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JACK MURRAY

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THE COVER: The drawing is by John H. "Jack" Murray, a Firefighter/
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He moved to western Colorado from California at the age of thirteen.

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**"A MONUMENT FOR
GOOD IN THE WORLD
AND THE GLORY OF GOD:"
The Parachute Home Culture Club**

by Martha DeKam

Martha DeKam is a graduate of the Mesa State College history program. She is looking forward to pursuing graduate studies in the field of women's history.

*She darned, and she made, and she mended
She knew how to bake and to brew
She sang while she washed up the dishes,
and yet she was a club woman too.*

poem on the 1933-34 HCC program

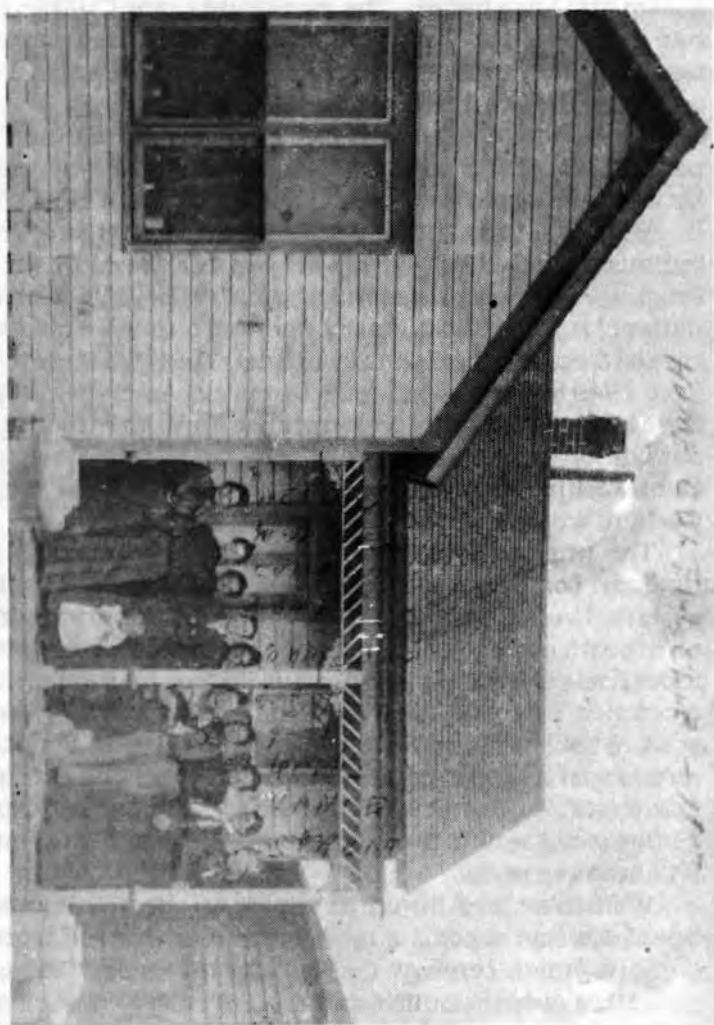
In 1894, ten ladies in the frontier settlement of Parachute, Colorado joined together to form a club for "mutual social and literary benefit."¹ These ladies were like thousands of other women who joined such clubs during the closing years of the nineteenth century. Today, nearly a century later, women of that community continue their monthly meetings, although the function of the group is much different than in earlier days. Throughout its history, the club has remained a sexually-segregated organization where women could choose and pursue those concerns most interesting to them. As such, the organization provides a valuable insight into the social, political, and intellectual history of women in a small and seemingly isolated community on Colorado's Western Slope.

Women's organizations like the Parachute Home Culture Club deserve scholarly attention. Too often, women's groups on the frontier and in small towns are dismissed as simply sewing or embroidery clubs where women dutifully subscribed to the cult of the useful and practical and entertained themselves with gossip and idle chatter. The Parachute Home Culture Club has had a seriousness of purpose and a genuine interest in the vital issues of the world around them. It is representative of many such women's clubs throughout the nation.

The history of the Parachute club breaks into three distinct periods: the first from its beginning to World War I, a second between the World Wars, and a third that began after World War II. The first period, 1894-1918, was a time of energy and optimism when the club was heavily influenced by the spirit of Progressivism. The second stage, 1918-1948, reflected the national mood of isolationism and was a time when the women turned their energies to the local level. The third stage, extending from 1949 to the present, reflects modern America where women have a number of social opportunities and a great deal of mobility outside of the home. Throughout its history, the Parachute Home Culture Club has served as an important barometer of the world in which its members lived.

The impetus for the formation of the club came from an unlikely combination of social forces. Industrialism in the eastern United States; the broadly based reform spirit of the nineteenth and early twentieth century called Progressivism; the industrial revolution's labor saving devices for women; a concept of women that said they were the custodians of morality and culture but should not vote; and the special conditions of women on the sparsely settled Western Slope were significant elements in the establishment of the Parachute Home Culture Club. Such factors gave the club much of its personality and direction during its formative period.

Women's clubs began to appear in the 1830s, and by the late 1880s had become a movement, reaching full bloom in the early twentieth century. One historian argues: "Between 1890 and 1920, women built a rational organizational network that was nearly as sophisticated in its own way as the corporate business world."² Industrialism altered women's lives. Electricity and hot and cold running water helped to ease homemakers' work. Clothes washing, food preparation, and sewing became less time consuming. In addition, factory-made products and



Home Culture Club — 1905.

Photo courtesy of HCC

store-bought foods replaced the home-made, home-grown goods of an earlier time.³ Public schools educated children; and husbands worked away from the home in factories, shops, and offices. Middle and upper-middle class women had more leisure time and began to look for alternative ways to fulfill familial and social obligations. The popularity of clubs is explained, in part, because such female organizations allowed women to participate in activities that were both personally satisfying and community oriented, and at the same time, to maintain the tenets of the "virtuous woman." In brief, they combined the Victorian virtues with an activist role.⁴ Pure, noble-hearted, guardians of morality and preservers of culture, women in the late nineteenth-century expanded the "home" into the community. The home had been the center for moral teachings, child training, and intellectual endeavors. Industrialization had altered the traditional pattern. By taking their responsibilities out into the community, a new wave of female influence in society was created. Although these female associations excluded men from membership, they used male clubs as their models for parliamentary procedures, record keeping, election of officials, and report reading.⁵

Women's clubs had several purposes. Some provided a forum for literary discussion and self-culture, and for female fellowship in an intellectual and social atmosphere unavailable in the home.⁶ Women enjoyed each others' companionship, and clubs provided a forum to share sentiments and test new ideas. Other organizations became involved in civic concerns: improving their communities, providing aid to schools, and establishing benevolent societies to aid orphanages and settlement houses. More politically active groups lobbied for women's right to vote. Whether the club was a literary society or a political group, club women gained valuable organizational skills and self-confidence as they prepared for public activism. The clubs gave the members a base of power from which to voice demands and take action in behalf of mutual concerns.

The women's club movement was spontaneous yet lacked cohesion on a national level until 1892, when the General Federation of Women's Clubs was formed by Jennie Croly, the president of the Sorosis of New York.⁷ She invited delegates from women's clubs across the country to join in the Sorosis anniversary celebration. The response was significant. Delegates from all over the United States attended and the energy created by the anniversary celebration led to a permanent organization to

promote women's clubs as a valuable means for women to advance social causes.⁸ In 1898, Croly described the environment that helped to create such a movement, as one of spiritual and moral awakening. She saw the new day as a time for women to come forward, join hands, and expand their role as conservers and preservers of the moral and cultural aspects of society:

the educational door had been opened, the call to service had come to women at home as to men at the front; all things worked together to give woman a conscious freedom of thought and action, a quickened sense of their own responsibilities and power.⁹

The women's club movement was important in shaping the course of reform in the early twentieth century.¹⁰ It also helped in determining the way women thought about themselves and their roles within the family, the community, and society.

Women in frontier communities of the West were also attracted to the club movement. Many of the early settlers were educated women and the distance from the cultural centers of the nation left a void in their lives. Although seldom physically isolated from one another, women felt a need for female fellowship that went beyond casual socials or sewing circles. Many women longed for good literature, art, music, and lively discussions which would keep their minds active and their spirits lifted. Frontier women dreamed of re-establishing a finer style of living within their homes and new communities. Some women may have been members of clubs in the eastern towns they had left behind and it was natural for them to re-establish such organizations in their new environment. Others must have been aware of the popularity of women's clubs and recognized them as a means for fulfilling their needs.¹¹ Their subscription to the role of women as civilizers and carriers of morality may have added an additional sense of mission within the frontier organizations. The Parachute Home Culture Club exemplifies the national movement of the 1890s and it is particularly noteworthy because of its rural locale.

