

THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN BOULDER, COLORADO

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THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN BOULDER, COLORADO

Preface

I first became interested in the history of the black community in Boulder, Colorado, in 1986 following the publication of the results and conclusions of an architectural survey of the Goss-Grove Neighborhood, which was undertaken through a grant to the City of Boulder from the Colorado Historical Society. The area surveyed was from 15th Street on the west to Folsom (formerly 24th) Street on the east, and Canyon Boulevard (formerly Water Street) on the north to Arapahoe Avenue (formerly Valley Road) on the south. The *Goss-Grove Neighborhood History and Survey Results*¹ revealed that two rather distinct neighborhoods developed in this area. While Grove Street and Arapahoe Avenue developed into a white, middle-class neighborhood, Goss Street and Water Street became Boulder's "other side of the tracks", housing many of its early minority residents, especially black residents. A portion of this area, roughly from Nineteenth Street on the west to Twenty Third Street on the east, had become known as the "Little Rectangle",² an undesirable edge of town located in the flood plain.

The former homes of a handful of prominent black residents were identified as a result of the survey. Two of them--those of educator and lawyer Ruth Cave Flowers³ and amateur

¹Christine Whitacre and Laurie Simmons, *Goss-Grove Neighborhood History and Survey Results, 1985-1986 Boulder Survey of Historic Places*, December, 1986.

²*Ibid.*, p. 19.

³2019 Goss Street. Landmark Number 91-2; City of Boulder Ordinance Number 5466.

musician John Wesley McVey⁴--have subsequently been designated as City of Boulder Landmarks. Many of the early homes had been demolished and replaced with large apartment buildings by the time that the survey was conducted, so it is difficult for one to obtain a feel of the historic community in the Little Rectangle. Although it was originally thought that Boulder's black community was relegated to living in this small area, surveys of subsequent neighborhoods identified homes of black residents in other areas of the City. This further piqued my interest.

While researching other efforts to record in a comprehensive fashion a history of the black community in Boulder, I found that none existed. Noted Boulder historian Sanford Charles Gladden, in his wonderful book, *The Early Days of Boulder, Colorado*⁵, included in a short chapter entitled "The Blacks of Boulder", only copies of some newspaper articles and photographs, as well as a list of black residents from the 1880 and 1885 federal and state censuses, respectively. In *A Look at Boulder, From Settlement to City*⁶, author Phyllis Smith devotes only a few paragraphs to Boulder's black population. Although the late University of Colorado English professor Charles Nilon collected a great deal of information, he did not reduce it to a narrative.⁷

For these reasons, I felt that this paper could provide interesting and useful information.

⁴1718 Canyon Boulevard. Landmark Number 95-7; City of Boulder Ordinance Number 5763.

⁵Sanford Charles Gladden, *The Early Days of Boulder, Colorado* (Boulder: Boulder Genealogical Society, 1983).

⁶Phyllis Smith, *A Look at Boulder, From Settlement to City*, (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1981).

⁷*Charles Nilon Collection*, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder, Colorado. Dr. Nilon also gave a videotaped lecture and conducted a panel discussion with blacks who grew up in Boulder. The videotape, filmed on April 8, 1990, which is entitled "Boulder's Early Black Settlers", is also retained at the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

INTRODUCTION

Boulder's black population for the period from 1870 to 1950 was never large. It decreased from a high of 166 persons in 1910 to 113 persons in 1950⁸. Few black residents of Boulder County lived outside of the City of Boulder limits. For example, for the same years of 1910 and 1950, Boulder County's black population was 186 and 134⁹, respectively.

During this time of decreasing black population, the total population of the City of Boulder as a whole increased dramatically: from 3,089 in 1880--to 9,539 in 1910--to 19,999 in 1950¹⁰. The following table illustrates the change in the City of Boulder and Boulder County black populations and the total population of the City of Boulder.¹¹

	<i>County Black Population</i>	<i>City Black Population</i>	<i>City Total Population</i>
1870	1	0	343

⁸1910 and 1950 United States Censuses, Population Reports by States. (Each census report regarding the characteristics of the population for the years utilized in researching this paper named the report differently. The correct titles are listed in the Bibliography. For the sake of clarity, I will refer to the reports for all years as "Population Reports by States".)

⁹1950 was the first year that the census reports did not include a "Negro" category for population of counties. The category used was "non-white". 134 is an estimate based upon black residents reported in other towns and unincorporated communities of Boulder County.

¹⁰1880, 1910, and 1950 United States Censuses, Population Reports by States

¹¹1870 through 1950 United States Censuses, Population Reports by States

1880	49	39	3,089
1890	69	48	3,330
1900	134	96	6,150
1910	186	166	9,539
1920	162	128	11,006
1930	128	121	11,223
1940	140	134	12,958
1950	134	113	19,999

Up to 1930, these percentages are not dissimilar to those for the state as a whole. The percentage of the black population of Colorado relatively the same—between 1.3 % and 1.7 % of the total population—from 1890 to 1930. In the City of Boulder, the percentage of blacks to the total population ranged from 1.1 % in 1890 to 1.7 % in 1910 but down to 1 % by 1930.

By comparison, Denver, although its black population stayed at relatively the same percentage during the late nineteenth century, experienced a skyrocketing population from 4759 in 1870 to 106,713 in 1890, during which time Denver was the fastest growing city in the nation.¹² The black population of Denver was five percent of the total in 1870 and three percent in each of 1880 and 1890.¹³ In the twentieth century, Denver experienced a steady growth in its black population, and the next two most populous counties, Pueblo and El Paso, lost and then gained back those numbers, as the following table illustrates¹⁴, giving first the total population and next the black population.

¹²Robert M. Tank, "Mobility and Occupational Structure on the Late Nineteenth Century Frontier: The Case of Denver, Colorado", *Pacific Historical Review* VLVII,2 (May 1978): 189-216, p. 191.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴1910 through 1950 United States Censuses, Population Reports by States

	<i>Denver County</i>	<i>Pueblo County</i>	<i>El Paso County</i>
1910	213,381/5426	52,223/1689	43,321/1330
1920	256,491/6075	57,638/1455	44,024/1088
1930	287,861/7204	66,038/1333	49,570/1096
1940	322,412/7836	68,870/1420	54,025/1122
1950	415,786/15,059	90,188/1714	74,523/1230

Boulder's decreasing percentage of black residents after 1910 is not in line with Denver but is roughly similar to Pueblo and El Paso counties. However, those counties began to gain significant black population again in the 1930's, which Boulder did not. By 1950, the 113 blacks remaining in Boulder were one-half per cent of the population, so few that they are barely statistical.¹⁵

Was this decline the result of discrimination? Of social and economic changes within the community? Or for other reasons? The factors which precipitated this decline in population will be the focus of this paper.

BEFORE 1910: A TIME OF INCREASING POPULATION

Summary

No blacks lived in Colorado in 1850.¹⁶ Colorado's free black population was 46 in 1860 and 456 in 1870.¹⁷ Boulder County's first black resident, miner Lorenzo Bowman, lived

¹⁵For comparative purposes, the number of black residents in selected Colorado towns and cities for the years 1900, 1920, and 1950 is listed in Appendix A.

¹⁶Jesse T. Moore, Jr., "Seeking a New Life: Blacks in Post-Civil War Colorado", *Journal*

in Gold Hill from 1859 until 1862, when he moved to Gilpin County try his luck in Central City.¹⁸

The early black immigrants to the City of Boulder were primarily from the South, including the border states of Kentucky and Missouri. Many purchased homes shortly after arrival. Some purchased several lots or homes and became landlords. Although some of the homes of black residents were located in what would become known as the Little Rectangle, most were not. Boulder's early black residents owned and lived in houses in or at the fringes of all neighborhoods in the city.

The jobs held by Boulder's earliest black citizens were mostly laborer jobs but some were middle-class. Women worked as laundresses and servants, sometimes live-in. However, one black entrepreneur, O. T. Jackson, a restaurateur and caterer, was listed as a leading Boulder businessman in 1893. A few other gentlemen were business owners as well.

Boulder's shantytown, referred to as "The Jungle"¹⁹, which was located in the area of 10th and 11th Streets and Water Street²⁰, was also home to black residents during this period. Although the majority of the black residents who lived in The Jungle did not stay for many years in Boulder, some moved on to become residents of better neighborhoods.

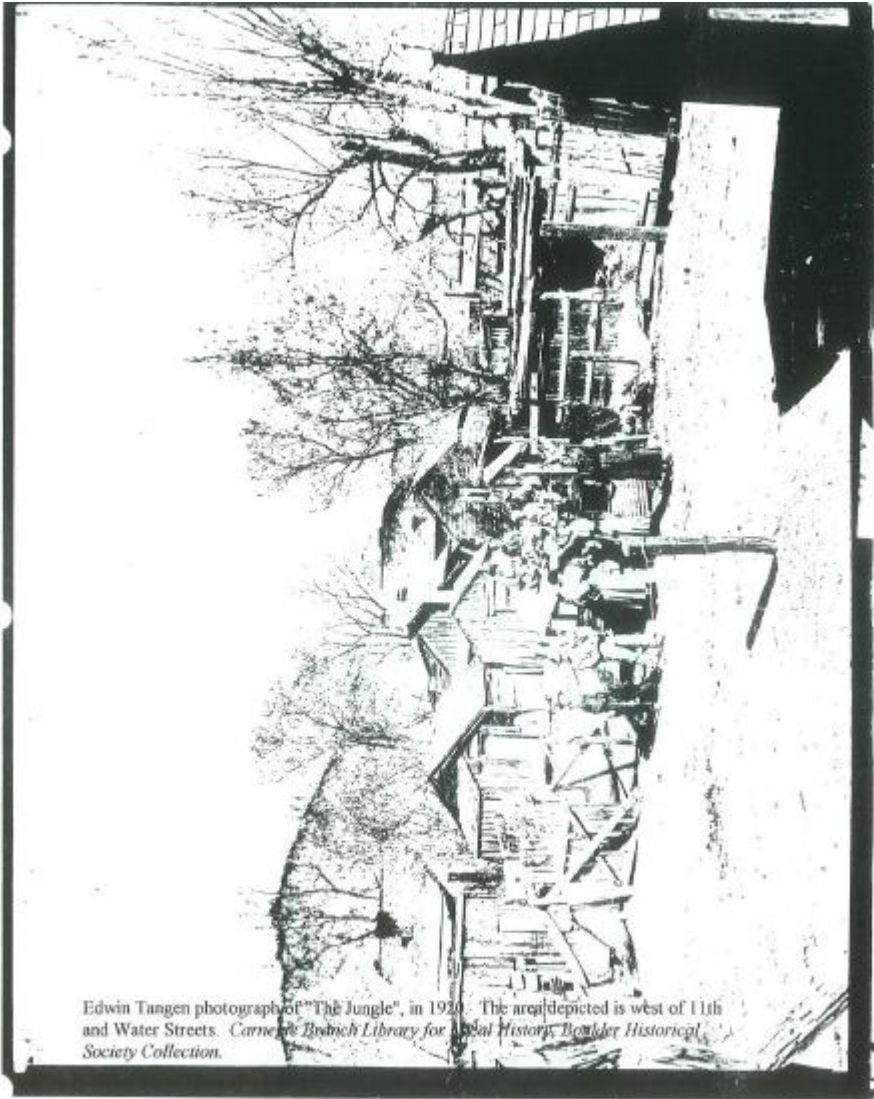
of Negro History 78 (Summer 1993): 166-187, pp 166-167.

¹⁷Ibid. 1860 and 1870 United States Censuses, Population Reports by States

¹⁸Charles Nilon, Panel Discussion, "Boulder's Early Black Settlers", April 8, 1990. Amos Bixby and Aaron Frost, *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado*, (Chicago: O. L. Baskin and Company, Historical Publishers, 1880), p. 282.

¹⁹In his book *Ed Tangen, The Pictureman*, Thomas J. Meier describes The Jungle as follows: "Long the neighborhood of Boulder's red light district, low income, and unemployed residents . . ." (Boulder: Boulder Creek Press, 1994), p. 188.

²⁰This area is now the site of the Boulder Public Library parking lot and grounds south of Canyon Boulevard.



