

HISTORIC CONTEXTS

The National Park Service provides grants-in-aid, through the State Historic Preservation Office, to local governments involved in preservation activities. A requirement for receiving these monies is that the agency adhere to the Department of Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. One aspect of these standards is the development of historic contexts, which is essentially a mechanism that organizes information about what constitutes a significant site. It is a theoretical construct for the identification, interpretation and evaluation of cultural resources. A single historic context describes one or more aspects of the history of an area, and identifies the significant patterns in

FOREIGN BORN IMMIGRANTS

IN BOULDER, COLORADO

1859 - 1884

A HISTORIC CONTEXT

FOR PRESERVATION PLANNING

comprehensive plan. "Boulder Valley Historic Context" which identified seventeen historic themes which should, in turn, have historic contexts written about them. This paper is a part of the historic context for the theme "Ethnic/Cultural Groups"; it covers foreign born immigrants in the Boulder Valley planning area, from about 1859 to 1884. Because immigrants are a social group, much of the historic context deals with social history. By understanding the social structures involving the foreign born, it is easier to interpret the significance of sites.

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White people started settling in the Boulder area in 1859, only one year before the census taker arrived. The Boulder Valley comprehensive planning area includes three census districts which were then in Nebraska Territory: Boulder City, Boulder Creek Settlement, and Altoona (Altona) City on Left Hand Creek. The land south of present day Baseline was in Kansas Territory.

Foreign born residents in the Boulder area were from only six countries: Canada (including New Brunswick), 18; England, 4; Germany (Bavaria and Prussia), 3; Ireland, 3; Norway, 3; and Holland, 1. These 41 people comprised 10.7% of the total population of 383. The occupations held by the immigrants were: miners, 17; and one each butcher, carpenter, cook, farmer, and saddler. Since over three-fourths of the workers were miners, it is apparent that the foreign born immigrants came to this area for the same reason that American-born natives did: gold.

William Pell, a Canadian miner, was among the early settlers of Boulder. He and Marinus Smith plowed the area at 17th and Arapahoe to plant a large garden, and lined it with cherry trees. The two dug Boulder's first irrigation ditch, to water the garden. The ditch headed off from Boulder Creek at Broadway and ran to Smith's land at 17th St. (Smith, A look, p. 20)

20.7%	Irish
17.1%	German
17.1%	Swedish
12.1%	English
9.3%	Canadian

FOREIGN BORN IN 1870 CENSUS¹

<u>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</u>	<u>BOULDER CITY</u>	<u>LEFT HAND</u>	<u>BOULDER VALLEY</u>	<u>SO. BLDR. VALLEY</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Austria				1	1
Belgium				3	3
Canada	3	1	7	2	13
England	10	3	1	3	17
France	1				2
Germany*	4	7	2	11	24
Ireland	5	1	2	21	29
Norway	1				1
Poland	5				5
Scotland	1	2	3		6
Sweden	5	5	1	13	24
Switzerland		7	1	1	9
Wales	1	2			3
Illegible		1	2		3
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	36	29	19	56	140
TOTAL POPULATION	343	213	320	282	1158
PER CENT FOREIGN BORN	10.5	13.6	5.9	19.9	12.1

*Consists of Baden, Bohemia, Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemberg

By 1870 the population in the area tripled, and the proportion of foreign born residents also increased, from 10.7% to 12.1%. This was still smaller than the Colorado Territory portion of 16.56%. (tabulated from U. S., Statistics, 1872, p. 299)

The largest foreign born groups in the four district area were

Irish	20.7%
German	17.1%
Swedish	17.1%
English	12.1%
Canadian	9.3%

¹ Tables calculated from U. S., Department of the Interior, Population schedules, Ninth and tenth census, 1870 and 1880, manuscript records.

OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN BORN IN 1870

IN BOULDER CITY, LEFT HAND, BOULDER VALLEY AND SOUTH BOULDER VALLEY

<u>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</u>	<u>FARMER OR FARM LABORER</u>	<u>LABORER</u>	<u>MINER</u>	<u>CARPENTER</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
Austria	0	0	0	0	0
Belgium	2	0	0	0	0
Canada	3	0	0	1	3
England	5	1	2	3	1
France	0	0	0	0	1
Germany*	9	2	0	0	3
Ireland	17	2	0	0	1
Norway	0	0	1	0	0
Poland	0	0	0	0	0
Scotland	4	1	0	0	0
Sweden	7	2	0	3	1
Switzerland	5	1	1	0	0
Wales	0	0	0	0	0
Illegible	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	53	9	4	7	10
PER CENT OF TOTAL WITH OCCUPATIONS (83)	64	11	5	8	12

Other Occupations:

- Canada - sheriff, shoemaker, teamster
- England - teamster
- France - saloon keeper
- Germany - mill worker, blacksmith, brick mason
- Ireland - teamster
- Sweden - cook

*Consists of Baden, Bohemia, Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemberg

A dramatic shift took place in the 1860's, so that by 1870 farming had replaced mining as the primary occupation in this area; almost two-thirds of the immigrant workers were in agriculture. Most of these workers were outside of the city; within Boulder only 15 foreign born residents listed occupations outside the home. Most of those without occupations were wives listed as

homemakers or children. The following list shows the occupations of the immigrants in Boulder City in 1870, listed by native country.