Parachute, Colorado was settled in 1882. The fertile river valley, a mild climate, and available land made the Grand Valley an enticing location for the early settlers to build their homes. The community grew slowly as the land around the small town was cleared for farming and ranching. Because of the vast expanse of open land available for grazing, livestock raising became the primary agricultural pursuit. Battlement Mesa,

Morrisania Mesa, Parachute Creek, and Wallace Creek all developed into separate communities based on such economic pursuits as horse ranching and fruit growing.

The town of Parachute was a service center offering: a general store, a livery stable and blacksmith shop, hotels, several dry good stores, a drug store, and the Grand Valley Lumber and Supply Company. The railroad reached Parachute in 1890. Passenger service, mail service, and stock shipping were available, on schedule, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. In 1908, the first bank was built.

Parachute was established for a short twelve years when the Home Culture Club was formed. Ten women from Battlement Mesa joined together to form a club for "mutual social and literary benefit." Mary Shutt, one of the charter members, received literature from author George Cable of Northampton, Massachusetts.¹² Shutt may have responded to an article in *Century* magazine regarding Mr. Cable's work as the founder of the Home Culture Club. George Cable, exemplifying the Progressive reformer of the late nineteenth-century, was a public spirited man and an advanced thinker of his day. His concern for the underclass prompted Cable to organize a network of Home Culture Clubs in 1888, the function of which was to give people the opportunity to meet in the comfortable atmosphere of their own homes and spend evenings in readings and discussion. He hoped the clubs would provide the members with the ideals of their larger society found in literature and art and, at the same time, improve the moral, social, and intellectual atmosphere of the home.¹³

Cable reached out to the women of the nation hoping to interest them in the benefits of home culture, both as students and as teachers. He was successful. The Home Culture Club idea spread throughout the urban centers of the east. The Parachute club was unique because in 1897, it was the only Home Culture Club affiliate founded in a rural area west of the Mississippi River.¹⁴ Although the Parachute club received its initial guidance from Northampton, it was an autonomous organization which received inspiration and direction from both the State and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the state organization becoming a more influential force than either of the national organizations. The State Federation in Denver had a large membership, many of whom had taken active roles in the suffrage issue in the early 1890s.¹⁵ The Federation was a

valuable contact for the ladies on the Western Slope.

The ten charter members of the Battlement Mesa club were educated women, many of whom were married to professional men. Mary Shutt was the first school teacher for Battlement Mesa; Lucy DeWitt was the Superintendent of Garfield Public Schools at one time and wrote news articles for the local paper, *The Parachute Index*; Kate Barthell and Inez Goode were school teachers for the Bookcliff School; Minnie Hayward was married to the first physician in the rural community. Sadie Streit also wrote on occasion for the local newspaper; Jerusha Sippelle was the first mid-wife in the area and her husband George donated the land for the first school house. Elmira DeWitt, Elizabeth DeWitt Kennedy, and Cordilia Shutt were the other charter members. The Battlement Mesa ladies were quickly joined by another group from Parachute. These ladies also were interested in education and the development of the community. The two groups occasionally met together until 1895 when they decided "in unity there is strength" and the two clubs became one.¹⁶

<p style="text-align: center;">The Grand Valley Home Culture Club</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">ISSUED MAY, NINETEEN ELEVEN</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">CONSTITUTION and BY-LAWS</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">CONSTITUTION and BY-LAWS</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">Article One</p> <p>This society shall be known as the Grand Valley Home Culture Club and shall be auxiliary to the Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Article Two</p> <p>Its object shall be to promote the moral, intellectual and social welfare of the neighborhood.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Article Three</p> <p>Any lady desiring membership shall make application to any member of the executive board, tendering her initiation fee of one dollar, and that member shall present her name and the fee at any regular</p>
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Photo courtesy of HCC

Program from the Parachute Home Culture Club — 1911.

CONSTITUTION *and* BY-LAWS

meeting. The vote shall be taken by written ballot at the next regular meeting. A two-thirds vote shall elect.

Article Four

The flower of this club shall be the wild rose.

Article Five

The officers shall be the president and vice-president, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer and an auditor. These officers shall constitute an executive board.

The president shall preside over all meetings and countersign all warrants drawn on the treasurer. She shall be a member, ex-officio, of all committees, call special meetings, keep in touch with the work of the Federation, and perform such

of the HOME CULTURE CLUB

duties as usually devolve upon the president.

The vice-president shall perform all the duties of the president in her absence.

The recording secretary shall record all the minutes of club meetings, be the custodian of its records, roll call and all official papers, except correspondence. She shall collect the dues and turn them over to the treasurer, taking her receipt therefor.

The corresponding secretary shall conduct all correspondence, send notices, apprise committees of their appointments, etc.

The treasurer shall have charge of all moneys and pay them only on warrants drawn by the recording secretary and signed by the president. She shall send the secretary a list of all members in arrears.

The auditors shall examine the

CONSTITUTION *and* BY-LAWS

secretary's and treasurer's books and certify to their correctness at the first meeting after election.

The executive board shall arrange for the regular meeting and shall have a general supervision over the affairs of the club and transact such business as may arise between the regular meetings of the club.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Reading of minutes, report of committees, unfinished business, new business, program, roll call, adjournment.

These by-laws may be amended, altered or repealed at any stated meeting, notice having been given at a previous stated meeting.

Article Six

Regular meeting shall be held every alternate Thursday, called meetings shall be held at the call of the

of the HOME CULTURE CLUB

president or a petition signed by five members.

Article Seven

Special committees may be created at the discretion of the president.

Article Eight

The officers shall be elected at the first meeting in April of each year. A majority vote shall decide. The voting shall be the uplifted hand.

Article Nine

The dues of the members of this club shall be twenty-five cents a quarter, payable in advance. Members shall be dropped whose dues are in arrears one year.

Article Ten

All questions pertaining to the disposal of the funds of this society

CONSTITUTION *and* BY LAWS

shall be presented at a previous stated meeting.

Article Eleven

Five members shall constitute a quorum.

Article Twelve

The club membership shall not exceed thirty-five, exclusive of non-resident members.

Article Thirteen

Each member not responding to roll call will be fined five cents.

Article Fourteen

Each resident member who does not attend the meetings at least once in three months will be fined fifty cents. The fine may be remitted by a two-thirds vote of those present at any stated meeting.

of the HOME CULTURE CLUB

Article Fifteen

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any regular meeting, notice of said amendment having been presented at a previous stated meeting.



The ladies joined Cable's parent organization in 1897 and began sending required weekly minutes to the main office in Northampton. The club received the monthly publication, *The Letter*, which informed all members of the plans and events of other clubs, the majority of which were in urban areas of the East.

Membership in the Parachute club was open to any lady who was nominated by a member, approved by a vote, and paid the twenty-five cents initiation fee and five cents dues each month. Club membership fluctuated over the years with more than one hundred members listed during a ten year period. In 1909 the ladies amended their constitution limiting membership to thirty-five. The limit was imposed to make certain the size of the club did not exceed a manageable number for home meetings. The founding members, ladies in their thirties, remained active participants for years and welcomed new recruits. The average age of club members increased as years continued. One or two younger women would join each year, but the club gradually became an organization of older women. Reflecting their

seriousness of purpose, members discouraged bringing young children to meetings. This meant younger members were obliged to find someone to care for their children on club day. At the onset, the main order of business was that of setting up their club and formalizing procedures. The ladies used Lillian Cole Bethel's Parliamentary Law as the club authority. Minutes were recorded and the treasurer's report given at each meeting. Using the parent organization in Massachusetts as a model, the women wrote their constitution and by-laws. Article Two clearly stated the Club's purpose: "to promote the intellectual and social welfare of the neighborhood."⁷

The club objectives of "social and intellectual welfare" remained the same until 1911 when the members added the word "moral" to the list of objectives. The motto, "No steps backwards," significantly illustrated the aspirations of the women. Participants hoped their experiences and membership in the club would push them forward toward new possibilities.

The club initially met every Saturday. This was changed to every other Thursday afternoon and later to one Thursday afternoon a month. Most other women's clubs recessed from June through October. However, for many years the Parachute Home Culture Club recorded meetings all through the summer.

Meetings were held in the homes of the members as prescribed by Cable's parent organization. One of the founding members recalled the early homes in which the ladies met:

The majority of us lived in log cabins with dirt roofs, and the furniture consisted of a small cook-stove, a homemade table, a cupboard for dishes made out of store boxes, a few chairs and beds. Few of us had dishes enough, with which to serve on club day, and we substituted paper for dishes.⁸

Their early homes did "improve" and cupboards were built to hold new sets of dishes, but in the interim, the ladies did not wish to make club day a hardship for any hostess. Therefore, the women agreed to limit the menu to three items. The menus varied and it is evident that each hostess put forth a special effort to serve the finest refreshments possible. One club member recalled the early years: "I remember our hostess served us a wonderful lunch of homemade light bread, venison sausage served hot, a glass of wild squawberry jelly, and a cup of 'Arbuckle coffee.'"⁹

Entertaining the club members was no small undertaking and providing enough seating and place settings was a challenge to many women. They did not have the opportunity to borrow folding chairs and tables from the church or school as they did in later years but borrowing from neighbors or other club women may have been one solution to their shortage. As the club expanded and membership grew, the ladies moved their meeting to larger quarters. For a few years the clubs met alternately at the Parachute Hotel and the Battlement Mesa School, both built in 1904.

