THE COLORADO BEET BOOM, 1899-1926: GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE'S SUGAR INDUSTRY

by

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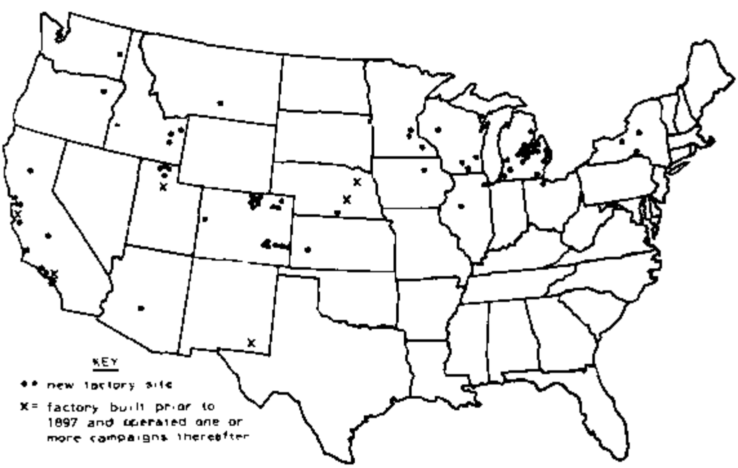
Farmers driving beet-laden wagons formed a steady procession down main street of a small agricultural town. Their destination, the sugar factory, dominated the skyline. Activity in the community reached a near frenzied pitch, focusing on the harvest and campaign.[1] A heavy odor of sugar and wet pulp filled the air. For local residents it was the sweet smell of success. The mill meant prosperity for everyone. Farmers had a reliable cash crop. Area businessmen profited from growth induced by the agricultural industry. Investors in the mill confidently anticipated handsome returns. The scene repeated itself annually as more and more towns joined in the beet boom.

Between 1897 and 1907 the craze produced 73 beet sugar factories. Investors expended in excess of $100,000,000 for mills stretching from New York to Oregon. Only nine processing plants operated at the beginning of the decade but their numbers increased dramatically within the first few years. The initial burst of construction occurred primarily in Michigan and California. These states accounted for 70 percent of the total slicing capacity[2] by 1899. California's long growing season produced two crops per year, encouraging expansion there. Michigan's legislature authorized a bounty for sugar to foster utilization of land idle from a waning lumber industry. After 1900, promotional efforts shifted elsewhere in the country.



Beet Sugar Factory Construction in the United States, 1897-1907.

Processing facilities erected at Rocky Ford and Sugar City, Colorado, at the turn of the century pioneered the use of beets raised on irrigated lands. The success of these Arkansas Valley factories focused attention on arid western states. In the decade after 1897, the total slicing volume for the country's beet plants increased more than ten-fold. By 1907, the Centennial State had 16 mills and led all others, supplying 25 percent of the domestic sugar production.[3]

Many factors converged to accelerate the growth of the nation's beet sugar industry. Previously-existing irrigation canals and rail networks provided vital support services. Experiments and educational efforts conducted by state and federal agencies for three decades induced farmers to grow beets. Government policies combined with the promise of substantial profits to create a favorable investment climate. Necessary refinements and adaptation of the manufacturing process were made by the late 1890's to suit sugar production to conditions in this country.

The United States emerged as an industrial giant by the turn of the century, due largely to utilization of its abundant resources. Promotion of the beet sugar industry was only a small facet of wide-ranging efforts advancing on a broad front throughout the nation. A belief in progress and optimism permeated attitudes toward business expansion. This disposition would be scoffed at in the context of today's problems with pollution, resource shortages, a desire to limit growth, and a multitude of other considerations.

Many early twentieth century entrepreneurs lacked experience with tasks of the magnitude they undertook. Yet, momentum created by their ideas and attitude of "great expectations" frequently propelled them through schemes that seemingly defied logic. These businessmen grounded their actions in the small capitalists' belief in the right and duty to develop the country's resources and to make a profit in the process.[4]

Edward H. Dyer, the father of the American beet sugar industry, traveled widely to encourage its expansion, employing characteristic promoter's rhetoric. In an 1890 speech delivered to the Pueblo Board of Trade, he explained what proved to be an exaggerated version of the economics of sugar investment. Dyer estimated the cost of an average 300-ton daily capacity[5] factory at $300,000. The profit from processing 3,000 acres of beets would be $225,000 or <u>nearly the price of the plant in the first year</u>. For the farmer, a typical 20 acre plot would return $650 or more.

