

KOOS DALEY, ADAMS STATE COLLEGE

Alamosa!

The Place to Settle and to Build: A Dutch Immigration Attempt In Southern Colorado

It is one of those perfect April days, so rare even in this valley of sunshine. Soft and tender is the breeze that ruffles the balmy air. Overhead fairy clouds poise lightly on the azure depths and a flock of cranes soars upward, higher and higher, until they seem but a fantastic sketch in delicate gray against that clear blue background.¹

On Wednesday evening, November 30, 1892, the first contingent of Dutch settlers arrived in Alamosa. About thirty families, 119 children among them, and twenty-eight bachelors had sold all they owned in their native Holland and set out for the "beautiful, rich, and fertile San Luis Valley."² A thousand more planned to follow in January 1893, and by the end of 1893 several thousand Dutch farmers were expected to have settled in a radius of about six miles around Alamosa. This influx of immigrants, had they come, would have tripled the population of the town. The *Alamosa Independent-Journal* called these first Dutch immigrants "a fine looking lot of people," adding that "the clouds which have overhung Alamosa for many years are showing their silver lining and it now looks as though an era of prosperity was before us."³ Two months later, on January 31, 1893, about eighty of the thrifty and hard working farmers, swindled out of their dreams by unscrupulous men, left the Valley for Crook, located in the Platte Valley in northern Colorado. Although they comprised about thirty-five percent of the original immigrants, the *Valley Courier* declared that "they were but an unimportant part of the original body of immigrants and their departure doesn't by any means break up the Holland Settlement at Alamosa."⁴ By December 1893, one scant year after the Dutch settlers came to the Valley with their dreams for a new beginning, all but one family had left Alamosa. Disappointed in the yields of their crops, hampered by a depressed market, and angered at the indifference and mischief of their American neighbors, some returned to the Netherlands while others joined friends and family in other parts of the United States. Only Adolph

Heersink, his wife Grada and their seven children, ranging in ages from two years to thirteen, remained in what the Dutch promoters had touted as the "Paradise of Colorado," the "Italy of western North America."

This area is so unlike the immigrants' native Holland that it still baffles the imagination that these people sold all they owned to buy a parcel of arid desert more than 7,500 feet above the highest point in their native country. The San Luis Valley is an intermontane valley, the largest in the world, encompassing about 6,600 square miles. Some of the highest peaks in Colorado, nine of them over 14,000 ft. high, frame the valley. Designated subalpine desert, the valley has an annual rainfall of a scant six inches. The mean annual temperature is about 42 degrees Fahrenheit, with winter temperatures dipping as low as 40 degrees below zero and summer temperatures hovering around 80. The growing season is short; the last killing frost occurs around June tenth, and the first one around September tenth. In comparison, the Netherlands encompass an area of about 16,892 square miles - thus roughly 2.5 times as large as the Valley. Average rainfall in Holland amounts to 31 inches per year, five times as much rain as the Valley receives. The climate is temperate, and the country does not experience the extreme cold periods of a Valley winter.

Several attempts have been made to identify the guilty party in what the *Denver Republican* termed the "Boldest of Swindles";⁵ this article, however, concerns itself with the role that the two Alamosa newspapers, the *Alamosa Independent-Journal* (hereafter *Journal*) and the *San Luis Valley Courier* (hereafter *Courier*), played in the promotion of the Valley and in describing the tribulations of the Dutch settlers during the first three months of their stay.

By late 1891, several months before Albertus Zoutman, the twenty-one year old mastermind behind the emigration scheme, first set foot in the Valley, the *Journal* described its city and the

surrounding area as the "largest and most productive valley in the State of Colorado." Comparing the Valley to Massachusetts, the *Journal* claimed that the acreage in the Valley was more suitable to cultivation than that in Massachusetts because ditches covered the land, the water supply was unlimited, and the yield per acre unexcelled. Agricultural and mining interests alone, so the *Journal* crowed in a rush of optimism, would support a town of at least 10,000 inhabitants, and the paper declared that the "resources of the town will be found to be quite similar and compare favorably with those of Salt Lake City, Utah, with 50,000 inhabitants."⁶