The distance between homes and the location of meetings sometimes caused difficulties. Many of the ladies walked to club meetings or rode horseback. Sadie Streit and her husband owned one of the few spring wagons in the area. One club member recalled:

That dear woman, when the weather was disagreeable, roads muddy, would hitch the horses to the wagon and drive for miles and gather up the women and bring them to club. Oh, that spring wagon, the bed of it was the highest from the ground of any wagon I had ever seen. We would climb up on the muddy wheels ... and drop down in the back part of the ...bed and sit on store boxes, and hold on to the side ... while we drove over rocks and boulders and sagebrush. We would lose the hairpins out of our hair, and would be well shaken up by the time we arrived at club. But so determined we were that our club should live and grow until it should become a monument for good in the world, and the glory of God, that we braved the storms, the heat, and the cold, the disappointments and privations, that we as a [Parachute] club might share in equal prosperity today.²⁰

Additionally, the ladies faced the problem of crossing the Colorado River. Battlement Mesa, where half of the members resided, was on the south side of the river; Parachute was on the north. Club had to be cancelled or meetings held at two locations when the spring run off prevented the safe crossing of the Colorado. A wooden bridge was replaced with a steel structure in 1918, permitting safer travel, however it was not until the

series of dams on the Colorado were built that year around travel was possible.²¹

Inclement weather and illness occasionally caused the cancellation of club meetings. On one occasion, in 1901, the club meeting was cancelled due to "illness in the neighborhood." The same minutes mentioned that condolences were published in the local newspaper, *The Parachute Index*, to the family of a deceased club member, Mrs. Barthell. Her death was noted as "shocking and untimely," perhaps a victim of the illness in the neighborhood. Despite the inconvenience of road conditions and winter weather the club women were determined to continue their club activities.

Erlene Murray, in her manuscript about the club's early years, noted that husbands were at times resistant to the effort required to attend club. She spoke for the early members when she quoted the western artist Charlie Russell: "The few men that had wives were so scared of losing them they generally handled them mighty tender. The scarcity of females gave them considerable edge in those days."²²

The women did appreciate their husband's support and, beginning in 1904, held an annual banquet in honor of their spouses. The banquet was an elaborate affair with the finest decorations and menu the ladies could afford. Speakers praised the husbands while filling their addresses with humor. In addition to the banquet, club members sent cards of thanks to husbands who made a special trip to town to allow their wives to attend club. Some husbands took the opportunity while in town to socialize with friends or conduct business.²³ Although club meetings took women away from their home duties, it is probable that many husbands quietly felt a sense of pride as their wives worked to attain both personal growth and active participation within the community. It is unlikely the ladies shared with their husbands the context of all the conversation that occurred in club, but many of the projects were carried out with the active support of the men.

The formative years of the club were a busy time for the members. The ladies joined the General Federation of Women's Clubs as well as the State Federation in 1898. Perhaps the impetus to join was the scheduled fourth biennial national convention of the GFWC to be held in Denver. The ladies chose a delegate to participate in the June meeting. The convention was held in the Broadway Theatre, with the delegates seated under blue and silver banners bearing the names of the states.²⁴



Photo courtesy of Colin and Win Clem

L to R: Priscot Eames, Luther Hurlburt, Dee Freeland, Harry Savage, ?, Vern Gardner, Colin Clem, Oliver Woods, Will Lovely, Roll Gardner, Clyd Morrow.



Photo courtesy of Colin and Win Clem

L to R: ?, Carrie Gardner, Freida Mahaffey, Edna Hurlburt, Ethel Woods, ?, Alice Eames, Mrs. Savage, Edna Freeland, Clara Lovely, Win Clem, Bell Marrow, Winnie Gardner, Clara Mahaffey, Iris Mahaffey.

The Governor of Colorado, Alva Adams, and the mayor of Denver, T. S. McMurray, gave addresses, as did Sarah Platt, the president of the Denver Women's Club. Governor Adams praised the group and emphasized the high esteem Colorado held for its women. The Governor said:

The nation owes a debt of gratitude to women's clubs. They have been an inspiration to its members, they have been centers from which radiate electric currents of moral and political reform. They have broadened their own horizon and that of the race. They have organized the energy and intellect of women and directed them into every field of good upon which falls the smile of God or man Woman's sphere is no longer confined to the washtub, the kitchen or the parlor. Her sphere is now the great whirling globe, with all its responsibilities and its glories ... The faith Rome had in her vestal virgins Colorado has in her mothers, wives and daughters; to them we gladly trust the sacred fires of civilization.²⁵

These must have been sweet words to the eight hundred and thirty-five voting delegates. The recognition and support lent by politicians revealed the movement had gained prominence if not potency.

Many other women's clubs had formed across the Western Slope of Colorado and in 1905 the Parachute club joined the Tri-County Federation. This organization included eight women's clubs from Pitkin, Eagle, and Garfield Counties.²⁶ The ladies met annually at the different towns for luncheons and programs that included toasts, music, and discussions. The beautiful programs were printed or delicately hand written with pen and ink. Original sketches often graced the covers.²⁷ For many years, upwards to one-hundred-fifty women attended the luncheons, although in more recent years forty or fifty members attend.

The luncheons at the Tri-County meetings were elaborate affairs with menus including such items as oyster patties, roast turkey, fresh fruit, and vegetables. A delicate dessert was always served while the women enjoyed original music or poetry readings. The expenses for the club hosting Tri-County were substantial; for example, in November 1930, the Parachute club spent \$65.31 for food, flowers, decorations, gifts, and programs.²⁸



Photo courtesy of Colin and Win Clem

Country Club Hotel, 1912. Used for husband's banquet and Tri-County Luncheons. Burned in early 1920s.

After lunch, the Tri-County women discussed topics of interest: the club life of women, women and the ballot, the evolution of women, reform and reformers, the woman in the house versus the man in the house, and the country woman versus the city woman. These were concerns that remained important subjects throughout the early history of these clubs.

To help the women travel the long distance between towns, the Rio Grande Railroad made special fares available between Aspen, Eagle, Rifle, and Parachute for the Tri-County meeting.²⁹ The Parachute club enjoyed the annual banquets held in April or October and looked forward to the sharing of experiences with ladies from across the Western Slope.

The Parachute club planned its programs a year in advance. Ideas often came from the main office in Northampton or from programs designed by the Federation. The Parachute ladies devoted their time to fine works of literature; many of the great classics were discussed and American authors' biographies were presented. Histories of their own country and that of many other nations were presented. They also explored many new issues



Photo courtesy of HCC

Meeting at Mrs. Clarkson's in Rifle, 1903.

facing women in those rapidly changing years. Some of the programs were informal while others followed a theme.

Sources of articles for discussion included: *Review of Reviews*, *The Denver Daily*, *Colorado Magazine*, *The Housekeeper*, and *Mother's Council*. The popularity of the *Ladies Home Journal* made it another likely source. In addition, the club received the Federation paper, *Club Women*, which provided subjects on reform and legislative news. The decision to purchase the *Ridpath Encyclopedia* and a copy for each member of Irving's *Sketch Book* was approved in 1898 and the Club began to build its own library. Also, they continued to receive volumes from George Cable's traveling library for the small shipping costs.

The women differentiated between "serious topics" and those of "friendly social intercourse," the latter taking place only when the number of members present was too few to warrant a regular meeting.³⁰ At the beginning of the year, members were assigned a topic to research and present at a particular club meeting. The ladies took the assignment very seriously, spending hours thoroughly reading and researching their topic. One club member recalled working very hard on her project so that the older ladies would be sufficiently impressed that she had done all the necessary preparation. She was one of the youngest members and held much admiration for the senior members' intellect. She recalled that two club members, Mrs. Bea Underwood and Mrs. Lovely could present book reports that would keep each member on the "edge of her seat."³¹

During the early years, 1894-1918, the members showed a concern for the purpose of the club and how women were influenced by such an organization. The themes of home, family, and women in society remained popular areas of treatment. Always conscious of the societal pressure on their sex, the women explored the new boundaries that were forming as women entered into the broader spheres of society. For example, the ladies wrote for a copy of the abstract, "Colorado State laws effecting the rights and property of Women." A "lively discussion followed the distribution of the copies."³² Other discussions centered on such topics as "Women as Bread Winners," "A Course in Husband Study," and "How We Should Walk in Life." Concerns regarding legal rights, social status, and responsibility to others were as important to Parachute women as to women across the United States.



Photo courtesy of HCC

Picnic at Clems, June 14, 1909. Annual family picnic.

