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A Thousand Year Old Pine, Mesa Verde, and Enos Mills

Women, Politics, and Booze: Prohibition in Mesa County, 1908-1933



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THE COVER: By Wendy MacPhail Brigham. Wendy is an art and environmental science teacher for the Aspen School District and the Aspen Center for Environmental Studies. She recently directed the construction of an energy efficient, environmental education classroom building on the Aspen campus. She took a teaching position with the Windstar Foundation, summer, 1986 and subsequently moved to Aspen after many years of teaching and studying in New Jersey and at Montclair State University. The cover art represents the artist's rendition of the Thousand Year Old Pine and its location. Sleeping Ute Mountain is visible in the background.

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Enos Mills historic cabin as it appears today. It is a historic site which currently serves as a museum, located at the foot of Longs Peak in Rocky Mountain National Park.

(Photo courtesy of author.)



A Thousand Year Old Pine, Mesa Verde, and Enos Mills By Dr. Jeff Brigham*

Author's Note: Enos Mills (1870-1922) is recognized as the father of Rocky Mountain National Park. His Western Slope endeavors included observer, deputy state engineer, and naturalist. When a Mancos sawmill had contracted to cut "Old Pine" nearby to Mesa Verde, Enos was notified. He had camped beside it many times, had spoken about it often, and could not be absent at the time of its demise.

The giant, venerable yellow pine experienced climatic changes and witnessed Native Americans' goings-on likely before the Anasazi constructed their homes in this immediate environment of Mesa Verde. The 1047 year-old pine was cut down in 1903, and Enos Mills had been invited to its obsequy. He never explained why it had to be cut down, but a Mancos lumberman seemed to prize its prospective lumber. Thus, Mills was forewarned of its impending demise and he decided to be present,2

Mills had camped by the "Old Pine" oftentimes as he ventured to nearby Mesa Verde. His photograph of the majestic old one appears as a frontispiece in the 1994 edition of

^{*}Dr. Jeff Brigham has been with the Mesa State College Teacher Education Department for ten years; he was with Mesa/ Metro for five, and at Metropolitan State College for ten years prior to the two colleges' collaboration. He is presently the State coordinator for the new Leopold Education Project, originally developed at the University of Wisconsin. He co-directed Enos Mills Seminars in Rocky Mountain National Park before coming to Mesa State College.

Mills' story of his "friend." Its trunk was eight feet in diameter; and while lightning had struck off its very top, it was not only a very healthy Conifer, but also one which exhibited "waving evergreen banners from a height of 115 feet."

Mills did not perceive the Pine's falling as a death, but as an opening-up of its diary. "From its stand between the Mesa and the pine-plumed mountain, this giant had seen the panorama of the seasons and many a strange pageant." Mills also knew that the lumbermen's axes would reveal a fairly accurate record of climatic factors, wildlife trespasses, and strife of various other kinds. He departed that very day of receiving word of the lumbermen's intent, and thus he was able to go out with them for one last view of this grand and impressive tree with which he saw so much individuality and character—almost a heroic appearance. As the two loggers swung their axes, a Douglas squirrel "made a claim of ownership."

Yet, Mills knew that the tree's cross-section could reveal many other secrets. He was to shortly read the chronology of this pine; the same as Aldo Leopold described the cutting of the oak in A Sand Country Almanac, some 40 years later.⁶ Final blows brought down Mills' Old Pine with such force produced by its enormous weight that it shattered. The lumbermen adjudged it not worth sawing into lumber. It was left to rot on the spot; and thus began Mills' thoughtful dissection of its trunk and limbs.

What was to follow became Mills' reading of the revealing diary of his old friend. At its stump he counted 1047 rings: born in 856; died in 1903. First findings from examination of its rings showed the unusual sequence of favorable growth seasons: drought, heavy rain, cold. Mills' astute eye noticed many early assaults upon the Pine—be they burns,

bites, bruises or tearing at its limbs. It had been the "tree in the trail" of many happenings and passers-by;⁷ and it now wrote an intriguing history for Mills' discovery.

Early on, Mills found evidence that the tree had, many times, straightened-up after heavy snowfalls bent it to the horizontal. Its first century was tranquil, and rapid growth assured it of a durable existence and long life. A close family member provoked it to grow slowly on one of its quarter sides.

The 135th year exhibited perhaps this neighbor's falling and stabbing the Old Pine severely with two limbs. So proceeded this marvelous story through ten centuries: woodpecker surgeons relieved the Pine of colonies of borers; storms threw natural objects into the hide of the tree. Each intrusion was healed-over, and the Pine continued its existence. Lightning struck-off its top in 1301; a shoulder, too, was shattered. Soon after, a violent wind tore off several of its arms. Yet, time allowed Mill's friend to again heal and go on.

The year 1486 exhibited arrowheads imbedded in the tree's fabric, and Mills speculated about the use of the tree as a target or a shield during a battle of Indians. 1492 was as good for the Pine as it was for Columbus. While the Spanish explorers were finding the cliff-houses in 1540, they likely built campfires at its base and hacked-off bits of the tree with axes. Mills surmised these Spanish intrusions because Indians were not given to mutilating trees.

Another remarkable finding for Mills was the evidence of an 1811 or 1812 earthquake; the wood was checkered and shattered and even broken horizontally. Two roots were severed, and rocks were imbedded. From this Mills' deduced that very turbulent earth shaking took place. 1881 showed documentation of a hunting party using the tree as a target, and not only were these modern rifle bullets found embedded, but another fire trespassed upon the ankles of the Old Pine.

What seems so remarkable about this story is the fact that dendrology was in its infancy in the United States before the turn of the century. Mills shows his natural inquisitiveness and his ability to diagnose earth happenings through natural interpretive skills unrecognized at the time.

The old friend had been left to live-out its last years in peace, and Mills wondered how much longer it may have thrived had the axe-men not prevailed. He gave it a fitting tribute by piling its parts into a pyramid; sitting atop this pile for further speculation and homage; then, saying goodbye and requesting the axe-men to burn the remnants.

Such nature-sensitive sorting may be found in all of Enos Mills' writings. They offer us, today, great respect and appreciation for Colorado's natural surroundings and the peace found therein. "So not in vain was the tragedy of the Pine of a Thousand Years." ¹⁰

Notes

- ¹ Arthur Chapman, *The Thousand Year Pine* (Estes Park, Colorado: Enos Mills Cabin, undated), n.p.
- ² Enos A. Mills, *The Story of a Thousand-Year Pine* (Estes Park, Colorado: Enos Mills Cabin, 1986), 1-2.
- 3 Ibid., 2.
- 4 Ibid., 4.
- ⁵ Aldo Leopold, A Sand Country Almanac (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 6-18.
- 6 Ibid.
- ⁷ Holling C. Holling, *Tree in the Trail* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), Chapters 1-7.
- 8 Mills, The Story of a Thousand -Year Pine, 8-10.
- 9 Ibid., 12.
- Chapman, Thousand Year Pine, n.p.

An article outlining the language of the amendment on Prohibition

ct No. 3

epublican

ct No. 4

tepublican

Democratic

net No. 5

Republican

Democratic

(Courtesy of The Daily Sentinel, 27 October 1914.

Constitutional Amendments

STATE OF COLORADO, County of Mesa, ss.