In April of 1893, the *Journal* furnished some statistics that would also appear in the official brochure of the Nederlandsche-Americaansche Land-en Emigratie-Maatschappij (Holland-American Land and Emigration Company [hereafter NALEM]). A correspondent quoted the yield of wheat at 35 bushels per acre and that of oats at 75 bushels. Moreover, the paper reported that a man who owned eighty acres could save about \$1,000 each year over and above expenses, claiming that "many have done better than that."⁷ In May, the same paper quoted the wheat yield at 45 bushels per acre.⁸ NALEM quoted the average yield of wheat at 30-40 bushels per acre and oats at 60-80 bushels; the so-called experts added that often the yields well surpassed these average amounts, boasting yields of 45-50 bushels of wheat and 115-118 bushels of oats. Moreover, the promoters of the Holland company painted an even more prosperous picture: a farmer starting out with eighty acres of land could save about \$2,597.00 after all debts had been paid off.⁹ *The Natural Resources and Industrial Development and Condition of Colorado*, a booklet published under the authority of the state of Colorado by the Bureau of Immigration and Statistics in 1889, was a little less enthusiastic but more honest. It reported the average wheat yield at 27 bushels and oats at 61 bushels per acre.¹⁰

Alamosa had cause to be optimistic; the railroad had reached there in 1878; in 1885, T. C. Henry had started construction of several irrigation canals and had begun founding company farms, the largest of which became known as the Excelsior and Empire Farms, south of town. By 1890, 20,000 acres in the Waverly district were under cultivation, producing spring wheat, oats, native grass hay, and potatoes.

The silver rush in Creede brought an onslaught of miners and other interested people to the mountains and provided another market for local farmers.

However, in early 1891 Henry ran into serious financial difficulties. The *Journal* was quick to point out that, although its loyalty to Henry was unflinching, the interests at stake were not only Henry's but also those of the farmers, the citizens of Alamosa, the San Luis valley, indeed, all of Colorado.¹¹ Having to sell some of his holdings, Henry was able to keep control of the Empire Canal and its adjacent sections of land; namely the Alamosa, Empire, and Excelsior farms, and he advertised acreage for sale on those tracts. In early May, Henry sold 15,000 acres to two Dutch speculators, Albertus Zoutman and William C. Van Dusseldorp, with the obligation to furnish them an additional 50,000 acres. The conditions of the sale stipulated that the Immigration Company had to pay Henry \$1,000 as a down payment; the company promised to pay the second installment, of \$15,000, on arrival of the immigrants in the San Luis Valley. Henry was also to receive stock in the yet to be formed NALEM. The Waverly sections of the Empire farm had proved the least satisfactory for farming; the uneven surface caused low areas to seep and become soggy and alkaline, while other areas were too high to be irrigated at all. Much of the surface was never cleared of brush. This treeless and forlorn landscape greeted the Dutch immigrants on December 1, 1892, after a special train had taken them from Alamosa to Willis Switch, five miles west, to two hastily erected buildings that soon became known as the Immigrant Houses.

The Immigrant Houses have been described in widely different fashion by newspapers, inhabitants and interested onlookers, who agreed only on the size; each house measured 36 by 60 feet, with some sources claiming that they had two stories and others, a story and a half. Several days before the immigrants were to arrive, the *Courier* visited the site selected by officers of NALEM for their winter quarters. The buildings were not yet finished, but the paper reported that they were built substantially with a shingle roof, adding that "inside they will be papered and will afford comfortable quarters for a large number of people through the winter."¹² Several weeks later when it had become clear that the colonists were having trouble getting settled, this same paper stated that the immigrants were "huddled

together in two barnlike structures."¹³ Two of the later accounts also described the immigrant houses; one claimed that they were "most uncomfortable," "poorly heated and lighted," and "very unsanitary";¹⁴ the other attested that the colonists "were packed like herrings in two apparently well-heated buildings."¹⁵ Maud Eubank, who nursed the Dutch children who were stricken with diphtheria and scarlet fever, made the most interesting comments about the building. In a letter to the *Journal*, she wrote that "the bitter winds of a Colorado winter were whistling through their little rooms... They were packed in these rooms like sardines in a box." However, Eubank's letter is ambiguous, because she included an impassioned defense of van der Hoogt, one of the emigration promoters and the man who was subsequently indicted as one of the swindlers in the failed emigration scheme.¹⁶