Canada	- one carpenter, one sheriff
England	- one laborer, one teamster, two miners
France	- one saloon keeper
Germany	- one mill worker, one blacksmith
Ireland	- one laborer
Norway	- one miner
Scotland	- one laborer
Sweden	- one laborer, two carpenters

At that time underpopulated states and territories found it necessary to recruit immigrants, from both the U. S. and foreign countries. During its term of 1872 - 73 the Colorado Territorial Board of Immigration encouraged people to move to the territory. The government found it necessary to do this because of the "energetic and determined competitors as Kansas and Nebraska between us and the East." (Leonard, p. 81, quoting Governor Edward McCook) The board appointed agents to serve in England, Germany and in the U. S., and published and disseminated information in the same areas. The territory wanted residents because it needed a larger population to be admitted to the union as a state, laborers and capital to develop resources, and a broadened tax base. (Blodgett) Other factors that influenced immigrants were the Homestead Act of 1862, the promotion of inexpensive railroad lands, the availability of railroad transportation after 1870, recruiting by private companies, newspaper articles and letters from residents.²

² In the late 1890's the legislature again established an office of immigration for a short time. Locally, the Boulder Immigration Club was started in 1888 to work with the Colorado Commissioner of immigration.

FOREIGN BORN IN 1880 CENSUS

<u>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</u>	<u>BOULDER (CITY)</u>	<u>MARSHALL</u>	<u>VALMONT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Australia	6	0	0	6
Austria	6	0	0	6
Belgium	0	3	0	3
Canada*	60	1	6	67
China	4	0	0	4
Denmark	5	0	0	5
England	76	7	14	97
France	8	4	0	12
Germany^	61	8	8	77
Ireland	29	37	6	72
Italy	5	16	0	21
Norway	3	0	0	3
Poland	5	0	0	5
Russia	4	0	0	4
Scotland	10	2	8	20
Sweden	42	2	5	49
Switzerland	11	2	0	13
Wales	12	30	1	43
Other	3	0	0	3
TOTAL FOREIGN BORN	350	112	48	510
TOTAL POPULATION	3108	338	520	3966
PER CENT FOREIGN BORN	11.3	33.1	9.2	12.9

*Includes New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island
 ^Includes Alsace, Baden, Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemberg

By 1880 the population of Boulder had again tripled. Foreign born immigrants kept pace with the increase, and remained at about 12% of the total population of the area. The largest immigrants groups in the study area in

1880 were

- English, 19%;
- German, 15.1%;
- Irish, 14.1%;
- Canadian, 13.1%;
- Swedish, 9.6%; and
- Welsh, 8.4%. These groups comprised 79.3% of the immigrants.

By comparison, Colorado's largest groups were

- English, 22.1%;
- Irish, 20.8%;
- German, 17.6%;
- Canadian, 14.5%;
- Swedish, 5.4%;
- Scottish, 4.2%; and
- Welsh, 3%.

These comprise 87.6% of Colorado's immigrants. (calculated from U. S.

Statistics, 1880. p. 492 - 5)

The occupational divisions became more distinct in three districts of Boulder, Marshall and Valmont in 1880, so their statistics are presented in three separate tables below.

OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN BORN IN 1880 CENSUS

IN THE CITY OF BOULDER.

<u>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</u>	<u>FARMER OR FARM LABORER</u>	<u>COAL MINER</u>	<u>GOLD OR SILVER MINER</u>	<u>UNSPEC. MINER</u>	<u>LABORER</u>	<u>TEAMSTER</u>
Australia						
Austria			1			
Belgium						
Canada*	2		3		6	
China						
Denmark	1				1	
England	4	1	4	7	1	2
France				1	1	
Germany^			2	3	4	1
Ireland	1		1	1	2	
Italy						
Norway						
Poland						1
Russia						
Scotland			1		1	
Sweden	3		1		7	1
Switzerland				1	1	
Wales	1		1	2		
Other						
TOTAL	12	1	14	15	24	5
PER CENT OF TOTAL WORKERS	5.9	0.5	6.9	7.4	11.8	2.5