In accordance with the provisions of sections 19 and 20 of Chapter XXXIV. of the General Statutes of 1883 of the State of Colorado, being the sace as Section 2142 Revised Statutes of Colorado, 1908, notice is hereby given that a General Election will be held in the several wards and voting precincts in the State atoresaid, on Tuesday, the Third day of November, A. D. 1914, there will be submitted to the qualified electors of the State of Colorado, the following Constitutional Amendments and Referred Acts and Which are to be placed on the Official Ballot in the Following Order To-wit:

Question No. 1

For the amendment of Section 1 of Article V of the Conatitution relative to the Initiative and Referendum.

 Against the amendment of Section 1 of Article V of the Constitution relative to the Initiative and Referendum.

Question No. 2

For an amendment to the Constitution of the State of State of Colorado by adding thereto a new article, to be numbered and Ji designated as "Article XXII—Intoxicating Liquors," prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors and the manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquors for purposes of sale or gift.

Against an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Colorado by adding thereto a new article, to be numbered and designated as "Article XXII—Intoxicating Liquors," prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors and the manufacture and importation of intexicating liquors for purposes of sale or gift.

Ametion Ma 1

net No. 6

Republican

Democratic

Women, Politics, and Booze: Prohibition in Mesa County, 1908-1933 By Jerritt Frank*

Although historians have documented the topic of Prohibition in many books and articles, case studies in Colorado are nearly non-existent. This article seeks to fill the gap in historical research and demonstrate the uniqueness of the movement in the Grand Valley. Prohibition was instituted in Colorado in 1916, and nationally in 1919; Mesa County had been "dry" since 1909. Grand Valley citizens were realizing the futility involved in successful enforcement of Prohibition long before the rest of the nation came to the same conclusion and repealed the Eighteenth Amendment with the Twenty-first Amendment in 1933.

The struggle in Mesa County to obtain and maintain Prohibition impacted the political climate and the makeup and function of social organizations. Prohibition also changed crime and the nature of criminals in Mesa County. An examination of local organizations, early election results, reactions to Prohibition in Mesa County, and problems with enforcing Prohibition laws will demonstrate how and why Prohibition

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failed locally as well as nationally. In addition, voting trends, annual crime reports, and a decline in local campaigning all indicate a loss of interest in Mesa County toward this social reform experiment well before the passage of the Volstead Act. However, to appreciate fully the intricacies and nuances of the Prohibition movement on a local level, one must have a historical background of how and why it occurred.

After the Civil War a new era began: railroads spanned the nation, factories turned out a multitude of new products, and the "robber barons," men who dominated business, used new ideas about scientific management and production techniques to rise to power. In an effort to restore prosperity to the nation, the government adopted the philosophy of laissezfaire, which meant that business was virtually unregulated. Underpaid and overworked people lived under appalling conditions in the inner city while the middle-class fought to maintain their income and status. Meanwhile, the elite few grew wealthier and more powerful. Concerned about what was happening and fearing a lower-class revolution, middle-class leaders established a reform movement designed to end the reign of the robber barons and ease growing discontent—the progressive movement was born.

Progressive reformers directed their efforts at passing legislation to limit monopolies, improve the standard of living for the average American, and create a nation based on efficient and scientifically managed behavior. Prohibition of alcohol was an important component of their social reform vision. Claiming that eradicating liquor would morally uplift people and improve society, Prohibitionists moved to eliminate the production and consumption of alcohol. The argument to support this reform movement emerged from three fronts: moral, scientific, and economic.

Usually led by the Methodists, those espousing the moral argument claimed that alcohol damaged society by undermining "man's health, impairing his reason, dulling his conscience, and obliterating his fear of God." In *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement*, historian James Timberlake contends, "By destroying man's love of God, intemperance, the churches believed, also destroyed Christianity's most powerful incentive to self-discipline and social morality." Moralists believed that if man could be persuaded to abstain from drinking alcohol, he would seek God and be uplifted.

The introduction, development, and documentation of scientific information became the bedrock of the Prohibition movement by demonstrating the negative physiological effects of alcohol.4 As scientific studies were reported, progressives had more and more evidence that linked alcohol to social problems. In 1866, Physician Benjamin Ward Richardson first dispelled the longstanding myth that alcohol warmed the body and proved that the opposite was true.5 Professor Emil Kraepelin of the Universities of Heidelberg and Munich concluded that even very small portions of alcohol depressed, rather than stimulated, the brain and nervous system.6 Other research said that parental alcoholism created idiocy, epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, and mental deficiency in children.7 Studies also linked drinking to insanity and a host of other mental problems.8 According to Timberlake, the "scientific argument against moderate drinking ultimately proved to be of decisive importance in changing the public attitude toward liquor." The value of these studies lay not in their scientific validity, but rather in Americans' general willingness to reevaluate the place of alcohol in American society.

The economic argument against alcohol posited that strong drink made workers less productive and American industry less efficient. Employers made direct correlations between drinking, accidents, and overall safety on the job. Since accidents cost companies a great deal of money annually, industry leaders began demanding that workers not drink in the workplace. By the end of the 1880s, well over half of the nation's primary railroads forbade their employees to drink on the job.¹⁰

Progressives also linked the dismal conditions in the urban slums to the consumption of alcohol. Consequently, according to Timberlake, "Americans naturally came to esteem sobriety and to rank it high among the virtues that guaranteed success." In 1893 a group of nationally prominent men from all walks of life formed an organization called the Committee of Fifty. Their mission was to study the liquor problem and gather objective evidence of the social, economic, political, and physiological aspects of liquor use, which they published in a series of volumes between 1897 and 1903.12 In 1899, when Grand Junction had been incorporated for seventeen years, the Committee of Fifty investigated the correlation between drinking and poverty and published their results under the title Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem, which linked alcohol to twenty-five percent of all poverty cases. After surveying fifty almshouses, they found as high as thirty-nine percent of the paupers owed their plight to liquor. Such data became a valuable tool used by Prohibitionists to reinforce the notion that drinking caused poverty. In addition, the Committee of Fifty linked alcohol to crime, domestic violence, divorce, and abandonment of children.13 It was then rationalized that if alcohol was removed from the equation, these social problems would reverse themselves and living conditions would improve. A grand social experiment had been developed.

Study after study connected alcohol to godlessness, industrial inefficacy, poverty, crime, divorce, physical and mental illness, and child neglect. With a plethora of information from the three fronts of the Prohibitionist's campaign moral, scientific, and economic—many people advocated closing saloons and the prohibition of alcohol as a means to end drinking and the evils that resulted. Once the problem had been identified and a solution agreed upon, people began organizing in an effort to create legislation that would prohibit the sale or consumption of liquor.

Many groups took part in the temperance movement, but two led the way: the Anti-Saloon League (ASL) and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Both were created with the same goal, constitutional Prohibition, but each employed different means to achieve their end. Even so, they did complement each other and without either of them it is doubtful that Prohibition would have ever become a reality.

The ASL of Colorado was founded in 1897 and played a major role in the Prohibition movement in the state.15 Although not the first Prohibition Party to exist in Colorado, the ASL was effective in securing key legislation that changed the nature of the battle against alcohol. According to historian Norman H. Clark in Deliver Us From Evil, the role the ASL played in securing and then using local option laws was crucial. Local option meant just that; once this legislation was passed, counties or cities could go "dry," regardless of state law. Thirty-seven states had local option laws by 1900; Colorado obtained it in 1907.16 This piece of legislation became the ASL's version of "popular sovereignty" by allowing the smallest of communities to decide their own fate on this issue. The WCTU also used local option laws to their advantage.17 According to Clark, local option was "a critical step toward drying up the states piecemeal, toward gradually isolating the wet centers and shattering wet opposition."18

The local option law armed local Prohibitionists with a tool that would ensure victory. They had enough followers in some districts and wards to pass prohibitionary measures, and by patiently educating those who did not initially take up the cause, they slowly swallowed the county, state, and then the nation. One year following the passage of the local option law in Colorado, Mesa County voted itself dry—local option was a powerful weapon indeed.

