

The Trend of Modern History

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Seventy-five years ago, in 1858, the first small cells of the great body of people we call Colorado began to gather, unite and multiply. Before that year the area in which we live was practically vacant. A few Mexicans scratched the river bottom to grow corn beside their old and lonely huts as they had done for centuries along the southern edges of the State. A few spare bands of Ute Indians in the mountains and of nomad Arapahoes and other buffalo-hunting groups strayed across the plains. The Mountain Men who had plodded in numbers up and down the streams hunting furs in the earlier years were almost vanished. With their departure, the half dozen trading posts established in Colorado had withered and decayed. From the standpoint of European civilization the area of this state in the late Fifties was perhaps the least traversed and most empty large section of American soil. Within the last seventy-five years, for all significant purposes, our history began, our commonwealth was inseminated, grew and flowered. Today a million and more people support one modern and metropolitan city, several other considerable and advanced urban communities, a large area of intensively cultivated lands and a substantial mining and industrial development, all interlocked with political, educational, cultural, religious and financial institutions of mature type. We can turn back in our own records less than three generations and find the pages blank, except for some quaint pictographs.

It is a curious and provoking story, this sudden burst of Western European civilization on the empty mountains and plains. There is no easy parallel in history. One turns for a parallel perhaps to California, Canada, Australia, or South Africa. Nothing quite like our history is found. There is little indigenous in this our modern Colorado. What came has been modified, and modified substantially, but practically everything we have and are came from elsewhere and was not native here. In California, a Spanish civilization, thin but long established, superimposed on a sparse but ancient Indian life, furnished the outlines, colored indeed and framed the English life that came after it. Australia is almost as pure a transplantation as the community of Colorado, but its accomplishment has taken twice as long a time. Western Canada is also older and its fabric is woven with ancient and indigenous

*Dr. Rogers, Dean of the University of Colorado Law School and former Assistant Secretary of State at Washington, presented this broad-visioned address at the Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Colorado.—Ed.

threads, as illustrated by its place names. Even then Canada has not suddenly and so strikingly matured. If there is anywhere on earth so large and developed a community of European people, so obviously transplanted in all features and so rapidly flowered, I have not found it.

This comment, if measurably true, suggests at once to the observer that what has happened in Colorado is the result of external forces and events. If the causes were internal and native to any considerable degree, men would have lived and flourished here before the Gold Discoveries, or if these discoveries were the explanation and the axis of our life here, that life would have waned with the mineral activity. Mining camps are proverbially short-lived. The globe is sprinkled, as are our mountains, with the empty streets and weather-broken buildings of once populous mining camps. Such camps today are not the whole of Colorado or even a major element in its polity or economy. Our metal mines are strong in our history and have a firm hold on our sentiments but have been for a generation weak in our balance sheets. We still can scarcely persuade ourselves that the "miner's badge," "upon a golden ground," which the law established and preserves as our state seal, no longer dominates our welfare. The accountant and the sociologist can be quite clear about it.

If the metal mines industry is not the secret of these seventy-five years, we must look further for the causes of our surprising history. The suggestion occurs that agriculture, for a poor second choice, may explain the phenomenon. It will not do. We grow no crops not grown elsewhere. Our farmers do little or nothing here in the fields they could not do elsewhere. Even if agriculture is the controlling cause of three-quarters of a century of development, it has been equally the cause of prosperity, or once was, in all but three or four of the forty-eight states. It is an American phenomenon, not a local one. The attractions of climate come to your mind. The personal history of half the people in this Society will prove that the climate of Colorado has been a substantial contributor to the history we are tracing. Indeed I suspect it has been a major element. But that fact is not unique. Climate has been a major factor in the history of many sections of Europe and in this country alone climate has stimulated the growth of California, Florida and Arizona in recent years.

I suggest to you that the only really local and unique force in the history of the state was its early metal mining and that except for this part of our history, now a minor note, the three generations of development must be explained by social forces, motives and movements of men which are a part of American history at

large, or of world history. Equally it seems, or even more convincingly, the future of our community, its direction, our institutions and civilization, our fate for good and bad is controlled now by the influence of national and world movements beyond our own borders. We have been and are only a current, perhaps an eddy, in the Gulf Stream of American life. This thought deserves some effort at elaboration.

The gold discoveries in the vacant mountains of the years beginning in 1858 set in motion on our soil several spiritual and economic forces which prevailed in this nation for a century. Men are never passive in the mass. A depression, a great emotional heat like that just showing signs of cooling, only accentuates into agitation the broth that never ceases to stir in the kettle. We are always driven by yearning and wants, drawn by hopes, forced and crowded on by the pressure of others. The present turmoil of Asia and Europe, which seems so strange to the people of the Americas, and which we feel is inexcusable political unrest, is only this stirring in crowded quarters. The same sort of thing will be manifest with us in political forms when the room for expansion is gone in our own continental kettle. It has so far shown itself in America in the movements of people over a wide continent with little friction. Only occasionally have we exhibited a disagreement like the Civil War and the agrarian conflicts of this and other depressions.

One of these impulses to movement and change among men was the tradition of pioneering. Its chief source was in Virginia. The people of the Potomac and the James Rivers carried the skirmish line westward for nearly a hundred years after the constitution was adopted. The Virginians laid down and rested only when they reached the Rocky Mountains. Here in a sense our mountains mark their high tide, as the monument on the field at Gettysburg is said to mark the high tide of Confederacy. Each in its own sense is the farthest reach of a Virginian effort. For the people who swept by horse and handcart across the plains were the Missouri, Kansas and Illinois children of the people of the Blue Ridge of Virginia. This strain had carried the ideas and energies of their home over the Alleghenies and down the Ohio. The maps of the Revolutionary period show Virginia itself stretching west to St. Louis. The early laws of Colorado belong to the Virginia inheritance. The pioneer strain that settled Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas was diluted from Pennsylvania and other blood as it spread west. Our Constitution is Pennsylvanian in origin. The outlook and tradition of these restless, adventurous people, eager for new things, was what the gold discoveries set in

motion. Without the presence of this spirit, intangible as it was, in the area where the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Missouri rivers come together, the rush across the plains might never have occurred. Such mining emigrations are scarcely explainable in economic terms. We deal with a spiritual phenomenon.

There was economic pressure also operating across America and determining its history in our days of growth. From increase by birth and immigration, the agricultural areas of the East were under pressure until recent years. Free land was a political policy in the period before 1900 but it was a policy prompted by economic conditions; chiefly, the expansion of population at a rapid rate. The end of the free land era which came about the close of the last century is often described as a turning point in American history. It is rather an index to more fundamental things than the exhaustion of government land.

Another factor of pressure, again economic, was a series of unsettling events in the last half of the century. In this respect, not crowding but the tearing of roots was the reason for movement. The Civil War released many soldiers on both sides who could not or did not easily return to their old haunts. War makes wanderers. Old ties gone, property and business dissipated during their absence at the front, thousands of released soldiers drifted West. The professional classes in early Colorado were conspicuously soldiers, many of them Confederates. The panics of 1857, 1873, and 1893 all augmented the drift to the West.

There were, however, drawing powers in our first half-century as well as spiritual and material pressure behind. Gold and free land attracted in that order and were succeeded by other prospects. Resources in the way of coal and metals other than gold are connected with the history of many of our conspicuous families. On the economic side the very establishment of a local population tended to increase to meet its own demands. The miners needed food and transportation, farm products, merchandise, and railroads. Finally the climate became a principal attraction. In the late Nineties and early Nineteen-hundreds a considerable share of the increase in Colorado population arose from health seekers and those who loved our sunny and hospitable mountains.