*Includes New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island

^Includes Alsace, Baden, Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemberg

OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN BORN IN 1880 CENSUS

IN THE CITY OF BOULDER

<u>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</u>	<u>BLACK-SMITH</u>	<u>SHOE MAKER</u>	<u>TAILOR</u>	<u>CAR-PENTER</u>	<u>OTHER SKILLED</u>	<u>SERVANT</u>	<u>OTHER SERVICE</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Australia									0
Austria					1				2
Belgium									0
Canada*	1	4	1		9	3	7	1	37
China							4		4
Denmark									2
England	3		1	1	6		8	3	41
France					1		2		5
Germany^	2	1	1		9	1	13	2	39
Ireland			2	1	4		3	1	16
Italy							1	2	3
Norway		1		1					2
Poland							1		2
Russia							2		2
Scotland			2		1		5		10
Sweden		1		3	2	5	2		25
Switzerland		1			3				6
Wales							1		5
Other						1	1		2
TOTAL	6	8	7	6	36	10	50	9	203
PER CENT OF TOTAL WORKERS	3.0	4.0	3.4	3.0	17.7	4.9	24.6	4.4	

*Includes New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island

^Includes Alsace, Baden, Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemberg

In the city of Boulder the largest occupational group was skilled laborers, with 63 workers, or 31% of the immigrant work force. Second largest was service occupations with 60 people, 29.6% This group included boarding house managers, retail clerks, delivery men and clergy.

OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN BORN IN 1880 CENSUS

IN VALMONT

<u>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</u>	<u>FARMER OR FARM LABORER</u>	<u>COAL MINER</u>	<u>GOLD OR SILVER MINER</u>	<u>UNSPEC. MINER</u>	<u>LABORER</u>	<u>TEAMSTER</u>
Australia						
Austria						
Belgium						
Canada	2					
China						
Denmark						
England	3	6			1	
France						
Germany	5					
Ireland	4					
Italy						
Norway						
Poland						
Russia						
Scotland	3	1				
Sweden	2					
Switzerland						
Wales					1	
Other						
TOTAL	19	7			2	
PER CENT OF TOTAL IMM. WORKERS	61.3	22.6			6.5	

As in Boulder and Marshall, Valmont's figures show that the area was dominated by one occupation - almost two-thirds of the workers were farmers. These statistics regarding occupations for the three areas in 1880 indicate the character of the immigrants, and so suggest directions in which to view preservation efforts. In Boulder skilled laborers and service occupations dominated, in Marshall coal mining was important and in the rural Marshall and Valmont regions farming was significant.

OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN BORN IN 1880 CENSUS

IN VALMONT

<u>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</u>	<u>BLACK-SMITH</u>	<u>SHOE MAKER</u>	<u>TAILOR</u>	<u>CAR-PENTER</u>	<u>OTHER SKILLED</u>	<u>SERVANT</u>	<u>OTHER SERVICE</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Australia									
Austria									
Belgium									
Canada									2
China									
Denmark									
England									10
France									
Germany								1	6
Ireland									4
Italy									
Norway									
Poland									
Russia									
Scotland									4
Sweden						2			4
Switzerland									
Wales									1
Other									
TOTAL						2		1	31
PER CENT OF TOTAL IMM. WORKERS						6.5		3.2	

As in Boulder and Marshall, Valmont's figures show that the area was dominated by one occupation - almost two-thirds of the workers were farmers. These statistics regarding occupations for the three areas in 1880 indicate the character of the immigrants, and so suggest directions in which to view preservation efforts. In Boulder skilled laborers and service occupations dominated, in Marshall coal mining was important and in the rural Marshall and Valmont regions farming was significant.

OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN BORN IN 1880 CENSUS

IN MARSHALL

<u>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</u>	<u>FARMER OR FARM LABORER</u>	<u>COAL MINER</u>	<u>GOLD OR SILVER MINER</u>	<u>UNSPEC. MINER</u>	<u>LABORER</u>	<u>TEAMSTER</u>
Australia						
Austria						
Belgium						
Canada	1					
China						
Denmark						
England		2				1
France	3					
Germany	2					
Ireland	11	5			1	
Italy		14				
Norway						
Poland						
Russia						
Scotland						
Sweden						
Switzerland	1					
Wales	1	9		1		
Other						
TOTAL	19	30		1	1	1
PER CENT OF TOTAL IMM. WORKERS	32.8	51.7		1.7	1.7	1.7

It is clear from these figures that by 1880 Marshall had become a coal mining area, with over half the immigrants being employed as coal miners. Of these, Italians were the largest group, with Welsh second. The Welsh had come to this country as experienced miners. The two English coal miners in Marshall may have been Cornish, who were also known for their mining abilities. However, in the rural area around the village almost one-third of the immigrants were farmers, mostly Irish.