The WCTU was officially organized on November 7, 1874, in a Presbyterian Church in Cleveland, Ohio, and fought for over forty years to achieve Prohibition. They employed the white ribbon, which represented purity, as their symbol. These spirited women adopted "For God, Home, and Native Land" as their motto. They took up the causes of civil rights for both sexes—an eight-hour workday and the destruction of liquor traffic. Their ultimate objective was constitutional Prohibition. Once the national party was created, they worked to create a union in every town across the nation.

Mrs. S. R. Pickett of Whitewater, who served as the District President of Western Colorado, organized the local WCTU in December of 1889. To achieve countywide Prohibition, the local union established several priorities: to ensure that the Sabbath was observed, adhere to loyal legion, and give temperance instruction in Sunday and public schools. For the first two years, the Union met in the Gospel tent located on Main Street. Not until 1891 did they procure a space in a more permanent structure on the corner of Third and Main Streets. In 1893, with the help of the YMCA, the group moved again to the corner of Fifth and Main Streets.²⁰

The WCTU's involvement in the battle for a "dry" Mesa County demonstrates how national organizations operated on a local level and influenced local political events. Another significant factor in the political equation was that Colorado women gained the right to vote in 1893, well ahead of most other states. Although the WCTU was not a political party, its devoted members, which included a high percentage of women, impacted local elections concerning Prohibition. Through regular meetings, social functions, and lectures in local schools, the local WCTU members worked to change the system in Mesa County.

On October 6, 1909, the state convention of the WCTU opened at the First Presbyterian Church in Pueblo. In her opening address, Mrs. Hungerford, President of the organization, declared that the State of Colorado could be dry by 1912. She announced that it was necessary to reach "every county with the facts about prohibition" and that the WCTU would work to "secure the cooperation of religious and humanitarian organizations and convince leading business and professional men of the reasonableness of [their] efforts."21 Hungerford then outlined what must be done to ensure victory when the issue came to a vote. She felt that success would come only if the organization continued to educate the public and fight to get every "town, city and count[y] precinct dry that will ever become so under local option."22 This statement reveals the WCTU's methods; through education and the local option law, they sought to divide and conquer. Pieceby-piece these spirited citizens worked to convert a city, county, state, and nation to their cause.

The Palisade chapter of the WCTU secured a weekly column in the *Palisade Tribune* that they used to reach the public. In the first columns, the WCTU outlined its goals and methods to achieve them. They explained that although they were not politicians in the general meaning of the word, they believed in the power of the ballot. They announced that they

stood for "educational advancement and for the homes and general welfare of Palisade," and that they would never "give up the war until the liquor traffic is vanquished."²³

Armed with scientific evidence, a local option law, and standing on the moral high ground, Prohibitionists waged war in Mesa County. The alcohol issue was an important one for most people and is reflected in the ballot records; every election containing Prohibitionist legislation sparked a spirited fight and vielded a high voter turnout. The anti-saloon citizens of Mesa County finally earned a chance to put the question of countywide Prohibition to a vote in November of 1908. Both sides anxiously awaited the results of the first vote on whether or not Mesa County should become anti-saloon territory. Proand anti-Prohibition parties predicted victory. As the results came in from each of the fourteen precincts, it became apparent that the Prohibitionists had won a great victory. Of the 2,392 voters who cast a ballot, 1,823 (76%) were cast for Mesa County becoming anti-saloon, while only 569 (24%) voted to keep it "wet." This represented the first of many such elections the anti-drinking group would win by a wide margin. However, that margin of victory would slip with each subsequent election.24

Five months later, in April of 1909, the issue was brought before the public as to whether or not the city of Grand Junction should become anti-saloon territory. Judging again from voter turnout, the people wanted their opinions known. Of the 2,489 people who voted on this issue, 1,480 (59%) voted yes while only 1,009 (40%) voted no. The advocates for a dry Mesa County had garnered almost sixty percent of the vote and added Grand Junction to the list of territories eschewing saloons and liquor.²⁵ If these numbers are compared to the number of eligible voters for this time pe-

riod, as calculated by historian Kathleen Underwood in *Town* Building on the Colorado Frontier, more than fifty percent of all eligible voters turned out.²⁶

Once the results of the election became public "one of the biggest and most remarkable political demonstrations in the history of the western slope [sic] occurred" when the ASL organized a parade through the streets of the city. Early on the morning of April 6, 1909, a crowd of people representing several religious denominations and various other citizens began gathering at churches around the community. Approximately 1,500 children and 500 adults participated in the parade, marching up and down the streets, waving banners, and singing songs. Included in the crowd were about 100 local ranchers and 300 pupils from the Indian school.²⁷ Expectations were high that this legislation would uplift the people and speed the growth of this budding community.

The creation of an anti-saloon territory was not the only victory for the Prohibitionists in the election of 1909. Under the banner headline "TIDAL WAVE OF TEMPER-ANCE SWEEPS OVER GRAND JUNCTION," the *Grand Junction Daily Sentinel* posted election results for various city officials. On November 3, 1909, Grand Junction elected an anti-saloon mayor, city clerk, and four aldermen. According to the *Daily Sentinel*, the new mayor, James H. Lee, would vote with the aldermen on this issue: "the anti-saloon forces can and will control the city government." Elected officials who staunchly advocated Prohibition would be a key issue for the next seven years until voters passed statewide Prohibition in 1916. Without the support of elected officials, enforcement of the local option law would have become problematic if not impossible.

The City Council immediately faced a thorny issue; how long could local saloons operate before they were shut down? Many citizens of Mesa County pressed to close them just ten days following the election. The saloonkeepers protested this was unfair and appealed to the city council for an extension that would allow them time to "close out their businesses, dispose of their fixtures, stock, etc., without suffering a serious loss." According to the *Daily Sentinel*, this meeting of the City Council promised to be important and interesting.³⁰

As the members of City Council took their seats, the room filled past capacity with twenty to thirty curious and concerned citizens having to stand throughout the entire meeting. The Daily Sentinel estimated that approximately ninety people came to watch the proceedings.31 After the reading of the minutes, the City Clerk read the petitions for license renewal. Saloonkeepers asked for a six-month extension-from April 17 to October 17.32 After discussing the legal aspects of the extension, the matter was put to a vote. According to the Daily Sentinel, it was "really quite a dramatic moment, that final role call on this final phase of a bitter local fight."33 As absolute silence fell over the spectators, each of the eight aldermen went on record with their vote. In the end, four voted for license extension and four voted against it; the vote was a tie and the matter now lay in the hands of Mayor Wentworth, who was in the final days of his term. Without a moment's hesitation Wentworth replied, "Then the motion is lost, Mr. Clerk, I vote no."34 With this the last hope of the saloonkeepers was crushed, and they were given just ten days, until April 17, to wrap up their business concerns and close. It was a dramatic moment in Grand Junction history that set the tone on this matter for years to come—saloonkeepers would receive no public sympathy.