These perhaps are the main and familiar causes for the migration that transformed the three or four hundred white people who had houses within our borders in 1858 into a community which is now about as densely populated as the average of the land in this hemisphere or the old continent of Africa. All this discussion is familiar. It has been recounted, however, in order to make possible some contrasts.

In the first place it is evident that migrations of this magnitude are not always induced by the sort of motives we have outlined. The causes we have listed are characteristically American. The older movements of peoples in Europe and Asia were often induced by political motives such as conquest, or by persecutions, religious or racial. The same is true of American migrations. Massachusetts was settled from religious causes as was Utah, our older neighbor to the west. Modern England is partly at least a product of conquests. Military conquest remains an impending possibility even in modern Europe and certainly is evident in the Far East. Our growth in Colorado was not of this sort. Our growth was part and parcel of a series of trends which were characteristics of this country's whole direction during the two generations following the Civil War. Yet the forces that impelled our growth do not represent everything that was going on in this country during that period. We saw, for instance, during that period, this nation moving slowly from an agrarian into a partly industrial civilization. This trend in American life has played little part in the development of Colorado. The mine, the farm and not the factory loom large in our state history. We do not vibrate much to this industrial note in the chord of American life. Nor has another American development reached us in any real degree. In the last generation this nation was becoming a world power, definitely entangled, whether we liked it or not, in world commerce, world finance and world politics.

Both these patterns, our national industrial development and our world relations, carry with them not only a philosophy and an outlook, but also certain consequences in regard to lives of American people. So far Colorado has been little affected even by sentiments connected with these two trends in the history of the nation. Most other states feel them both. Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan, for example, are actively influenced by the industrial trend and several of them by world commerce in recent years. California is somewhat affected by factory ways of life and considerably by the width of her front door on the Pacific Ocean. We do not even raise enough wheat in Colorado to feel strongly the disturbances of the world wheat market as do the Dakotas. Our factories are only beginning to get significant enough to make labor and commercial questions a factor in our state politics. Our principal real contact with the foreign world is felt remotely through the sugar market.

In short, while Colorado has been essentially a product of American force, spiritual and economic, all that sways America has not impinged upon us here. To put it another way, we have felt

those parts of the complex of American life which are represented in its population expansion, its agricultural life, its pioneer philosophy and political tradition, and its general cultural development represented by wide and general education. We have been scarcely touched by two chief strains in its life, the industrial phases and the increasing foreign relationships of the last generation. All this perhaps is a truism. It is a truism that I am a product of my parentage and my schooling but it is useful for me to realize it, and dwell on it now and then.

Turn now to the future. What currents in the affairs of men can we detect, here and abroad, which may swing or even overwhelm our ship of state in Colorado, as it rides at anchor in this inland sea?

The world has altered considerably since 1858, and nowhere more than in America. When gold was discovered hereabouts, the first oil well in Pennsylvania was just being exploited, and coal oil lamps soon began to replace candles and whale oil. The sewing machine had been invented but was little known. The telephone was unknown. There were 350 high schools in this country in 1860. Today there are sixteen thousand. School houses and sewing machines are material and measurable. They mark, however, many intangible and less demonstrable changes. The facts that the Missouri River villages were a week distant from Denver by stage in the Sixties and that New York itself is today only a night's flight away by plane have done more than alter time and space. They are altering thought, sentiment and much of the content of life. New York once was an adventure to the San Franciscan. Today it is almost a commonplace.

We are concerned with the past, however, only as it points to the probabilities of the future. The new conditions bind a modern Colorado to the fortunes of this country even more intimately than old conditions bound the settlements on the Platte and the Arkansas these years gone by. There are in my mind four chief trends in America today which control its fortunes. None of them are local even to this continent. One of the most striking observations forced upon one by the current unpleasantness is to note how fruitfully we can study our own illness and its treatment from the book of other nations. The world is a vast hospital of patients suffering with the same disorder. The chief distinction between the patients lies in the doctors. The world hospital exhibits the finest assortment of old fashioned family physicians, new fashioned specialists and miscellaneous quacks with treatments to fit that ever offered a clinic. The national patients behave exactly as individual patients do, each one hopefully relying on his doctor in

spite of what the sick man in the next bed in the ward would like to tell him about his own. "My operation" has become the conversation of the nations.

Let us keep to American affairs. In the first place, we note that in common with other peoples, this country is, as already mentioned, moving now with acceleration into a more and more industrialized life. The machine, or more accurately the employment of power for production (as we have always had machines), is today the predominant means of life. As a consequence we have capacity to produce great quantities of goods, and plenty has become a normal experience. Indeed the appearance of abundance in the Western world is just now so coincident with our distress that we are inclined to think it is the cause of that pain. We even destroy things, on something like the old principle of bleeding. This abundance is, however, the source of many persistent reform movements as well as some temporary illusions. One of these reform impulses is based on the conviction that poverty, which we used to think was normal, necessary and always with us, now seems intolerable. We are going to abolish poverty if only we can organize the world in some way so that the old profit motive, or some new motive we keep hoping will appear, can still be employed to get the fruits of ingenuity and labor. One project is to divide the diminishing quantity of work necessary to support the world—the work being largely that of tending machines—by a general adoption of shorter hours for labor.

Still another product of this machine abundance, an idea wrapped in the same package as innumerable shoes and breakfast flakes, is the thought that we need no longer reward capital so generously and that we can afford to give the worker a larger share of the machine's production. We argue that capital has not wisely administered its trust. There is an involved but perhaps sound argument that the reason we have these recurring attacks of industrial prostration is because capital is being reinvested in more machines instead of being spent from day to day in the production we already have flowing from the wrapping mechanism. We need not pause to explore the diagnosis. It is enough to note that capital is under suspicion and the Lilliputians are trying to tie the giant Gulliver down to the ground with their threads while he is sleeping off his last debauch. They don't propose to have him wrangling around as freely and easily as of yore. Only abundance makes practicable of execution now this old yearning of the many who have little to divide with the few who have much. In the past we have made little headway with such plans, because we

found that our efforts mysteriously checked the flow of the good things we were eager to divide. Perhaps now, with production so easy, we may be able to order things better.

Also along with machine production come some new types of population psychology. The farmer who plows his own field in solitude all day and only gets to the village on Saturday nights or Sunday mornings does little thinking perhaps, but it is his own. He is not much subject to the flushes of excitement, elation and disillusion that surge through the city crowd. The factory worker, who toils within elbow reach of his neighbor, who lives in a multiple house where the voices of the baby and phonograph penetrate every wall between the families, who finds his distraction in the newspaper and the moving picture and who is never away from suggestions and opinions, behaves very differently. He should, indeed, he probably does, know more and newer things than the farmer but he is a feather in the wind of mass psychology. He may not vote for a Bryan because Bryan's ponderous grandeur and simplicity are convincing, but he votes for Jimmy Walker, because Jimmy is entertaining, gay, and distracting. This practice seems to me worse, decidedly worse, but whether it is worse or not, it is different. The factory worker requires new social institutions, new forms of education, new political mechanisms to save him from new follies. The old institutions, worked out for a simple agrarian democracy by Jefferson and his contemporaries, are no longer efficient for the metropolitan industrial life. That is partly the background for our greatest American scandal, our city governments. As industrialization spreads we will need to reconstruct many political institutions. The dictatorships which seem just now to some people to afford relief are only transitory, receiverships pending reorganization, to use a lawyer's simile.