After the initial articles on the arrival of the Dutch - the *Journal* reporting 220 people among whom they claimed were thirty children, and the *Courier* 250 among whom they counted ninety children (a more accurate account quotes the adults at 86 and the children at 118) - neither newspaper paid much attention to the colony.¹⁷ The *Courier* mentioned that quite a number of people took their Sunday drive on December the 4th out to the immigrant houses. Although it became clear that the colony ran into troubles soon after its settlement at Willis Switch, it was not until the *Denver Republican*, who had followed the arrival of the Dutch and had sent a reporter down to Alamosa to investigate rumors of mismanagement, ran its sensational article "Boldest of Swindles" on the 18th that the *Journal* and *Courier* reacted with indignation to what the *Journal* called "a diabolical outrage."¹⁸ Apparently, NALEM never paid Henry the \$15,000 when the immigrants arrived in the Valley, and Henry refused to give over the lands on which NALEM had an option. The immigrants therefore had no choice but to remain in the settlement until ownership could be established.

Labelling Zoutman and van der Hoogt, the Dutch promoters of the colonization scheme, as Philistines, The *Denver Republican* denounced in no uncertain terms NALEM's agents as scoundrels and adventurers. Monday and Tuesday, the *Republican* again trumpeted the troubles of the colonists in its headlines. "Death's Terror Now," Monday's front page article, dealt with the cases of diphtheria and

scarlet fever that had broken out in the immigrant houses and described in some detail a fist fight that broke out between Manders (Henry's agent) and van der Hoogt. On Tuesday, the headlines read "Death and His Toll"; calling the situation "truly alarming," the paper related that a third child had succumbed to the diseases ravaging the colony. The *Republican* had only positive admiration for the citizens of Alamosa, declaring that "the Alamosa citizens have shown a spirit of kindness toward the strangers that these foreigners cannot fully appreciate and for which the Alamosans should receive the credit."¹⁹

Since both Alamosa newspapers were weekly papers, they were unable to react to the *Republican's* articles immediately. The *Journal*, published on Thursdays, was the first to counteract the allegations. Focusing their main attention on the charges against van der Hoogt, the *Journal* investigated some of those charges, all involving alleged debts that van der Hoogt had incurred in Alamosa and refused to pay. Carrying the torch brightly for the Dutch promoters, the front page article declared "[t]his paper is not the champion of Messrs. van der Hoogt and Zoutman but it is a champion of honesty and justice. In the attacks that have been made we believe that they have been badly abused." The paper ignored the serious human suffering at the immigrant houses and failed to conduct a thorough investigation of the crucial charges of fraudulent non-payment for land. Rather, the *Journal* focused its attention on Henry's alleged misdoings and ended its article by declaring he was a victim: "Mr. van der Hoogt, who has every appearance of a gentleman both in looks and manner, has not only been lied about but he has even been struck in the face by one of the parties making this war on him." In the same issue, the *Journal* claimed that it knew of an impending formation of a new colonization company headed by van Dusseldorp and Manders, and that the violent attacks on van der Hoogt and Zoutman were a "cold blooded affair" directed at denouncing them. The *Journal* linked its distrust of Manders to his unsuccessful attempt to become the manager of the *Journal* the previous winter.²⁰ Once started on this precipitous defense of van der Hoogt and Zoutman, prompted by its feud with Manders, the *Journal* soon was caught in a war with the Dutch colonists and its rival paper, the *Courier*.

The *Courier*, printed every Saturday, ran its first reaction to both the *Republican* and the *Journal* on December 24, Christmas Eve. Getting down to the

true differences between the two parties, the *Courier* clearly delineated the issues at hand: "Messrs Alb. Zoutman and C. W. van der Hoogt charge Mr. Henry with having broken his contract and have declared that they will bring suit against him. It is intimated on the other hand that these two Hollanders have organized a stock company whose stock is practically worthless." The article did not forget the colonists, the innocent people caught in the middle, mentioning that the Dutch settlers were the true victims since they were unable to buy the lands they had chosen because of the troubles between the two parties. Judiciously, the article pointed no fingers and refrained from supporting either party until it could be proven where the trouble had originated.