Edwin Tangen photograph of "The Jungle", in 1930. The area depicted is west of 11th and Water Streets. *Carnegie Boulder Library for Local History, Boulder Historical Society Collection.*

Although discrimination existed, Boulder, and Colorado as a whole, had a liberal racial climate because large numbers of Southern whites did not settle here. Blacks were not perceived as either an economic or political threat.

Long Term Early Residents

Many of Boulder's 38 black residents listed in the 1880 United States Census became long term residents. The following examples are illustrative. All of the houses mentioned in these examples stand today except for the property owned by Frances Black at 2103 Pearl Street.

Frances Black, a widow, came from Kentucky with four children, the youngest of which was six years old in 1880.²¹ In 1880, she purchased 2002 Spruce Street²² (later the home of late Boulder County local historian Forest Crossen). She worked as a laundress²³ but was able to purchase other property at 2103 Pearl Street in 1881.²⁴ This was probably a rental property because no person with the surname of Black was listed as living at that address in the City Directories for the 1890's. Frances Black died at age 60 on August 1, 1901, and is buried in Columbia Cemetery in Boulder.²⁵ She deeded both of her properties to William Hubbard Black on July 31, 1900, who owned the properties until 1908.²⁶

²¹1880 United States Census.

²²Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company, Boulder, Colorado.

²³1880 United States Census.

²⁴Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

²⁵Historic Boulder, Inc., *Columbia Cemetery Database*, 1994. Frances Black may have been related to the Vince family as Fannie Vince Stevens and Fannie's son are buried next to her. The Vince and Stevens families are described subsequently.

²⁶Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

Alexander James, a laborer in 1880 but a cook in hotels and restaurants by 1885, was from North Carolina.²⁷ When his first wife, Emmaline, died, he married, Jennie Vince, the widow of fellow black pioneer George Vince. Jennie was fifteen years his junior.²⁸ Alexander and early black resident, Henry Stevens, who was Jennie Stevens' son-in-law, jointly purchased the residence at 2224 Pine Street in January, 1889. In 1896, Henry Stevens deeded his interest to Sadie Jackson, wife of O. T. Jackson, who transferred her interest to Alexander James thirteen days later.²⁹ (Sadie Jackson was the owner of three homes on this block at various times during the 1890's.) Alexander James lived in the house until his death in 1943.

Henry Stevens, born a slave in Missouri, came to Boulder as a young man of twenty in 1879, bound out to Boulder photographer J. E. Streeter.³⁰ He originally lived with the Lewis Owens family, a black family also from Missouri.³¹ He married Fannie Vince, the daughter of George and Jennie.³² The Stevens lived with the James family at 2224 Pine Street until 1896 until they moved next door to 2220 Pine Street, a house purchased in the name of Fannie Stevens from Sadie C. Jackson in March, 1896.³³ Henry Stevens worked as a janitor at the First National Bank for over fifty years³⁴ and lived in the house at 2220 Pine Street with Fannie, and after her death and his remarriage in 1927³⁵, with his second wife, until his death in 1945.³⁶

²⁷1880 United States Census and 1885 Colorado State Census.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

³⁰*Daily Camera*, February 5, 1982.

³¹1880 United States Census.

³²1885 Colorado State Census.

³³1880 United States Census and 1885 Colorado State Census. Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

³⁴*Daily Camera*, May 10, 1927 and February 5, 1982.

³⁵*Daily Camera*, July 21, 1927.

³⁶*Daily Camera*, November 16, 1945. Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title

Oscar White, another former slave, was a thirty-six year old Civil War veteran from Louisville, Kentucky, in 1880 who worked as a laborer then as a teamster.³⁷ He and his wife Mary Black, a domestic who arrived in Boulder between 1880 and 1885³⁸, purchased 2202 Goss Street in 1890³⁹. Mary sold the property in 1924 after Oscar's death.⁴⁰

Oscar White, Henry Stevens, and Lewis Sheets, a porter who moved to Boulder after 1880 and lived at Spruce and Eighteenth Street⁴¹, mortgaged their homes in 1884 to purchase land for the African Methodist Episcopal (A. M. E.) Church which stood at ~~2084~~²⁰¹⁷ 18th Street, the northwest corner of 18th and Pearl Streets.⁴² The land was purchased from James A. Maxwell, an early Boulder settler, and deeds of trust were given to James A. and his son, James P. Maxwell, an entrepreneur and politician.⁴³ The church was razed in the 1980's.

James and Martha Hall moved to Boulder from Kansas with their three children. James was a former slave and Union soldier from Missouri⁴⁴ whose father was born in Ireland.⁴⁵ They purchased 2102 Goss Street in 1882 from Robert Culver⁴⁶, who had purchased part of the Goss Farm which he subdivided into Culver's Addition. Additional lots on the

Insurance Company.

³⁷1880 United States Census.

³⁸1880 United States Census and 1885 Colorado State Census.

³⁹Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹1885 Colorado State Census.

⁴²Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴*Daily Camera*, August 13, 1924.

⁴⁵1880 United States Census.

⁴⁶Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

block were purchased in the name of one or both of the Halls during the 1880's.⁴⁷ James Hall worked as a plasterer.⁴⁸ He and Martha lived the rest of their lives at 2102 Goss Street. James died in 1921⁴⁹, and Martha died in 1930, as a result of fire in the house caused by the cigar of her son, Frank⁵⁰, who lived next door at 2118 Goss Street.⁵¹ They are buried in Columbia Cemetery.⁵²

Reverend James Clay, the first minister of the A. M. E. Church from 1884 to 1886 and his wife, Amy, became early residents of the Highland Lawn neighborhood in 1890 upon the purchase of 802 Marine Street,⁵³ a small frame house which is now stuccoed. Reverend Clay lived on Marine Street until 1902 when he deeded that house to his daughter, Eva Clay Martin, and moved to 663 Concord Street,⁵⁴ where he lived until his death in 1927. Nellie, his second wife, sold 663 Concord in 1937.⁵⁵ James worked as a calciminer (white washer) and carpet cleaner after leaving the ministry, with his business located on Arapahoe Road east of town.⁵⁶ He is buried in Columbia Cemetery.⁵⁷

Frank and Lulu Lingham built the house at 2001 North Street after moving to Boulder from Kansas in 1899.⁵⁸ Lulu Lingham's sister, Daisy Townsend, already lived at 2003

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸1880 United States Census.

⁴⁹*Daily Camera*, August 13, 1924.

⁵⁰*Daily Camera*, April 9, 1930.

⁵¹Whitacre and Simmons, *Goss-Grove Neighborhood, History and Survey Results*, p. 27.

⁵²Historic Boulder, Inc., *Columbia Cemetery Database*.

⁵³Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

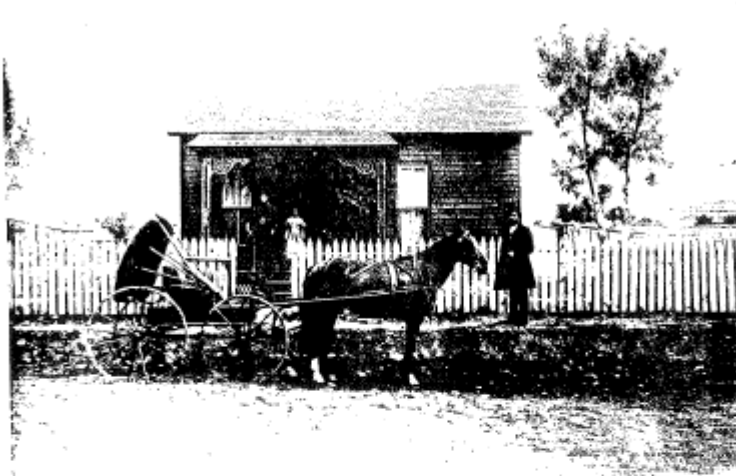
⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶*Daily Camera*, May 28, 1927. Boulder, Colorado, *City Directories*, 1892 and 1896, 1900, 1910, and 1920 United States Censuses.

⁵⁷Historic Boulder, Inc., *Columbia Cemetery Database*.

⁵⁸*Daily Camera*, October 17, 1952.



Original Photo Library
at Eastern Library
Baltimore, CLS 2000

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Photograph of the Reverend James Clay family in front of their home at 802 Marine Street, circa 1890. *Daily Camera, Clippings File for James Clay*

Bluff Street, with her husband and family.⁵⁹ Frank Lingham worked as a hod carrier.⁶⁰ Their son, Irving, became an athletic star at State Preparatory School and subsequently a self-employed upholsterer in Boulder.⁶¹ Their daughter, Grace, born in 1903 and never married, lived in the family home until the early 1980's when she moved to senior housing in Boulder.⁶² Grace has been active throughout her life with the Second Baptist Church. Grace recalls that she thought while growing up that a black person could live anywhere in Boulder.⁶³

Finally, Charles and Georgia Moxeley and their descendants lived at 2418 Pine Street for 106 years.⁶⁴ The house was purchased by Charles in 1883.⁶⁵ Charles, born in Kentucky in 1846, worked as a laborer.⁶⁶ After his death in the 1900's, Georgia worked as a laundress.⁶⁷

* * *

As these short biographies indicate, the large majority of early black residents of Boulder were families as opposed to single men. This is in line with the black immigrant experience to the West generally as "(t)he most remarkable thing about black westward migration was its communal character."⁶⁸

⁵⁹Grace Lingham Oral History, February 18, 1993, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

⁶⁰1900 United States Census.

⁶¹Grace Lingham Oral History. *Daily Camera*, July 23, 1957 and March 2, 1978.

⁶²Grace Lingham Oral History.

⁶³*Ibid.* Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

⁶⁴Computer Files, Boulder County Clerk and Recorder.

⁶⁵Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

⁶⁶1885 Colorado State Census and 1900 United States Census.

⁶⁷1910 United States Census.

⁶⁸Sue Armitage, Theresa Banfield, and Sarah Jacobus, "Black Women and Their

*Geographic Distribution of Residences*⁶⁹

In 1900,⁷⁰ seven out of twenty homes of black residents were located within the Little Rectangle. Four of the remaining thirteen were within two blocks, including the John Wesley McVey house at 1718 Water Street. Five were located on east Pine Street or one of its cross streets, one was located in the northeast section of the city (20th and Bluff Streets), two were located in the northwest (1100 block of North Street), and one was located in the southwest (8th and Marine Streets). All of the houses were homes of families as opposed to single persons except for two. Martha Wilson, a forty year old laundress, lived at 1825 Eighteenth Street (between Water and Walnut Streets); and Mollie Gordon, a forty-six year old laundress, lived at 1034 Water Street in The Jungle.

All were single family homes except for 2106 Pearl Street, which housed two black families. More than one family or several singles occupied 2106 Pearl during this period of time which was not owned by a black resident. Two porters and their families lived across the street from each other at 1104 and 1129 North Street, both now demolished for medical offices. There was one live-in servant to a white family, Bessie Butler to brewer Isaac Berlin's family at 701 Spruce Street.⁷¹ Nine of the twenty homes were owner occupied.

Communities in Colorado", *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* II, 2 (1977): 45-51, p. 45.

⁶⁹See Appendix B, which is three maps of the City of Boulder identifying the locations of homes of black residents who are listed in the 1900, 1910, and 1920 United States Censuses. Black residents who were live in servants to a white family or resided in fraternity or sorority houses as employees are not represented on these maps.

⁷⁰The following information is taken from the 1900 United States Census.

⁷¹The 1900 United States Census entry for Bessie Butler states she was a servant to the

• • •

By 1910,⁷² Boulder's black residents were even more scattered throughout the community. The percentage of home ownership was the same. Only eight out of 32 residences were within the Little Rectangle. Six of the 23 outside of the Little Rectangle were within a couple blocks, including the landmarked Culver-Bixby House⁷³ at 1733 Canyon (Water Street) Boulevard. In east Boulder, homes were located at 2045 Spruce Street and 2404 Hill Street (now Mapleton Avenue) in addition to the Pine Street homes. The northeast included two homes at 1943 and 2001 North Street in addition to 2003 Bluff Street. In the northwest, homes were located at 663 Concord Street and 401 Elm Street (now Valley View Drive). Three black families and one widow made their homes in the 1000 block of Water Street in The Jungle. A family lived at each of 1924 and 1930 7th Street (east side of 7th Street between Pearl and Walnut Streets) in one-story apartments attached to the rear of a commercial establishment on the southeast corner of Pearl and 7th Streets.⁷⁴

Isaac Berlin family and lived at this address. Title company tract indices and *City Directories* indicate that the Coulehan family lived at 701 Spruce in 1900. Isaac Berlin was a Boulder merchant with a shop on Pearl Street and the son-in-law of J. A. Streeter, the photographer to whom Henry Stevens was "bound out" as a servant when he came to Boulder.