Another world wind, now felt in the United States, is similar to but not identical with the consequences of the era of power production. It is the drift toward socializing industry. We are assigning to government more and more of the functions of society, leaving less and less to individual enterprise. This is an ancient impulse, older than the machine, older than democracy perhaps. It has risen and fallen in intensity through the ages. Today it is strong and the machine affords it or seems just now to afford it more opportunity for permanency and success than ever before. Large scale industry made natural by the machine has evils which tempt government intervention and finally government ownership. Life is more and more made up of services and less proportionately of material things. We spend less proportionately for wheat and wool and more for street-car fares, roads and schools and enter-

tainment year by year. To put it still another way, we spend more for the use of things shared with others and less for individual consumption. These provisions of public facilities are easily undertaken by governments. By these and other causes, a fresh impetus to economic democracy is added.

The Western world is socializing its life, that is to say, steadily enlarging the size of the segment of life's circle which government occupies. The European nations are, of course, further along this road than is America. Our governments here, little and big, occupy only a fraction, perhaps an eighth or tenth of the activities of life. Most of that activity is concerned with schools, and just now the next largest share with roads. This is the real meaning of the growing tax collections. Government is providing all education, except for a very few people, and it is venturing into power and transportation, even into providing recreation facilities. Its old business was chiefly restricted to the conduct of police, justice and defense, in short to security. These activities are now a minor demand in the public budgets of America. From this shift a political problem arises. It is possible that democracy may not function efficiently in its present form when it comes to governing these vast economic enterprises. I have, for myself, no doubt of the permanence of popular control over our institutions but I think we may change the form of its mechanics. Indeed these forms are remodeling themselves. Career services, which we damn sometimes with the epithet "bureaucracy," are expanding rapidly in this and other democracies. Amateur government is losing its hold on our confidence, uneasy as we are about the alternative.

The steady increase of the complexity of international relations as part of our own American problem has already been noted as a phenomenon of the last generation or two and the comment was made that it has so far little affected our own Colorado commonwealth. Again we deal with a world-wide phenomenon. The causes for the new intimacies and entanglements are curiously physical. There is in every nation a stratum of cultivated, travelled and intellectual people who are eager for this international partnership, see good in it, look forward to peace and profit in a world economy, and elevation in world thought. But they play, I suspect, little part either in the sum total of sentiment or even in the creation of it. The masses of our own and other peoples are but little sympathetic with affairs beyond their own political boundaries. The new complexity of international ties and exchanges is forced upon them. The present burst of nationalism is not a disease. It is the natural and spontaneous product of human life and men's healthy minds. It may be un-

wise, unsafe and altogether damnable, but it is as natural as is appetite in human beings. Appetite, like hunger and fear and other by-products of the human design, may produce disaster, but it cannot be preached away or amputated with ease. So with the instinct to nationalism, rampant just now.

The physical conditions of the world are, however, rapidly undermining the possibilities of national self-containment. Indeed one suspects that the current outburst of national sentiment is partly a product of the insecurity of mind induced by that very fact. On one hand the world is more economically interdependent. Rubber, coffee, cotton, tobacco are only examples of the way we share each others' goods and lean together. One of the most interesting of modern political turns has been the desperate efforts of governments to offset this trend for various reasons by building barriers to international trade. While at this hour the clock is set back, there seems every reason to expect the old forces to reassert themselves after a little, even with new barriers for trade set up at every national boundary. Luxuries are often foreign products. When the possibility of having luxuries returns again for the mass of our people, we may expect a revival of the old flow of trade however much hampered or confined to government channels.

Aside from trade, another physical development is binding unwilling America to the world in closer family ties. The machine has taken to the air and the ether (if any ether still remains in modern science). We might escape the demands of our habits for coffee from Brazil, but we can scarcely escape the consequences of flight and radio. The world is shrinking like a drying apple. This continent is less than a day wide. Our main impression about the prospect of aeroplane service across the Atlantic is a mild surprise that it takes so long to establish it. The voices of European public men on radio broadcasts across the ocean are almost as familiar as the accents of our own leaders. The schoolmarm of the last century scarcely dared think of adventuring outside the valley. Before our present dark days, the modern schoolteacher could consider, if she could not achieve, a trip to Europe or around the world on a few years' savings. The moving picture and the photograph transmitted by telegraphy bring us the events of the world almost before the smoke has cleared, certainly before the news of the week has lost its wonder.

Even more importantly perhaps, the American moving picture has become the entertainment of the world. The Swiss child used to know vaguely about Abraham Lincoln and Pikes Peak. Today he knows not merely the face and voice of President Roosevelt and

Douglas Fairbanks, but a great deal about their clothes, the houses and all the minutiae of American life. If the printing press marked an epoch in civilization, what are these inventions doing, full as they are of warm blood, and common life instead of studied and intellectual abstractions? The facts we state are familiar. The consequences are less evident and less easy of calculation, but they are prodigious. The world is a neighborhood. War anywhere threatens peace everywhere. How soon under these new conditions would we find the people of our remotest sections taking sides unconsciously, inevitably in sentiment with one or the other of the participants in another general European War? How long before Napoleon or Wellington became a schoolyard hero in America and Japan, if those great warriors were being pictured and heard day by day? Such things cannot be censored or insulated.

These and other conditions have brought the United States into a position of world power, world responsibility and world co-ordination. These new conditions have some part in even our present emergency problems. The motor laborer in Detroit and the cotton planter in Texas know or ought to know the truth of their affairs. One motor in five and two bales of cotton in five were sold in our recent prosperous years to foreign nations. Our population was employed, in fact, by or for people far beyond the reach of our laws, the sway of our institutions or the effect of our elections. Our industry had given hostages to fortune in a new sense. Its resumption on the old scale depends partly upon what happens in Manchester, England, and Madras, India. It is equally true that the rice bowls in India and the cold roasts in Lancashire are light or heavy somewhat in terms of events in Washington and Denver.

In the field of government and politics another development is in full career in this country and exerts an influence on states like our own which may be deep. I refer to the centralization of our national government. The suggestion needs no elaboration. Our forefathers laid great stress on the town meeting and on the place of local governmental agencies of every description. The state at most was the boundary of pride and allegiance in our infant days. Today the state is fading on the map. The bright colors of the old geographies, with pink for Colorado and heliotrope for Utah, are dim or gone. The national government and those of the cities are the real units of American political influence. Only the Federal senate preserves the old balance. The distribution to little Nevada with ninety thousand people and New York with its thirteen million of the same quota of two senators

each checks the effects of centralized government on the Western States. There are grumblings about this distribution now and then. If the time comes when three-fourths of the states in the Union would gain by a redistribution, the whole balance of senatorial power in this country might be upset by a Constitutional amendment, whatever the guarantees. At present, in spite of all the sentimental checks on the drift to central power, the real levers of our political life have been transferred to Washington. The cities remain impressive only because they deal with metropolitan problems, which through history have been distinctive and local.

These trends in American life seem the principal currents of our modern history. Some of them may have great significance to the special interests of Colorado, the State whose history is entrusted to this Society. The industrialization of the United States and the tendency to socialization in American work and economic life both mean a growth of business into large national units. These will need some local administrative headquarters, perhaps, but the chain store, the national factory and the growth of branch banking seem likely to affect materially our Western business life. The influence of a world of diminishing dimensions will sooner or later bring home to unwilling minds the stake we have in foreign affairs, even in the Rocky Mountains. Some realization is already evident. The centralization of government will affect us but it is difficult to forecast just where or how. The extent to which Denver holds its lead as a Western center for Federal bureaus may be of vast importance to its future. The ease of communication is already tying us culturally and spiritually into a more homogeneous America. The trend towards shorter working hours and the greater stress on recreation, outdoor life, and cultural services may give this State of sunny skies and hospitable mountains an opportunity of the first order. Colorado can with a little thought and care become one of the chief centers for education and recreation on this continent. Such localities as Geneva, Munich and some of the towns of California know what that can mean toward building a well-to-do and abundant community life. At any rate, the history of Colorado for the next half century depends on national and international trends to a degree of growing accumulation. Planning is a catchword of the hour. I keep wondering how much of it is being done for the State I love, in the light of the wider outlooks.