Around the same time, several colonists, tired of being idle and having lost all faith in NALEM, bought land from Henry directly. They purchased 3,200 acres at the common price of \$17.50 per acre on parts of the Empire Farm that were certainly better equipped for cultivation than the land originally purchased. Having been burned once, they made sure that the contracts were in duplicate - one written in Dutch and one in English - and signed in the presence of witnesses. When they bought these lands, some of the "philanthropic" character of NALEM came to light. It had bought the original acreage for only \$11.25 per acre but had offered it to the immigrants at \$26.00 an acre, a price so cheap that, according to van der Hoogt, it soon had to be raised!²¹

Having started on a course defending the men in charge of the colonization scheme, the *Journal* let no opportunity go to waste in extolling the character of van der Hoogt and his partners. In its January 5 issue, the headline read: "The Right Kind of Man," and the *Journal* lauded him for payment of outstanding debts, closing with the assertion that such behavior provided ample proof that "the position heretofore taken by the *Independent-Journal* in regard to Messrs. van der Hoogt and Zoutman" was fully justified. Again, the *Journal* made no efforts to address the real issues between the colonizers and colonists: that of the ownership of the lands in question. Meanwhile, all involved awaited the arrival of Maarten Noordtzij, the president of NALEM and a prominent professor of Semitic languages at the Theological School at Kampen. The colonists had wired the parent company in Utrecht on December 18, asking for the immediate resignation of van der Hoogt and Zoutman.

Noordtzij, accompanied by his private secretary who also served as his interpreter, arrived in Alamosa on January 12 and immediately went to the immigrant houses to try to investigate the trouble. The *Journal* assured its readers that Noordtzij had informed it that the company was quite solvent and that the Valley could expect thousands of people to settle in the area.²²

According to eyewitness reports, the visit by Noordtzij, a man the colonists thought could be trusted as being an honest and compassionate listener, yielded only disappointment. Under direct questioning by the colonists, Noordtzij refused to acknowledge any of the mismanagement and crooked dealings of his agents. Trying to put all the blame on Henry, Noordtzij ignored the pleas of the colonists to conduct a thorough investigation into the matter and refused the demand for the resignation of van der Hoogt and Zoutman who, he maintained, had done nothing to incur the wrath of those under their care. The meeting lasted several hours and resolved nothing.²³

The *Journal*, however, quick to accept anything to support its cause, excitedly claimed in its January 19 headline: "VAN DER HOOGT VINDICATED." Relishing in its supposed victory, the paper claimed that Noordtzij had given its reporters a private interview. Although claiming that much of the information was confidential, the *Journal* stated that "two hours was pleasantly passed Thursday evening with this cultured gentleman, who made this paper thoroughly conversant with the standing and condition of his company." Noordtzij told the paper that van der Hoogt was fully trusted by his company as a highly respected and honest gentleman. The *Journal* then singled out van Dusseldorp, a supporter of the seceded colonists, and Manders, Henry's agent, as the "sharps and swindlers," warning that "the kettle is on now and the liquid will soon be hot enough to furnish van Dusseldorp and his companions with a good coat of tar and feathers."

The *Courier* reacted with reservations to the visit of Noordtzij. In the January 14 issue, the paper mentioned only that Noordtzij had spoken with the colonists and had had no time to be interviewed. In the January 21 issue, after the *Journal* had run its sensational headlines of the vindication of van der Hoogt and the imminent tarring and feathering of van Dusseldorp and Manders, the *Courier* accused its rival paper of maligning two well-known and respected gentlemen. The article claimed that the

Journal, in its attempt to vindicate van der Hoogt and company, failed to take into account the moral character of the colonists: "[they] are not a flock of sheep or a drove of burros. They are sober, educated, intelligent, religious men." The *Courier* actually had visited the farmers who had relocated in the Waverly area and accused the van der Hoogt supporters of negligence: "if some of the kickers would make a similar visit they would be impressed with the fact which seems never to have occurred to them that these colonists have heads on them as well as arms and legs." The same issue ran a letter signed by the Farmers Committee in which they thanked the city of Alamosa, the Empire Land Company, and van Dusseldorp and Manders for their compassion and support, ending with a plea to the *Journal*: "for the sake of truth we advise the *Independent-Journal* to take back what it has said about them [van Dusseldorp and Manders] and we will then respect the editors as we now respect the above named persons."