Dyer and others compared the sugar industry with Colorado's mining enterprises, pointing out that beets were a much safer investment. Mines could be worked out, but soil was an ever-renewable resource. Sale of the crop based upon saccharine content compared with assaying of ore from mines.

Enthusiasts pointed proudly to Arkansas Valley test crops with the highest sugar content in the world. They predicted that the valley would become celebrated for its adaptability to beets just as Cripple Creek had been noted for its gold production. Profit from this "white gold" was not influenced by uncertainties attendant with prospecting for the glittering metal. Irrigation and proper attention to cultivation alone insured a money-making crop. As boosterism continued during the 1890's excitement spread.[6]

The beet boom nurtured cherished beliefs which brought acceptance of the promoters' promises. The American Dream of owning a small farm could be realized through profits from beet culture. The crop afforded good returns because prices were guaranteed in advance of planting.[7] Irrigation seemingly precluded crop failures.

A related belief, actually a delusion, was the conviction that the entire West could be transformed into a blossoming garden with the application of irrigation waters. Factory promotions in semi-arid regions were often based on acceptance of unrealistic projections of the amount of land that could be made productive in this manner. While an individual farmer could secure a good return on a small acreage of beets, enthusiasts overlooked limitations. These included intensive cultivation requirements, the need for crop rotation, and restricted water supplies. Fanciful estimates of potential acreage of the crop for a given area merged conveniently with the vision of a garden, consisting of verdant stretches of beet fields.[8]

Ironically, Colorado's first sugar factory, built at Grand Junction in 1899, was a dismal failure. Unworked ground, drought, and scarcity of field labor reduced the yield to less than one-fourth of the contracted acreage. Mill construction delays and inexperienced operators compounded the problems of the fledgling enterprise. However, initiation of construction of the western slope plant encouraged similar promotions in the Arkansas Valley. Plans for the state's next two factories were well underway before the disappointing results at Grand Junction were known.[9]

Cartoon appearing in the Denver Times, 21 April 1899. (Denver Public Library, Western History Department)

The mills at Sugar City and Rocky Ford were by-products of land promotion schemes. Eastern investors who had backed irrigation projects a decade earlier became owners of southeastern Colorado lands when they were forced to foreclose on overly ambitious canal schemes. Realizing an added inducement was needed to arouse interest in their holdings, they saw establishment of beet culture in the area as the most promising option.

The National Beet Sugar Company was formed to build a factory and a town at Sugar City. The firm anticipated erecting additional mills after the first was operating at a profit. American Beet Sugar Company and the Equitable Life Assurance Association organized the Arkansas Valley Sugar Beet and Irrigated Land Company (AVSBILC). The "alphabetical organization" would bring settlers to the area who would raise beets to be processed by American Beet Sugar's factories. The mill at Rocky Ford was only the first of a projected 24 plants.[10]

In the early 1900's, more than 40 Colorado towns[11] actively sought processing plants. Communities coveted the prosperity such facilities had created elsewhere. Competition for factories was fierce. Limited capacities of factories and the desire to keep each farmer within half a day's hauling distance from the delivery point meant that a region could support a series of mills. Even after a location was announced for a plant in another town, citizens hoped theirs might be the site for the next one. Determination was such that some communities' efforts continued for a decade or longer before realizing success. The beet boom seemed to promise something to everyone, and no one wanted to be left out!