Ouray, The Opal of America

CHAUNCEY THOMAS*

Ouray is the opal of America, set in silver and gold. No inhabited place in the United States has such colors as Ouray, always changing, never repeating. It is useless to list here every word that expresses tint and shade, tinge and hue, for Ouray is bound with spectrum bands that the eye can see but no lips can describe. Here the spilled paint pots of the gods emptied themselves. Ouray is wrapped with twisted rainbows. What the opal is on the finger Ouray is on the continent.

Ouray is a mining camp in the northeast corner of the San Juan. The San Juan—Spanish for St. John—is roughly a square, 100 miles on a side, set apart by mountain ranges in the southwest corner of Colorado. The highest part is the northeast corner, with many peaks over 14,000 feet high, that form a rough circle about twenty miles across. Here head two river systems, the Rio Grande running into the Gulf of Mexico, and the Colorado into the Gulf of California. No other part of the Rockies is richer in minerals than is this jagged circle. Here are four main towns—Lake City, Silverton, Telluride, and Ouray. Mining is their business, mostly gold and silver. They are served by one railroad, the D. & R. G. W., and by several excellent mountain auto roads.

Due to its location and to its ruggedness, the San Juan region was one of the last sections of Colorado to be settled by the white race, but oddly enough was the early home of the ancient Cliff-dwellers. Also this part of the state was about the first to be visited by white men. Juan de Rivera in 1765 and Father Escalante in 1776 explored this region. No doubt the San Juan was as well known as the rest of the Rockies to the beaver trappers, those Mountain Men, who saw and knew so much of the West for nearly a century before the covered wagons came, and who left so little record about their exploring.

From Escalante's diary of 1776, written records jump to 1860, when a gold hunter named Charles Baker and several companions entered the San Juan on a grubstake from California Gulch, now Leadville. But it cannot be assumed that no one entered the San Juan in that interval. To date we simply have no record of any. Wild rumors filled the mountain air in those days like wild ducks in the fall, so when Baker came back to Leadville, let us call it,

*Mr. Thomas, Short Story writer and student of history, has compiled this article largely from the first volumes of the *Ouray Times*, recently presented to the State Historical Society by the Walsh Public Library of Ouray.—Ed.

with the usual lurid flamboyant accounts of gold sticking out of the rocks in Baker's Park, now Silverton, the usual rush was on.

In December, 1860, an expedition was formed in Denver to join Baker in the San Juan. Roads there were none; it was mostly mountain trail work, and the party had a hard time of it—and found but little gold. They came near lynching Baker, but did not, and after erecting some log huts at "Animas City," which stayed empty for years after, most of the party came out again with nothing discovered.



OURAY, COLORADO (1930)

Then came the Civil War, and split Colorado into two opposing factions, and almost into two states. Baker left Colorado, went east and joined the Confederate army, in which he served throughout the war. Coming West again after the war he came to the San Juan, where he was killed by Indians.

In 1869 an exploring, or prospecting party of from thirty to fifty men left Prescott, Arizona, for the San Juan. There were no roads, so the entire outfit was on horse and mule back. There was some friction with the Indians, but nothing serious, and they gophered and panned around, mostly near present Mancos. They

got some placer gold, but not enough to hold them. In 1873 another party came into the San Juan from California.

Meanwhile there was no Ouray. Nor any other town in the San Juan. Several had been staked out, but they were only stakes, and most of the townsites got no farther than some campfire. The San Juan was becoming better known in detail, so there were more and more small prospecting parties wandering in the deep cañons and among the jagged peaks of that nearly three mile high southwestern corner of Colorado.

There was another factor, and a serious one, that held back the San Juan from the white—the Utes. They had a treaty with the Government, negotiated in 1868, recognizing their rights to practically all of the Western Slope. As mineral finds in the San Juan were reported in 1870-72, new bargaining began, and in September, 1873, the Utes signed the Brunot treaty, ceding the San Juan mountain area to the whites.

The exact time of the founding of any place is more or less a matter of personal opinion. Accounts differ as to the actual beginning of the town of Ouray. A composite, however, is that in the early summer of 1875 A. W. Begole, Jack Eckles, R. F. Long, M. W. Cline, A. J. Staley, John Monroe, Logan Whitlock, and perhaps several other men, discovered ore in place in the Ouray district, principally the "Mineral Farm," "Trout," and "Fisherman," claims, and first staked out a townsite. It is said that Cline and Long named the new town "Ouray" in honor of Ouray, head chief of the Utes. During the winter of 1875-76 some of these men stayed in the new town, and in the spring of 1876 men began to come in from all outside places, and to locate hundreds of claims. The first woman in Ouray was Mrs. Charles Morris who came in 1876. In September, 1876, several wagonloads of the richest ore were hauled to Pueblo, over 300 miles away, the first ore shipped out of Ouray. The first stages of the journey were done on burro back, due to lack of wagon roads.

Ouray was incorporated in 1876. M. W. Cline was the first postmaster. The townsite was first surveyed in 1875, but the records show apparently one or two later re-surveys of the site, one in 1877. There was an election held in the fall of 1876, with 160 votes cast.

Naturally, as with other places, the old timers do not agree concerning sundry details and dates, for in some cases written records do not exist, or dispute each other, but the above data seem to be substantially correct.

Ore worth \$100, \$500, \$1,000, and \$2,000 to the ton was found and the country around Ouray was found to be laced with veins.

There was the usual gold rush. Baker's wild romancing had come true—the gold was there, millions on millions of it, as miles on miles of tunnels and stopes in later years proved. But still no roads, and ore is well nigh worthless without a road.

Then came Otto Mears, the "Roadbuilder of the San Juan." Such will ever be his fame, and well he earned it. First he cleaned and straightened the pack train trails, then blasted out toll roads for wagons, awful roads but yet two wheel ruts at last. Then years later he laid down steel rails into the San Juan.

But before the rails came it cost money to pack out ore—\$25 a ton on burro back to a little ore reduction plant at Silverton, only 18 miles away. The Mountain Queen mine alone once used over 230 burros in such transportation. The small smelters had no coal, oil was unknown then, and the electric power wire undreamed of, so the little smelters burned wood.

Before the white man came the slopes around Ouray were covered with heavy timber. Men stripped the mountains bare of wood for houses, bridges, timber for the mines, to burn for domestic and for smelter fuel. Later, coal was found and still later was mined down in the valleys, but up where Ouray is it was wood or nothing.

The San Juan was shy of game. Most of the food had to be packed in, later pulled on wagons with four and six horses, often from Canon City, the then nearest railroad. It took from fourteen to sixteen days one way; that meant a month for the round trip. Supplies in, hand-picked ore out, and the cost was prohibitive except for ore assaying near \$1,000 a ton in gold and silver. In winter the trips could not be made at all over some of the mountain passes, with snow piled twenty to thirty feet deep. Even today these passes stop the strongest engines and snow plows sometimes for weeks. So in the '70s and '80s the San Juan was often winter locked.

Even the mails were hard to carry. The local newspapers of the early days in the San Juan were ever registering complaints about the mails. At one time in 1877, ten miles of toll road had four post offices. Not merely places to leave mail, but four actual official post offices. These ten miles, especially in winter when they were practically impassible, were hard to travel. Such is but one of the details of the difficulties attending the birth of Ouray.