⁷²The following information is taken from the 1910 United States Census.

⁷³Landmark Number 78-3; City of Boulder Ordinance Number 4379.

⁷⁴These addresses are across 7th Street from the Arnett-Fullen House, which is the office of Historic Boulder, Inc. The Thomas Dirvin family lived at 1924 7th Street in 1910. No employment is listed for Thomas, but his wife, Martha, is listed as a "laundress at home". They had three young children. In the 1913 and 1916 *City Directories*, Thomas Dirvin is reported as living at the corner of 10th and Water Streets (The Jungle). There is no record of the Dirvin family in the 1918 *City Directory*. In 1920, Martha, but not Thomas, Dirvin and two of her children lived at 1840 18th Street. They are then absent again until the 1923 *City Directory* which records their living at 2105 Goss Street. They appear in the *City Directories* at that address until Thomas' death in 1951. Along with their young

All were homes of families except for three: Jehnie Johnson, the forty-one year old widow who lived at 1044 Water Street in The Jungle; Mattie Stevens, a thirty year old widow who lived at 2212 Pine Street, next door to Henry and Fannie Stevens, and who was probably a relative; and three single women who worked as a laundress to a private family, a cook to a private family, and a laundress at home, all of whom lived in the multi-family building at 2106 Pearl Street. In addition, a twenty-two year old young woman, Jennie Winn, worked as a servant and lived in the household of Maude Gardiner at 2237 Sixth Street on Mapleton Hill; Mrs. William J. Barnett, age fifty, worked as a live-in cook at a fraternity house at 1135 11th Street; and Janie Brooks, age thirty-eight, was a servant to a private family living at the University of Colorado.

In addition to the Dirvin family, upward geographic mobility was demonstrated by laborer John Anderson, who lived "near the corner of (industrial) 11th and Walnut Streets" in the 1892 and 1896,⁷⁵ but had moved to a house at 2147 23rd Street by 1900.⁷⁶

In 1910, Boulder's black housing did not fall into the rigidly segregated enclaves which characterized cities with greater black populations, such as Denver, Pueblo, and Colorado Springs.⁷⁷ Although Boulder's early black residents lived throughout the community up to

daughter, Avo, they are buried in Columbia Cemetery. This family illustrates how census entries alone can be misleading regarding a family's history in Boulder.

William and Bessie Halsell and their four children lived at 1930 7th Street in 1910. William's occupation was "laborer, any work". In 1911, William is listed in the *City Directory* as living at 714 Pearl Street, which is the address of the commercial enterprise behind which he is reported as living in 1910. This could be the same address. The Halsell family does not appear in *City Directories* after 1911.

⁷⁵1892 and 1896 Boulder, Colorado *City Directories*.

⁷⁶1900 United States Census.

⁷⁷Armitage, Banfield, and Jacobus, "Black Women and Their Communities in Colorado", p. 145.



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and Family
Boulder, Colorado

Undated photograph of 1036 Water Street in "The Jungle", the home of black residents John and Nora Thomas in 1910. The Thomases were 28 and 21 years old. They had three boarders: Wes Garry, a laborer; his wife, Louise Garry, a cook for a private family; and Monroe Fort, listed only as a lodger. The view is looking south. The house in the distance on the left is across Boulder Creek on Broadway.

1910, no resident lived in the two better neighborhoods--Mapleton Hill and Old Town (directly northwest and northeast of downtown Boulder)--except as servants. With few exceptions, their homes were on the fringes of the existing built town. For example, Grace Lingham recalls pastureland behind her house at 2001 North Street while she growing up in the 1900's.⁷⁸ The area directly to the east of the Little Rectangle was used for pasturing livestock.⁷⁹ The Pine Street houses were at the very eastern edge of Boulder when they were built in the 1880's and 1890's, and the North Street homes of the two porters and their families were at the northern edge. A photograph of Reverend Clay and his family in front of 802 Marine Street taken from the north in the early 1890's shows barren hillsides to the south and southwest. In 1910, the homes of black families formed a ring within, but at the outer edges of, the community.

The houses within the Little Rectangle and along east Pine Street were simple, frame houses. Some were reminiscent of hall and parlor folk houses of the rural south.⁸⁰ Outside of the Little Rectangle area, several of the houses owned by black residents were typical turn of the century brick bungalows with Queen Anne detailing. Examples of the latter are the Lingham house at 2001 North Street, the Townsend-Horne house at 2003 Bluff Street, and the Bryant House at 1327 Arapahoe Avenue, all three of which still stand.

Jobs and Job Opportunities

⁷⁸*Grace Lingham Oral History*. Grace Lingham Interview with Dan W. Corson, October 25, 1996.

⁷⁹*Ruth Cave Flowers Oral History*, March 25, 1976, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

⁸⁰Whitacre and Simmons, *Goss-Grove Neighborhood History and Survey Results*, p. 26.

Colorado was felt by blacks to have favorable employment conditions. The state as a whole drew many black immigrants.⁸¹ Conversely, such states as North and South Dakota, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada, which offered few opportunities for blacks, had small black populations.⁸² Boulder, with a small black population, found its population employed.

Lewis Owens was the best employed black gentleman in 1880, working as a clerk in a store. Other male jobs included two hotel waiters, two cooks in hotels, and two laborers. The women worked primarily at home as laundresses. Young women and girls as young as seven worked as servants in private homes. By 1885, the lot of men had improved somewhat as jobs held by black residents included porters, a minister, and both a miner and farmer who lived in town. In 1900, servant was added to laundress as the only jobs which black women performed. One gentleman, Albert Harris of 2145 Goss Street, was a plumber.⁸³

By 1910, the laborer jobs had become more specialized, including hod carrier, janitor, teamster, railroad section hand, boot black, and plasterer. Benjamin Burton, who resided at 1354 Arapahoe Avenue, was a barber. Luther McKinney, who resided at and owned 1822 Goss Street, was employed as a tailor. Tom Wallace, of 2145 Goss Street, changed jobs from porter to tailor.⁸⁴

A handful of gentlemen were business owners. Previously mention was Reverend Clay and his carpet cleaning business. John Wesley McVey, who came to Boulder with his

⁸¹W. Sherman Savage, *Blacks in the West*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 19.

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³1900 United States Census.

⁸⁴1910 United States Census. Nilon, "Boulder's Early Black Settlers".

family in 1897,⁸⁵ was an amateur musician who resided at and owned 1718 Water Street. He owned a barber shop called "The Iowa", which included a billiard parlor as well. It was originally located at 1530 Pearl Street but moved to 1526 Pearl Street in 1907.⁸⁶ Lewis Andrews, age 40, who resided at and owned 401 Elm Street, owned his own housecleaning business. Another Louis Andrews, age 75, who resided at and owned a house in the 1300 block of Sixth Street, lived from his "own income".⁸⁷

Blacks had extreme difficulty with upward job mobility nationwide during this period of time.⁸⁸ This was true in Denver and Boulder as well. In the 1890 United States Census information for Denver, the only jobs held by black gentlemen were porter, day laborer, janitor, or barber.⁸⁹ Geographic mobility for blacks throughout the country was inversely proportional to their status.⁹⁰ The nature of the available jobs helps explain why fewer of the later black arrivals to Boulder made Boulder their long term residence.

Most of the black women in the West were employed outside of the home or doing laundry at home. Many of their husband's jobs were low paying creating a need to contribute to the family income.⁹¹ An analysis of the percentage of Western black women who worked reveals that:

A higher percentage of black women than white women worked outside of their homes. While white female workers ranged from twelve to twenty-

⁸⁵*Daily Camera*, August 6, 1951.

⁸⁶Boulder, *Colorado City Directories*.

⁸⁷1910 United States Census.

⁸⁸Fank, "Mobility and Occupational Structure on the Late Nineteenth Century Frontier", p. 196-7.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁹¹Glenda Riley, "America's Daughters: Black Women in the West", *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 38 (Spring 1988): 14-27, p. 21.

five percent of all teenage and adult white women, black female workers composed as high as forty to fifty percent of all teenage and adult black women. . . Black women not only had higher rates of employment than white women did, but racial prejudice also kept them from holding all but the more menial jobs.⁹²

In Boulder, there was a marked increase in employed women who were not heads of households from 1900 to 1910. By 1910, the forty to fifty percent figure suggested in the preceding paragraph is applicable.

* * *

Three gentlemen had rather colorful careers.

Although he did not reside in the City of Boulder, miner Junius Lewis was a frequent visitor to his friends, the McVey family, whose children he bounced on his knee, from his home in the Boulder County mountains. He and two other blacks incorporated the Golden Chest Mining, Milling, and Tunnel Company in 1907. O. T. Jackson was a shareholder. This venture failed and resulted in protracted litigation in the 1910's.⁹³

George Morrison, who came to Boulder at age nine in 1900 with his brother Lee, worked with his brother, sister, and brother-in-law for the Morrison Brothers String Band as a boy during this first decade of the twentieth century. They played in mining camps, for fraternity houses, and wherever else they could.⁹⁴ George played string instruments by

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³See article by Thomas L. Green, "Junius R. Lewis and the Golden Chest Mining Company", *Colorado Magazine* 1, 1 (Winter 1973): 24-40.

⁹⁴See article by Joan Reese, "Two Gentlemen of Note: George Morrison, Paul Whiteman, and Their Jazz", *Colorado Heritage* 2 (1986): 2-13.

ear. He began violin lessons at age twelve, but played handmade "fiddles" of cornstalks and strings before that, copying his father and grandfather who were fiddling champions in Missouri.⁹⁵ The band included members of the McVey and Reeves families, all of whom became related in later years. George married in 1911 and moved to Denver, where he became a noted jazz musician and achieved national fame. Hazel McVey Wilson, daughter of John and Emma McVey, was the piano player for the band. She reminisced in a mid-1980's interview:

(M)y dad, our family name was McVey, ran a pool hall and barbershop on Pearl. Boulder was a pretty nice place then. George and I took lessons together, me on the piano, him on the violin. In the band, it was me on the piano, his brother Lee on the bass, George Reeves on the drums. Everybody dead now but me. Played everywhere, country music, music for ballroom dancing--just what the people wanted.⁹⁶

Undoubtedly the most colorful black resident of Boulder during this period was O. T. Jackson, who is most famous for his founding of the Dearfield Colony for blacks in southeastern Weld County in 1910. Jackson lived in and out of Boulder for fifteen years--1892⁹⁷ to 1907. Born in Oxford, Ohio, he was a caterer in Denver and Idaho Springs before coming to Boulder. While in Boulder he ran operated several restaurants and catering services, including being the first manager of the Chautauqua Dining Hall in 1898.

⁹⁵*Daily Camera*, November 8, 1974.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁷Dr. Nilon felt that O. T. Jackson opened his first restaurant in Boulder in 1892. The book referred to in the following paragraph, which lists O. T. Jackson as a leading Boulder businessman, was published in 1893, the same year that Jackson's wife first purchased real estate in the city. An article in the *Daily Camera* in July, 1894, indicates that Jackson had built a reputation in the community by that time. A later article in the *Daily Camera*, on September 1, 1945, regarding Jackson's selling of his store and filling station at Dearfield, Colorado, and Jackson's obituary on February 19, 1948, state that he came to Colorado in 1887 and to Boulder in 1894. The 1894 date appears to be incorrect.