OCCUPATIONS OF FOREIGN BORN IN 1880 CENSUS

IN MARSHALL

<u>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</u>	<u>BLACK-SMITH</u>	<u>SHOE MAKER</u>	<u>TAILOR</u>	<u>CAR-PENTER</u>	<u>OTHER SKILLED</u>	<u>SERVANT</u>	<u>OTHER SERVICE</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Australia									
Austria									
Belgium									
Canada						1			1
China									
Denmark									
England							1		4
France									3
Germany							1		3
Ireland	1							1	19
Italy							1		15
Norway									
Poland									
Russia									
Scotland									
Sweden	1								1
Switzerland									1
Wales									11
Other									
TOTAL	2						3	1	58
PER CENT OF TOTAL IMM. WORKERS	3.4						5.2	1.7	

It is clear from these figures that by 1880 Marshall had become a coal mining area, with over half the immigrants being employed as coal miners. Of these, Italians were the largest group, with Welsh second. The Welsh had come to this country as experienced miners. The two English coal miners in Marshall may have been Cornish, who were also known for their mining abilities. However, in the rural area around the village almost one-third of the immigrants were farmers, mostly Irish.

SAMPLE ETHNIC GROUPS: GERMANS, SWEDISH AND CHINESE

The Germans were a prominent element in early Colorado history. The legislature published the laws in German, along with English and Spanish, from 1877 - 1889. (Rock) Across the country, Germans tended to be more successful and prosperous than other ethnic groups, and this was especially true in Denver. (Leonard, p. 90) In the U. S. Germans had more brewers, butchers, carpenters, coopers, harness and saddle makers, tailors and seamstresses than any other group, including native born Americans. (Kaplan, p. 12) In 1880 in the study area almost 70% of the Germans were in either skilled trades or service occupations.

Frederick and Christian Phillippi are examples. They were apparently the first people to open a saddlery and harness shop in Boulder. These German brothers were already in business in September 1874. The shop was located just west of the Colorado House, which was on the northwest corner of 13th and Pearl. They dissolved their partnership in 1875; Christian stayed in business at the shop. In 1876 Frederick started his own shop, in the Andrews building, at the southeast corner of 13th and Pearl, facing 13th (no longer there). Fred went out of business in 1882. (Gladden, Early, p. 768 -71)

The German House was the social headquarters for the German residents of Boulder, as well as being popular with other Boulderites. It was a small hotel and restaurant at 807 Pearl which was erected about 1878, when Baden native Frank Heizelman bought the land. Heizelman operated the hotel until 1897 when he sold it to Charles Kitto, who operated it with his wife Emma until 1899 when they leased it to R. W. Cavors. It was again operated by Mrs. Emma Kitto from 1903 to 1908. (Gladden, Hotels, p. 65)

Eight families of Swedish immigrants formed the farming community of Ryssby, northeast of Boulder, in 1869. Although this community is outside the study area, it impacted Boulder because it was the Swedish center of northern Colorado. Swedish people from the area gathered in Ryssby on Sundays to sing their national songs and dance their traditional folk dances. The residents encouraged their friends and relatives in Sweden to immigrate to this area, and lent them money for tickets. (Barker, 1972, p. 7) By 1873 the farming community grew to 14 families and two thousand acres of land, and by the mid-1880's there were nearly 80 families. (Davis) The community formed a Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, and built a church on 63rd St. south of Nelson Road in 1881 - 82. This building was modeled after their church in the parish of Ryssby, province of Smaland, Sweden. (Goodykoontz, p. 106) The church was noted as a Colorado Historic Site in 1933, and was designated a National Historic Site in 1984.³

Joseph Sturtevant, known as Rocky Mountain Joe, was a Swedish immigrant who lived at 744 Marine. He began in Boulder as an artist, house painter, and wallpaper hanger but from 1884 - 1910 he was the town's primary photographer. Over the years he had studios in several locations: 1136 Pearl, the 1900 block of 11th, 823 Pearl, 1729 Broadway. (Crossen) He was named Chautauqua's official photographer from its first year of 1898, and two years later he built a studio on the site of the present Community House. Sturtevant seemed obsessed by photographing the town, and it is because of the thousands of his remaining photographs that we know so much about life in his Boulder.