Boosterism generally played a large part in bringing the industry to a certain locality. At least one "beet sugar crank" seemed to inhabit every western community, adding his efforts to those of the town's newspaper editor. These men enlisted support of area businessmen to supply funds to plant test crops. If successful, residents launched a drive to secure sufficient acreage to attract investors. Area merchants often supported contracting efforts by forming organizations to cultivate a portion of the crop. Municipal boosters offered guarantees of minimum plantings for several years, ground for factory sites, and even cash bonuses.[12]

In 1901, owners of the Grand Junction mill looked for a more promising location. They had many eager communities from which to select a site. Despite three successive years of dramatic losses, they still believed in the soundness of this agricultural industry. A new firm, Great Western Sugar Company, was formed to operate a plant at Loveland. This unit proved successful.

Momentum of the beet boom accelerated. By 1902, the Beet Sugar Gazette reported the conventional morning salute to out-of-town visitors from around the state was, "Good morning. Have you built your sugar factory yet?" Residents in Greeley and Eaton could reply affirmatively in 1902. Those at Fort Collins, Longmont and Windsor joined the chorus with construction of their plants in 1903.

Each of these promotions began independently, propelled primarily by local boosters, W. D. Hoover first assisted Eaton residents in securing a beet processing facility. He also proved instrumental in the success of the neighboring communities of Windsor and Sterling. After an unusually long effort, he aided Monte Vista in bringing sugar manufacturing to the San Luis Valley in 1911.[13] Hoover was an independent promoter interested in advancing the cause of beet culture. He profited to the extent of the increased value of the stock he received in the various fledgling sugar companies.[14]

Although the northern Colorado factories began as separate firms, numerous operating problems brought financial stringency that welcomed infusion of capital from interests controlling Great Western Sugar Company. Further expansion in the Platte River required substantial sums beyond their capabilities. Henry Havemeyer supplied these funds. He headed the American Sugar Refining Company, often referred to as the Sugar Trust.

The eastern firm dominated domestic cane refining. Havemeyer decided to consolidate his control of the entire industry by gaining an interest in various beet factories. He did this by working through prominent area businessmen already involved in local processing plants. Havemeyer obtained the major portion of stock in American Beet Sugar Company and in each of the financially troubled northern Colorado sugar corporations in 1905. Chester Morey, the president of the Great Western, represented Havemeyer.

Chester S. Morey, president of Great Western Sugar Company, 1901-1918, known as the "grand old man of the sugar industry in Colorado." B. S. White, Representative Men of the West in Caricature (Denver: American Cartoonist Magazine Press, 1904), p. 179.

Morey, a successful Colorado merchant, acted as the chief executive for the Loveland firm as well as the other South Platte Valley factories. In 1905, the six separate operations officially consolidated under the name of the Loveland enterprise. Great Western completed its series of plants in the area with one at Sterling in 1905 and facilities erected at Brush and Fort Morgan in 1906.[15]

Merger of the northern Colorado factories contrasted sharply with events in the Arkansas Valley that produced two additional corporations and unparalleled competition for beets. By 1905, Col. Wiley, who directed improvements for American Beet Sugar's colonization scheme, was eager to get on with the promotion. He recommended Holly as the site of the next factory.

The general manager and chief agriculturalist at Rocky Ford preferred Lamar. Beets already had been raised in that area and local farmers had pledged 4,000 acres of the crop for the coming season. Further considerations were poor test beets and frequent water shortages in the lower Arkansas Valley, particularly in the vicinity of Holly. American Beet Sugar relocated its idle Norfolk facility in Lamar.

Residents in Holly had expected their town to be the site of the next sugar house and were incensed at the decision. Col. Wiley, having promised the town a factory in good faith, resolved to start an independent firm. He secured backing for the Holly Sugar Company from Dennis Sullivan, founder of Denver National Bank. Construction of Holly Sugar's first unit was completed in time for the 1905 campaign.