Child welfare and reform issues were very much in the national news. Concerns about child labor, delinquency, education, and children's proper place were mentioned in the minutes on numerous occasions. The Parachute women were sensitive to the changes industrialism had created. Progressive reform issues touched women in rural areas of the West despite the distance from eastern, urban centers where most of the Progressive activity was taking place. News of the work of such leaders as Jane Addams influenced club women across the United States and the Parachute ladies were no exception. Hull House, the settlement project Addams founded in Chicago, was one solution to problems Progressives were addressing at the turn of the century. That Jane Addams was successful at drawing attention to the problems of the urban poor and that as a woman, she was in the forefront of reform activism encouraged other women to take public roles in their own communities.

In addition to readings and discussions, the club women used their organization as a lobby for reform issues. In 1898 they wrote to their Representative in Denver on behalf of the Industrial School for Girls, petitioning him to lend support to the project. By 1901 they were petitioning for the enactment of Bill Number 31 on behalf of the same school.²³ In 1918 they wrote to Senator Charles S. Thomas chastising him for not voting for the "national suffrage amendment."²⁴ They wrote to Congressman Edward Taylor urging the passage of the Shepard-Towner "Maternity Hygiene Act" in December of 1920. The club members, working with the State Federation of Women's Clubs and the Tri-County Federation, used their organization as a political voice which might be heard in Washington as well as Denver.

Thus the early years of the club's history were spent organizing, expanding, and developing the influence of the club as a lobbying force. The club members were serious and determined ladies. Their organization provided an outlet for their energy and created a forum for uninhibited exploration of many issues, at the same time giving the ladies a significant system of support. Many of the subjects were controversial, particularly when one considers that women in many areas were not allowed to vote, own property, or enter into legal contracts.

World crisis brought home additional duties for the ladies in Parachute. The First World War rallied the club together to provide aid and articles of clothing and bandages to the Red Cross. Concern for their community and their country was

evident in their actions. The ladies voted to stop all club programs so members could concentrate on Red Cross work throughout the summer of 1918. Even the husband's banquet lost out to this kind of patriotic service.

World War I was a disheartening experience for Americans. The War convinced many people that isolationism was best. The women in Parachute followed the trend. Between the World Wars, they would devote their energies to the local area.

A serious influenza epidemic spread across the state, reaching the Parachute and Battlement Mesa community during the fall and winter of 1918 and 1919, forcing cancellation of meetings until February of 1919. Some of the club members required hospitalization in Grand Junction. Though, from early 1918 until the spring of 1920 the club meetings were sporadic, the women remained "loyal to their club" and the following years brought renewed spirit and energy.

These middle years of the club life were a different time. Membership had changed. Although many of the charter members had passed away, there was a core of regular members to carry on tradition. Yet the club's focus changed after the war, moving away from issues specific to women and from those involving international concerns to those involving community projects, particularly education.

The women collected money for such projects as school sandboxes and playground equipment. They were instrumental in acquiring a sign and landscaping for the front of the Grand Valley High School. They sponsored socials to raise money for an addition to the growing school and put on a play, donating the \$46.60 in proceeds to the purchase of band uniforms. The club women's concerns for community improvement had no boundaries. In 1926 they proposed to the school board the idea of building a swimming pool in the school yard. After some research and discussion, the Board reported that the idea was impractical due to an insufficient water supply, poor drainage, and the expense of both construction and upkeep.³⁹ Undaunted, the ladies turned to other projects that would improve both the atmosphere and environment of their town. They successfully petitioned the town council to clean up the dump that was forming along the state highway within the town limits. They gathered funds and again petitioned the town council put up street signs, although it would not be until the 1960s that the project would be approved. The ladies of the club sponsored both



Photo courtesy of Win and Colin Clem

Grand Valley School, built in 1890

entertaining and educational films for the children of the community, spelling bees for the younger students, and debating contests for the high schoolers.³⁶ They sponsored a Valentine dance for teachers and their husbands to show their appreciation.

The club gave generously to many charitable organizations over the years, seldom turning down a request. Some of their financial contributions included: The International Longfellow Society, the Campfire, the Tuberculosis Fund, and the Sands Home in Denver. The women contributed five dollars annually to a scholarship fund with other clubs in the Tri-County Federation so a young female scholar would have an opportunity to attend college. In addition they generously gave clothing and money to the Belgium Relief cause.

The club again shifted its emphasis at the arrival of the Great Depression, turning its attention to topics like home economics, sharing ways to "stretch a farm woman's dollar," and helping those less fortunate within their own community. Short of cash during those lean years, the women studied "do it yourself" projects for the home including economical methods of interior decorating. In addition, members explored new forms of recreation for families that would not cost money. Crafts, gardening, and picnics were chosen as ways to fill leisure time. They explored home credit and insurance policies, evidence of women's increasingly expanded role in the financial affairs of the home.³⁷ In addition, the women continued their concerns about children's education. Choosing

"good" books and films, and building strong characters in the home and at school were the subjects of several meetings.

In late 1938 the ladies of the club held a benefit party. They raised sixteen dollars to purchase seventy-two plates, thirty-six cups, and twenty-four saucers, from Montgomery Ward, for the school kitchen. In addition to all of their other activities the members ranked first in the state for the Tuberculosis Christmas Seal drive at 25 cents per capita.³⁸

Besides concerns for their own home and community, the women discovered their state as a region of many interesting contrasts, and several club sessions centered on the history and geography of Colorado. As the country struggled, the Parachute women pulled together and worked to maintain their homes and community and to appreciate the resources of their state, as did many women on the Western Slope.³⁹

International events continued to draw the ladies' attention. In 1931, the women devoted time to learning about the World Court, the League of Nations, and the Pan American Union. The members asked the question, "what can women do for internationalism?"⁴⁰

American involvement in World War II brought home other concerns. In 1941, the members held an open meeting where they discussed how to have a safer world. At the next meeting they discussed Mexico. One of the members had recently returned from a trip south of the border and told of the living conditions among the poor. The club decided in December to sponsor a Mexican family with Christmas gifts of food, clothing, and toys for the children.

The club abruptly adjourned from May 30, 1942 until October 21, 1943 without mention of the adjournment or special note when they regrouped. One can assume the national crisis again halted the club activities. Mention of baking cookies for the USO in Glenwood Springs in 1943 and a Red Cross drive in 1944 were the only notes of direct involvement by club members. One may assume the women found many ways to lend support to their families and community during those trying years, perhaps in the job market or at home on the ranch.

The later years of the Home Culture Club, 1949 to present, reveal the continuing shift of women's roles, shifts which changed the nature of the club's endeavors. Concern for the community continued, but the club, with its members enjoying greater financial resources, the benefits of mass communication, and



Photo courtesy of HCC

HCC Members – 1944.

L to R: Nellie Gillard, Leona Nelson, Winifred Gardner, Clara Lovely, Emma Hurlburt, Bernice Murray, Lillian Countryman, Phillis Countryman, Win Clem, Carrie Gardner, Florence Savage, Belle Morrow, Alice Eames, Roberta Lemon, Erlene Murray, Edna Freeland, Marie Lynch, Clara Mahaffey, Freda Mahaffey.

dependable transportation, turned more and more to social activities. The ladies continued to work on projects for the community, raising money for the Crippled Children's Fund, the March of Dimes, the Cancer drives, and particularly the schools, but needs earlier efforts struggled to meet were no longer so great. In addition, concerns for women's issues, for reform, and for economic hardships at home and abroad declined. The club had a new outlook, perhaps a new purpose. The topics for discussion moved to concern for etiquette, word usage, medical break throughs, and new types of leisure activities. Many of the club members were able to travel with their spouses or a friend to the places earlier club members could only dream of visiting. The ladies enjoyed presenting slide shows of their trips and retelling adventures they had experienced in such far off places as China, Europe, Mexico, and the Caribbean.

In addition members of the Parachute Home Culture Club developed considerable interest in the club's history and earlier works. In 1972 Erlene Murray, with the help of other club



Photo courtesy of Win Clem

HCC, 1964. L to R (back row): Ruby Millenberg, Erlene Murray, Gladys Lawson, Daisy Green, Win Clem. (front row): Marjorie Sippelle, Winnie Gardner, Alice Eames, Carolyn Nollett.

members wrote the history of their community, fittingly titled *Lest We Forget*.