High grade ore was piled on the dumps, and because of the long packing and wagon haul, most of it remained there. The result was that ore receipts from shipments amounted to only \$69,500 for the year 1878. The gold was "thar," it was blasted

and hoisted from the rocks, but it remained at the mines except for the very richest hand-picked part that would warrant mule back transportation.

The *Ouray Times*, first newspaper in Ouray, put out its first issue on June 16, 1877, and a list of the advertising reveals that there were then in the town: two blacksmiths, two groceries, at least one doctor, two lawyers, two meat markets, several real estate agents (all with many mines for sale), a jewelry store, gunsmith, hardware store, several general stores that carried everything from tooth brushes to shovels, four churches, plenty of boarding houses, and more than enough saloons. Whiskey was twenty-five cents a drink, and there was earnest talk of starting a brewery, which was established later.

In July following, there was yet no frame or brick building in Ouray. It was still a town of logs. Nor was there an ore mill of any kind. But ore roasting began August 8th, and the little wood-burning smelter blew in on November 3rd. That month a chlorination plant was begun.

Then as now "business was dull" and "suffering from the depression," for the financial panic of 1873 still bore down on everything. The town was "over-run with tramps," and was also overcrowded by "destitute unemployed," so much so that vigorous vagrancy laws were passed, and many men were expelled from town. They had a cornet band, and at least one "odorous dance hall," and probably others that no one mentioned much.

The *Times* in 1877 speaks of the first city ordinances; mail once a week and uncertain at that, with mail bags meant for Silverton or Lake City delivered to Ouray, or the reverse; also of the founding of a pioneer society, a literary society and a military company. The first election, according to the *Times* was held September 8, 1877, with four parties in the field—Republican, Democratic, People's and Communistic. In such things life in Ouray over fifty years ago seems to have been about what it is today.

In 1877 they started the graveyard. The first preacher arrived. He walked into camp nearly frozen, holding to his donkey's tail as a tow rope, too cold to ride. "Can't sell \$500 a ton ore" due to the "awful roads" tells its own story. The *Times* had 930 subscribers—so it claimed. Incidentally, the total population claimed was only about 1,000, a large part of that transient, and "numbers are leaving for the winter." California Gulch (Leadville) is spoken of slightly as "the sand mines."

In 1878 the *Times* speaks of forming a local telephone company. There was then no telegraph or telephone to the outside

world, and the "irregular and uncertain mails" continued weekly. But in July, when the snow melted, they had the first daily mail. Yet they formed a press association, began grading the streets and putting down sidewalks (of planks), bought a new church organ for \$340, and soon had the local telephone working fairly well. "Three hundred dollar a ton ore thrown away," men's suits at \$10, many auctions, mail sixty hours from Denver, the harness and saddle store going out of business, and "cheap stoves, \$35-\$85," indicates how Ouray business was then. Hardly the proverbial "roaring mining camp." There were 400 voters, all parties, at the recent election, a detective association was formed, perhaps because the *Times* says "413 votes were cast." Burro trains packing out \$500 ore plowed through three feet of snow; the coldest day was 21 degrees below zero; and wagon freight to Canon City was ten cents per pound. When it stormed, everything stopped, including the mails, by buckboard, horse back, or on snowshoes. "Ouray is one end of the longest saddle-bag mail route in the U. S.," says the *Times*. Still, they hotly discussed free silver, inflation, woman suffrage, and dividing Colorado into two states, due to Civil War bitterness still prevailing.

In 1879 things were about the same, a slow uncertain growth from 1876, and the universal business depression still over everything in Ouray. The San Juan papers no longer belittled Leadville, but were heartily jealous of that silver bonanza, which was then draining the whole San Juan of its miners. The town of Ouray was by this time pretty well formed, and life had settled down to routine. Farming was done now on a small scale in the valley below Ouray, and some coal mines had been opened, which improved the smelting and household fires.

The whole San Juan in the latter part of 1879 paid more attention to the Ute Indians than to any other subject, especially after the Meeker Massacre in September. "The Utes Must Go" became the slogan, for the Indians were then the chief obstacle to developing the lower valleys of the San Juan region.

Volumes I, II, III, and V of the *Ouray Times*, first newspaper published in Ouray, Colorado, has been received by the State Historical Society.

This newspaper was founded and published by "H. Ripley and Bro.," the first issue coming from the press on June 16, 1877.

Fortunately, the Walsh Public Library of Ouray had a duplicate set of these valued papers and at our solicitation their Library Board generously presented this set to the State Historical Society for preservation in the fireproof State Museum.—Ed.

The Beginning of Ordway, Colorado

NINA B. GIFFIN*

One of the greatest desires of the human heart is to own a home. In Ordway, Colorado, and vicinity homes have been made possible through irrigation, which has literally caused the desert "to blossom as the rose." Ordway is located in the Arkensas Valley, which in Colorado, is approximately two hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. Ordway is the county seat of Crowley County and is located fifty miles east of Pueblo, on the Missouri Pacific railroad, and on Highway No. 96, north of the Arkansas River.

Crowley County was formerly a part of Otero County, being separated from the latter in 1911. It was named for State Senator John H. Crowley, who represented this section in the legislature at the time this county was created.

Two decades ago this part of the state was known only as an unexcelled grazing country, where cattle and sheep men counted their herds by the tens of thousands. Today Crowley County boasts four towns, Ordway, Sugar City, Crowley, and Olney Springs, and has cultivated farms totaling 56,000 acres of irrigated land. Ordway is in the center of the county, and is admirably located to supply the necessities of life to the contiguous country.

The late Jay Gould, while passing through this country in 1887, upon the completion of his Missouri Pacific railroad from the east into Pueblo, remarked that some time there would be a way to bring this arid country into cultivation and provide more homes along his railway.

Ordway was so named for the Hon. George N. Ordway, an ex-alderman of Denver, Colorado, and who was a successful business man of that city. One of the promoters of the town suggested that the name of the town be Alfalfaville, but that name did not meet with enthusiasm, and especially met with disapproval from the cattle men. Mr. A. F. (Ab) Enyart, one of the pioneers of the range, remarked one time that he thought Maverick would have been just as appropriate a name as Alfalfaville.

Mr. Ordway had come to this section of the state in the late '80s and bought a large tract of land under the newly built canal of the Colorado Land and Water Company. This company was completing its canal for a distance of fifty miles and was divert-

*Mrs. Giffin works with her husband, L. I. Giffin, editing the *Ordway New Era*. She has done newspaper work previously in Kansas. As historian of the La Junta Chapter of the D. A. R. she has been active in gathering historical data upon the Ordway region.—Ed.

ing water from the Arkansas River at a point about twenty miles east of Pueblo, into the canal which carried it out over the prairie to Ordway and vicinity. The Twin Lakes near Leadville were the storage lakes for this project.

Mr. Ordway had come at a time when practical farmers were coming in from eastern states, especially from Illinois and Iowa, and a colony came from the Greeley, Colorado, district. The Greeley men understood the possibilities of irrigation, and accepted the fertility of the soil without argument. They wished to avail themselves of the opportunity to share in the profits of cultivation under conditions so favorable, and under the leadership of a man like Ordway who had invested his own capital. Mr. Ordway was instrumental in interesting other Denver capitalists.



ORDWAY IN 1894

The Ordway farm was near the townsite, to the east. He erected a large house built of lumber, set trees and made other fine improvements. At the time Ordway was chosen as the headquarters for the Colorado Land and Water Company in the late '80s, it had a population of approximately 300 people, a depot with a telegraph and express office, a school and a general store. A main street was graded and lined with elm and maple trees. No liquor was sold and the deeds of the town company provided for a reversion of title in the event the owner of the land permitted liquor to be sold on the premises. None of the elements of disorder common to some of the new western towns were found here. Every effort seemed to be made to keep the moral atmosphere untainted. The supply of drinking water came from an artesian well which had been drilled on the townsite.