The *Journal* was quick and lethal in its reply to this letter of thanks. The January 26 headline read, "THE BIGGEST FAKE OF ALL." Calling the statement signed by the Farmers Committee "ridiculous," the *Journal* lambasted the Dutch colonists as strangers meddling in events of which they knew nothing. Again, the paper hinted at a "gang of sharpers" who were behind the "Holland trouble," and it vowed not to withdraw any of their support for van der Hoogt and Zoutman. It also insinuated that the Hollanders who located on the Empire Farm were in for more dishonest dealings from Henry, declaring that "the present condition of affairs looks suspicious to say the least... If our suspicions prove correct there will be a good sized row on." The *Courier's* reply was short but appropriate: "In an argument it is a sign of weakness to fight shy of the vital point and make much of trifles which have nothing to do with the case."

Meanwhile, in a last-ditch effort to save face and the Company, Noordtjij and van der Hoogt abandoned all claims to any land in the San Luis Valley. Instead, the company bought 30,000 acres of land near Sterling, in the "rainbelt" of Colorado. All the colonists who had remained at the Immigrant Houses and some of those who had moved to the Empire Farm decided to try their luck in northern Colorado. On Monday, February 1893, two months

after they had first arrived in the Valley, about seventy-five persons left Alamosa in what the *Courier* termed the "Hollanders' Hegira." Both Alamosa papers tried to establish that the majority had stayed behind in the fertile San Luis Valley. Calling the Hollanders a prolific race, the *Courier* counted seventy-five of them leaving and noted that when the *Journal* "saw them pass through town they were 90... And now comes a dispatch from Sterling saying 200 of them have just arrived." In the same issue, the *Courier* also claimed that about 185 had stayed in the Valley, which would raise the total number of colonists to 260 - a prolific race indeed, since only about two hundred had arrived on November 30!²⁴

In the meantime, at the urging of the Dutch government, the governor of Colorado, Davis H. Waite, had appointed Charles A. Merriman, district attorney of the Twelfth District, to investigate the reported swindle. On February 17, *The Denver Republican* published the text of the report; the *Courier* reprinted it in its February 25 issue, claiming it to be "an accurate statement of the big swindle perpetrated by the Netherlands-American Land and Emigration Company." Merriman's report was divided into seven sections, each dealing with a detailed complication in the immigration scheme and the entire report condemning the managers of the Immigration Company. It stated that the company had at no time legal authority to do business in Colorado, that the company never owned any of the lands it claimed to have in its possession, and that the agents had made false promises to the immigrants. Merriman closed his findings with the comment, "I am of the opinion that the Colonists have been defrauded by false representation and otherwise by and through said Company, its agents and its representatives."

The *Journal* chose not to react to Merriman's report damning the parties whom the *Journal* had defended in many heated articles. Its issue dated February 23, the first opportunity the *Journal* had to offer a reply, did not mention anything related to the report or the Dutch Immigration company. The *Courier*, however, printed the entire text of the report on February 25, prefacing it with several headlines: "Many Charges of Crooked Work Preferred Against Company," and "District Attorney Merriman Believes There Is Ample

Ground for Prosecution." Stung by the implied scorn over its support for NALEM, the *Journal* reacted to the *Courier*'s article and alleged in its March 2 issue that Merriman had admitted to the editor that both sides were equally guilty and that his report was biased and incomplete. (In a subsequent issue of the *Courier*, Merriman denied any such allegations.²⁵) The article promised that "This paper has some facts regarding the Merriman report which it will make public when the proper time comes." Apparently the proper time never came, however, because in the ensuing months the *Journal* made no further mention of anything that remotely concerned the mess in which the Immigration Company officers found themselves.

For three months, both the *Journal* and the *Courier* had reported on and argued about the settling of Dutch farmers in the San Luis Valley. Often forgetting the true victims, the two local papers had waged a war with each other and had reported on the scandalous behavior of those in charge, choosing either NALEM or T. C. Henry and company as the heroes in the unfolding drama. The disillusioned Dutch farmers were left to fend for themselves. Those who had opted to go to Crook under the auspices of Zoutman and van der Hoogt experienced another round of disappointments. No housing, horses, agricultural implements, etc. were available; moreover, without the proper irrigation techniques, the Platte Valley proved even more hostile for farming than the San Luis Valley. And again, all the lands that the Immigration Company claimed as its own were repossessed for nonpayment. With the assistance of the Christian Reformed Church in North America, the colonists left Crook by August 1893 and settled in Iowa.