Today the Parachute Home Culture Club is attended regularly by about two dozen loyal ladies. The club has changed, women's lives have expanded, and Parachute is no longer a frontier community. In the spring of 1988, the club members drove their automobiles to Grand Junction, lunched at the Hilton, and enjoyed a tour of the Art Center. The dreams of the charter members have been fulfilled. The club members can venture outside of their community to enjoy an afternoon of culture and friendship. The ladies enjoy their monthly meeting because it gives them an opportunity in their busy lives for an "afternoon of social intercourse." At each meeting the "collect" continues to be read as it has been since the club began. It speaks of the generations of dreams and ideals:

*Keep us, oh God, from Pettiness;
Let us be large in thought, in word, in deed;
Let us be done with fault-finding and leave off self-seeking
May we put away pretense and meet each other face to face
— without self pity and without prejudice.
May we never be hasty in judgement and always be generous.
Let us take time for all things; make us grow calm and serene
and gentle;
Teach us to put into action our better impulses straight forward
and unafraid.
Grant that we may realize it is the little things that create
differences, that in the big things of life we are as one.
And we may strive to touch and to know the great common
woman's heart of us all, and oh Lord God, Let us not
forget to be kind!*

NOTES

¹Minutes, Parachute Home Culture Club, 1896. Deposited in the Parachute Public Library, Hereafter cited as Minutes, HCC.

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³Shelia M. Rothman, *Women's Proper Place* (New York: Basic Books, 1978). This volume traces women's changing roles. Chapter 2, "The Protestant Nun," was particularly valuable to this author.

⁴Nancy Woloch, *Woman's Proper Place* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), p. 269.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁶Shelia Rothman, *Women's Proper Place*, p. 65.

⁷The Sorosis Club was an organization for journalists and other professional women, founded in New York City.

⁸Jennie C. Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (New York: Henry G. Allen & Company, 1898) p. 32.

⁹Mary I. Wood, *The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs* (New York: The History Dept., GFWC, 1912), p. 26.

¹⁰Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism: 1885-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 73.

¹¹Sandra Meyers, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982). See Chapter Seven, "The Ideal Home," pp. 204-212.

¹²Minutes, HCC, 1897.

¹³Adelene Moffat, "The Home Culture Clubs", Privately Published for Club Members, [c. 1895]. Photostatic copy from Sophia Smith Collection, Archives, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 00.HCC. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance she received from the archivists at Smith College.

¹⁴"The Home Culture Clubs for 1898," Privately printed for the Clubs and a few friends, Sophia Smith Collection, 00.HCC.

¹⁵"For a discussion of women's clubs in Denver, see Carolyn Stefano, "Networking on the Frontier: Colorado Women's Suffrage Movement, 1876-1893," in Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, eds., *The Women's West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), pp. 265-275.

¹⁶Erlene Murray, "Seven and Four," 1968. Unpublished manuscript, Parachute Public

Library, Parachute, Colorado.

¹⁷Scrapbook, HCC, n.d., n.p., HCC, Parachute Public Library, Parachute, Colorado.

¹⁸Elmira DeWitt Cramp, "The Early History of 'The Pioneer Home Culture Club' of Grand Valley, Colo." p. 6. Unpublished manuscript read at Carbondale Tri-County Club Meeting in 1931. HCC, Parachute Public Library, Parachute, Colorado.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 6.

²¹Erlene Murray, *Let Us Forget*, (Grand Junction: Quahada Corporation, 1973), p. 26.

²²Erlene Murray, "Seven and Four," p. 4.

²³Minutes, HCC, 1906.

²⁴Mary I. Wood, *The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs*, p. 99.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 100.

²⁶The club listed as members of the Tri-County Federation included: Carbondale Study Club, New Castle Reading Club, Glenwood Springs Reading Club, Rifle Reading Club, Basalt Clio, Parachute Home Culture Club (called Grand Valley HCC at the time because of the name change of the town), and the El Jebel Club.

²⁷Scrapbook, HCC.

²⁸Treasure's Book for HCC, entry for November 5, 1930. This book is in the possession of the current treasurer, Winifred Clem of Parachute.

²⁹Scrapbook, HCC, Unidentified newspaper article.

³⁰Minutes, HCC, Passim.

³¹Interview with Winifred Clem, 11 June 1988, Upper Battlement Mesa.

³²Minutes, HCC, 18 May 1899.

³³Minutes, HCC, January 1901.

³⁴Minutes, HCC, 23 May 1918.

³⁵Minutes, HCC, 25 October 1926.

³⁶Minutes, HCC, November and December 1924.

³⁷Minutes, HCC, Years 1930-1933.

³⁸Minutes, HCC, May 1939.

³⁹For information on Western Slope women during the period, see: Paul Reddin, "Hard Times But Good Times, Grand Junction Women During the Great Depression," *Journal of the Western Slope*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (Winter 1985), pp. 3-24.

⁴⁰Minutes, HCC, May 1931.

⁴¹Interview with members of HCC (Daisy Green, Arlene Weeks, Dorothy Abrahamson, and Ruby Miltenberger), 10 March 1988, Parachute, Colorado.

FACTS

ABOUT THE

GRAND VALLEY of COLORADO

Grand Valley in Figures

Grand valley is about 400 miles west of Denver.

The valley is forty miles long and has an average width of six miles.

Estimated fruit production for 1908, \$5,000,000.

Six thousand cars of fruit will be shipped this summer.

Land which ten years ago brought \$10 an acre now commands \$2,500 an acre.

Twenty-one acres of land worth \$240 in 1899, present value \$40,000.

Land has sold as high as \$4,000 an acre.

Raw fruit land with water rights worth about \$250 per acre.

Many men and women making fortunes from ten acres of land.

Each acre of fruit pays from \$600 to \$2,200.

Two acres of cherries realized \$2,300.

In 1905, eleven acres of four-year-old peach trees netted \$2,612.22.

Over \$1,500 realized from one acre of Jonathan apples.

Ten acres of pears in 1907 brought \$8,000.

1905, 1,550 cars of fruit shipped, valued at \$954,507.

1906, 2,200 cars shipped, netting \$1,250,000.

1907 (heavy frost and one-half crop), 1,200 cars shipped, netting over \$1,000,000.

Over 25,000 acres set out in trees at present.

Six hundred and forty thousand trees set out in 1907.

Eight hundred thousand trees put out this year.

Over 4,000,000 trees have been planted in last five years.

One hundred and fifty thousand acres of fertile soil adaptable to fruit cultivation.

Available water supply can irrigate over 1,000,000 acres.

Fruit crop should double every three years.—Denver Republican, April 19, 1908.

Grand Valley Fruit Facts

1905—1,550 cars shipped, valued at \$ 954,507

1906—2,200 cars shipped, netting about 1,250,000

1907 (Frost year) 1,200 cars shipped, netting over 1,000,000

1908—Estimated 5,000 cars will be shipped, netting about..... 4,000,000

Acres planted in fruit 20,000

Acres suitable for fruit 150,000

1907—New trees set out..... 641,000

1908—New trees set out..... 800,000

At present raw fruit crop will double every three or four years.

Raw fruit land, with water rights, worth from \$100 to \$300 per acre.

Full bearing fruit lands worth from \$500 to \$4,000 per acre. Average net profit from \$200 to \$800 per acre.

—Denver Times, April 17, 1908.

"The Truth is Mighty and Will Prevail"

Many stories of the astounding productions of fruits in the Grand Valley of Colorado have gone out to the world through various mediums, and have fallen upon unbelieving ears. Except in cases where those who read or listened to these stories knew that their source of information was beyond question, or had themselves made personal investigations, little credence was given them. Even here in Colorado, which has startled the nation with instances of fabulous fortunes amassed from small beginnings, and whose people repose implicit faith in the state's marvelous productiveness, the shadow of doubt has developed their minds and caused hundreds to journey to Fallside and Grand Junction, to see with their eyes that which their ears refused to credit. Without a single exception they have returned to tell their friends that the real story had been but partially told—that were the facts put down in black and white and backed up with affidavits the element of doubt would still exist.

In order that the public might hear from a disinterested, not to say critical source, some facts concerning the Grand Valley, the Colorado Midland Railway invited the editors of the Denver dailies to send representatives there for the purpose of gathering data. The invitation was eagerly accepted, each editor frankly admitting that he was among the skeptics, and was forced to accept the stories he had already heard with the proverbial "grain of salt."

The representatives were, therefore, picked men. Their instructions were to look carefully into conditions, and to write FACTS. They were warned that no coloring of these facts was wanted.

The special writers went into the Grand Valley, spent two days, and came back CONVINCED. Their stories, together with their names and the papers they represented, also date of publication, are herewith reproduced verbatim. This we do for purely educational purposes. We know of no better way in which to lay the unvarnished facts before the public.

C. H. SPENNER, G. P. A.,

Colorado Midland Railway, Denver.



Photo courtesy of Floriene Rait

Facts about the Grand Valley of Colorado. This publication, sponsored by the Colorado Midland Railway, depicted the Grand Valley as an agricultural paradise.

THE LITTLE EMPIRE OF THE WESTERN SLOPE: Boosterism in the Early Grand Valley

By Michael Eastin

Michael Eastin is a 1988 graduate of Mesa College. He plans to attend graduate school in history at the University of Nebraska, where he has received a graduate assistantship.