While the tension surrounding the extension of liquor licenses rose, another group of local businessmen adjusted to

the new situation. Druggists of Grand Junction had organized and signed a petition asking that the City Council "absolutely prohibit the sale of liquors, wines, etc., in drug stores in Grand Junction." The prohibitionary measures passed under the local option law allowed for medicinal use of alcohol, but local druggists wanted to publicly announce their stance against alcohol. Knowing that the citizens of Grand Junction favored prohibiting the sale of liquor, druggists preferred not to sell it. Their position, in part, reflected an economic reality. During this time period women did the household shopping, and a large percentage of those women supported Prohibition. Consequently, local druggists publicly denounced the sale of alcohol. With the membership of the WCTU in Mesa County estimated at 600 in 1910, druggists felt economic pressure to admonish the sale of alcohol. 36

As a result of years of effort by local organizations, the local option law, sentiment against alcohol, and two successful local elections, bars were set to close on April 17, 1909. The new law would put ten retail liquor houses out of business: the Senate, Annex, Upton, Abbey, Board of Trade, Ranch, St. Regis, Royalty Club, Pacific, and Paragon. In addition, one wholesale establishment would close as a result of the elections. According to the *Daily Sentinel* of April 17, 1909, it was "about the busiest day the liquor houses of Grand Junction ever experienced" as citizens rushed to "stock up" while they could still legally obtain liquor. At the stroke of midnight all of the saloons were out of business. Mesa County, one of the largest counties in the West, was officially "dry." 37

Although it appeared that this issue had been resolved, the opposite was true. Controversy surrounding Prohibition marked every election in Mesa County between 1908 and 1916. In many cases a candidate's declaration of "wet" or "dry" determined whether or not they would be elected. Although the ASL and WCTU had won critical local victories in 1908 and 1909, their work was just beginning. After these initial elections, they had to apply constant pressure on the public and public officials to ensure that Grand Junction stayed in the "dry" column.

When the issue of Prohibition resurfaced in Grand Junction during the election of 1911, the city once again split into political factions. "Wet" and "dry" forces fought tooth and nail. Two years of mixed success and failure in the enforcement of Prohibition added a great deal of emotionalism to this election. According to both parties and the twelve candidates involved, this election was "the hottest and most fiercely fought of any in the history of Grand Junction politics." Both sides felt they fought for the well-being of the city. Those against liquor advanced the social and moral arguments, while those in favor of saloons often used the economic argument.

The Business Men's and Property Owners association ran advertisements in the *Daily Sentinel* stating that "prohibition has been found impractical," and that the city had lost up to \$70,000 in licensing fees in addition to lost tax revenue. The city had also spent about \$9,000 on the "futile prosecution of the bootlegger not to mention the other costs incurred by the city." ³⁹

Conversely, Prohibitionists pressed their case to all who would listen. In the years between the election of 1909 and the election of 1911, local WCTU chapters remained active in the communities of Mesa County. In March of 1910, Grand Junction was host for the convention of the Western Slope chapters of the WCTU, receiving a good response for their activities and lectures which "caused much enthusiasm." As

The Colorado Business Men's Home Rule League

Is NOT an association of men engaged in the liquor traffic

As a matter oil fact, there are no liquor dealers, connected with the organization, its immiliers being merchanic, real estate dealers, stockmen, bankers and business men in various lines other than the liquor business.

Every member of the association is in favor of the hold upone law, likewise is in favor of the struct enforcement of that law whereas it is invoked. They believe that onch consumity should have the right to decide the forms question in that community—in other words, they favor have rade.

pased to statements prohibition because they know that the ensemment of such a law would seriously injure the business of every hunder, town and large city in Colorada.

State-Wide Prohibition

Would empty thousands of more buildings and factories; it would throw not less than 26,000 people out of employment; it would reduce the tourist trade by fully 75 per cont is would increase taxes by not less than 50 per cent; it would drive capital from the state, demoralize business and put Colorado in'a rut it would take years to get out of, and it

WOULD NOT STOP THE SALE OR THE DRINKING OF LIOUOR

These are a few of the reasons why the thinking business men and the labor organizations are in favor of local option laws as already in force in Colorado, and against State-Wide Prohibition.

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LOUIS P. BRATTELE,
D. C. MANNON,
ASSESSOR OF THE MARRIPHINE
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TOM BOTTERTILLA

Flate A ray and Hadam Agency
Flate No.

Flate A ray and Hadam Agency
Flate St.

Miller Co.

Williams Drug Co.

Williams St.

First National Back

REFER PRICEMAN

LONG R. TOMPRINTED

Convers Bring Agency

Convers Bring National Bank

JOHN A. KERFE.

Convers Bring Mira Asi's.

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Advertisement placed by businessmen supporting a "no" vote for statewide Prohibition.

(Courtesy of The Daily Sentinel, 16 September 1914.)

the election neared, the WCTU stepped up their efforts to broadcast its message by utilizing union meetings and churches as places to spread their gospel. Popular speakers D. D. Forsythe and Rev. James A. Becker, both formerly of Grand Junction, addressed fairly large crowds on this topic. 41 Those pushing for the continuation of a "dry" Mesa County also addressed the economic aspect of Prohibition. They ran an advertisement in the *Daily Sentinel* claiming that "dry" cities have lower tax rates than "wet" cities. Using a comparison of the tax rates for twelve cities in California, they attempted to show that contrary to popular opinion, citizens of "dry" towns do indeed pay lower taxes. 42 The battle lines were drawn and the issue would once again go to the voting public.

When the polls opened early Tuesday, November 7, 1911, tensions and expectations mounted. Each side employed a fleet of automobiles and buggies to bring voters to the polls. As the day passed, it became evident that this would prove to be the heaviest voter turnout in Grand Junction's history. As usual, when the polls closed, "wet" and "dry" factions both predicted a win. After tallying the votes, the "drys" could once again claim victory. Of the 2,722 votes cast, 1,542 (57%) citizens voted to keep Mesa County dry while only 1,180 (43%) wanted to bring the saloons back.

In commenting on the election, the *Daily Sentinel* attributed the victory for the "drys" to one factor, the vote of the women. This statement says much about the devotion and hard work of women before and during election day to ensure that Mesa County remained "dry." If the total number of WCTU members in Mesa County are compared to the margin of victory in every one of the county and city elections on this issue, it becomes evident that women did play a major role in creating and maintaining a "dry" Mesa County. Based

VERTAXA

TAXPAYER .-- Note these facts and figures : Dry cities are run on lower tax rate than soloon cities. Compare the taxation of twelve principal cities of California --- six wet and six dry.

Sacramento, assessed Valuation, \$31,000,000 Pasadena.... Tax rate, \$1.60 on \$100.

Tax rate, \$1.25 on \$100.

San Jose Vanishing Tax rate, 51.15 on \$100. Valuation \$21,000,000 Berkeley

Tax rate, \$1.96 on \$100.

Tax rate, \$3.50 nn \$100. ville).

Average tax on the six High License cities whose valuation totals \$100,000,000 is \$1.85 T-6 cents on \$100.

-Valuation, \$39,000,000 Tax rate, 98 cents on \$190.

Valuation, \$18,000,000 Long Beach Valuation, \$18,000,000 Tax rate, 65 cents on \$100.

Tax rate, 99 cents on \$100.

Valuation, \$12,000,000 Tax rate, \$1.00 on \$100.

Valuation, \$3,000,000 Tax rate, 75 cents on \$100. 7

Pacific Grove Valuation, \$2,000,000 Tax rate, 90 cents on \$100.

Average tax on the six dry cities, whose valuation totals \$100,000,000, is 90 1-3 cent on \$100. eria nett

Advertisement supporting Prohibition.