In 1893, Jackson was listed as one of Boulder's leading businessmen in the **Historical and Descriptive Review of Colorado's Enterprising Cities: Their Leading Business Houses and Progressive Men**,⁹⁸ a review of fourteen Colorado towns and cities outside of Denver. Jackson was the only black gentleman of the forty-five men listed, which included the mayor, the judge, county clerk, attorneys, merchants, and manufacturers.⁹⁹

Jackson operated an oyster house restaurant in the 1900 block of 13th Street in 1892.¹⁰⁰ For approximately nine months commencing July, 1894, he operated the Brainard Hotel (later the Arnett Hotel), in the 1000 block of Pearl Street, renaming it the Stillman Hotel. The *Boulder News* announced on July 26, 1894, that ". . . Mr. Jackson thoroughly understands his business and under his management the hotel is sure to become popular". The *Daily Camera* Christmas Eve edition in 1894 reported that:

Jackson will make a memorable event of the Stillman Hotel Christmas dinner. Says he has the genuine opossum among other delicacies for his guests.

Boulder pioneer Anthony Arnett, the property owner, took the Stillman Hotel back in March, 1895, when Jackson returned to Denver temporarily to work as a caterer for the University Club.¹⁰¹ In 1896, he was operating the Stillman Lunch Counter at 1312 Pearl Street.¹⁰²

⁹⁸*Historical and Descriptive Review of Colorado's Enterprising Cities, Their Leading Business Houses and Progressive Men*, (Denver: Ino. Lethem, 1893).

⁹⁹See Appendix C, which is a list of all prominent men included for Boulder, with their states or countries of birth.

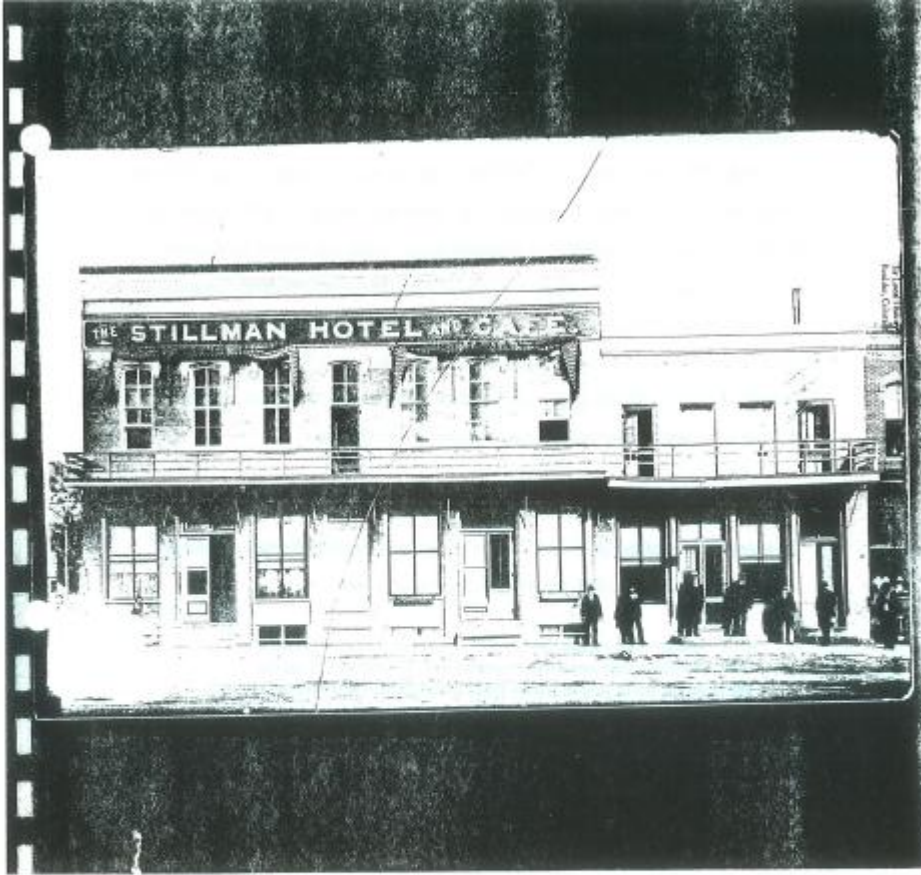
¹⁰⁰Nilon, "Boulder's Early Black Settlers".

¹⁰¹*Daily Camera*, March 4, 1895

¹⁰²Boulder, Colorado, *City Directory*, 1896



1894 photograph of O. T. Jackson driving a Stillman Hotel and Cafe hack in front of 1036 Pearl Street, across the street from the hotel. *Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder Historical Society Collection.*



Photograph of O. T. Jackson's Stillman Hotel and Cafe, 1025 Pearl Street, 1895. O. T. Jackson is fourth from the left. *Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder Historical Society Collection.*

Three properties in the 2200 block of Pine Street were owned at one time by Jackson's wife, Sadie.¹⁰³ The Jacksons lived at 2228 Pine Street, which was purchased in 1893 and sold in 1902. Sadie owned an interest in the property next door, at 2224 Pine Street, for two weeks in 1896, transferring it to Alexander James. Sadie also owned the property two doors away, at 2220 Pine Street, for three and one-half months between November, 1895, and March, 1896, transferring it to Fannie Stevens. After leaving the City of Boulder, the Jacksons moved to their "resort", three miles east of Boulder on Valley Road (Arapahoe Avenue), at what is now the northeast corner of 55th Street and Arapahoe Avenue, a site which includes the present Boulder Dinner Theater.

"Jackson's Resort" was in operation from 1897 to 1907, when Boulder County went dry in the spring election of the latter year.¹⁰⁴ The resort was a dinner club which catered to whites. On February 18, 1897, the *Boulder News* reported that:

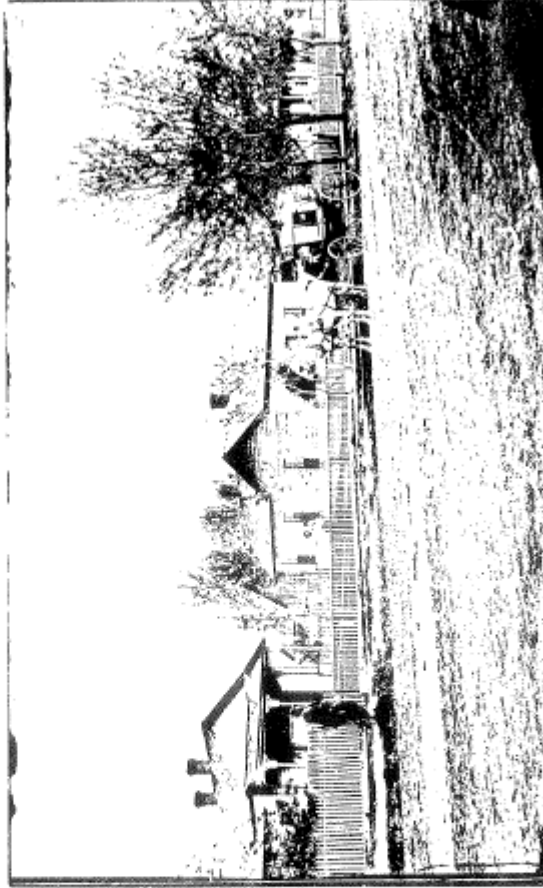
O. T. Jackson, the popular restaurant man, is putting up buildings and other expensive improvements, intended for a summer resort, in the grove on the north side of Valley Road between here and Weisenhorn's lake.

At a "Tally-Ho Party and Jollification" on Friday Evening, November 16, 1900, a party given by Charles A. Butsch and his fiancée Della Eschenberg, a country menu was served, including bean soup, fried cat fish, soured down pig's feet, and dandelion salad, followed by corn cob pipe and tobacco. The "Program", with music by Professor Gill's Symphony Orchestra, had twelve selections, including the Waltz Quadrille, the Virginia Reel, and Dan Tucker.¹⁰⁵ The name of the resort was changed to the "Country Club" in 1905 to

¹⁰³Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

¹⁰⁴*Daily Camera*, February 19, 1948.

¹⁰⁵This original program was filed in the *Daily Camera* clippings file regarding O. T. Jackson until recently when it was transferred to Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.



Carnegie Branch Library
224 East 20th
Boulder, Colorado

Photograph of O. T. Jackson in front of his home at 2228 Pine Street, circa mid-1890's. His wife Sadie is holding a child behind to fence to O. T.'s left. Also visible are 2224 and 2220 Pine Street. *Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder Historical Society Collection.*

emphasize that it was open year round, not only during the summer season.¹⁰⁶ Jackson did not personally operate the resort at all times, sometimes leasing it to others to manage.¹⁰⁷ He married his second wife, Minerva Matlock, in Denver in July, 1905.¹⁰⁸

Jackson wrote a letter to the editor of the *Daily Camera* printed on October 27, 1908, in which he lambasted Republicans for suggesting that he supported the Democratic county ticket with the goal of getting back the liquor license for his resort. The resort burned mysteriously on January 20, 1912, during a time when Reverend James Clay had been given charge of the building by Jackson. Clay was in town at the time of the fire. The building was completely destroyed but entirely covered by insurance.¹⁰⁹

Besides his role in the founding of the Dearfield Colony after he left Boulder, Jackson went on to become messenger to several Colorado Governors of both political parties from 1909 for over twenty years 1930's,¹¹⁰ except for the term of Ku Klux Klan member Clarence Morley in 1925 and 1926. The *Colorado Statesman* reported on January 16, 1915:

Among the employees of the State Capitol that are retained in their positions is O. T. Jackson, who has served three terms, and now in his fourth as messenger to the Governor. Mr. Jackson's retention proves that efficiency of service and attention to duty are recognized beyond politics.

Jackson died in Greeley in 1948.

¹⁰⁶*Daily Camera*, September 11, 1905.

¹⁰⁷*Daily Camera*, June 30, 1900.

¹⁰⁸*Daily Camera*, July 15, 1905.

¹⁰⁹*Boulder News*, January 25, 1912.

¹¹⁰*Daily Camera*, February 19, 1948.



Undated photograph of "Jackson's Resort". *Daily Camera*, Clippings File for O. T. Jackson.

Discrimination

Colorado had a more liberal racial climate than most of the nation during the years that Boulder's early black residents arrived. This "may (be) attributable in part to the fact that large numbers of Southern whites did not establish residence (in Colorado) in wake of the Civil War, as they did in Oklahoma".¹¹¹ Blacks posed neither an economic nor a political threat because of their low numbers.¹¹² Because few blacks living in the state were born outside of the South, Colorado may have seemed like a racial paradise.

"(T)he West (offered) blacks relatively more freedom, and those who went there had a better chance than those who remained at home."¹¹³ "Among the Rocky Mountain states, Colorado was the most promising destination for blacks", and was "largely fed by migrants from Kansas".¹¹⁴ In the West, blacks encountered "a racial climate in which (they) enjoyed a relatively high degree of physical and psychological freedom, but which was hardly egalitarian".¹¹⁵

* * *

Of the 8516 black residents living in Colorado in 1900, 4928 were born in Southern, including border, states. The 1521 who were born in Colorado were children or young men and women. The additional 667 who were born in Kansas and twenty-five in Indian

¹¹¹ Moore, "Seeking a New Life", p. 173.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 171.

¹¹³ Savage, *Blacks in the West*, p. 19.

¹¹⁴ Armitage, Banfield, and Jacobus, "Black Women and Their Communities in Colorado", p. 45.

¹¹⁵ Randall B. Woods, "Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation? The Colorline in Kansas", *Western Historical Quarterly* 14 (1983): 181-198, p. 198.

Territory were most likely children of black immigrants to that state and territory.

Fourteen were born in California. Only 1361, or sixteen percent, were born in Northern states.¹¹⁶

Boulder's percentage of blacks with a Southern heritage is even greater than the statewide percentages. In 1880, all adults had been born in Southern, including border, states, although some of their children had been born in Kansas or Colorado. This is true as well for 1885 with the exception of one female twenty-seven year old servant who was born in Kansas.¹¹⁷

By 1900, only a handful of adults of Boulder's black population of seventy had been born outside of the South. John Anderson, a forty year old laborer, was born in Indiana; Bessie Butler, a live-in servant, was born in New Jersey; Frank Hall, a twenty-four year old porter, was born in Kansas; Jessie Elkins, also a twenty-four year old porter, was born in Colorado, and Emma McVey, the twenty-three year old wife of John Wesley McVey, was born in Ohio.¹¹⁸

The 1910 percentage of Southern born blacks is even greater than that for 1900. Out of a population of 166, only six adults were born outside of the South. In addition to Emma McVey, Frank Lingham, a thirty-nine year old hod carrier, was born in Illinois; John Thomas, a twenty-eight year old laborer, was born in Ohio; Bessie Marable, a twenty-two year old mother of an infant, was born in Connecticut; Mary Smith, a thirty-five year old

¹¹⁶Moore, "Seeking a New Life", p. 176.