Most people who live on the Western Slope of Colorado consider it to be a unique place. Duane Smith and Duane Vandebusch assert that the Western Slope differs from that portion of the state lying east of the continental divide in a number of aspects. They ascribed much of that difference to geography, and pointed out that the Western Slope required capitalization while the Eastern Slope did not. However, the most significant difference between the regions of the state, according to Smith and Vandebusch, is psychological.¹

Other works, such as Kathleen Underwood's *Grand Junction: Town Building on the Colorado Frontier* (1987), have dealt extensively with how the Grand Valley developed.² This study will not deal with the development of political, economic, and social institutions, as does Underwood's book; nor, will it deal extensively with the physical development of Grand Junction. It will instead, focus on ideas and attitudes in exploring why the Western Slope is considered to be a unique section of the state.

In this way it will supplement the Smith and Vandebusch study by focusing on a particular part of the Pacific-facing portion of the state, the Grand Valley. Smith and Vandebusch concentrated largely on the mountainous sections of the state, while this article focuses on the development of attitudes among those Western Slope residents living in an irrigated agricultural and commercial area.

Many of the concepts of uniqueness that developed among settlers of the Grand Valley originated in the boosterism of the valley's early history. Accordingly, this study will look at some of the key individuals, organizations, and literature involved in promoting the Grand Valley in the period from 1881 to shortly after the turn of the century, to determine the role of boosterism in developing attitudes of uniqueness about the area.

Boosterism is "that typically American combination of vociferous promotion of the home town and faith in the future" - the process of attracting people to a region; convincing them to stay (especially in hard times); generating optimism; predicting a successful future; and representing the area as the new Eden. In a negative sense, boosterism is the finely developed art of hyperbole. In a positive sense, it was a necessary process that creates a sense of identity, loyalty, and satisfaction with life in a particular geographic area.

Americans as a people have excelled at boosterism, and the history of it in this nation goes back to our earliest settlements. The process of settlement on the frontier strengthened boosterism because every developing area needed promoters to attract settlers and obtain outside capital. Thus, boosters were necessary to attract industry, bring in transportation, and advertise the area. Boosterism also created a dialogue about the options and potentiality of a region, accelerated development, and redirected energies.⁴

Colorado had emerged as a state during a time when Eastern capitalists had money to invest, and Colorado needed that money to finance railroads, mining, and ranching. Settlement in the Grand Valley came late in the nineteenth century, and development there was facilitated by the legacy of boosterism. When the Western Slope was opened to settlement, the nation was attuned to boosterism,⁵ and an Eastern Slope network for investing in the Grand Valley was already in place.

Despite these Eastern Slope connections, the boosterism that emerged in the Grand Valley had its own special character-

istics. It was a self-conscious effort that stressed the uniqueness of the area and its separateness from the Eastern Slope. With a newly awakened national recognition of the power of advertising operating in its favor, Grand Valley boosters utilized promotional literature extensively, particularly about the agricultural potential of the valley. The promotional literature had a special twist: on one hand it attested to the superiority of the Grand Valley; but Grand Valley boosters recognized the need for outside money to finance irrigation projects and approached the Eastern Slope cautiously in asserting the superiority of the valley. Grand Valley boosterism also recognized the importance of patience to see long term projects through to completion. Irrigation projects took a good deal of time and money, and fruit production, in which the Grand Valley came to specialize, required patience while young trees grew to maturity. Another of the interesting aspects of early Grand Valley boosterism was that those themes produced about the valley and its potential recognized in the early period persist to this day.

Boosterism was a part of the settlement phase of the Grand Valley. When pioneers arrived in 1881, they had little reliable information about the area, and upon arrival most found the river valley a dry, desolate, and seemingly inhospitable landscape. Yet, early settlers, even when confronted by such desolation, envisioned a promising future. An early settler recorded his first impression of the Grand Valley:

The cotton wood trees fringed the river bottom, the sage brush covered the valley from one end to the other. Not a tree, not a house, not a drop of water, not a green thing dotted the valley Nothing but a barren waste. And yet, there was something in it which, at once, appealed to the senses, and told one that this would one day be a most fruitful and luxuriant valley.⁷

A contemporary chronicler served as an early booster when he wrote that the entry was not a rush of land grabbing opportunists. Rather, it was a studied and deliberate advance into a new territory by "earnest, intelligent, law-abiding men, who came to make homes and render these valleys fruitful."⁸ The reaction of these two men were examples of the emergence of boosterism in the Grand Valley. They incorporated the belief that obstacles could be overcome, that the future was bright, that agriculture would predominate, and that the people of the Grand

Valley were a special and stalwart group.

From its beginning then, there was a general sense of optimism about the Grand Valley; however, frontier boosterism required charismatic leadership to entice settlers and attract investment. One such leader for Grand Junction and the Grand Valley was veteran town builder, George A. Crawford, whose earlier town building experience in Kansas served the Grand Valley well in facilitating its development. Crawford described the area which would become Grand Junction as "a natural town site" on his arrival in 1881.¹⁰ An interested observer in 1895 confirmed that Governor Crawford selected "...the most eligible situation for a town site in all that region of country."¹¹

Crawford had learned of the Grand Valley while serving on the planning commission for the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876.¹² So, having previously planned to establish a town at or near the confluence of the Gunnison and Grand Rivers, he was one of those eagerly waiting in Gunnison for the opening of the new territory in September, 1881. Shortly after the formal opening of the territory, his party travelled to the Grand Valley and laid claim to a prospective town site there on September 26, 1881.¹³

George Crawford and associates organized the Grand Junction Town Company shortly after the founding of Grand Junction. The members of the company platted the town and concentrated on the sale of real estate. The Town Company advertised the Grand Valley, brought in settlers, constructed the first permanent buildings in Grand Junction, and attracted businesses. Despite these efforts, some community members charged that the Town Company seemed more interested in making money than promoting other aspects of the community. However, George Crawford's boosterism has established him as the founding father of Grand Junction despite this criticism in the early years.¹⁴

Crawford and other local men personified the spirit of boosterism which emerged in the early history of Grand Junction. Promoting your home town was the "True Road to Local Development" according to the *Grand Junction News*: "The one thing more than all others to inspire confidence in a country is for those whose interests are there to show by their own acts that they, themselves, have confidence in its future."¹⁵

Settlers often developed a level of commitment to the community so intense that they identified personal success with the

Special Souvenir Edition of

THE
CLIFTON
SUCCESS

Clifton, Colorado

F E B R U A R Y 1 9 0 9

Photo courtesy of Floriene Rait

The special 1909 souvenir edition The Clifton Success characterized the Grand Valley as a place where fruit growing provided a way for common people to realize the American dream.

success of the community.¹⁶ In the Grand Valley this combination of personal and community achievement translated into the recurrent promotional themes of the quality of life, agricultural productivity, and superior products offered by the district. Of course, the people of Grand Junction carefully watched the growth of the visible symbols of community and permanence like schools, churches, streets, businesses, and population figures.¹⁷ Like other American settlements, Grand Junction expected to become a large, important, and wealthy city.¹⁸

Increasing real estate values constituted a primary indicator of the success of a district on the frontier.¹⁹ People of the Grand Valley believed this, but exercised discretion in publicizing the high value of land because it might discourage immigration. The February 1909 souvenir edition of the *Clifton Success* was typical in that it promoted the idea that moderately expensive land should not discourage the common people because an established orchard "could be paid for in two seasons from the fruit it produced."²⁰ Promotional literature said that the Grand Valley was productive; consequently, those willing to work could expect to do well.²¹

The promoters of Grand Junction publicized every indication of growth and progress in their community. The rudiments of a business district excited townspeople. Less than three months after the staking of the town site, in mid-December, 1881, Charles Mitchell and Company offered Grand Valley residents the first stock of general merchandise from a rude cabin. Four days after the store was established, the first saloon opened in Grand Junction.²² Shortly after the first of the year, in January 1882, a meat market opened and the first hotel received guests. Grand Junction now had a business district and many residents saw this as the beginning of the Grand Valley as a trade center. The establishment of these businesses indicated the rapid growth which frontier residents expected as the natural and necessary development of a progressive community.²³ Only one year after the first arrivals, the *Grand Junction News* quoted a statement from the *Colorado Farmer* expressing the general sentiment of Grand Valley residents: "Though a wilderness now, in five years it will be the nicest and best part of Colorado to live in, and this is no exaggeration."²⁴

Early boosters based much of their optimism on the climate of the Grand Valley. The idea that Colorado enjoyed a salubrious climate was a common promotional theme,²⁵ and Grand Valley