(Courtesy of The Daily Sentinel, 6 November 1911.)

on the number of members of the WCTU in Mesa County, which the WCTU of Palisade estimated to be 600, over thirty-five percent of the vote could have resulted solely from local members of this national organization.⁴⁶

One day following the election, the "dry" element in Grand Junction won yet another victory. They charged Chief of Police G. Burdette Welch with protecting bootlegging and applied pressure on Mayor Thomas Todd to fire him. After information surfaced that pointed to Welch's ineffectiveness of Welch against bootleggers, he was forced to resign effective December 1. In response to the charges against him, Welch replied that they were untrue and he was being made the "goat."47 This story comes with an unexpected twist. On December 1, the man to replace Welch, S. B. Hutchinson, was sworn in and Grand Junction became the first and only city in the United States to employ a Socialist as Chief of Police. Hutchinson swore that he would "arrest an intoxicated banker as soon as [he] would a hobo," that he would "hate the bootlegger like poison," and finally, "arrest, and club ... a drunken brute and keep him in jail."48 Strong words indeed-but would Hutchinson's aggressive police tactics be effective in keeping bootleggers in check?

As demonstrated, elections pivoted on the issue of Prohibition between the years of 1911 and 1914. Each election brought voters out in high numbers. This phenomenon was not unique to the Grand Valley. Other cities and counties around the state also voted themselves "dry" and maintained that status in subsequent elections. Steadily, Prohibitionists were gaining momentum in Colorado, and in 1913 the debate over Prohibition shifted from a local issue to the state level. Although previous attempts to amend the state constitution to prohibit the sale, possession, or consumption of alcohol

had failed, the "drys," having won election after election using systematic methodology, felt that statewide Prohibition could become a reality.

After years of intense effort, Colorado Prohibitionists succeeded in placing the issue of a state constitutional amendment before the state electorate. Tensions rose as both sides worked feverishly to exploit the weaknesses in the opposition's philosophy. The Prohibitionists continued to work through churches and promoted the religious moral argument, while those against statewide Prohibition argued from a practical and economic stance.

As the election neared, those in favor of statewide Prohibition stepped up their efforts to rid Colorado of strong drink. The evangelist Billy Sunday came to Denver and delivered a powerful sermon on the topic. The *Daily Sentinel* credited Sunday's oration for adding ten thousand votes to the "dry" campaign and the paper's editorial called the evangelist "the most powerful and effective help the state-wide Prohibition movement has had." On the last day of October, just days before the election, those in favor of statewide Prohibition ran an advertisement that put the Bible to use in damning the bootleggers and saloon men:

Oh, ye bootleggers, ye reckoned without your host! God has bidden his people 'put away the evil from among thee.' Christ came 'to destroy the works of the devil.' 1st John, 3:8. The saloon as well as bootlegging is a work of the devil.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, citizens of Mesa County worked to organize a local branch of the Dry-Colorado League. Local residents planned to bring in several speakers to Grand Junction and also organized a house-to-house campaign warning people of the dangers of alcohol and urging them to vote "dry." 51

Those against statewide Prohibition also launched an active campaign. Their tactics differed from those of the Prohibitionists. They used public statements by well-known men, statistics citing ineffectiveness of statewide Prohibition, and the high cost of maintaining a "dry" territory as the means to convince voters to oppose Prohibition efforts.

One edition of the Daily Sentinel during this time carried four separate advertisements that employed statements made by prominent men to persuade the public to vote against statewide Prohibition in the upcoming election. Quotes from President Wilson, President Taft, President Lincoln, and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler were used to show the harm caused by this drastic step. President Wilson was quoted saying, "I am in favor of local option. I am a thorough believer in local self-government . . . [and] every self governing . . . social unit should have the right to control the matter of the regulation or the withholding of licenses."52 According to President Taft, "Nothing is more foolish than to adopt a law which cannot be enforced. This is illustrated by the failure of attempts that have been made to enforce a Prohibition law in communities where local sentiment is opposed to it."53 Finally, a quote from President Lincoln read: "Prohibition will work great injury to the cause of temperance . . . prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles on which our government is founded."54

An advertisement paid for by the Colorado Business Men's Home Rule League, running that same day, cited fifteen states ranging from Vermont to Nebraska which had reversed their decision on statewide Prohibition. They deemed this proposed amendment "Freak Legislation" and implored Colorado citizens not to experiment with it. They claimed that after these fifteen states had given "this false temperance doctrine a fair trial," each "returned to sanity and Local Option." This statement is interesting and its value to the Prohibitionists argument was not missed. Before the local option law passed, those opposed to Prohibition were also opposed to local option; feeling a shift in momentum, the opposition now embraced it as the lesser of two evils.

The divisiveness of the issue and the press it received caused a large number of Mesa County voters to turn out to cast their ballots for statewide Prohibition. In 1914 there were 12,173 registered voters in Mesa County, 7,151 of them went to the polls that day.⁵⁶ The total votes cast for a state constitutional amendment was 3,883, while the number against the amendment totaled 2,349.⁵⁷ The remaining 919 voters did not participate on this issue. Once again Prohibitionists had carried Mesa County and, more importantly, the state.

The ramifications of the election would be broad and long lasting. After January 1, 1916, all liquor traffic in Colorado was to cease. Saloonkeepers had only fourteen months to conclude business, dispose of their stock, and find new employment. All "saloons, bars, cafes with bars, clubs with bars and every place of every character whatsoever that now sells or gives away liquor must dispose of its stocks of liquors and quit the business." Enforcement of the amendment was given over to the police, sheriffs, district attorneys, and district judges. It was estimated that nearly a million dollars would be lost to the state in taxes and license revenue, and fifteen to twenty thousand people would lose their jobs. Commenting on the effects of the election, Daily Sentinel editor Walter Walker eloquently stated, "From the theoretical to the practical the Prohibition proposition now changes in Colorado."58 After decades of toil, Prohibitionists proudly added another state to the "dry" column.

LESS CRIME MORE SAVINGS

Local Option States Make Better Showing Than Prohibition States

I to the question of their, the following figures, taken from the United States Canton Report, younge the number of terring bank depositors in the various states are illuminating.

In Manufacture, which is operating under local option, they have on deposit pay capers. \$596.92.

In Manu where state-wide prohibition prevails (but is not entreprolity they have on deposit only \$175.14 per capital

In California, where probibition has never made the alightest headily, there is in the assings banks \$797.18 per capita.

In Kansas, where prohibition has prevailed for thirty-odd years they have on deposit only \$191.73 per rapita.

In Maine, where there are no legalized salsons. THE UNITED STATES CENSUS REPORTS SAY there are 70 common in the jalls per ton, one population, while in Illimia the ratio is 60.

Ja Kamar, the "great prohibition state." THERE ARE 193 CRIMINALS IN THE JAILS FER 100,000 population. MORE THAN THERE TIMES AS MANY AS IN LOCAL OPTION IL. LINOIS.

Now let us see about broken homes and the di-vorce evil. Glance at the table found in Vol. 16 P. 14, of the United States Census Report, and you will read that in local option Massachusetts they have 47 divorces per 100,000 population, WHILE

IN PROBURITION MAINT THEY HAVE 117 DIVURCES THE EVERY PRODUCT INTERNAL

In local option Pennsylvinia the divorce rate of per concess population, AND IN DRY KAN-515 per 11

In prohibition Oklahoma, the ratio is 129. So, you see state-ande prohibition does not guarantee the hoppiness of the home.