Momentum created by the original plans of American Beet Sugar's grand colonization scheme continued into 1906, unassisted by further efforts on its part. Holly Sugar Company selected Swink as the site of its second factory, basing the decision largely on ill-feelings that had led to the firm's creation. Wanting to compete directly with American Beet Sugar, Holly officials chose a site only six miles away from the Rocky Ford mill. Following the lead of Sugar City promoters, they built the town of Swink along with a beet processing plant.[16]

Beet cultivation spread from Colorado to the Kansas portion of the Arkansas Valley, where interest in a sugar refinery was considerable. Poor test crops cooled American Beet Sugar's interest in the area, but did not deter local boosters. Garden City secured another source of financial backing, prominent Coloradans associated with the mining and railroad industries aud formed the US Sugar and Land Company. Townsmen donated \$30,000 in land and guaranteed 12,000 acres of beets. The new firm spent \$3,000,000 to erect a factory, purchase 80,000 additional acres of land and complete the area's irrigation system.[17]

While several other Arkansas Valley towns expected to secure mills, the last one was erected by American Beet Sugar at Las Animas in 1907. Local residents, reacting to Lamar's success, decided they too wanted the prosperity of a refinery. With an energetic effort, they secured the necessary beet acreage to induce the firm to erect a plant in their community. Valley towns up river agitated unsuccessfully for factories. The area was already saturated. Existing facilities, representing less than one-third the number originally projected, were never able to operate simultaneously at full capacity.

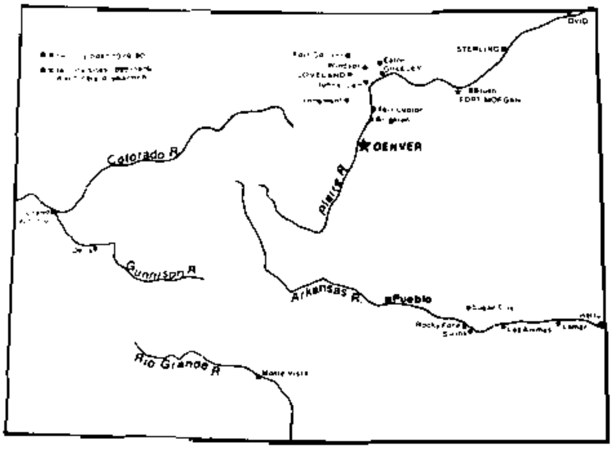
A cardinal rule implemented elsewhere by sugar companies was that of never competing for beets. Originally only two firms intended to build in the Arkansas Valley. Overestimation of the region's capabilities for beet production and injured local pride had, however, resulted in four separate companies operating seven different units.[18]

Only five additional factories were erected in Colorado after the initial boom period. All of these facilities had been eagerly sought by the communities since the beginning of the craze. Wartime sugar shortages provided the impetus for construction of factories at Brighton, Delta, Fort Lupton and Johnstown. Great Western first operated the mill at Brighton in 1917. Locally-backed factories at Delta and Fort Lupton were not completed until 1920, shortly before sugar prices plummeted to a record low level. Holly Sugar acquired the Delta factory and Great Western purchased the Fort Lupton facility. Each of the large companies wanted to eliminate competing firms in its established territory. The local firms were bankrupt and had to sell.

Construction of Great Western's Johnstown plant was halted shortly after the foundations were laid in 1920. A worldwide sugar depression did not warrant additional capital outlay at the time. In 1926, Great Western decided to salvage its investment at Johnstown by building a barium process molasses plant. The facility would extract additional sugar from waste molasses from the company's Platte Valley factories.

That same year, Great Western erected the state's last mill at Ovid. Local residents had formed a committee to secure a factory 18 years earlier. The tenacious boosters had never ceased efforts in that direction. Area farmers were raising enough beets in the mid-1920's to justify construction of a mill there.[19]

All but two of the 22 Colorado communities which had sugar factories actively sought the facilities. Sugar City and Swink, the exceptions, were built along with the mills. By the 1920's, improved transportation and larger capacity factories made small mills obsolete. They were forced to close or to consolidate with enterprises possessing substantial cash resources. The mill at Sugar City was the only exception. Operation of the marginal facility continued until 1967, defying logic and the laws of economics.[20]



Beet Sugar Factory Locations in Colorado, 1899-present.

By 1926, Colorado had four sugar companies, three large firms and one small independent, which operated a total of 18 factories. The facilities at Holly, Lamar, Las Animas and Monte Vista had been closed. The industry had been established by local boosters and land holders who wanted to improve their communities' economics and increase land values. The local enterprises had to find substantial additional capital in order to survive. The agricultural panacea of a beet factory proved a complicated investment that made profits far short of the promoters' promises. Original plans for producing enough sugar to supply the domestic market were never achieved.