Those who had broken loose from the parent company at the close of December 1892 and bought land directly from Henry lasted but a few months longer. They had successfully started a school and a Christian Reformed church in the Waverly area, which they had dubbed Rilland after a small village in Zeeland, a province in their native Holland, and were encouraged when the summer rains brought a promise for a fine first harvest. But the harvest did not yield as expected, and the concurrent drop in the price of silver depressed the wheat prices. Their hopes dashed once again, the Dutch became convinced that there was no future for them in the

Valley. Assisted by the Christian Reformed Church, the immigrants left the Valley during the waning months of 1893 and either went back to their native and hospitable Holland or resettled in Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. They gave five reasons for leaving the Alamosa Area: 1. poor and alkaline soil, 2. inadequate outlets for their products, 3. hostile American neighbors who "chase their horses, cows, and pigs into our fields so that these animals graze everything, even the fodder meant for our cattle, without our being able to do much about it," 4. insufficient water resources, 5. no available work for extra income to meet debts, interests and daily needs.²⁶

Where a scant year before there had been banquets, speeches, and singing, only indifferent silence reigned. No public gatherings watched the train slowly pulling out of the Alamosa depot; no newspapers recorded the departures of the immigrants carrying their luggage and their shattered dreams. Only the Heersinks, who had invested all they owned in the farm they bought in the Waverly area, had no other option than to remain. Although Adolph Heersink at first regretted his decision, he and his wife, with their growing sons and daughters, were able to adapt their knowledge of farming to the climate and the soil of the San Luis Valley. Yet they never forgot the pain and disappointment of those early months. Josephine Postma, daughter of Hannes Heersink who turned seven on a cold Christmas day while living in the Immigrant Houses, remembers her father telling of the excitement of the sea journey and the promise of the "good land" and the homes ready for them at the end of the long trek from their native Varseveld. But foremost she remembers his telling about the disappointment of having to live in the Immigrant Houses and about the sickness that broke out among his playmates, eleven of whom died before they had sojourned two months in the "Paradise of Colorado."

NOTES

¹ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, April 28, 1892.

² Taken from a promotional booklet entitled *Alamosa, Colorado*, published in 1905.

³ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, December 1, 1892.

- ⁴ *Valley Courier*, February 4, 1893.
- ⁵ *Denver Republican*, December 18, 1892. On the promoters of this scheme, cf. Peter de Klerk: "What possessed them ? Leadership Credibility of the Dutch Immigration into Colorado," *CJNS* XII ii, (Fall 1991) 5-10.
- ⁶ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, December 31, 1891.
- ⁷ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, April 28, 1892.
- ⁸ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, May 19, 1892.
- ⁹ *The Emigration of Farmers to North America (San Luis Valley - Colorado)*, published by the Holland-American Land and Emigration Society (NALEM) (Utrecht, 1892) 19-43.
- ¹⁰ *The Natural Resources and Industrial Development and Condition of Colorado* (Denver, Colorado: The Bureau of Immigration and Statistics, 1889) 74-75.
- ¹¹ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, January 28, 1892.
- ¹² *San Luis Valley Courier*, November 26, 1892.
- ¹³ *San Luis Valley Courier*, December 24, 1892.
- ¹⁴ Dorothy Roberts, "A Dutch Colony in Colorado," *Colorado Magazine*, XVII (1940) 231.
- ¹⁵ Henry S. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955) 432.
- ¹⁶ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, January 19, 1893.
- ¹⁷ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, December 1, 1892; *San Luis Valley Courier*, December 3, 1892.
- ¹⁸ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, December 22, 1892.
- ¹⁹ *Denver Republican*, December 18, 19, and 20, 1892.
- ²⁰ *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, December 22, 1892.
- ²¹ *The Emigration of Farmers to North America (San Luis Valley-Colorado)* (Utrecht: NALEM, 1892) 32.
- ²² *Alamosa Independent-Journal*, January 12, 1893.
- ²³ Jan van Boven, "NALEM Brings Settlers to the San Luis Valley," *San Luis Valley Historian*, 1977 (2), 15-16.
- ²⁴ *San Luis Valley Courier*, February 4, 1893.
- ²⁵ *San Luis Valley Courier*, March 4, 1893.
- ²⁶ Peter de Klerk, "The Alamosa Disaster," *Origins* Vol. IV, No. 1, (1986) 25.