³In Boulder after 1890 the gathering place for Swedes was the John Lund Motel at 1908 Pearl. Today on that site is an old two story brick building, the front has been redesigned; this could be the same building. The Lund included a saloon and dance hall on the west, and a summer house in the back. Miners came here on the weekends to enjoy the music and company of other Swedes. Sources on the hotel include Gladden, Hotels of Boulder, Colorado and Crossen, Daily Camera, Nov. 18, 1952.

The Chinese were an obvious exception to the welcoming attitude in the 1859 -1884 era; there were strong prejudices against them. Originally, however, the Chinese had been encouraged immigrate to Colorado. The Colorado Territorial Legislature passed a joint resolution in 1870 encouraging immigration of Chinese laborers "to hasten the development of early prosperity of the Territory, by supplying the demands of cheap labor." (Wortman, 275) Many Chinese laborers came to Colorado while working on the railroad; some decided to stay to search for gold. Many went first to Central City, then some moved to Four Mile Creek in Boulder County; there was a prominent Chinese camp at Wall Street. (Pettem) However, there were prejudices against the "Celestials" from the beginning. In 1871 the Boulder newspaper noted that "He came this week, with his pig eyes, yellow skin and pig tail, but we didn't see any 'smile that was childlike and bland.' His name is Ah Ha, and he washes at the Colorado House." (Boulder County News, "Town and Country Matters" Oct. 27, 1871, p. 3) There were only four Chinese in the study area in the 1880 census; all were launderers. The first anti-Chinese feelings to flare up in Colorado occurred in Boulder County. When the Nederland Mining Co. brought in 160 Chinese laborers to work at the Caribou mine, 50 disguised men ordered the Asians away with threats. (Ourada) This reflected the national attitude and in 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act stopped all immigration of Chinese laborers.

SOCIAL POWER STRUCTURE

The foreign born were not in the elite of Boulder. Bradford identified a network of thirty men who comprised a powerful "ring" in Boulder's economic, political and social arenas. Only one of these, Anthony Arnett, was foreign

born. Arnett was born in France, came to the U. S. when he was nine, and came to Colorado in 1859, when he was 40. He is reputed to be the first settler in Golden on June 10, 1859. In Boulder he bought the Boulder House in 1864, and was its proprietor for many years. He erected the Arnett Block at 1025 -27 Pearl in 1875. The two story structure was later known as the Sherman House, Brainard House, and Arnett Hotel, but is no longer in existence. (Gladden, "Early", p. 597) He invested heavily in real estate and mines, and donated 84 acres of land for the site of the University of Colorado, and was on the first board of aldermen. (Portrait p.857 -8) The Anthony Arnett house should not be confused with that of his son Willamette Arnett. The father's frame house was originally on Pearl, near the southwest corner at Broadway. It was moved in 1882 to 741 Pearl, and by today it has been designated a Boulder Historic Landmark. The son's house, built in 1877, is the well known residence at 646 Pearl. It was the model for the "gingerbread House" in the novel The Mirror by Boulder author Marlys Miller (G. P. Putman's Sons, 1978) (Gladden, "Early", p. 1026)

Another successful immigrant was Charles Boettcher, who was born in Prussia. He and his brother Herman owned hardware stores in Cheyenne, Greeley and Fort Collins before Charles came to Boulder in 1874. Boettcher probably lived at 925 Pearl, a brick structure which today has stucco on it. (Pollock) He and a partner, W. P. McKinney, bought out a hardware store at 12th and Pearl; however, within a short time they dissolved the partnership of Boettcher & Co. Boettcher temporarily operated a hardware store in the Ellet Block at 1112 - 14 Pearl, while he built a new building at 1212 Pearl in 1875.⁴ (There is an old building still at that address; further research is

⁴ Buildings were not numbered in Boulder until 1899 and then were renumbered in the early 1890's. Addresses in this paper were derived mainly from Gladden, various titles.

required to verify that it is Boettcher's building.) He operated in that location until he built a new brick building at the southwest corner of 12th (Broadway) and Pearl in 1878 - 79. When this new building opened it held the largest hardware store in Colorado. The second story of the structure was a large hall, which was used for dances and performances. The building was later the location of Berlin & Co. and Valentine Hardware, (Gladden, "Early", p. 763 -766) and it now houses Haagen-Dazs Ice Cream and Loqos and Labels. "C. Boettcher, A.D. 1878" can be seen above the door. The building has been designated a Boulder Historic Building Landmark. Boettcher then moved on to Leadville and Denver, and eventually became a member of the state's powerful elite. He was co-founder of the Great Western Sugar Co. and Ideal Cement Industries, as well as an investor in real estate, ranching, railroads, banks and utilities.