Yet the industry did help to increase the population of the beet factory towns. It infused millions of dollars into the state's economy and improved agricultural methods. For four generations, beet culture touched thousands of lives: growers, immigrant hand laborers, and factory workers. The industry still plays a role, though greatly diminished, in the state's economy. It is evidence of the impact that determined local boosters had in their efforts to build the economy of the Centennial State.

COLORADO SUGAR FACTORIES

Town	Dates	Original Company
1. Grand Junction	1899-1943	Colorado Sugar Manufacturing Co.
2. Sugar City	1900-1967	National Beet Sugar Co.
3. Rocky Ford*	1900-1979	American Beet Sugar Co.
4. Loveland	1901-pres.	Great Western Sugar Co.
5. Greeley	1902-pres.	Greeley Sugar Co.
6. Eaton*	1902-1975	Eaton Sugar Co.
7. Ft. Collins	1903-1955	Ft. Collins Sugar Co.
8. Windsor	1903-1968	Windsor Sugar Co.
9. Longmont*	1905-1977	Longmont Beet Sugar Co.
10. Lamar	1905-1912	American Beet Sugar Co.
11. Sterling	1905-pres.	Sterling Sugar Co.
12. Holly	1905-1915	Holly Sugar Co.
13. Brush	1906-1955	Morgan County Construction Co.
14. Ft. Morgan	1906-pres.	Morgan County Construction Co.
15. Swink	1906-1959	Holly Sugar Co.
16. Las Animas	1907-1920	American Beet Sugar Co.
17. Monte Vista	1911-1915	San Luis Valley Beet Sugar Co.
18. Brighton*	1917-1977	Great Western Sugar Co.
19. Delta*	1920-1977	Delta Sugar Co.
20. Ft. Lupton	1920-1952	Industrial Sugar Co.
21. Johnstown*	1926-1977	Great Western Sugar Co.
22. Ovid	1926-pres.	Great Western Sugar Co.

*Factory still standing.

NOTES

[1]The term as used in the beet industry combines two standard meanings, that of the military reference to operations for one season and the more common meaning of any systematic course of aggressive achievement. When the beet campaign starts, usually in October, the factory processes beets continuously, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Depending on the size of the crop, processing lasts until January or February. Careful preparations are made in advance, repairing and inspecting machinery and securing supplies since the nature of the procedure makes shutting down the factory very costly.

[2]This refers to the tonnage of sugar beets that could be sliced in one day by the factories and is the typical rating used. Daily slicing capacity was generally increased each year by improvements and additions to the machinery of existing plants as well as by the erection of new facilities.

[3]Information on the early growth of the beet industry is found in the following publications of the U. S. Department of Agriculture: Special Report on the Beet-Sugar Industry in the United States, published in U. S., Congress, House of Representatives, House Doc. 396, 55th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1898, pp. 2735; and Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in the United States in 1899, published in U. S., Congress, Senate, Sen. Doc. 699, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900, pp. 16-22 and 35-42; and Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in the United States in 1900, Report No. 69 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), pp. 28, 42, 44, 63-64; and Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in the Uuited States in 1907, Report No. 86 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), pp. 8-10; and Production and Marketing Administration, Sugar Branch, Beet Sugar Factories of the United States (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, March 1950), pp. 1-8.

[4]Albro Martin, James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 460-491; and Frederick Lewis Allen, The Big Change: America Transforms Itself, 1900-1950 (U.S.A.: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1952), Chapters 1 and 4; and Arthur H. Cole, Business Enterprise in its Social Setting (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), Chapter 5; and James A. Roberts, personal investment notebook, 1890-1902, James A. Roberts-Frank S. Sidway Collection, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, Buffalo, New York, passim; and Francis King Carey Correspondence, 1908-1943, National Sugar Manufacturing Company, Manuscript Collection No. 462, Colorado Historical Society, Denver, Colorado, passim; and Francis King Carey, letter to Henry M. Teller, 4 June 1902, quoted in Rocky Mountain News, 23 June 1902.