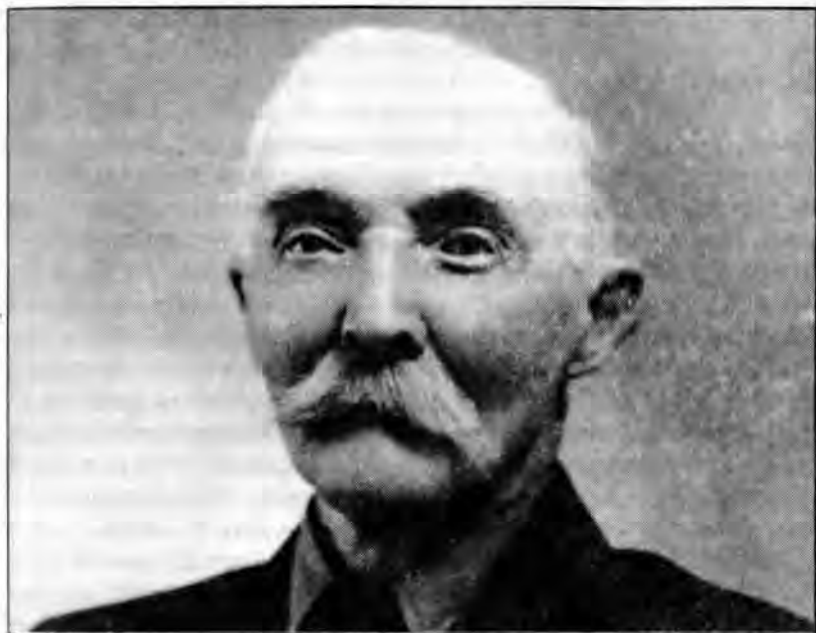


Photo courtesy of Museum of Western Colorado Archives

Benton Cannon

publicists argued that their portion of the state shared the "mountain vitality" and therefore produced superior crops and livestock, and provided a more healthful existence for its people. Most of the discussion about the climate centered on agricultural production.

An 1899 study, *Mesa County: The Fruit Belt of Western Colorado, A Statement of the Resources and Progress of Mesa County, Colorado*, compiled by A.A. Miller, stressed that the Grand Valley's climate stimulated agricultural production. Fruit grew well because the climate was consistent due to the shelter provided by the surrounding mountains, which minimized the danger to crops from late frosts. In the first fifteen years of settlement in the Grand Valley, the study conceded only two partial crop failures, and claimed that some orchards in Mesa County had produced fourteen consecutive crops of peaches in marketable quantities. The study proclaimed that "there is not another spot on earth that can show such a record."²⁶ The Grand Valley's record was better than that of California (a failure rate of one in four years) and Florida (one failure in three years). Miller's

study also pointed out that sufficient water for irrigation was available, and that the soil contained the minerals necessary for growing fruit.²⁷

Benton Cannon, another early booster and president of the Board of Trade,²⁸ added an important element to boosterism in 1889 when he concluded that the Grand Valley had matured as an agricultural region. He saw two stages in the development of local agriculture: an experimental frontier stage, followed by a period when the area would export quantities of farm produce. In detailing this development, Cannon described the first five years after the town's founding as that period devoted to experimentation in agricultural production. For Cannon, methods of production were formulated in the "crucible of practical experience."²⁹ Valley producers learned the basics of the production of various commodities - apples, pears, peaches, grapes, cherries, and plums; grains such as wheat, oats, and corn; forage crops such as alfalfa; and garden products of various sorts.

According to Cannon, the development of outside markets for Grand Valley produce characterized the second period. In this period, production outgrew local markets. The 1886 crop fulfilled even the most optimistic prophesies of early Grand Valley residents, and heralded the end of the experimental stage. Charles Haskell, editor of the *Mesa County Democrat*, spoke for the community when he said that this harvest proved that Mesa County would become the premier fruit producing region of the state.³⁰ Persons from outside the Grand Valley soon acknowledged the maturity of agriculture in the area. A Colorado historian, Frank Hall, visited the Grand Valley in 1895 and wrote:

The experimental venture had blossomed into magnificent certainties, and, in viewing the crops gathered, it became distinctly manifest that the desolate reservation of 1881 was to become the main dependence of the state for the best products of horticulture.³¹

The idea that the Grand Valley had moved beyond a frontier and experimental stage to commercial farming where great profits could be made became a consistent theme in promotional literature. A. A. Miller's study emphasized "time has demonstrated that commercial fruit growing in Mesa County is upon as staple [sic] a basis as it is in New York, California, and the South,"³² and proffered the opinion that there would be no better time to come to the Grand Valley.

Much of the optimism about the future rested on a belief in the superior quality of crops grown in the Grand Valley. Local boosters were fond of comparing home-grown fruits and vegetables with produce from other sections of the country. A publication, "Facts About the Grand Valley of Colorado," sponsored by the Colorado Midland Railway, reported a dramatic account of a trip to Paris by Verner Z. Reed, a Colorado millionaire who had invested in the Grand Valley. In Paris, Reed exhibited Grand Valley apples at a convention of French horticulturists. They [the French horticulturists] tasted the fruit, pronounced it delicious and then astounded Mr. Reed with the question: "What do those Yankees use to flavor these apples?"³³

Reed assured them that it was "purely the work of nature."³⁴ However, the French horticulturists remained unconvinced until they had "put into play all the chemical tests known to horticultural science."³⁵

As important as the idea that the Grand Valley was a cornucopia, was the message that markets existed for all those bumper crops. The first issue of the *Grand Junction News* reported in October of 1882, that the "proximity of mining camps ... gives promise for the late Reservation."³⁶ According to publicists like Cannon, nearby mining towns wanted agricultural produce from the Grand Valley. Promoters were quick to recognize the importance of mining town markets as a promotional tool.

As to markets, the best in the world are near our doors. There are hundreds of prosperous mining towns in the mountains which must buy every article of food the inhabitants use. These afford a sure and remunerative market for all products of farm and orchard, and supply has never yet equalled the demand.³⁷

Indeed, many early settlers came to the Grand Valley for the express purpose of supplying necessities to mining towns. Mining camps were recognized not only as consumers of Grand Valley agricultural products, but some boosters believed they would bring industrial development to Grand Junction as well.

While local promoters extolled climate, agricultural production, and the marketability of locally-grown crops, no one could ignore the fact that the Grand Valley's future depended on water for irrigation. The first Grand Valley farmers, just as farmers

Grand Junction News.

ELWIN PROCK, Publisher.

GRAND JUNCTION, GUNNISON CO., COLO., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29TH, 1898.

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TERMS

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The inaugural edition of the Grand Junction News. This newspaper vigorously promoted the Grand Valley during its early years.

Photo courtesy of Museum of Western Colorado Archives

elsewhere in the Rocky Mountain region, settled close to rivers to ensure access to water for irrigation and livestock. However, as the land which was easiest to irrigate was settled, people realized that the continued development of agriculture would require larger scale irrigation.³⁸ Grand Valley promoters recognized this necessity quite early,³⁹ and encouraged the development of irrigation as a means to facilitate production and to increase land values:

When this land [bench land in the valley] is all under water [irrigated], a great rise in land values is expected, for the simple reason that there is no other valley that combines the climate, the soil and the water, with the peculiar protection afforded by the vast mesas [surrounding the valley].⁴⁰

Richard D. Mobley, a companion to Governor Crawford on his first trip to the Grand Valley in September of 1881, recognized early that a good deal of promotion would be required to attract the outside capital necessary to develop the valley. As reported in the *Gunnison Review*, Mobley wrote that in the vicinity of the Grand Mesa was: "...40,000 acres of the finest land in the state, but it will be worthless until capital is brought in and means devised for irrigating it."⁴¹

The Grand Valley did undergo a period of canal digging, and boosters played important roles. Local boosters worked to attract outside capital. Newspapers provided a wealth of detail about the progress of canal construction. When operations fell behind schedule and financial problems threatened the projects, boosters asked for patience and bolstered sagging morale. Without boosters, this period would have been very difficult for the people of the Grand Valley.⁴²

As demonstrated in the canal-building phase, newspapermen were vital community boosters. Local editors missed few opportunities to promote their city, and the responsibility for regular, often daily, promotion of local development was assumed by local editors, "the infantry among the legions of Colorado boosters."⁴³ Typical of the tone set by early Grand Valley editors was a statement in the first issue of the *Grand Junction News*, October 28, 1882:

It will be our aim to promote the best interests of Grand Valley, Grand Junction and the whole Reservation. That Grand Junction will be one of the important cities of the State, as the outlet of a large agricultural and manufacturing country and railroad center, there can be no doubt. That our climate here, both winter and summer, surpasses anything that can be found in the State, there is also no doubt.⁴⁴

Nearly ten years later, November 20, 1893, the first issue of the *Daily Sentinel* reported that it would promote Grand Junction:

The publishers propose that the paper shall be a factor in the progress of the community, and every effort will be directed toward that end.... The *Sentinel* is small, but it hopes to grow. As Grand Junction progresses the *Sentinel* will move along with it and if possible keep in the vanguard.⁴⁵

Compilers of city directories, gazetteers, and regional historians were valuable boosters as well. They offered information on travel, local conditions, and provided optimistic predictions of success for prospective immigrants.⁴⁶ A number of these publications were available, and local boosters provided for their distribution. Like other promotional efforts, these publications glorified the Grand Valley, and told the prospective settler that the valley offered the opportunity for success to anyone who was honest and hard working.