United States Census Bulletin 84 declares that the DEATH RATE FROM ALCOHOLISM IN-CRFASED in dry states during a period of 1st years 13 per cent, and that it decremed in local option waten 34 per cent, which proves that "buotleg boxie"

The greatest Thinkers of the ago-Clergymon. For greater Limbers of the ago—Corgonica, Scientiti, Statesmen, Merchant Priview and Captains of Industry—AGREE, that travelled captilistical truth to increase immorative, because it off meet, hare, hypothesis, perjuicirs and petry stranger tends to increase immorality, because it have hypocrites, perjuners and petty at

In view of the foregoing facts, how can any same person take seriously the claim of the agitator that statewisk prohibition would be a good thing for Colorado?

Colorado cannot grow by stirring up bitter hatred among her citizens, but only through the united unsettish efforts of all patriots. Reason is dethroned and public spirit stifled when the nassions of the populace are excited by paid agitators.

Don't forget that Colorado in the next few years will be the merca for hundreds of thousands of tour Don't forget that Lotreason in the next tray wears win as the merce is the numerous at monocause or investment of the war, will spend their vacations and money night-ageing in the Rockies, if they can have the privileges they enjoy at home and in other planuare-resorts.

On Nov. 1, you must choose between local option, which promoves temperance and regulation, and attactivities prohibition, which breads blind rigers, kitchen between and deprayity.

LOCAL OPTION GIVES EVERY CITY IN THE STATE THE RIGHT OF HOME RULE

Is would be unfair for a city which favors license to force saloons on a town where public sentiment is against them, and it is equally unfair for a dry town to compel a city that believes in the license system as the best means of regulating the liquor traffic to adopt its views.

VOTE "NO"-THUS:

An amendment to the constitution of the State of Colorado by adding thereto a new article, to be numbered and designated as "Article XXII., Intoxicating Liquors," prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors and the manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquors for the purpose of sale or gift.

Yes

The Colorado Business Men's Home Rule League

Advertisement against Prohibition.

(Courtesy of The Daily Sentinel, 24 October 1914)

Prohibition Vs. Local Option

Grand Junction will be helped by State-wide Prohibition. Denver has mixed in each of our three fights. Both money and men have been furnished by the wholesalers in attempt to make Grand Junction wet.

THE DRY MONEY AND EFFORT ARE LOCAL. THE WET IS NEVER SO.

Bootlegging and selling in dry territory is not local. Glenwood and Denver foist them upon us. They furnish ball when we make arrests and furnish liquor largely at their own risk for sale in Dry Territory.

STATE-WIDE PROHIBITION will make local fights unnecessary and impossible. Denver cannot force us to constantly furnish money and men to keep them out if the state is dry.

The national law on interstate shipments will help us keep out liquor planned for sale. It is subject to state law before delivered to consignee.

Vote for State-wide Prihibition Nov. 3 for the sake of local protection.

AMENDMENT

An amendment to the constitution of the state of ('olorado by adding thereto a new article to be numbered and designated as "Article XXII.—
Intoxicating Liquors," prohibiting the manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquors for purposes of sale or gift.

Yea X

Advertisement supporting Prohibition.

(Courtesy of The Daily Sentinel, 26 October 1914.)

The election of 1914 marked the high point of interest on this issue in Mesa County. The political maneuvering that led up to the passage of the Volstead Act in 1919 seemed to carry little significance or interest for the citizens of Mesa County. In the months and weeks preceding the elections in 1908, 1909, 1911, and 1914, the Daily Sentinel and Palisade Tribune carried many politically charged advertisements. However, on the eve of the passage of national Prohibition, little room in either paper was reserved for this once heated topic, reflecting the loss of interest because of failed enforcement.

In January of 1919, Nebraska became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, providing the two-thirds majority of states needed to pass the Amendment nationally. It banned the "manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes."59 Many citizens in the United States hoped that this legislation would be a success; it would be years before they would realize what Mesa County citizens had long known-successful enforcement was nearly impossible. By examining how locals reacted to Prohibition we gain a better understanding for how and why the local option law was not successful. Furthermore, it becomes evident that local failure was a mere foreshadowing of the failure that would be experienced by the state, and ultimately, the nation.

In Grand Junction, Mesa County, and the State of Colorado, those opposed to Prohibition reacted to the new "dry" status in a variety of ways. Some people worked within the system and hoped that the next election would bring victory to their side. Some simply changed businesses in an ef-

fort to survive, such as the local saloon owner who switched from selling liquor to ice cream. Others blatantly disregarded the law. Although Grand Junction had no gun-wielding outlaws like Bonny and Clyde, some events are reminiscent of The Andy Griffith Show.

Prohibition was a clearly serious matter to the participants, but attempts at enforcement gave way to the era of the bootlegger—and several humorous situations. Bootleggers provided black market alcohol to the citizens of Mesa County. The relationship between local lawmen, juries, politicians, and bootleggers became interesting. By exploring each group's interpretation of the law, and interaction with the other groups, one may get a sense of what it was like to live in Mesa County in the years between 1908 and 1933.

Little more than two months after Grand Junction voted itself dry in 1909, the first case regarding illegal liquor traffic came to county court. "Doc" Powell was charged with selling liquor to J. W. Schultz. After some confusion over the date of the sale was cleared up, Schultz was called to the stand where he testified that he had purchased a bottle of beer from Powell on June 13. The following day Powell told Schultz that he also had some whiskey for sale. Schultz then followed Powell into the alley between Main Street and Colorado Avenue and purchased the bottle of whiskey. Upon cross-examination, it was discovered that Schultz was employed at the time by Chief of Police Watson to "buy whiskey wherever it was being sold and to deliver his purchases to him to be used as evidence." Schultz then proceeded to tell the court that the bottle looked like it contained less liquor now than it did when he turned it over to Chief Watson, causing laughter throughout the courtroom.

In his defense, Powell testified that he did supply the liquor to Schultz, but he did not sell it to him. Instead, he

explained, he took the dollar given to him by Schultz into the alley and put it in a "certain place," when he returned some twenty-five minutes later, a bottle of whiskey had miraculously taken its place. After four hours of deliberation the jury returned with a guilty verdict. No doubt the jury was trying to send a message to all who contemplated breaking the law in Grand Junction. This case seemed to be setting the tone for aggressive police work followed by a speedy trial and conviction for bootleggers—but would it continue?

Several men had been employed in the same manner as Schultz between the years of 1909 and 1931, but city and county officials failed to take the needed measures to rid the county of bootleggers; consequently, bootleggers thrived in the "dry" county. Under the title "Ditching The City Sleuth," the Daily Sentinel reported a victory by local rum runners. According to this account, "several men who were recently released on bootlegging charges took revenge in a novel manner on a city detective, Perin Dewey." On the sultry night of August 29, 1912, Dewey was "enticed into a room, given enough 'evidence' liquor to get him badly intoxicated; his money, earned from the city as a bootlegging detective, was taken from him to buy a railroad ticket to Kansas." Bootleggers then escorted Dewey to the depot and placed him on the No. 2 train in a "maudlin state." The conductor was instructed to "put him off at the Kansas station."63 Although this story demonstrates a complete lack of respect for the law, it also reveals a creative sense of humor on the part of the bootlegger!

Over time, others became well known for their roles in the black market sale of alcohol, but convictions were rare, and for those convicted, punishment was light. A pattern began to develop in Mesa County. Hundreds of valuable manhours evaporated when a "bust" was tipped off and the bootlegger(s) escaped, or, bootleggers would be apprehended only to be released when juries failed to convict. Under the law, those caught and found guilty faced only a fine not to exceed \$200 or ninety days in jail at the taxpayers' expense. In a matter of three months, the lawbreakers could be back in the community selling their bootleg liquor. The high expense of arresting bootleggers, and the failure to convict quickly led to frustration on the part of the justice system.