[5]Average factory capacity in the 1890's was 300 tons; it

increased to 500 tons in the early 1900's and was 700 tons by 1907.

[6]Pueblo Chieftain, 27 May 1890, 1 May and 20 Dec. 1891, 8 Feb. 1900; and Denver Times, 14 Oct. 1900; and Fowler (Colo.) Tribune, 1 Dec. 1899.

[7]Contracts between farmers and sugar companies were signed early in the spring, guaranteeing the price to be paid when the beets were harvested that fall. Growers were able to receive bank loans using their beet contracts as collateral.

[8]A. J. Hamman, "Theodore C. Henry--Champion Irrigation Project Promoter," A Hundred Years of Irrigation in Colorado: 100 Years of Organized and Continous Irrigation, 1852-1952 (Denver: The Colorado Water Conservation Board and Fort Collins: Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1952), pp. 79-87; and Joseph O. Van Hook, "Development of Irrigation in the Arkansas Valley," Colorado Magazine 10 (Jan. 1933): 3; and David Michael Emmons, Garden in the Grasslands: Boomer Literature of the Central Great Plains (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), Chapters 6 and 7; and Carl Brandhorst, "The Panacea of Irrigation: Fact or Fancy," Journal of the West 7 (1968): 504-508.

[9]Dan Gutleben, "Colorado," Sugar Thesarus, unpublished compilation of information on the sugar industry, Papers of Dan Gutleben, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; and Gutleben, Abstracts, 1: "Colorado"; and Articles of Incorporation of the Colorado Sugar Manufacturing Company, Colorado Division of State Archives and Public Records, Denver, Colorado.

[10]"Abstract of Title to the E$\frac{1}{2}$ of the SW$\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 7, Township 21 South, Range 56 West of the 6th P.M.," entry no. 1, records of David J. Clarke, Attorney for the Successor Trustee in Bankruptcy of the National Sugar Manufacturing Company, Denver, Colorado; and "Notes on the Early History of the National Sugar Manufacturing Company," personal files of Margaretta B. Carey, Denver, Colorado; and Dan Gutleben, The Sugar Tramp, 1961: The Oxnard Beet Sugar Factory, Oxnard, California, The Last Chapter (Walnut Creek, California: Dan Gutleben, 1961), pp. 3, 138-139; and "Rocky Ford, Colorado," (Sept. 1949), copy of a typescript of notes from American Crystal Sugar Company, Moorhead, Minnesota; and interviews with Benjamin A. Oxnard (named for his father who was one of the four brothers who started the American Beet Sugar Company), Denver, Colorado, 14 and 16 Sept. 1977; and W. M. Wiley, "Irrigation in the Arkansas Valley," Colorado (1908), clipping files, Western History Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

[11]Colorado towns reported to be actively promoting sugar factories of their own between 1901 and 1908 included: Alamosa, Amity, Arapahoe City, Argo, Arvada, Ault, Berthoud, Bloomington, Boulder,

Brighton, Brush, Colorado Springs, Craig, Delta, Denver, Durango, Erie, Florence, Fountain, Fowler, Fort Collins, Fort Lupton, Fort Morgan, Glenwood, Greeley, Hillrose, Holly, Johnstown, Julesburg, La Jara, Lamar, Las Animas, Longmont, Manzanola, Montrose, Olathe, Pleasant Valley, Pueblo, Salida, Swink, Wellington, Wiley and Windsor. The listing comes from the following U. S. Department of Agriculture publications: Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in the United States in 1901, published in U. S. Congress, Senate Sen. Doc. 316, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902, p. 28; and Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in the United States in 1903, published in U. S., Congress, Senate Sen. Doc. 2400, 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1904, pp. 16-22; and Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in the United States in 1902, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, Reports No. 74, 80, 82, 84, and 86 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1903, 1905-1908), pp. 103-107; 49-54; 84-86; 112-116; 72-73.