The water company deeded ten men each a town lot in the townsite to make up the required number of property owners to get a voting population sufficient to incorporate. The town was

incorporated October 1, 1900. Grant A. Mumford was the first mayor elected, Wm. Edgar the first clerk and G. Emery Harris the first treasurer.

The federal government had granted to the state of Colorado several thousands of acres of land for an internal improvement fund, and the right to use of the water in the rivers and streams flowing through the state. The state in selecting these lands very naturally selected the best. From them the state then sold tracts to irrigation companies at a minimum price in consideration of their building canals for irrigation. The Colorado Land and Water Company acquired 56,000 acres in this way. The company sold land outright or leased to prospective purchasers.

The officers and directors of the Colorado Land and Water Company were F. A. Hodge, Jas. B. Roberts and Chas. E. Clark, all of Buffalo, N. Y., and George West of Ordway. L. W. Walter, who had come here from Greeley, was the engineer and water superintendent and turned in the first run of water into the canal in time for the crops of 1892.

Prior to the incorporation of the town and before the Missouri Pacific was laid and before irrigation came to the arid prairie where Ordway now stands, the Indian tepee was the only sign of habitation on the landscape and the ponderous American bison roamed the country. Feed and water were abundant and thousands of Texas Longhorns were being brought in the '70s to fatten on the succulent grama grass. The cattle men were here long before the irrigation system and when the voice of the plow man was mingled with that of the cowboy it was not sufficient to still the rattle of the chuckwagon and the jingling of the cowman's spurs. The cattle people are still big factors in the commercial life of Ordway and Eastern Colorado. Their cattle range over the plains north of the Arkansas River, which was once the rendezvous of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. On famous Sand Creek, in this territory, these tribes met defeat by Colonel Chivington's attack in 1864. Whether this encounter was a "battle" or a "massacre" is still a debated question. One of Ordway's pioneers attended Chivington's last trial held in Denver.

In those early days the cowmen here obtained their mounts chiefly from the wild herds of mustangs which were on the range unowned and unclaimed until caught and broken for riding. Thoroughbred horses were first brought in from Kentucky in the '70s.

The first business building on Ordway's townsite, erected in 1887, was the Colorado Canal and Water Company's office. Others engaged in business that year were Chas. B. Ragsdale and N. A. Ferlin, general merchandise. Constantine Kelley was Missouri

Pacific agent. Ragsdale was also postmaster and Miss Eva Griffin, teacher of a one-room school with seven pupils. Business continued to increase in kinds and numbers until in the early '90s almost every kind of business was established. The Bank of Ordway was opened in 1902. H. S. Silliman of Cedar Falls, Iowa, was president; George Conrad, of Marysville, Mo., the vice president; and G. Emery Harris, the cashier.

In March, 1902, the *Ordway New Era* was established by C. B. Stewart, later sold to Jay F. Johnson. In 1914 Mr. Johnson sold to L. I. Giffin, the present owner and publisher. The *New Era* is the oldest business in continuous operation in Ordway today.

The Methodist Episcopal church was organized in January, 1893, by Rev. C. A. Edwards. The first wedding was the marriage of Miss Nellie Olmstead to Frank Reynolds.

Mr. A. F. Enyart was among the first cattle men to operate on the north side of the river. He came here in 1870. In later years he built a fine ranch home west of town, became president of the First National Bank and when he died was rated one of the wealthiest men of the state.

Mr. T. O. Donnell, Dr. J. W. Collins and D. C. Roberts developed farms at a rapid pace in 1890. Dr. Collins' place was near Olney Springs. Mr. Roberts built a commodious house on his farm adjoining Ordway on the north. To prove the soil could raise anything, Mr. Roberts raised wheat, oats, sweet potatoes, onions, sugar beets, peanuts, broom corn, corn, sugar cane, watermelons, cantaloupes and all kinds of garden and small orchard crops.

The most exciting place in the district prior to the staking out of Ordway was the Boston Farm west of Ordway. People coming in here thought the new town would be located at that point. It contained several thousand acres and was in charge of W. C. Bradbury who operated it for an eastern company known as the Boston Farm Co. The house had 25 rooms and, rather unusual, had 48 windows and 53 doors. Between 100 and 200 men were employed developing the place in the late '80s. They expected to irrigate the land from a reservoir made on Bob Creek, where flood waters would be stored. It was known far and wide in the new country. Wild horses were brought in and broken for riding, and were then sold to England, where they were used in the English army. At this time King George was the Prince of Wales. Trains put the mail off here before a station was established in Ordway. This old landmark became a thing of the past in 1931 when the big house was torn down and the material used for smaller farm homes. The land was divided and sold in smaller tracts when the big irrigation system came in.

Effects of the "Boom" Decade, 1870-1880, Upon Colorado Population

S. D. Mock*

The introduction to the tenth census report contains this very interesting comment on the growth of Colorado in the ten years preceding 1880:

"Of all the states and territories of the Cordilleran region Colorado has made the greatest strides during the decade. From a narrow strip of settlement, extending along the immediate base of the Rocky Mountains, the belt has increased so that it comprises the whole mountain region, besides a great extension outward upon the plains. This increase is the result of the discovery of very extensive and very rich mineral deposits about Leadville, producing a stampede second only to that of '49 and '50 to California. Miners have spread over the whole mountain region, till every range and every ridge swarms with them."¹

When the usually staid and stolid census reports descend to the use of even such innocuous hyperbole in order to present the results of its fact-findings then it can be assumed with considerable certainty that something verging on the extraordinary must have taken place.

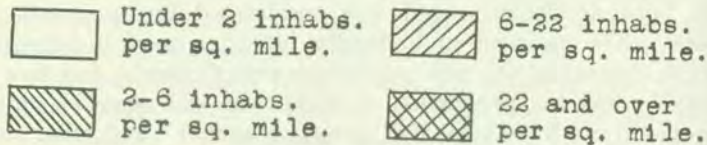
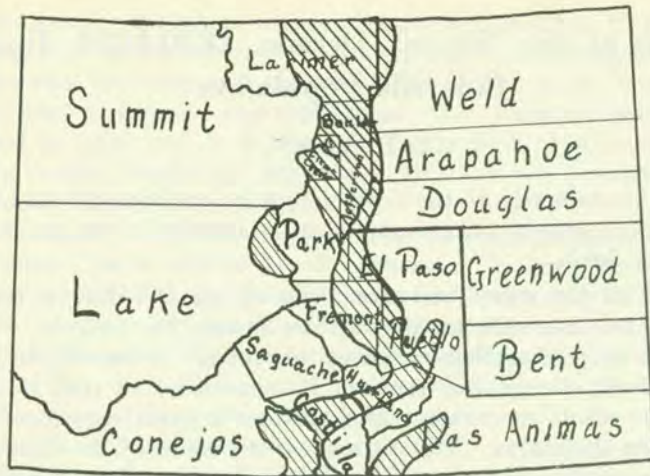
As a matter of fact the quotation gives an excellent summary of the Colorado population increase of the "boom" decade of the '70s, a decade which saw greater increases in the population of the region than any other period in its history as an organized unit.

For this boom several factors besides mining were responsible, but it will be impossible here to mention more than some of the most important.