¹¹⁷1880 United States Census and 1885 Colorado State Census.

¹¹⁸1900 United States Census.

cleaning woman and single mother to five children, was born in Iowa, and Benjamin Burton, a forty-eight year old barber, who was born in Kansas.¹¹⁹

On the other hand, the early white residents of Boulder had their origins in the North. Of the forty-four prominent men listed in the **Historical and Descriptive Review of Colorado's Enterprising Cities** in 1893, only four were from Southern states. New England, New York, Illinois, and Ohio were the states of birth of the vast majority; six were from the British Isles, one from Germany, one from Poland, and one from Prince Edward Island.¹²⁰

* * *

The social life of the Boulder's black residents centered around the two churches: the A. M. E. Church and the Second Baptist Church, founded in 1884 and 1908, respectively.¹²¹ The latter did not have a building until the 1940's. After meeting in various locations, the congregation remodelled a carpentry shop at 24th and Pearl Streets for temporary quarters which lasted over thirty years.¹²² A. M. E. Church ministers lived in a house at 1745 Pearl Street which was behind the church. Schools were always integrated pursuant the Colorado constitution, which provides for no distinction based upon color.¹²³ *Since the

¹¹⁹1910 United States Census.

¹²⁰See Appendix C.

¹²¹Allen Chapel, A. M. E. Church History, *Charles Nixon Collection*, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History. *Souvenir Program of 76th Anniversary, Second Baptist Church, 1837 19th Street, Boulder, Colorado 80302*, p. 1.

¹²²*Souvenir Program of 76th Anniversary, Second Baptist Church*. Charter members of the Second Baptist Church were Frank and Lulu Lingham, Lula Gibson, Virginia Goodwin, Daisy and Robert Horne, Mary J. Reeves, Thomas Rucker, and William H. Willis.

¹²³Constitution of the State of Colorado, Article IX, Section 8.



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and Genealogy
Boulder, Colorado

Joseph Bevier Sturtevant photograph from 17th Street looking east. The A. M. E. Church, at 18th and Pearl Streets, is outlined in red. *Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder Historical Society Collection.*

adoption of this constitution, Colorado's schools have been open to all persons, and if there has been any confusion, it has not come to light".¹²⁴

Because the homes of black residents were scattered throughout the community, few felt that overt discrimination was a factor in their daily lives. However, discrimination undoubtedly played a prominent role in the inability for most black residents to rise above low paying or menial jobs.

AFTER 1910: A TIME OF DECREASING POPULATION

Summary

Boulder's black population decreased from a high of 166 in 1910 to 113 in 1950. It hovered in the 120's during the 1920's and 1930's. The primary reason for this decline was the lack of job opportunities available to black citizens. The types of jobs which most blacks performed disappeared as the number of hotels and railroads decreased and because Boulder had decided not to expand its industrial base. As older members of families stayed in Boulder, the younger generation tied their hopes to other places, primarily Denver.

Discriminatory practices occurred frequently in restaurants and theaters. Black high school students were excluded from social clubs. The Ku Klux Klan was influential in Boulder County for a few years in the early 1920's, as it was elsewhere in the state, but it directed itself primarily to Catholics, not blacks. Greater discrimination in housing occurred as the vast majority of blacks resided in the Little Rectangle area by 1920. Some

¹²⁴Savage, *Blacks in the West*, p. 180.

overt discriminatory incidents, including Klan type tactics, occurred into the 1930's and 1940's.

The perception of newcomers to the community to discriminatory practices depended on their prior experiences. Those blacks who emigrated from the South continued to feel that Boulder was not particularly discriminatory, even though acts of discrimination involving family members occurred. Those who came from places where they did not experience racial prejudice, such as Ruth Cave Flowers, felt differently. Even with the success of the Colorado Chautauqua and the sanitarium, both thought to be Southern influenced, Boulder continued to be a community with its roots in the East and Midwest, with many European born residents. A perceived Southern domination was not the reason for racial discrimination.

Jobs and Job Opportunities

Because of the lack of job mobility for blacks, general economic changes and local decisions severely limited job opportunities. The loss of men was apparent by 1920 when more female heads of households existed: thirteen out of forty, with five additional women living and working as servants in private homes or fraternity houses.¹²⁵

Only a handful of men had better jobs in 1920 than they did in 1910. Eugene Horner, age forty-five, of 1906 Water Street, who owned a second hand furniture store at 1827, then 1831, Pearl Street, was a new business owner. Frank Lingham of 2001 North Street had a better job: brick mason instead of hod carrier. Albert Bonner, of 1927 Goss Street, age twenty-seven, also worked as brick mason. Overall, however, the jobs became more

¹²⁵1920 United States Census

menial, with more gentlemen working as day laborers. One gentleman worked as railroad freight loader. Eight gentlemen and two ladies worked in hotels.¹²⁶

Railroads had traditionally provided some employment to black gentlemen as laborers or porters. Boulder has boasted sixteen railroad companies in its history.¹²⁷ Most were operational at the turn of the century. However, "as automobiles, and then, inter-city buses became popular, fewer people rode the trains".¹²⁸ Railroad jobs were eliminated in the process.

The number of hotels in Boulder dwindled as well in the first decades of the twentieth century. Hotel porter, waiter, and cook jobs were lost in this economic change. Of the twelve hotels operating in Boulder in the early 1910's, half were no longer in business by the end of the 1920's, and most of the others had become rooming houses.¹²⁹

Perhaps most important was the City of Boulder's decision not to expand its industrial base. In the 1870's, a few small manufacturing establishments were located in Boulder. As Lynn I. Perrigo stated in *A Municipal History of Boulder: 1871-1946*, in describing Boulder's late 19th Century industry:

To the small shops at Boulder were added some larger ones, later, as flour mills, smelting plants, machine shops, brick manufactures, breweries, and for a while, an oil refinery. However, in the 1890's a conflict arose

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

¹²⁷Silvia Pettem, *Tracking Down Boulder, Colorado's Railroads and Roads of the Mountains and Plains (Within the Boulder Historic Context Area)*, Prepared for the Boulder Historic Context Project and Submitted to the Boulder Planning Department, 1996.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹²⁹Sanford Charles Gladden, *Hotels of Boulder, Colorado, from 1860*, (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company, 1970).

between those citizens who wished to keep Boulder quiet and attractive and those who wanted industries with large plants and payrolls. Thus when a prospective industrialist was brought to the city, only to find meager encouragement, one disappointed citizen (*Boulder Daily Camera* editor Lucius C. Paddock) protested: "Boulder must have factories and the only way to get them is to seize them when in sight . . ." As this contention continued on down through the years the opposition generally prevailed, and in 1940, with abundant power and other resources, the city had only fourteen manufacturing plants producing goods valued under half a million dollars a year, mostly cutlery and food products.

One of the reasons for the opposition to manufacturing was the headway which Boulder was making as an educational center . . .¹³⁰

The loss of the opportunity to transfer to industrial jobs further decreased a black resident's ability to survive in Boulder.

Black families may have remained in Boulder because of its "affluence and the presence of university students meant more work opportunities as cooks, maids, and laundresses . . .

And because (social and economic) conditions were not significantly better anywhere else".¹³¹ When economic conditions changed in the 1940's:

The people just left in droves . . . Those people made more money in one month than they had seen in a year. And they found out they could do something else besides washing and ironing.¹³²

Many children of Boulder's black families migrated to Denver where the job opportunities were better. Others went to California.¹³³ Although the 1950 United States Census reports 113 blacks in Boulder in 1950, in 1948, just two years prior, only 93 were

¹³⁰Lynn I. Perrigo, *A Municipal History of Boulder: 1871-1946*, Sponsored by The Boulder County Historical Society and the City of Boulder, 1946, pp. 19-20.

¹³¹Armitage, Banfield, and Jacobus, "Black Women and Their Communities in Colorado", p. 46.

¹³²*Ibid.*, Interview by Authors with Ruth Cave Flowers.

¹³³*Ibid.*

reported as living there.¹³⁴ Therefore, the final exodus was dramatic. For those with college degrees who decided to stay, they could not find suitable employment in Boulder. For example, Cleora Reeves, who grew up in Boulder, obtained a home economics degree at Cornell University and taught in the South, but worked as a cook in a sorority house.¹³⁵ A black gentleman with a masters degree worked as a bootblack as late as 1948.¹³⁶

*Geographic Distribution of Residences*¹³⁷

Boulder was significantly more segregated in 1920 than it was in 1910.¹³⁸ Twenty-three out of forty households were located within the Little Rectangle. In fact, twelve small houses were crammed onto one block face—the north side of the 1900 block of Goss Street—which included some tiny back lot houses. This segregation occurred even though Boulder has never had racial covenants.¹³⁹ Of the remaining seventeen households, six

¹³⁴Robert Lawrence Brunton, a masters degree student in sociology at the University of Colorado in 1948, wrote a thesis entitled *The Negroes of Boulder, Colorado: A Community Analysis of an Ethnic Minority Group*. His research included interviewing 84 of the 93 black residents of Boulder at that time. Census figures may reflect a higher number of black residents during this period because of the black teachers who were continuing their educations at the University of Colorado but could not live in the dormitories. Later in this paper will be explained the situation where black families took in these boarders. This is not verified but may explain the discrepancy.

¹³⁵Nilon, "Boulder's Early Black Settlers".

¹³⁶Brunton, *The Negroes of Boulder, Colorado*, p. 52.

¹³⁷See Appendix B, which is maps of Boulder showing residents of blacks and black families listed on the 1900, 1910, and 1920 United States Censuses, to compare the geographic distribution for those years.

¹³⁸The following information is taken from the 1920 United States Census unless otherwise noted.

¹³⁹Robert Lawrence Brunton, *The Negroes of Boulder, Colorado: A Community Analysis of an Ethnic Minority Group*, M. A. Thesis, University of Colorado Sociology Department, 1948, p. 36.

were within a couple of blocks of the Little Rectangle. Five of the households outside of the Little Rectangle were homes of families who had lived in their homes for many years.

One residence was in The Jungle area and another on 9th Street between Walnut and Water Streets. One gentleman, Henry Williams, a dishwasher in a restaurant, boarded in furnished rooms at 1913 Thirteenth Street. Cook Henderson, the minister of the A. M. E. Church, lived with his wife Ethel on the church property.

There were only two additional owner occupied residences in other areas of the city. Mary Coppage, a seventy-nine year old laundress, lived at 625 Dewey Street with her grandson and granddaughter. Her grandson John, age twenty-three, worked as a machinist in a garage. William and Sarah Bryant, age sixty-three and fifty, lived at 1327 Arapahoe Avenue. William worked as a janitor in a school building.

By 1920, the percentage of owner occupied houses had shrunk to ten houses, or approximately one-third of the total family homes. Several of the houses on Goss Street were owned by black residents who rented them to family members or other black families. Many of the renters purchased the homes in which they were living during the 1920's. This fact, in combination with a dwindling younger population, resulted in the percentage of home ownership increasing. In 1930,¹⁴⁰ when 42.5% of black householders owned their homes statewide, Boulder's percentage of black homeowners was 72.5%. In 1940,¹⁴¹ 36.7% of black householders owned their homes statewide (38.4

¹⁴⁰1930 United States Census, *Population, Volume VI*, p. 205.

¹⁴¹1940 United States Census, *Housing, Volume II, General Characteristics, Part 2*, p. 327.