[12]Lamar (Colo.) Daily News, 16 March 1908; and Denver Times, 24 Sept. 1901; and Holly (Colo.) Chieftain, 26 April 1901; and U. S., Department of Agriculture, Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in 1900, pp. 18-21 and Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in 1906, pp. 19-23; and Tiburcio Joe Berber, "The Sugar-Beet Industry in Kansas" (M.S. thesis, Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1949), pp. 23-32.

[13]The Monte Vista sugar factory was the only one erected in Colorado between the end of the building boom in 1907 and World War I. It operated four disastrous campaigns between 1911 and 1914. After its sale to Great Western, the machinery was moved to Lovell, Wyoming in 1916.

[14]Articles of Incorporation of the Great Western Sugar Company, the Greeley Sugar Company, the Eaton Sugar Company, the Fort Collins Sugar Company, the Longmont Beet Sugar Company, and the Windsor Sugar Company, Colorado Division of State Archives and Public Records, Denver, Colorado; and Gutleben, Sugar Thesarus, "Colorado" and Abstracts, 1: "Colorado"; and Monte Vista (Colo.) Journal, 2 July 1910,

[15]U. S., Congress, House, Special Committee on the Investigation of the American Sugar Refining Co. and Others, Hearings Held Before the Special Committee on the Investigation of the American Sugar Refining Co. and Others on 27-30 June and 11-15, 17-20 July 1911. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), 1: 854-924; and Alfred S. Eichner, The Emergence of Oligopoly: Sugar Refining as a Case Study (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), pp. 241-243, 345, 348.

[16]Gutleben, Sugar Tramp, 1961, pp. 129-133 and Sugar Thesarus, "Holly Sugar Company"; and U. S., Department of Agriculture, Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in 1906, pp. 120-121; and (Lamar, Colo.) Prowers County News, 17 Feb. 1905; and Holly Chieftain, 24 Feb. 1905.

[17]The Great Eastern Ditch in the Garden City area was started in the 1880's under circumstances similar to the Colorado projects and had gone bankrupt as well. U. S., Department of Agriculture, Progress of the Beet-Sugar Industry in 1905, pp. 88-89; and Berber, "The Sugar-Beet Industry in Kansas"; and Eugene Stoeckley, "A Company and a Factory" (1965), from the files of the Garden City Company, Garden City, Kansas; and Kansas, State Board of Agriculture, Fifteenth Biennial Report to the Legislature, 1905 and 1906 (Topeka: Kansas Department of Agriculture, 1907), pp. 908-912; and Gutleben Sugar Tramp, 1961, pp. 129-133.

[18](Las Animas, Colo.) Bent County Democrat, 1 Jan. and 8 Feb. 1906, 7 Mar. and 31 Oct. 1907; and Holly Chieftain, 19 Feb. and 11 Mar. 1904, and 9 Feb. 1906; and Lamar (Colo.) Register, 16 Dec. 1903, 17 Feb. 1904, and 24 Jan. 1906; and (Sugar City, Colo.) Saccharine Gazette. 14 Mar. 1908; and Lamar Daily News, 29 Feb. 1908; and Manzanola (Colo.) Sun, 8 May 1908; and Rocky Ford Enterprise, 14 Feb. 1908; and Gutleben, Sugar Tramp, 1961, p. 146; and Oxnard interviews.

[19]Great Western Sugar Company, "General Information" (Typescript, 1 Feb. 1955), n.p.; and Dena S. Markoff, "A Thematic Inventory: The Beet Sugar Industry in Colorado" (Denver: Historic Preservation Office, State Historical Society of Colorado, May, 1978), pp. iii, A-18-1 through A-22-2; and Brighton (Colo.) Blade, 9 and 16 June 1905, 16 Dec. 1910, 21 June and 17 Aug. 1917, 9 May 1974; and Dan Gutleben, The Sugar Tramp, 1947, Revised 1963 (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Dan Gutleben, 1963), pp. 118-125.

[20]For the history of the Sugar City firm, see, Dena S. Markoff, "The Beet Sugar Industry in Microcosm: The National Sugar Manufacturing Company, 1899-1967" (Ph. D. thesis, University of Colorado at Boulder, 1980).