In the first place the extension of the railroad system into Colorado both accelerated—and was accelerated by—population increases. The railroad undoubtedly played a part in bringing a certain element of the new population into Colorado, but how considerable was the proportion of those who did come by rail but who would not have come by "prairie schooner" and other earlier methods of westward transportation it is of course impossible to say. But further, the importance of the railroad as the handmaiden of expansion is attested by the rise of such towns and cities as Alamosa, Colorado Springs, Loveland, Salida, etc.—towns which

*Mr. Mock, in his Graduate work in History at the University of Colorado, is making a study analysis of Colorado population.—Ed.

¹*Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census* (June 1, 1880), "Population and Social Statistics," xx.



UPPER: COLORADO, 1870. LOWER: COLORADO, 1880

largely owed their existence to railroads that were intent upon capturing the business of the mining regions of the mountains.

Granting the primary importance of the mining activity in the population increases of the decade, it still is impossible to lose

sight of the fact that people outside of Colorado came more and more to realize not only the possibility of cultivating the valleys and plains of the region but the profit of it as well.² Agricultural products more than doubled in value over the ten-year period from 1870,³ undoubtedly spurred on by the increased demands which the mining "boom" made of agriculture.

The range livestock industry also very largely marked its beginnings to this decade, and from 1870 to 1880 the number of cattle, sheep, and horses in Colorado increased more than eight-fold.⁴ Even industry increased—slowly, to be sure, but nevertheless definitely. The quickened pulse of the decade was felt in almost every line of endeavor.

If to such facts are added the general inducement of assured security which statehood (1876) seemed to imply, and the widespread depression which the older sections of the country were experiencing during the '70s, then a sufficient, if not entirely complete, background to the increases in Colorado's population during the decade will be had.

Colorado Territory in 1870 was divided into twenty-one counties. Six of these may be said to have lain on the plains in the eastern division of the territory (Weld, Arapahoe, Douglas, Greenwood, Bent, and Las Animas counties); twelve in the central mountain region (Larimer, Boulder, Jefferson, Clear Creek, Gilpin, Park, El Paso, Fremont, Pueblo, Saguache, Costilla, and Huerfano counties); and three on the western slope (Lake, Summit, and Conejos counties). For purposes of concentration in this article Colorado will be arbitrarily divided into the three divisions named.⁵

In 1870 slightly more than 54% of the territory's population of 39,864 inhabitants were to be found in the central division, but by 1880 the same region contained only about 39% of the state's population of 194,327 individuals.⁶ A great leveling-off had taken place during the decade and the eastern and western divisions of Colorado now almost approximated each other in the proportion of the state's population which they contained. Both

²On the development of agriculture in Colorado see D. W. Working, "Agriculture," in *History of Colorado* (edited by Baker and Hafen), II, 573-645.

³Report, Ninth Census, "Industry and Wealth," 108; Report, Tenth Census, "Agriculture," 106.

⁴Report, Ninth Census, "Industry and Wealth," 108; Report Tenth Census, "Agriculture," 144-145. For a general treatment of the Colorado livestock industry see A. Steinel, "The Range Livestock Industry," *History of Colorado*, op. cit., II, 645-694.

⁵By 1880 there were ten more counties than in 1870, but the regional division here arbitrarily assumed was not disturbed thereby.

⁶Based on tables of statistics secured from the Ninth and Tenth Reports of the United States Census, "Population and Social Statistics." Where no other sources for statistics used in this paper are given it may be assumed that they were either derived directly from the same volume of the census reports for 1870 and 1880 as cited above, or from tables based on statistics obtained from the same source.

the eastern and central parts of the state had lost quite heavily in proportional population while the western division had made startling proportional increases. This great population increase in the western division (the population of the region in 1880 was seventeen times what it had been in 1870—as against a fivefold increase in the state as a whole) bears eloquent testimony as to where the greatest “strikes” of the decade were made.

By counties there were two regions of general population concentration in 1870, the one comprising Gilpin, Clear Creek, Douglas, Jefferson, Boulder, and Arapahoe counties; and the other Huerfano, Pueblo, Costilla, and Las Animas counties.⁷ The former concentration was far greater than the latter, since the statistics for the first group ranged from the highly exceptional 43 inhabitants per square mile (Gilpin county) to 1.3 inhabitants per square mile (Arapahoe county), and for the second group from only 1.5 inhabitants per square mile (Huerfano county) to a mere .6 per square mile (Las Animas county).⁸ Yet in 1870 such statistics could be said to connote areas of population concentration!

By 1880 the greatly-swollen stream of population was flowing past the 1870 centers of population and out into the mining regions of the western division. Enough, however, remained behind to leave the areas of concentration to a considerable extent as they had appeared on the Census Bureau's maps for 1870.⁹ The change during the decade had been one of varied degrees of concentration within generally similar regions, so that the actual center of population for Colorado in 1880 had moved a scant twenty-five miles south and west from its 1870 location—approximately from Long View, Jefferson county, to Tarryall, Park county.

Most of the counties of the state in 1880 had made substantial increases over 1870,¹⁰ but as far as only the divisions of Colorado are concerned it was the western part of Colorado—in spite of vast, unsettled regions—which led the other sections in actual increases. Its population per square mile rose from .07 in 1870 to 1.35 in 1880!

As a matter of fact nothing could be mentioned here which would so eloquently describe Colorado's population growth during the decade as to state that within that period of time Colorado had

⁷See map for 1870, accompanying this article.

⁸No claim is made for the *absolute* accuracy of any statistics involving county areas. The degree of error is however so slight as not to impair the accuracy of general statements based on such statistics.

⁹See map for 1880, herewith. It will be noted that though the main shaded area (denoting a population density of two or more inhabitants per sq. mile) has spread over a larger part of Colorado than it included in 1870, yet the areas of greatest population density in 1880 cover approximately the same part of Colorado as in 1870.

¹⁰Lake, Gilpin, Clear Creek, San Juan, Boulder, and Custer counties (with from 21 to 63 inhabitants per sq. mile) had the greatest population density by counties in 1880.

passed quite largely from “frontier” to “settled” according to the rating of the United States Census Bureau.¹¹

Turning now to a brief review of the relation between native and foreign-born in Colorado during the '70s a rather surprising fact is unearthed. Proportionately, the number of native-born in the total population of Colorado decreased and the number of foreign-born increased between 1870 and 1880. For this fact it is difficult to adduce absolute reasons, especially in view of the fact that the number of foreign-born in the United States as a whole decreased proportionately over the same period of time.¹²

Further interesting facts concerning the foreign-born population of Colorado are brought to light by noting the proportional relation of the foreign to native-born by divisions of Colorado. In 1870 about 58% of all the foreigners in the Territory were to be found in the central division, while only 3.2% were in the western reaches of Colorado where the disparity between foreign and native was the greatest of any of the three divisions.¹³

Ten years later a majority of the foreign-born could have been found in no one division of the state though about 43% were still located in the central division. The smallest number of foreigners was now located in the eastern part of the state, while the proportion of the total foreign population to be found in the western division rose from 3.2% in 1870 to 28% in 1880.¹⁴ Apparently the mining regions had a potent lure for the foreign-born.

Taken in a general way it may be said that the number of foreigners usually most nearly approximated the number of native-born in the case of the mining counties, both in 1870 and in 1880. The counties which in 1870 had not more than three native-born inhabitants for each foreign-born resident there, were Arapahoe, Clear Creek, Fremont, Gilpin, Douglas, and Park. In 1880 such counties were Arapahoe, Chaffee, Clear Creek, Hinsdale, Lake, Park, Routt, and San Juan. The most top-heavy ratios between the two groups (i. e., where the native-born greatly outnumbered the foreign-born) occurred in the southern border counties in 1870, and in Costilla, Huerfano, and Las Animas counties in 1880.