% in Denver), but Boulder's percentage was 71.2%. In 1948, 27 out of 31 homes were owned as opposed to rented.¹⁴²

Ruth Cave Flowers remembered that when she came to Boulder from Cripple Creek in 1917 with her older sister Dorothy and grandmother, Minnesota (Minnie) Waters, they could not find a place to live except in the Little Rectangle. They rented a house at 1912 Water Street until they built the small house at 2019 Goss Street in 1921, which Ruth owned until her death in 1980. Her grandmother worked as a cook in restaurants during this time while Ruth and Dorothy attended State Preparatory School, and later when Ruth attended the University of Colorado.¹⁴³

One of the last black residents of The Jungle in 1920, Chester McClelland, whose wife was an Indian, purchased a house on Goss Street in 1923,¹⁴⁴ which was definitely a move up although to a segregated neighborhood.

Long Term Residents

Few of the children of Boulder's early black immigrants stayed in the community. The notable exceptions are the Lingham children, Irving and Grace, and the Moseley descendants. Family members of both were still living in the family homes into the 1980's.

After John Wesley McVey's death in 1913, Emma McVey moved to 2145 Goss Street with her children and ultimately to 2127 Water Street.¹⁴⁵ She moved to Denver in 1949,

¹⁴²Brunton, *The Negroes of Boulder, Colorado*, p. 38.

¹⁴³*Ruth Cave Flowers Oral History*. Ruth Cave Flowers, *Speech at Boulder High School*, 1972. Both retained at Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

¹⁴⁴Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*

where some of her children were living. She remained active in Boulder's A. M. E. Church until her death in 1951, when she "lay in state" at the church.¹⁴⁶ She and her husband are buried in the Columbia Cemetery.¹⁴⁷

The Morrison family with its marriages became the most numerous black family after 1920. George Morrison, the famous musician, had moved to Denver, but several of his siblings stayed in Boulder. Reona Morrison, George's sister, married Caleb Allen in 1915. They lived at 2004 Goss Street until Reona's death in 1959 and Caleb's death in 1963 at age ninety. Caleb was the janitor of the Mercantile Bank Building at Pearl and Broadway for thirty-eight years.¹⁴⁸ They are buried in the Columbia Cemetery.¹⁴⁹

George Morrison's sister Mary married George Reeves, one of the Boulder members of Lee and George Morrison's band. They lived at 1921 Goss Street until George's death in 1950 and Mary's in 1960.¹⁵⁰ It was their daughter, Cleora, a graduate of Cornell University, who worked as cook in the Alpha Phi Sorority House. Cleora died in 1978 and is buried beside her parents in the Columbia Cemetery.¹⁵¹

"Aunt" or "Grandmother" Alice Baskett became somewhat of a matriarch to Boulder's black community. Mother to Mary Reeves, Leona Allen, Carrie Ray, and Lee and George Morrison, she started the practice of taking in black University of Colorado summer school students.¹⁵² These students were teachers from the South who needed to

¹⁴⁶*Daily Camera*, August 9, 1951.

¹⁴⁷Historic Boulder, *Columbia Cemetery Database*.

¹⁴⁸*Daily Camera*, April 4, 1963.

¹⁴⁹Historic Boulder, Inc., *Columbia Cemetery Database*.

¹⁵⁰*Daily Camera*, July 29, 1950 and January 6, 1960.

¹⁵¹Historic Boulder, Inc., *Columbia Cemetery Database*.

¹⁵²Anthony Ray, Letter to Billie Arlene Grant, November 7, 1993, *Charles Nilon Collection*.

maintain their credentials, but were not permitted to attend Southern colleges. Many black families in the Little Rectangle followed Alice's example. Her daughter and son-in-law, Reona and Caleb Allen, kept fifteen students and provided two meals a day.¹⁵³ Alice Baskett lived in the two story house at 1903 Goss Street, the northeast corner of 19th and Goss Streets which still stands, from 1923 until her death in 1953 at age eighty-eight.¹⁵⁴ She also owned other property on Goss Street which she rented to her many relatives.¹⁵⁵ Alice is buried beside her husband in Columbia Cemetery.¹⁵⁶

Discrimination

Discriminatory practices were increasingly more prevalent after 1910. They occurred in daily life, but not in death, as Columbia Cemetery was not segregated. Although many black residents are buried in the back, or the western third of the cemetery, just as many are buried throughout.¹⁵⁷

Black newcomers to Boulder after 1910 had to become accustomed to a discriminatory climate. Two women who moved to Boulder in 1917 and 1924 respectively had quite different opinions about the climate which they found.

Ruth Cave Flowers was fifteen years old when she moved to Boulder in 1917. She and her sister, Dorothy, one year older, wanted to attend the State Preparatory School because of its reputation. After the death of their mother, the sisters had lived with their

¹⁵³*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴Tract Indices, Commonwealth Land Title Insurance Company

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶*Daily Camera*, November 3, 1953. Historic Boulder, Inc., *Columbia Cemetery Database*.

¹⁵⁷Historic Boulder, Inc., *Columbia Cemetery Database*.

grandmother, Minnie Waters, in Cripple Creek from 1913 to 1917. She felt that Cripple Creek, a community losing population, was "perfectly open" racially. She was not used to experiencing discrimination. On her first day in Boulder, she was refused service at a restaurant, an ice cream parlor, and a movie theater. She felt that Boulder was Southern dominated because of the influence of the Texan originated Chautauqua and because of the Texans and Oklahomans who were being treated at Boulder's sanitarium. She has opined that "Oklahoma and Texas practically (owned) Boulder". She recalls some black residents calling Boulder "Little Oklahoma and Little Texas" at that time. Although she had no personal experiences with the Ku Klux Klan, she felt that its influence was strong in Boulder. Ruth subsequently obtained a bachelors and masters degrees in romance languages at the University of Colorado,¹⁵⁸ and later received doctorate and law degrees.¹⁵⁹

Lillian Wheeler, born in 1900 and who moved to Boulder from Mississippi in September, 1924, with her husband and two young children, had a different perception. They owned a farm in Mississippi inherited by Mr. Wheeler, but came to Boulder because Mr. Wheeler's sister, Lillie Belle Nichols, a Boulder resident, praised the climate. The Wheelers paid \$2500 cash for a house at 1936 Goss Street. The Wheelers did not try to find a house elsewhere in town because they wanted to live near their relatives. Lillian's initial reaction to Boulder was that she "loved it". She has stated that she never

¹⁵⁸Flowers felt that she was the first black graduate of the University of Colorado in 1924. However, it appears that Lucile Buchanan, later Lucile Buchanan Jones, was a black graduate in 1918. She is listed as graduating in the *Alumni Register, University of Colorado, 1877-1921*, and appears in yearbooks for the years preceding 1918. She died in 1989 at age 105. See article in the *Colorado Alumnus*, October, 1993, p. 4.

¹⁵⁹*Ruth Cave Flowers Oral History. Flowers, Speech at Boulder High School. Joy K. King, Another Human Being, a Paper Given at The Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Austin, Texas, April 2-4, 1992. Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.*

experienced discrimination. She became active in the Community Chest and the Red Cross, and was the only black person in both organizations. Her family had enough money so that she "didn't have to work", although she took jobs at times. She does not have any personal recollection of the Ku Klux Klan, and feels that her family arrived at the "fringe" of its activities.¹⁶⁰

Her husband could not find work in Boulder except as a waiter at the Hotel Boulderado. He returned to the farm in Mississippi to put in and harvest the crops and commuted between Mississippi and Boulder. This led to the break up of their marriage. Both of their children obtained college degrees. In 1945, Lillian moved to Denver to operate a barber shop. She still lives in Denver and rented her house on Goss Street until she sold it in the 1980's.¹⁶¹

The very different backgrounds of Ruth Cave Flowers and Lillian Wheeler certainly color their perceptions. The truth is probably somewhere in between.

Even though Lillian states that she experienced no discrimination, she acknowledges but jokes about refusing to sit in the balcony at the Boulder Theatre. She and her friends paid no attention to that "regulation". She felt that there were so few blacks in Boulder that such practices were quite silly. However, her son experienced discrimination at the University of Colorado, where the football coach in the late 1930's refused to let a black student play on the team.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰*Lillian Wheeler Oral History*, April 12, 1994, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History. Lillian Wheeler Interview by Dan W. Corson, October 25, 1996.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*

¹⁶²*Lillian Wheeler Oral History*.

Ralph McVey, the son of John Wesley and Emma McVey, recalls that black students at State Preparatory School were excluded from social clubs and events.¹⁶³ However, blacks were not excluded from sports teams. Irving Lingham became Boulder's star baseball, football, and basketball player.¹⁶⁴

As late as the 1940's, the University of Colorado would not permit black students in the dormitories.¹⁶⁵ Restaurants and student hang-outs on University Hill would not serve a black unless he or she was in the company of a white.¹⁶⁶ According to Anthony Ray, a grandson of Alice Baskett, the University Hill stores would sell soft drinks to black students, but made them drink in the back of the store or outside.¹⁶⁷ He also recalls the night that Sommer's Sunken Gardens, which became "The Sink", was integrated:

The Cosmopolitan Club, a club peopled by foreigners and blacks decided to challenge the practice at The Sink. They broke up into small groups of four to five students and each group had at least one Negro. They invaded The Sink. That night the chef died! . . . Our home was the employment agency for whites who needed or wanted black help. Mrs. Sommers (the owner of The Sink) was constantly calling my mother for maids to help in her home. Mom called her the next morning after the invasion and said, "Is it true that Negroes are now being served at The Sunken Gardens?" Mrs. Sommers had a conniption! . . .¹⁶⁸

* * *

¹⁶³Ralph McVey interview by Dan W. Corson, October 25, 1996.

¹⁶⁴Grace Lingham interview by Dan W. Corson, October 25, 1996. *Daily Camera*, October 17, 1952.

¹⁶⁵Ray, Letter to Billie Arlene Grant, *Charles Nilon Collection*.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*

Even though the Ku Klux Klan was at the height of its influence in Boulder and Colorado in the fall of 1924, Lillian Wheeler does not recall its being prevalent. This is somewhat unusual as the Klan carried the Boulder County legislative and judicial offices in the 1924 election,¹⁶⁹ and a Klan sympathizing Governor was elected. Heavy Klan voter turn-out in Boulder and Larimer Counties was thought to be key in Governor Morley's election.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps the flurry of settling in to a new home kept her unaware of these happenings. But Grace Lingham, who has lived all of her life since 1903 in Boulder, likewise does not recall the Klan having any influence in her family's life.¹⁷¹

Ruth Cave Flowers' impression that the Klan was a dominating factor is probably a bit overstated. The Klan was active in Boulder County, but it was primarily directed against Catholics, as was generally the situation in Colorado.¹⁷² Boulder's Klan newspaper admonished Protestants to awaken to the Catholic danger: "organizing and working--equipped with arms and ammunition to make America Catholic".¹⁷³ Italian-American and Hispanic residents of Louisville and Lafayette experienced cross burning on the church grounds and in their yards.¹⁷⁴ The Lafayette newspaper editor was roughed up for writing an anti-Klan editorial.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹Robert Alan Goldberg, *Hooded Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 81-82.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁷¹Grace Lingham *Oral History*.

¹⁷²Goldberg, *Hooded Empire*, p. 8.

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁷⁴Joseph Wallace Malcolm, Jr. *Oral History*, November 8, 1990. *Boughton Noble Oral History*, March 2, 1978. Interview with Nadine Caranci and Eileen Schmidt by Anne Dyni, June 27, 1995. Sally Martinez and Chuck Waneka, *Panel Discussion of Early Pioneer Descendants of the Lafayette Area*, March 29, 1987. All are retained at Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

¹⁷⁵*Boughton Noble Oral History*.

It is difficult to determine how many Klansmen were in Boulder. An undated recruitment booklet and flyer from the 1920's by A. R. Bennett, Field Representative of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, of the American Crusaders, P. O. Box 67, Boulder, Colorado, states that:

We will soon have 2000 Klansmen in Boulder at the rate we are growing here. I have been putting in nearly a hundred a week in Boulder.¹⁷⁶

In 1922, when Boulder's Klavern was formed, it was rumored to have three hundred to five hundred members.¹⁷⁷ The *Daily Camera* reported on July 15, 1922, that two hundred were initiated into the Klan. Whether the 2000 figure reported by Mr. Bennett meant actual members or alleged sympathizers is difficult to determine. Like much of the country, the Klan receive short lived support from a number of people, such as Mrs. Stokes, a lawyer's wife, for whom Lillian Wheeler worked at one time.¹⁷⁸ That may be why many white residents who were teenagers or young adults in the early 1920's have no recollection of the Klan.¹⁷⁹

The Klan in Boulder garnered most of its publicity by barging in on other organization's meetings.¹⁸⁰ The burning of crosses on Flagstaff Mountain occurred fairly regularly.¹⁸¹ Even though the Boulder Klavern voted to leave the national organization in July, 1925,¹⁸² a Klan meeting with burning crosses in the canyon behind the first ridge to

¹⁷⁶This booklet and flyer is retained at Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

¹⁷⁷John Holliday, Jr., Article in the *Daily Camera*, January 3, 1976.