Other foreign born residents were not completely isolated from the elite. There are numerous examples of interaction between the foreign born and members of the ring on business, personal and organizational levels. George Holstein, from Russia, and Alfred Brookfield (one of the elite "ring") built the two story brick Brookfield-Holstein building at 1243 Pearl, at the northwest corner at 13th, in 1881 - 82. (Gladden, Early p. 595) Holstein came to this country while young, and in the late 1860's started a clothing and general merchandise store in Boulder. He shifted to clothing exclusively from 1872 - 1876, then added a grocery business, and in 1880 added a liquor business. He lived in a one and a half story brick house at 1735 Pine. (Spears)

James W. Develine, born in Ireland, owned the first foundry in Boulder, the Boulder Foundry and Machine Shops. He and his son Edward started the company in 1877 at 904 Pearl (the building is no longer there). The company

was important to the early mining, milling and agricultural industries. Edward, born in Maryland, married the daughter of Marinus Smith, a member of Boulder's elite. Another son, Henry, was born in the U. S. and married the daughter of Anthony Arnett, the French immigrant in the powerful "Ring". (Gladden, Early, p. 655)

Brothers-in-law Frank Weisenhorn and Charles Voegtle, "wealthy German brewers" started a brewery in 1876 (not Boulder's first). The Boulder City Brewery was between Arapahoe and Marine, along present day Lincoln Place. The site included a spring and pond, which were used in the brewing process. Today the Boulder Fish and Game Club's fish hatchery for the Kid's Pond is on that site. Their families shared the house still standing at 952 Arapahoe. The area was surrounded by beautiful landscaping and public beer gardens. (Smith, A look, p. 152) Both partners became members of Boulder society. Weisenhorn was on the Boulder Board of Trustees in the 1880's and 90's and Voegtle built the building on the northwest corner of Broadway and Pearl in 1911. The Banana Republic is currently in that building. Weisenhorn and Voegtle operated the brewery until 1897, when it was sold at a foreclosure sale.

Fraternal organizations and hose companies (volunteer firemen) were usually ethnically segregated in cities in the east. In Boulder, this was apparently not the case. For example, German born John Saqqau was vice president of A. J. Macky's Hose No. 2. (Saqqau owned the Capitol Resort Saloon at 1120 Pearl.) George Holstein was a member of Columbia Lodge, No. 14, Masonic Order; and the Boulder Lodge, No. 9, Odd Fellows' Order. (History of Clear Creek, p. 647) Irishman James Develine and Germans Frederick Kohler

and Frederick Phillippi were members of Boulder's Masonic Lodge. (History of Clear Creek, p. 650)

MARSHALL

Coal was first developed in Marshall in 1860, but the industry operated on a small scale until the railroad was built to the village in 1878. In the next year the production of coal doubled to 50,000 tons. Many of the miners lived in tenement (boarding) houses in the village. Immigrants from Italy, and later France, lived separately and patronized their own saloons. (Smith, Once, p. 61) The town was named Langford for a time, but most people continued calling it Marshall, or its nicknames Dagotown and Foxtown. (Smith, A look, p. 105) The Fox Coal Mine was owned by Irishman Michael P. Fox. The period after 1884 was important in immigrant history in Marshall because of the increasing numbers of immigrants and increasing union activities, and a study covering that era should identify related properties. Today Marshall is a small collection of structures, some of which may be connected to this era. Many are in a deteriorating condition.

A retired coal miner wrote of his memories, giving a new perspective on preservation:

"In many coal camps today there is no evidence, no visible evidence, that coal was ever mined, but old miners like myself do not much remember the dirty miners' shacks, the company store, the hiss of steam from the hoist engines. What we remember and know are still there are the black chambers below the surface of the ground....I have walked through the old workings....It is incredible how well they were preserved. "Today most of the buildings, the homes, the railroad tracks which were Marshall have disappeared, but underneath the rough terrain lies a monument to its hardy men....I often contemplate if in the distant future, someone will discover this real Marshall; this city'underground that will still be the same as it is today even though thousands of years will have slipped by." (Craggs)