The case of Abe Ong demonstrates how and why the local option law, state law, and national Prohibition continued to fail because of weak enforcement and sentencing. Ong, whom the *Daily Sentinel* dubbed one of the "Premier Bootleggers" in the City, went to jail several times during the years between 1910 and 1931. His longest sentence was nine months with several sentences served of lesser length. This series of short sentences probably served to give Ong a rest between business transactions and did nothing to deter his criminal behavior. This ongoing problem with repeat offenders was not lost on the courts that meted out the sentencing.

In February of 1916, Ong once again appeared in Mesa County Court. "Hired detectives" provided the testimony against Ong. Lee Hendrickson, Sterling Jayne, and C. C. Blackburn were each employed by Mesa County to root-out those persons illegally selling spirits. Due to the strength of the testimony and the arrest record of Ong, the proceedings were viewed as "merely a matter of form . . . a conviction was inevitable." A few weeks following his conviction, Ong stood before Judge Miller for sentencing. Before handing out the punishment, Miller railed against the actions of the repeat offender. Running out of patience, Miller said, "You have been convicted over and over again . . . the terms of imprisonment have no more effect on you than water on a ducks back." The

harsh words of Miller reflect frustration in the legal system's inability to stop the illegal liquor traffic.⁶⁶

Several days after the conviction of Ong, another event occurred which points to the breakdown of the legal system from the inside. Undercover detectives Lee Hendrickson and Sterling Jayne, both of who had given damning testimony at Ong's trial, were themselves arrested on bootlegging charges. Hendrickson had apparently shown another citizen his facilities "for carrying on a bootlegging business." He had "pointed out a square hole in the floor, which had been carefully covered by a cot, where he had two cases of liquor stored." Shortly following Hendrickson's divulgence, the police raided the business and the two detectives were taken into custody. This raises the question of the source of the liquor. Did the booze come from a blackmail operation led by Jayne and Hendrickson—two detectives employed to put an end to bootlegging?

The Italian community that lived in the Riverside Park area of Grand Junction also thwarted authorities by continuing to "make and consume large quantities of wine." Many Italians worked for the railroad during this time, and sources indicate that zinfandel grapes were brought in via train from California for the purpose of winemaking. Some in the Italian community also knew about the illegal liquor movement through Grand Junction, but because they were extremely loyal to one another, evidence was hidden and silence about the activities witnessed around the rail-yard after dark was not discovered by outside authorities. One member of this community, Amore Arcieri, recalled that he earned extra money "running" bootleg whiskey in and around Denver, using the money for "singing school and other luxuries."

A CRIME

TO SERVE LIQUOR IN YOUR HOME

IF STATE VOTES FOR PROHIBITION

The pending constitutional amendment on the state-wide prohibition question is not a measure directed at the open salooms or one tending to regulate or restrict the sale of intoxicating

ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS A MEASURE PRAFTED AND INTENDED FOR THE PUR-POSE OF RESTRICTING THE INDIVIDUAL IN HIS HOME, AND UNDERTAKING TO DIC-TATE WHAT HE SHALL USE IN THE WAY OF DEVERAGES AT HIS MEALS.

There is no part of Colorado which has been voted "dry" under focal option where any attempt has been made to interfere with individual freedom in the homes, and in thousands of homes in "dry Colorado trait ry" liquors are kept and served by hosts to counts. rit ry" liquora are by hosts to guests

The state-wide prohibition amendment. If adopted, will stop all of that, for R provides that no intoxicating liquors shall be manufactured for sale or GIFT in Colorado, and no intoxicating liquors shall be impersoi into Colorado for sale or GIFT after Jan. 1, 1912.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE LIQUOR AMENDMENT MIGHT LEAD PRO-PLE. TO BELIEVE THAT INTOXI-CATING LIQUORS CAN BE SOLD FOR MEDICINAL AND SACRA-MENTAL PURPOSES. THAT IS NOT TRUE. THE LANGUAGE SEEMS TO HE FRAMED DELINER-ATELY TO MISLEAD THE PUBLIC.

This Amendment will make a law. breaker of overy person who liquor of any kind for any nhatenever in his or her home

We now have a federal law provid-ing that the several states can stop the importation of alcoholic liquors, and this constitutional amendment meets the requirements of that law, so that if alcoholic liquors can nel-ther be manufactured nor noid in the state, how can they be "HANDLED" for medicinal and sacramental pur-poses? We now have a federal law provid-

The pending constitutional amendment reads as follows:

"Provided, however, that the HANDLING of intoxicating liquors for medicinal or sacramental purposes may be provided for by restute."

The champions of this amendment are constantly shouting about "law violations" and the "necessity for strict law enforcement," and yet they start their crusade for absolute prohibition by providing for a status in direct contitutional mendment, and for something called "handling," which would be a most effective nullification of the entire amendment."

If the people desire to close the saloons in any section of Colorado, it can be done in the most rapid manner possible to imagine under axisting statutes, vin.: Either by refusing to license them, or by wiping them out under the local option set.

To deal effectively with open saloons, it is not necessary to curtail the freedom of every resident in our state, and of every visitor to our state, through a constitutional amendment that never can be enforced, and which will keep the state in a turnoil until it is repealed on account of the inability to enforce it.

Think of the tyrauny that the proponents of state-wide prohibition are trying to enforce in Colorado! If prohibition carries thay will east a search and selvers law which will permit police officers togo into YOUR HOMES and ransack it from callar to garret.

Erer since the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock "a man's home has been considered his castle," but if prohibition carries fanatics will tear out this foundation stone of your liberty.

IF YOU SHOULD GIVE A PRIEND A GLISS OF WINE AT YOUR TABLE YOU WOULD THE A CHMINAL UNDER THE PROPOSED PROHIBITION LAW AND CAN BE SERT TO JAIL, HOW WOULD YOU LIKE THAT:

DON'T LET FANATICISM TAKE RGOT IN COLORADO

Vote "NO" On Amendment No. 2

COLORADO BUSINESS MEN'S HOME RULE LEAGUE

Advertisement opposing Prohibition.

(Courtesy of The Daily Sentinel, 17 October 1914.)

Although a problem throughout the county, bootleggers were especially active in the town of Palisade, due in part to the problem of juries unwilling to convict and an ineffective police force. In 1910 the Palisade town board gave Mayor Reeder the authority to hire detectives from Denver to find and prosecute bootleggers. Their efforts yielded many arrests, but only three convictions, which carried sentences of only thirty days in jail; the other cases resulted in hung juries. Some estimated that the three convictions had cost the city of Palisade \$1000 and the county much more. Between 1909, when Mesa County became "dry," and 1911, these were the only convictions for bootlegging in Palisade. Frustrated, and convinced that court cases would not bring convictions, the prosecuting attorney dismissed the remainder of court cases. 70

Another reason for the failure of Prohibition in Palisade was a town marshall who was not interested in enforcing the Prohibition law. Although hailed as a man who would "fearlessly do his duty and conserve the rights of the temperance people, one who would religiously keep tab and check upon the bootleggers," he often appeared on the streets of Palisade in an intoxicated condition. That he kept his job suggests that he was the man favored by the "big-four," as the four city alderman were called, and, according to the Palisade Tribune, attempted to run the town.71 One fateful day Mayor Reeder, who was an "out and out saloon man," happened upon a very intoxicated marshall. The marshall was so drunk that "he could not keep on the sidewalk," and since people were looking on, Reeder "promptly relieved him of his star."72 Because the "big four" and the Mayor were anti-Prohibition, they were able to place men with similar views in law enforcement positions, which, in effect, circumvented the local option law.