¹⁷⁸Lillian Wheeler Oral History.

¹⁷⁹Marguerite Sherman Oral History, October 14, 1987, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

¹⁸⁰Holliday, *Daily Camera*, January 3, 1976.

¹⁸¹Ernest P. Lacer Oral History, November 28, 1994. *Hugh Smith Oral History*, January 18, 1989. Both are retained at Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

¹⁸²*Boulder Daily Camera*, July 18, 1925.

Mount Sanitas occurred as late as 1932.¹⁸³ A cross was burned in the yard of a member of the University of Colorado's Unity Council in the 1940's.¹⁸⁴

Therefore, even though the Klan had some influence in Boulder for a short time, it was not directed to Boulder's black citizens who were too small in number to be a threat.

However, the mere fact of its existence and continuing sympathy must have had some chilling effect on the activities of Boulder's black residents. The effect may have been minimal because they kept to themselves for the most part, socializing primarily within their churches. In 1948, eighty percent of the black population belonged to either the A. M. E. or Second Baptist Church.¹⁸⁵ Nationwide blacks belonged to churches to a greater extent than whites, especially black females, which was true in Boulder in the early 1940's.¹⁸⁶

The feeling that Boulder was Southern dominated due to the influence of the Colorado Chautauqua Association and the two sanitarium is also suspect. The Texas Chautauquans were in Boulder only during the summer, with summer programs for six weeks.¹⁸⁷ The Chautauqua Association never promoted itself as a tubercular treatment camp, although it advertised that Boulder was chosen for its location because " (i)t is the most healthful spot in Colorado".¹⁸⁸ In fact, the Colorado Sanitarium, which would have been a competitor,

¹⁸³Wallace G. Clemens *Oral History*, February 8, 1996, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

¹⁸⁴Omer Stewart *Oral History*, July 3, 1985, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

¹⁸⁵Brunton, *The Negroes of Boulder, Colorado*, p. 64.

¹⁸⁶Frederick A. Bushee, "The Church in a Small City", *The American Journal of Sociology* XLIX (July 1943-May 1944): 223-232, p. 224.

¹⁸⁷See generally Mary Gale, *The Grand Assembly: The Story of Life at the Colorado Chautauqua* (Boulder: First Flatiron Press, 1981).

¹⁸⁸*The Texas-Colorado Chautauquan*, Volume II, Number 8, September, 1900, p. 9. Colorado Chautauqua Association Archives.

advertised in the first monthly magazines of the association.¹⁸⁹ Although the first Board of Directors in 1898 was Texan dominated, that quickly changed. Boulder decided to participate in Chautauqua activities from the beginning, and after a few years, Boulder citizens were the majority on the Board of Directors. In 1917, the year that Ruth Cave Flowers moved to Boulder, only two of eight directors and none of the officers were from Texas.¹⁹⁰

Boulder's Colorado Sanitarium, which was founded in 1896 by Dr. Kellogg from Battle Creek, Michigan, decided in its early days not to take tubercular patients because they kept other patients away.¹⁹¹ Of the seventy-three patients at the Colorado Sanitarium at the time of the 1920 United States Census, only three were from Texas, two were from Oklahoma, eight were from Missouri, and one was from Arkansas. The remainder were from primarily from the Midwest.¹⁹² Of the fourteen patients in the Mesa Vista Sanitarium, which did treat tubercular patients, only one was from the South, from Arkansas.¹⁹³ Although this is only one spot in time, the overwhelming nature of these statistics lead to a conclusion that the sanitarium did not cater to Southerners.

The make up of Boulder's citizenry as a whole likewise leads to a conclusion that Southern dominance was merely a perception. A statistical analysis of 412 head of household entries from the 1920 United States Census for the City of Boulder¹⁹⁴ does not reveal any

¹⁸⁹*The Texas-Colorado Chautauquan*, Volume I, Number 3, June, 1898, p. 3. Colorado Chautauqua Association Archives.

¹⁹⁰*Colorado Chautauqua Bulletin*, Volume VII, Number 1, November, 1917, p. 14. Colorado Chautauqua Association Archives.

¹⁹¹Mrs. J. H. Clemens, *History of the Boulder, Colorado Sanitarium*, April 4, 1950. *Boulder Canon Sentinel* (a publication of the nurses of the Boulder Sanitarium), January 17, 1927. Both are retained at the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

¹⁹²1920 United States Census.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴The state of birth of the head of the household for each twenty-eighth entry was

significant change in the state or place of birth of its citizens from what is reflected in the states of birth of the leading Boulder residents in 1893. The following table lists the states of birth identified as a result of the analysis.

East	Midwest	Border	Southern
Connecticut 1	Illinois 47	Kentucky 7	Florida 1
Massachusetts 3	Indiana 23	Maryland 1	Georgia 1
Maine 6	Iowa 45	Missouri 29	Louisiana 1
New Hampshire 2	Kansas 17	West Virginia 5	N. Carolina 1
New York 21	Michigan 8		Oklahoma 2
New Jersey 2	Minnesota 5		Tennessee 4
Pennsylvania 20	Nebraska 12		Texas 5
Vermont 1	Ohio 24		Virginia 4
West	U.S. ¹⁹⁵	Colorado ¹⁹⁶	
California 1	1	32	
Utah 1			
Wyoming 1			

Sixty-five foreign born heads of household resulted from the analysis:

Australia-1	Greece-1	Poland-1
Belgium-1	Ireland-3	Russia-1
Canada-7	Italy-1	Scotland-3
Denmark-3	Germany-13	Sweden-9
England-13	Luxembourg-2	Wales-1
France-1	Norway-4	

* * *

documented.

¹⁹⁵This head of household apparently did not know his state of birth.

¹⁹⁶Of those heads of households who were born in Colorado, the state of birth of that person's father was documented. Five were from the East, twelve from the Midwest, none from a border state, two from the South, six from the West, and one merely gave "United States". There were six foreign born fathers from England, Germany, and Wales.

Discrimination increased in Boulder not because of Southern domination or because of the influence of the Ku Klux Klan but because of the change in attitude of the same type of people who had been in Boulder from its being. During this time, Boulder was growing in population and becoming an important educational center. Boulder seemed to have less tolerance for the working man, black or white. For example, in the 1920's and 1930's, Boulder clothing stores would not sell work clothes, and one men's store is reported to have had a policy of not waiting on miners from Lafayette.¹⁹⁷ Although it appears to be folklore, the widespread story that Boulder enacted an ordinance which prohibited one from carrying a lunch pail on Pearl Street undoubtedly had its origins in citizen attitudes towards wage earners. Discrimination was experienced by a wider group than the handful of black families in the community.

CONCLUSION

The history of Boulder's early black population must be kept in perspective of what was happening in Denver and the rest of the state. Few communities in the state had sizable black populations except for Denver, and, to some extent, Colorado Springs and Pueblo. Therefore, the statewide statistics are skewed. Because of Denver's rapid growth and increasing industrial opportunities, it provided the opportunity for jobs in close proximity to a younger generation which could maintain ties with its parents in Boulder.

Increased overt discriminatory practices in the 1910's and 1920's was a nationwide phenomenon. Boulder may have experienced it in a minimal fashion compared to other places in the country--minimal, of course, unless one is on the receiving end. Strong

¹⁹⁷Chuck Waneka, Panel Discussion of Early Pioneer Descendants of the Lafayette Area.

people such as Ruth Cave Flowers, who never failed to speak up and let the world know what she thought of discrimination, and Lillian Wheeler, who decided she would be part of the mainstream community and good-naturedly decided to participate, were the exceptions.

The conclusion must be that changes in the economy, local and broader scale, eliminated the primary range of jobs open to blacks. Nothing new appeared to take their places. The increasing overt discrimination did not in itself change the primary range of jobs open to blacks in Boulder, but it may have prevented blacks from becoming middle-class citizens and business owners, a status which some achieved in the early years. What is most striking is the talent that left Boulder because of the lack of opportunity in Boulder. For having so few families, a surprising number the younger generation of the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's, which moved out of Boulder, attained higher educational degrees and remarkable achievements. As an example, an article in the *Daily Camera* following the death of Emma McVey in 1951 listed the occupations of some of her children, including an engineer, a social worker, and public administrator. The loss of the McVeys, the Morrisons, and many others was truly a loss to the community.

EPILOGUE

Beginning in the 1950's, Boulder's economic base changed again as scientific enterprises moved to town--the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the National Center for Atmospheric Research, the National Bureau of Standards--as well as large plants specializing in advanced technology such as IBM. The population explosion and resulting jobs brought a new wave of black residents to Boulder. These residents lived where they wished in the community. Penfield Tate, a civil rights lawyer, became a city council member and was Boulder's first black mayor from January 1974, to January, 1976.

The membership of the A. M. E. Church dwindled, and many of the congregation became members of the Second Baptist Church, which today has a thriving multi-racial, although predominantly black, congregation of over 300 at its new home on east Baseline Road.

In 1990, 865 black residents lived in Boulder out of a total population of 83,312.¹⁹⁸ This is approximately the same percentage as in 1920, after the first decade of decline.

The Little Rectangle is a neighborhood with many large and small apartment buildings catering primarily to University of Colorado students, but several of the of the original buildings survive.¹⁹⁹ For example, the odd numbered 1900 block face of Goss Street, which had twelve addresses in 1920, is fairly well in tact. In addition to the three landmarked houses noted previously, the City of Boulder has designated several of the Goss Street homes as Structures of Merit based upon their association with early black residents. This designation will flag the city to consider carefully any requests for demolition of these buildings.²⁰⁰

Boulder's reluctance to expand its industrial base continues and is the primary focus of city planning in the mid-1990's. The reasons for this reluctance are similar to those set forth in the 1890's--to maintain the quality of life in the community. The inability of most wage earners to live in Boulder is recognized in that discussion, although the importance of maintaining a diverse community is disputed.

¹⁹⁸1990 United States Census, Population Reports by States.

¹⁹⁹See Appendix D, which is a list of demolished homes of black residents, photographs of which may be viewed on historic assessor's cards at Carnegie Branch Library for Local History. Several homes were apparently demolished prior to being photographed.

²⁰⁰In 1994, The City of Boulder adopted a demolition ordinance, Section 10-13-23 B. R.C. (Boulder Revised Code), 1981, which requires a stay of demolition for 180 days for buildings which may qualify as individual landmarks, including Structures of Merit.

APPENDIX A

Table of Number of Black Residents in Selected Colorado Towns and Cities
for 1900, 1920, and 1950

1900		1920	
Aspen	16	Alamosa	15
Boulder	96	Boulder	128
Canon City	117	Brighton	26
Central City	36	Canon City	117
Colorado Springs	875	Colorado Springs	1009
Cripple Creek	188	Delta	0
Denver	3923	Denver	6075
Durango	17	Durango	35
Florence	22	Englewood	29
Fort Collins	15	Florence	17
Grand Junction	52	Fort Collins	7
Greeley	3	Fort Morgan	6
Idaho Springs	19	Grand Junction	76
La Junta	42	Greeley	18
Leadville	195	Pueblo	1395
Pueblo	1213	Trinidad	141
Salida	38		
Trinidad	125		
Victor	43		
		1950	
Aurora	20	Grand Junction	49
Boulder	113	Greeley	39
Canon City	104	Lafayette	1
Colorado Springs	1176	Longmont	3
Denver	15,059	Louisville	0
Durango	9	Pueblo	1441
Englewood	96	Trinidad	763
Fort Collins	12		

APPENDIX B

- i. 1904 Map of the City of Boulder on which are platted homes of black residents listed in the 1900 United States Census.
- ii. 1904 Map of the City of Boulder on which are platted homes of black residents listed in the 1910 United States Census.
- iii. 1930 Map of the City of Boulder on which are platted homes of black residents listed in the 1920 United States Census.