¹¹The U. S. Census Bureau rated all regions having a population density of less than two per sq. mile as “frontier,” and all regions having more than two inhabitants per sq. mile as “settled.” The Colorado population in 1870 had been .38 per sq. mile; in 1880 it was 1.9—just short of “settled” status. In 1870 only five counties could have been classed as “settled,” as against fifteen in 1880.

¹²Several factors, such as the appearance of the Chinese, the use of foreigners in railroad construction, the increase in the proportional number of foreign-born women and children, etc., all were contributors to this condition—though even such points do not seem to adequately explain why foreign increase should have more than proportionately balanced the great increase of native-born within the decade.

¹³Fourteen native-born to one foreign-born, as against a Colorado proportion of five to one.

¹⁴As these statistics would tend to show, the ratio of native-born to foreign-born dropped sharply in the western division by 1880—to approximately four natives for each foreigner.

Another comment on conditions in Colorado during the decade can be found in the distribution of the sexes in 1870 and 1880. The tendency in 1870 had been towards equalization of the sexes, but during the '70s the tendency turned again towards a greater predominance of males. That fact alone bears testimony to the general statement that society in Colorado was still in the frontier stage. Men came to Colorado to make their fortunes in the hurly-burly atmosphere of the mining rushes and did not care to be encumbered by families.

But while it was true that the proportionate number of women in the Colorado population decreased during the '70s, that was not the case among the foreign-born element, in which the number of women in 1880 more nearly approximated the number of men than in 1870. Since it will be recalled that the foreign population of Colorado in relation to the total Colorado population was also greater in 1880 than in 1870, it is evident that the increase in foreigners was due not so much to an increase in the number of foreign males as to an increase in the number of foreign women and children. Hence, also, it is not surprising to notice that there were 73% more native males than foreign males in 1880, as compared with a difference of only 43% in 1870.

For this chain of relationships an explanation may be advanced which hinges upon the great mining discoveries in the second half of the decade, and the relative distance of the native-born and the foreign-born from the scene of those "strikes."

The native-born males, because of their relative proximity to Colorado, reached the state in numbers amply sufficient to reflect a mining rush in the census statistics of 1880. In the case of the foreign-born, however, the census of 1880 reflects more the importation of the families of foreign males already in Colorado than it does a mining rush of foreign males from overseas. The mining discoveries came too close to the end of the decade to allow a "gold rush mob" of the latter to arrive in Colorado in time to be enumerated in the 1880 census.¹⁵

The native-born population of Colorado was largely recruited from the central states. In 1870 almost as many had come to Colorado territory from the central states as from the eastern and southern states combined, and by 1880 this was entirely the case.¹⁶ The northern and western states and organized territories sup-

¹⁵The Canadians reacted to the mining discoveries of the decade in numbers roughly proportional to the reaction of citizens of the United States. In view of their proximity to Colorado this reaction was only normal if the hypothesis advanced above is valid.

¹⁶In 1870 there were 8,307 in Colorado from the central states as compared with 8,679 from the eastern and southern states; in 1880 the statistics for the two groups were 55,298 and 53,322, respectively.

plied only a minor part of the total native population of Colorado, though they were a slightly more numerous minority in 1880 than in 1870.¹⁷

The reason the central states led the other sections of the country in the number of its former inhabitants in Colorado, in spite of the fact that they were only third among the other sections of the country in respective population, was that the central states sent the greatest proportion of its inhabitants westward.¹⁸ In this migration, proximity to Colorado, the agrarian unrest of the '70s, and the normal expansion of the frontier westward all probably played an important part.

Further statistics show that the Colorado of the decade—be it with respect to mining discoveries, agricultural possibilities, or opportunities to begin again after the disastrous Panic of 1873—had the greatest appeal for the people of the central states, the eastern states, and the northern states, in order named, with the southern and western states showing the least interest—gold rushes and silver stampedes notwithstanding.¹⁹

The state with the largest number of its former citizens in Colorado was New York, both in 1870 and in 1880, but outside of that state, and Pennsylvania, the only states to be represented with 1,000 or more of its past inhabitants in Colorado in 1870 belonged to the central group of states. The same statement holds true for 1880, when no state with 4,900²⁰ or more of its former citizens in Colorado lay outside of the central group—except New York and Pennsylvania.²¹ The central states furnished the backbone of Colorado's native-born population.

With regard to the foreign population of the state it has already been mentioned that they formed a larger proportion of the total population of Colorado in 1880 than in 1870. This proportional increase was not entirely due to the increase in the numbers of the leading foreign nationalities of 1870, but also in part to the

¹⁷These were 9,823 in 1870, and 19,298 in 1880. Against these figures must be set the total native population (excluding Colorado-born) of 18,311 in 1870 and 117,738 in 1880.

¹⁸That is, it sent the greatest proportion westward of any of the more populous sections. The western states had one of its former citizens in Colorado for every 485 inhabitants remaining in the western states (1870), and one out of every 111 (1880), while the ratio of those in Colorado from the central states, to the inhabitants of the central states, was: 1:311 in 1870 and 1:223 in 1880.

¹⁹Using the proportion of former citizens of a section in Colorado in relation to the population of that section as the basis for the statement. The greater the percentage difference of the proportion in 1880 over 1870, the greater the interest the people of that section in Colorado.

²⁰In 1880 4,900 represents the same ratio of population as 1,000 did in 1870.

²¹The states represented by 1,000 or more of its former citizens in 1870 were New York, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Iowa; states represented by 4,900 or more of its former citizens in 1880 were the same as in 1870, with the addition of Indiana.

increase in Chinese, South Europeans, and those born in scattered sections of the globe.²²

The Irish, the English, the German and the Canadian formed the leading foreign nationalities in Colorado in point of numbers throughout the decade. There were 3,397 immigrants from the British Isles, 1,456 from Germany, and 752 from Canada who had settled in Colorado in 1870. By 1880 there were 19,947 from the British Isles, 7,012 from Germany, and 5,785 from Canada that had migrated to Colorado. The influx of South and Central Europeans did not begin during this decade.²³

No definite trace of race segregation could be discovered in the census statistics employed, though in general it seems that the Germans turned mostly to agriculture and so predominated in counties having the greatest acreage of improved lands; the English to mining and manufacturing, with some attention to agriculture—especially by 1880; and the Irish to trades and transportation.

However there was considerable shifting about of the foreign-born within Colorado during the '70s—as is shown by the switch away from agriculture and into mining which the Germans exemplified, and the changes of dominant foreign nationalities within counties between 1870 and 1880²⁴—and so no clear-cut generalization can be made with respect to the distribution or segregation of the foreign-born.

In fact all that needs be said concerning any racial group in Colorado during the '70s is that the frontier territory—and even, after 1876, the rapidly-growing state—presented equal opportunities, common obstacles, and enormous possibilities for almost everyone—be he emigrant or immigrant—just as long as he was made of the solid stuff which alone would enable him to wrest the wealth from the mountains, valleys, and plains of Colorado—a Colorado so largely unplumbed in 1870 and yet so generally tested only ten years later.

²²As is shown by the fact that the Northern and Central European and British North American groups formed only 95% of the total foreign population of Colorado in 1880 against their 98.1% in 1870.

²³There were only 1,025 nationals of Slavic states in Colorado in 1880 out of a total foreign population of 39,790. At the same point of time there were but 387 nationals of South Europe in Colorado.

²⁴The dominant foreign nationality in Costilla county in 1870 was German; in 1880 it was Irish. The dominant nationality in Huerfano county changed from Mexican in 1870 to English in 1880, and in Las Animas it changed from Mexican to German. These are the most complete examples of reversals of foreign nationalities within counties, but they are by no means the only ones.