CHURCHES

CATHOLIC

Father Joseph Machebeuf and his assistant Father John Raverdy visited Boulder in January 1861, and for the next several years they traveled to Boulder and other towns and mining camps to conduct services. In the south Boulder area Mass was said by Father Raverdy in the home of John DeBacker, a Belgian, starting in January 1862. Services continued to be said in the DeBacker home, and other homes, until a church could be built. In 1867 Machebeuf (by then a bishop) purchased 160 acres of land to build Sacred Heart of Mary Church. In 1872 a plan was developed to build this first Catholic church in the Boulder Valley, and it was constructed under the guidance of Fr. Vincent Reitmeier at 6739 South Boulder Road. (Barker) The first resident priest in south Boulder, Fr. Hugh A. Quigley, boarded with Irishman Simon McGann for about six months starting in February 1874. (Gladden, Early, p. 919, citing Book A1 of the official records of Sacred Heart of Jesus) The first families in the south Boulder parish were the DeBackers (Belgian and German), the Shanahans (Irish), the McGanns (Irish), and the Sheebys (French). By the time the church was built there were about 50 Catholics in South Boulder, including Irish, Scottish, Belgian, German, and English. At various times the South Boulder priest also had the responsibility for Ward, Nederland, Erie, Superior, Louisville and Lafayette. The small frame building served as a church for 41 years until 1913. It was then torn down and a stone church was constructed, which is still in use. (Barker, 1973)

Meanwhile, a Catholic parish in the city of Boulder formed. Fr. Reitmayr said mass in the hall above City Drug on the first and third Sundays of the month in 1875. (Gladden collection) That year the parish purchased a lot at the northwest corner of 14th and Hill (Mapleton) and constructed the Sacred

Heart of Jesus church there (Gladden collection, citing Boulder County News, Sept. 28 1877) The first services were held on Christmas 1877. (Barker, 1973) This frame building, intended to be temporary, was used for several years, then a new brick building was built just west of the original one. A third new church was dedicated in 1908. The present church, built in 1963, is across the street to the south of the former site. (Barker, 1971)

SWEDISH

The Swedish immigrants formed four congregations in Boulder, in addition to the Lutheran Church in Ryssby. These were all established after the era covered in this paper. ⁵

⁵ The first Lutheran organization in the city was organized in 1887 by Swedes. It was known as the Bethesda Lutheran Church or the Bethesda Swedish Lutheran Church. In 1892 it incorporated under the name Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Bethesda Congregation of Boulder. In the twentieth century it changed its name to First Evangelical Lutheran, then to Mount Calvary Lutheran. It was organized at the home of Peter Magnus Eric at 1824 17th St. Bethesda used the Seventh Day Baptist Church at the southeast corner of 12th (Broadway) and Arapahoe (no longer there), then the old Christian Church, then the Adventist Church at 12th and Hill (Bridgeway) and Mapleton) around 1892 (now a parking lot). (Gladden, Early, p. 989 citing Boulder Daily Camera, Mar. 1, 1932) The congregation laid the cornerstone of its first building in 1895, at 17th and Mapleton, and dedicated the church in 1901. The congregation used this building until it moved to south Boulder in the 1950's. The building was sold to the Foursquare Gospel Church, and it is currently still used by them.

When Bethesda first organized there was a great controversy about whether to use the Swedish or English language, which caused a division within the congregation. (Anderson, p. 5 - 6) Bethesda went with Swedish, and the church used the Swedish language in services into the late 1920's. (Carfaro) A new congregation was formed to use English: the Trinity English Lutheran church, also known as the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of Boulder. It was established in 1896, with 31 members. Although many referred to the church as German, there were also many Scandinavian names among the members. (Trinity, Church) They also met in the Seventh Day Baptist Church at 12th (Broadway) and Arapahoe, until October 1895. At that time they purchased the Seventh Day Adventist building at the southeast corner of 12th and Hill. They constructed a new church at Broadway and Pine in the 1920's. (Trinity, Information)

A third Swedish Church in the Boulder area was the Swedish Christian Tabernacle, also known as the Swedish Mission Church, and as the Swedish Evangelical Mission Church of Boulder. It was also founded for Swedish speaking people. In January 1889 they purchased a lot on the southwest corner of Spruce and 17th, then constructed a frame building there.

The Swedish Baptist church was a fourth congregation. The Boulder Daily Camera noted on September 1, 1889 that "the members had moved back to 'their old place, the hall over the post office. All Scandinavians are welcome."

ETHNIC ASSOCIATIONS

There weren't many ethnic organizations in Boulder during this time period of 1859 - 1884.⁶ During this time of few ethnic associations, the foreign born were accepted into the traditionally native born associations like Masons, Odd Fellows and hose companies.