The "Little Rectangle" is highlighted in yellow on each map.

1900

1888
OF THE
CITY OF BOULDER
1897



- STREETS**
- WILSON
 - RADE
 - BIRCH
 - CORNBURD
 - 1ST
 - 2ND
 - 3RD
 - 4TH
 - 5TH
 - 6TH
 - 7TH
 - 8TH
 - 9TH
 - 10TH
 - 11TH
 - 12TH
 - 13TH
 - 14TH
 - 15TH
 - 16TH
 - 17TH
 - 18TH
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 - 21ST
 - 22ND
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 - 82ND
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 - 87TH
 - 88TH
 - 89TH
 - 90TH
 - 91ST
 - 92ND
 - 93RD
 - 94TH
 - 95TH
 - 96TH
 - 97TH
 - 98TH
 - 99TH
 - 100TH

- OFFICES**
- METROPOLITAN
 - RAILWAY
 - SPRINGFIELD
 - BANKING
 - CONSTRUCTION
 - EDUCATION
 - ARTS
 - 2ND DISTRICT
 - REGISTRATION
 - ST. MARY'S
 - ST. PATRICK'S
 - ST. JOHN'S

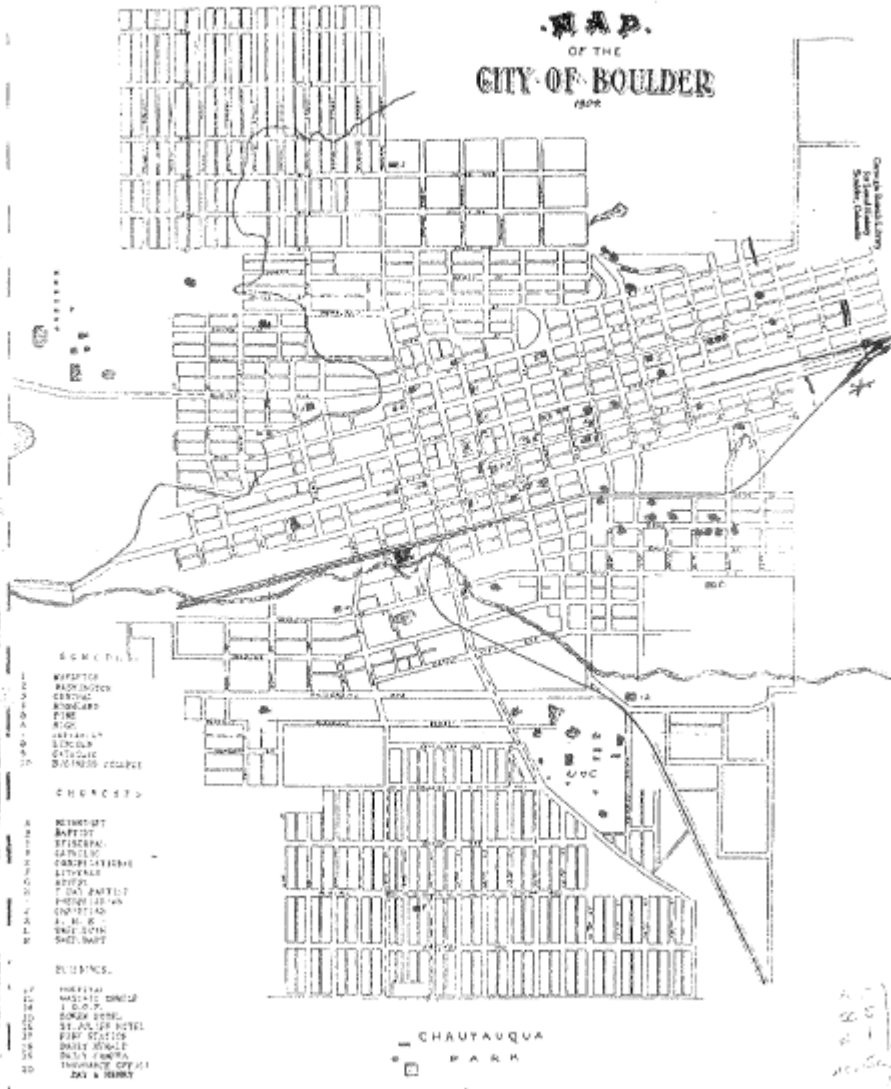
- LANDMARKS**
- HOSPITAL
 - UNION PACIFIC
 - BURNING
 - ST. JOHN'S
 - FIRE STATION
 - RAILROAD
 - INSURANCE OFFICE
 - RAIL & RIVER

CHAUTEAU
PARK

1/4
1/2
3/4
1
1/2

1910

MAP
OF THE
CITY OF BOULDER
1898



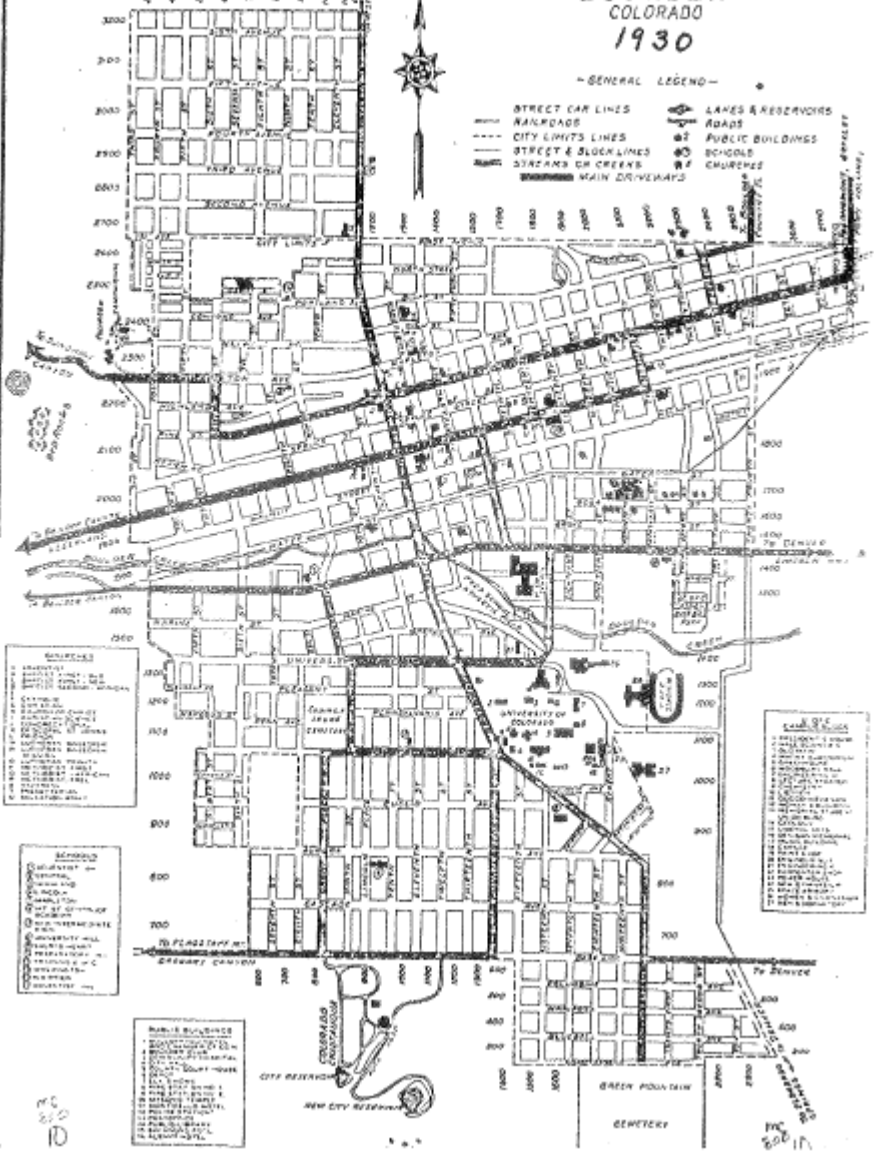
Handwritten notes or initials in the bottom right corner of the map area.

805
X4

1920

CITY OF BOULDER COLORADO 1930

INC
1930



INC
1930

INC
1930

APPENDIX C

REPRESENTATIVE BUSINESS FIRMS AND MEN OF BOULDER
FROM
"HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE REVIEW OF
COLORADO'S ENTERPRISING CITIES"
1893

1. James Cowie, Mayor and Boulder Abstract Company	Scotland New York
2. Alpheres Wright, Judge	Ohio
3. J. L. Moorhead, County Clerk	Prince Edward Island
4. M. D. Morrison, Manufacturer	Ireland
5. J. W. Develine, Foundry Owner	New York and England
6. Colvin and Teal, Mining Engineers	New York
7. G. H. Franklin, Pipe & Steam Heating	Ohio
8. O. T. Jackson, Caterer	Germany and Illinois
9. Faus and Wylam, Blacksmiths	Scotland
10. Harry Urquhart, Manufacturer of Harnesses and Saddles	Illinois
11. C. N. Baylor & Company, Commission Agent	Ohio
12. Thomas V. Wilson, Real Estate, Insurance, Mining	Missouri
13. T. F. Benson, Cigars, Tobacco, Fruits, and Confectionery	Ohio
14. Holden R. Eldred & Son, Horse Barn	England and Maine
15. Roberts and Pettergill, Watchmaking and Jewelry	Kentucky and Iowa
16. Adams & Adams, Attorneys	Pennsylvania
17. V. Meginnis & Company, Furniture Manufacturers and Dealers	Ohio
18. John W. Day, Insurance, Real Estate, and Loans	New York
19. Dr. L. Z. Colman, Medical Doctor	Georgia
20. R. H. Whiteley, Attorney	Colorado
21. Guy D. Duncan, Attorney	Illinois
22. W. V. Casey, Superintendent of Schools	Indiana
23. George B. Conwell, The Sale Hotel	England
24. J. W. A. Redhouse, Watchmaker and Jeweler	Missouri
25. W. H. Pool, Carriage Maker	New Hampshire
26. McAllister Lumber & Supply Company	Illinois
27. H. O. Dodge, Medical Doctor	New York
28. Harry C. Holstein, Men's Outfitter	

4. *Colorado Statesman*, January 16, 1915.
5. *Daily Camera*, December 24, 1894.
6. *Daily Camera*, March 4, 1895.
7. *Daily Camera*, October 27, 1898.
8. *Daily Camera*, June 3, 1900.
9. *Daily Camera*, July 15, 1905.
10. *Daily Camera*, September 11, 1905.
11. *Daily Camera*, July 18, 1922.
12. *Daily Camera*, August 13, 1924.
13. *Daily Camera*, July 28, 1925.
14. *Daily Camera*, May 10, 1927.
15. *Daily Camera*, May 28, 1927.
16. *Daily Camera*, July 21, 1927.
17. *Daily Camera*, April 9, 1930.
18. *Daily Camera*, February 19, 1948.
19. *Daily Camera*, July 29, 1950.
20. *Daily Camera*, August 6, 1951.
21. *Daily Camera*, August 9, 1951.
22. *Daily Camera*, October 17, 1952.
23. *Daily Camera*, November 3, 1953.
24. *Daily Camera*, July 23, 1957.
25. *Daily Camera*, January 6, 1960.
26. *Daily Camera*, April 4, 1963.
27. *Daily Camera*, November 8, 1974.
28. *Daily Camera*, March 2, 1978.
29. *Daily Camera*, February 5, 1982.

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 - a. "Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census".
2. 1870.
 - a. "A Compendium of the Ninth Census".
 - b. Ninth Census of the United States, Volume 1, "The Statistics of the Population of the United States".
3. 1880.
 - a. "Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census".
 - b. United States Census Records for the City of Boulder, Colorado.
4. 1885.
 - a. State of Colorado Census Records for the City of Boulder, Colorado.
5. 1890.
 - a. "Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census".
6. 1900.
 - a. Twelfth Census of the United States, Volume 1, "Population, Part 1".
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7. 1910.
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10. 1940.
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