To help eliminate the idea that bootleggers were not being brought to justice in Palisade, the Mayor offered a one hundred dollar reward for any evidence that would lead to the arrest and conviction of a bootlegger. 73 This incentive proved ineffective, and by July of 1911 the problem had become serious. Disgusted by two years of lawlessness in Palisade, a "band of fifty determined men, armed with rifles and shot guns, marched down Main Street about 9:30, lined up in front of the restaurant belonging to James Furguson and Charles Furguson," and served them written notice that they must vacate the city within ten days. According to spectators, the band of masked men "kept step like a well organized band of soldiers," answering to the orders given by "Cap" Atkins.74 It was a well-known fact that the Fergusons, owners of the Eagle Cafe, served alcohol to any one who was willing to pay. Despite his arrest in 1910, James Ferguson continued to break the law, much to the chagrin of Palisade citizens.75 Deemed an "expression of indignation," the actions of these masked men reflect the inability of the local option law to curtail liquor traffic, and the extent of frustration experienced by those wanting the law enforced.76 Following the confrontation, the Ferguson brothers did leave town. However, five years later James Ferguson's name again appeared in the Daily Sentinel. Under the headline, "Former Palisade Bootlegger is killed in Wyoming," readers learned that Ferguson died from a gunshot wound-it was not revealed if the shooting was a result of a bootlegging deal gone bad.77

Throughout two decades of Prohibition in Mesa County, citizens witnessed a legal system mocked by the repeat offenses of Ong and others, crooked undercover officers arrested for breaking the very laws they were charged with upholding, a publicly intoxicated marshall relieved of his star

in a disgraceful manner, and angry bands of armed men marching down city streets. Although the pro-Prohibition Daily Sentinel tried to put a positive spin on the success of Prohibition in Mesa County, a strong case may be made that it was an utter failure. Using yearly crime reports, the Daily Sentinel cited a steady decline in arrests—from 212 in 191578 to 10 in 193279—to demonstrate and support the law's effectiveness. The record does indicate a steady decline in arrests; however, this data was grossly misinterpreted. The evidence presented in this article, the rising cost of enforcement, the "Mayberry" antics of many citizens, and a blatant disregard for the law, clearly indicates that the drop in arrests was due to lack of enforcement, not effectiveness of the law.

After working diligently to win anti-saloon status for Mesa County and Colorado, many citizens lost faith in this great social experiment. The margin of victory narrowed with each passing election as law enforcement proved itself ineffective in upholding prohibition laws and citizens were realizing the futility of it. By the time statewide Prohibition came into effect in 1916, Mesa County's experiment with Prohibition was well on its way to becoming an utter failure. Although the WCTU and the ASL remained active for many years in Mesa County, nationally the cost-benefit ratio of upholding the law grew increasingly one-sided, from 3.75 million dollars in Federal money spent during 1920 to 11 million dollars spent in 1926. This does not include any local money spent to enforce Prohibition.80 Following the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, the nation would come to discover what many citizens of Mesa County had long known-Prohibition was a wonderful, but unworkable, notion. The years between passage of the Volstead Act in 1919 and its repeal in 1933 were not marked by the same heated debates

and fantastic elections as had been the case the previous decade in Mesa County. Arrests for violations of the Prohibition law during this time were scarce, not because people were obeying it, but because police ceased to enforce it. In 1933, as the nation sunk deeper into depression, the Eighteenth Amendment was almost unanimously repealed, officially marking the end of a colorful era in Mesa County History.

Notes

- ¹ James H. Timberlake, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement*, 1900-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 101.
- 2 Ibid., 4.
- 3 Ibid., 6.
- 4 Ibid., 41.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid., 44.
- 8 Ibid., 48.
- 9 Ibid., 46.
- 10 Ibid., 68.
- 11 Ibid., 67.
- 12 Ibid., 48.
- 13 Ibid., 57-58.
- 14 Ibid., 60.
- ¹⁵ Elliot West, "Of Lager Beer and Sonorous Songs," *The Colorado Magazine*, no. 1 (Winter 1971), 128.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.; Norman H. Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976), 97.
- 17 Clark, Deliver Us, 97.
- 18 Ibid.
- ¹⁹ John Kobler, *Ardent Spirits* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1973), 136.
- ²⁰ The Women's Christian Temperance Union: Shopping List and Souvenir, Grand Junction, Colorado 1894-1895, n.p. Dan Roberts Collection 1983.66. Loyd Files Research Library, Grand Junction, Colorado.
- ²¹ Palisade Tribune, 9 October 1909.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid., 8 October 1910.
- 24 Abstract of Votes Cast, Mesa County Clerk and Recorder,

- 111, Mesa County Clerk and Recorder, Old Mesa County Courthouse, upstairs vault, Grand Junction, Colorado.
- ²⁵ The Daily Sentinel, 7 April 1909 (Grand Junction, Colorado.)
- ²⁶ Kathleen Underwood, *Town Building on the Colorado Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1944), 122-127. Number calculated by dividing the total number of voters, 2489, by eligible voters as approximated by Underwood at 6000.
- ²⁷ Daily Sentinel, 6 April 1909.
- 28 Ibid., 7 April 1909.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid., 14 April 1909.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid.
- ³⁶ Palisade Tribune, 5 November 1910.
- 37 Daily Sentinel, 27 April 1909.
- 38 Ibid., 6 November 1911.
- 39 Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., 23 March 1910.
- 41 Ibid., 6 November 1911.
- 42 Ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 7 November 1911.
- 44 Ibid., 9 November 1911.
- 45 Ibid., 8 November 1911.
- 46 Palisade Tribune, 5 November 1910.
- ⁴⁷ Daily Sentinel, 8 November 1911.
- 48 Ibid., 15 November 1911.
- 49 Ibid., 6 October 1914.
- 50 Ibid., 31 October 1914.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., 11 August 1914.

- 52 Ibid., 10 September 1914.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Abstract of Votes Cast, document is taped inside of front cover.
- 57Ibid., 164.
- 58 Daily Sentinel, 6 November 1914.
- 59 Ibid., 16 January 1920.
- 60 Ibid., 9 April 1909.
- 61 Ibid., 29 June 1909.
- 62 Ibid., 30 June 1909.
- 63 Ibid., 31 August 1912.
- ⁶⁴ Ordinances of the City of Grand Junction, Colorado, 18 January 1916. Office of the City Clerk and Recorder.
- 65 Daily Sentinel, 1 February 1916.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid., 3 February 1916.
- ⁶⁸ Sue Ann Marasco, "Transporting the Body: Bringing Southern Italian Culture to Grand Junction, 1870-1930" *Journal of the Western Slope* 14,2 (Spring 1999), 29.
- 69 Ibid., 32.
- 70 Palisade Tribune, 15 July 1911.
- 71 Ibid., 24 March 1910.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid., 25 December 1909.
- 74 Ibid., 15 July 1911.
- 75 Daily Sentinel, 17 October 1910.
- ⁷⁶ Palisade Tribune, 7 October 1910.
- ⁷⁷ Daily Sentinel, 11 February 1916.
- 78 Ibid., 2 February 1915.
- 79 Ibid., 29 January 1933.
- 80 Ibid., 2 January 1925.

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