One ethnic group that did organize was the Turnverein. This was a German association which was originally established for the purpose of mental and physical development, gymnastics, exercising, etc. However, in most places it became the focal point for the entire German community. The Boulder group was incorporated in July 1883; the officers were: John Saggau, president; John Klett, vice president; Rudolph A. Hacker, treasurer; J. A. Sanders, secretary; and the trustees were R. A. Hacker, Frank Weisenhorn, Charles Voegtle, John Saggau, Charles Frey, Frank Heitzelman and Leonard Frederick. In October of 1883 the News and Courier noted that the "Turners" would "once more" occupy the Lippoldt building (1006 Pearl), having leased the entire first story. (Gladden, 1883; Gladden, Early, p. 511) However, in November the Camera reported that the Turnverien had rented "the old hose building on 12th [Broadway] and will fit it up for their purposes." (Boulcer Daily Camera, Nov. 4, 1883 p. 12)

CLUSTERING

By referring to the accompanying map, it can be seen that apparently no ethnic clustering occurred in Boulder. Because of the difficulty of connecting names with physical locations (many people did not own property,

⁶ Associations which formed in later years include the Caledonian Club (Scottish) in 1899, Norner (Scandinavian) in 1899, and Den Deutsch Verein von Boulder (German) in 1899. The Emerald Isle club formed in 1899 but the members apparently were not Irish. The Irish had several associations in Denver including the Fenian Brotherhood, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Mitchell Guards, the Irish Land League, and St. Patrick's Mutual Benevolent Society. I did not find evidence of any Irish activity in Boulder.

and there were no addresses in the early 1880's) only a fraction of the foreign born residents we could be indicated on the map. However, I believe that ethnic neighborhoods would have been noticeable with this sample. Apparently in such a small town there was little room for segregation or the creation of ethnic neighborhoods.

When studying immigrants in the U. S. it is common to find that they were isolated socially and physically. In Boulder this does not appear to be the situation during the study period of 1859 - 84. The emphasis seemed to be on building the community as a whole, rather than on splintered ethnic identity. This is evidenced by the fact that so few ethnic associations were formed in these early years, the general welcoming tone in the press, the examples of interaction, and the lack of ethnic neighborhoods. Boulder seemed to welcome immigrants because of their contribution to the progress of the town. When the Develines came to Boulder to build their foundry, the newspaper reported that they "have all the experience necessary to make a success of the business, if anyone can. We welcome them to Boulder, and hope they may never regret coming here." ("A foundry") Even when ethnic groups did gather, the press was accepting of that. When the Swedish Mission Church was founded so non-English speakers could understand services, the newspaper stated that "the object is a laudable one and as they will have to ask the public for some assistance in the enterprise, they should not be turned away empty handed." (Swedish Mission)

Leonard found that the social structure in frontier towns was conducive to the rapid Americanization of immigrants. (p. 115) Even in a city the size of Denver, formation of ethnic communities did not start with any significance until its rapid growth in population after 1875. (Leonard, p. 123) It appears, however, that many of the foreign born of Boulder had not come here

directly from their native country, and thus had acculturated prior to their arrival here. The census records of 1870 and 1880 show that the children of many foreign born were born in a westward progression across the U. S. The immigrants followed the westward movement along with native born Americans. Biographies of foreign born Boulderites show many examples of people who spent years in the U. S. prior to moving to Boulder. It is likely that these people had become acculturated by the time they reached Boulder. Michael Fox immigrated by himself when he was 16, and spent 11 years in this country before coming to Boulder County. (Portrait, p. 646) John DeBacker had immigrated in 1855 from Belgium, and had worked as a farmer, millwright, carpenter, and miner before coming to the Boulder Valley in 1860. (Portrait p. 689) Frederick W. Kohler was born in Germany, came to the U. S. when he was 18, and lived in the Pennsylvania and California for twelve years before coming to Colorado in 1862. Frederick Phillippi was born in Germany, and immigrated at an early age with his family. He lived in various locations in the U.S. for 26 years before he moved to Colorado (History of Clear Creek) James Develine, though born in Ireland, was identified as "an Ohio man" in the newspaper. It is reasonable to assume that many of these people had similar middle class values as the native born Americans in Boulder, hence they merged into the society easily.

In conclusion, foreign born immigrants started coming to the Boulder Valley planning area about the same time that native born Americans came to search for gold. They then turned their sites towards farming. By 1880 Boulder's foreign born were mainly in skilled trades, while Marshall had become a coal mining town and Valmont was rural. Other than Chinese (only four of whom lived in Boulder) the native born Americans welcomed the immigrants. The foreign born seem to have blended into the American frontier society of

Boulder very quickly. There is little evidence of clustering in neighborhoods. They took part in government activities, did business with native born Americans, and their children married Americans from powerful families. Only two churches associated with immigrants were built before 1884. Foreign born joined "American" associations rather than form ethnic groups. This quick acculturation may have been due in part to the background of the immigrants, who had spent years in the U. S. before moving to Boulder. This paper set out to identify what was unique and distinct about early immigrants, so that it could be preserved through sites. Ironically, it has shown how the foreign born quickly blended into American society, leaving few traces of their native cultures.