek, and at once attacking the Western Federation of Miners and defending the administration of Governor Peabody, was presented to the Senate by Scott, of West Virginia, in January, 1904, Sen. Doc. 86; 58C.2; Serial 4588; pp. 19. It produced later in the same session, a reply from the Western Federation, through Patterson, of Colorado, Sen. Doc. 163, 58C.2; Serial 4590; pp. 41, which denies most of the allegations of the earlier document, and reviews the history of strikes since 1894 in an attempt to throw the responsibility for them upon the owners and employers. It contains many extracts from contemporary newspapers and correspondence, but is far surpassed in completeness by the "Report on Labor Disturbances in Colorado, 1880-1904," made by an agent of the Commissioner of Labor, and printed as Sen. Doc. 122; 58C.3; pp. 363. This document, because of the originals which it prints, and because it is fairly non-political in tone, is the best single source for the history of the labor troubles.

The situation brought forth also an editorial by B. O. Flower, in the Arena, Vol. XXXII, pp. 187–194, August, 1904, on the "Breaking Down of Democratic Government in an American Commonwealth," which reviews the special articles on the strike, and develops the initiative and referendum as cure for such ills as those of Colorado. The Arena, in the autumn of 1905, ran a series of papers by J. W. Mills on "The Economic Struggle in Colorado," which is a long tract on municipal ownership of corporations.