As was common in frontier communities of the late nineteenth century, Grand Junction community leaders called for service organizations to promote their community.⁴⁷ The *Grand Junction News* informed the citizenry that many prospective settlers wanted information about what crops would grow and the costs of producing them in the Grand Valley. "Not a mail comes in without bringing a letter of inquiry"⁴⁸ for information.

In response to this need for information, the Board of Trade was chartered near the end of 1883. After a tentative beginning, it functioned primarily as an unofficial bureau of immigration for Mesa County. By February of 1890, the Board of Trade, under the direction of Corresponding Secretary, J. F. MacFarland, devoted most of its resources to answering inquiries regarding the valley and providing information to prospective immigrants.

The largest share of those inquiries resulted from the effects of a \$5,000 advertising fund established by local promoters at the end of 1899 expressly for the purpose of informing prospective immigrants of the benefits of the Grand Valley and to assist them in acquiring information pertinent to relocating.⁴⁹

About the same time the Board of Trade was chartered, three other prominent booster organizations also were organized: the Mesa County Fair Association, the Mesa County Agricultural and Horticultural Society, and the Western Colorado Stock Grower's Association.⁵⁰ All reflected the economic predominance of agriculture and trade in the period. These organizations educated Grand Valley producers in agricultural production methods and actively promoted the fairs and exhibitions important to marketing Grand Valley produce. Comparison of Grand Valley produce with that of other areas was accomplished largely through participation in agricultural expositions and through the Grand Valley's own fruit festivals⁵¹ and county fairs. The favorable results of these comparisons were then widely publicized. The first county fair was held in October 1887 and was recognized as a significant event by local boosters.⁵² The *Grand Junction News* published a plea for strong support of the fair by local producers: "The eyes of many strangers are now turned to Western Colorado: men with money to invest, farmers in search of land to till, fruit growers seeking the best spot"⁵³

It was imperative that those people be impressed with the promise offered by the valley. If local producers and residents would provide the support to make the fair a success, the *News* promised, in return, to give excellent coverage and widely distribute the resulting information.

One of the earliest successful exhibitions of Grand Valley produce was in September of 1886. William E. Pabor and Charles W. Steele took a collection of fruits, grains, and vegetables to a Denver exposition sponsored by the Manufacturers' Exchange of Denver. The variety and excellence of the produce attracted attention; helped to establish the quality of Grand Valley produce as superior;⁵⁴ and reinforced the belief of Grand Valley promoters in that superiority. The success of this endeavor prompted a number of similar efforts, and exhibition of Grand Valley produce became part of virtually all Grand Valley promotional efforts.

Governor Crawford and other early residents recognized the location of the Grand Valley as part of its potential for growth.

The natural grades of the Gunnison and Grand Rivers, "gateways through the mountains,"⁵⁵ offered that access. Like other frontier boosters, Crawford believed that a successful community needed the link to the rest of the country provided by the railroad. At Crawford's urging, the Denver and Rio Grande located a depot in Grand Junction in November, 1882. Then, enticed by Governor Crawford's offer of a substantial share of the Grand Junction Town Company's stock, the Denver and Rio Grande Railway agreed to locate its division headquarters at Grand Junction in 1883.⁵⁶ This provided some employment during the early construction phase of development in the valley while the establishment of the division headquarters brought an influx of residents and made Grand Junction a railroad center. Crawford's efforts brought not only the transportation vital to the development of a frontier community, but also brought to Grand Junction a number of tradesmen valuable to the developing community.

Although the railroad linked the Grand Valley with the markets and products of the eastern United States, it did not guarantee success for the area. The initial reaction of Grand Valley residents to the railroad was to see it as "the arrival of an army sent to relieve a beleaguered city."⁵⁷ However, local residents quickly realized that the railroad's freight rates took a significant portion of the producer's profit margin. Local producers complained that the freight rates they paid were discriminatory because other areas, such as the Eastern Slope, received preferential treatment. Railroad officials claimed that freight rates implemented in the Grand Valley were necessary to cover increased costs of handling fruit.⁵⁸ However, the railroaders did recognize that their own interests were tied to the interests of the area they served. Railroads needed new settlers to use their passenger and freight services;⁵⁹ consequently, they launched promotional efforts to attract settlers and tourists to the Grand Valley.

The Colorado Midland Railroad's publication, "Facts About the Grand Valley of Colorado," was a typical promotional tract that documented the virtues of the Grand Valley, and discussed the superiority of Grand Valley produce. Using various articles and excerpts from Denver newspapers, the purpose of the publication was to: "... lay the unvarnished facts before the public ... in order that the public might hear from a disinterested, not to say critical source, some facts concerning the Grand Valley."⁶⁰

How better to chronicle an indisputable record of the progress of the community and to forecast unconditional success than through the impartiality of print? This publication was also typical of early promotional literature in not only extolling the virtues of "little empire of the Western Slope,"⁶¹ but also in assuring prospective immigrants that there was "plenty of room for all who wish to seek the new Eden,"⁶² an assurance particularly pertinent to railroad interests.

The bumper crops of 1886 convinced the railroaders to take the Grand Valley seriously. In that year the railroad undertook a campaign to do two things: promote immigration and make provisions to transport the Grand Valley's fruit crop to distant markets in prime condition. Rapid transportation was essential to preserve the marketability of the fruit in transit. By 1897 the Grand Valley fruit crop exceeded 600 carloads, and it became difficult for fruit producers to find enough rail cars and laborers to handle the harvest.⁶³ Even with the difficulties, Grand Valley fruit became a major competitor in eastern markets with California fruit. Grand Valley promoters, of course, continued to proclaim their fruit as the best available.

The theme of superiority also carried over into other areas of production. Even though stock raising may not have been as lucrative as horticulture, Grand Valley boosters promoted it as an alternative means to achieve success. Governor Crawford, in an article for the *Colorado Farmer* wrote that there existed an "abundance of water and high mountain grass for summer range, and shorter and nutritious lower land grass for winter pasturage."⁶⁴ However, the nature of ranching in Colorado quickly changed. By 1895 ranches in the Grand Valley district had progressed from open range operations to the production of thoroughbred stock.⁶⁵

Though agricultural production dominated the early period in the Grand Valley, promoters encouraged the development of industry and other business enterprises. As early as November of 1882, the *Grand Junction News* said that the Grand Valley offered "an abundance of material for a diversified industry."⁶⁶ The most prominent aspects of the Grand Valley economy were recognized in a city plan developed for Grand Junction by S.W. Deboer in 1927. While recognizing the primary role of agriculture, the plan suggested other sorts of economic endeavor: manufacturing, seed and seedling production, and tourist and health industries,⁶⁷ aspects which had been discussed by Grand

Valley boosters for over two decades. In this report, and for many other early promoters, manufacturing seemed to be a natural development for the Grand Valley because of nearby coal deposits and the likelihood that Grand Junction would develop as the Western Slope's trade and transportation center.

The industries which developed in early Grand Junction were the obvious ones: those for producing the construction materials for building a new town and those related to agriculture. Building a town in an isolated area required the production of various building materials. The first manufacturing firm, affiliated with the Grand Junction Town Company, made pressed brick.⁶⁸ A sawmill provided lumber for the earliest Grand Junction buildings. Canning and evaporating plants processed ripe fruit which could not be shipped and remain marketable. One of the earliest industries in the Grand Valley was the Colorado Milling Company established in 1887.⁶⁹ This company utilized most of the grain produced in the Grand Valley. The relatively short-lived sugar beet industry in the late 1890s prompted the Colorado Sugar Manufacturing Company to build a sugar processing plant. The Latimer-Goodwin Chemical Company, established in 1905, met agriculturally related needs in the valley.⁷⁰

Promoters sought other industries as well. In February of 1890, the *Grand Junction News* noted that "Grand Junction seems to command all the requisites of a profitable smelting point."⁷¹ However, the smelter was the "industry which never came,"⁷² even though the Grand Valley had nearby deposits of coal and a location close to low grade Western Slope ores which could not be profitably shipped over the continental divide.

Difficulty in attracting industries not related directly to agriculture, may have resulted from the image the Western Slope had acquired. Front Range businessmen provided most of the investment capital for the Grand Valley, and Front Range people thought of the Grand Valley as an agricultural region. Consequently, Grand Valley promoters could solicit capital to develop irrigation more easily than money to develop industry. The Grand Valley had earned its reputation as a premier fruit producing region and the bulk of promotion had been directed towards that end. Therefore, it was difficult to change the promotional emphasis.

The natural beauty of the Grand Valley and surrounding district has long been a significant resource for the area. When the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, "the tourists' line,"⁷³

crossed the Grand River in November of 1882, travellers saw the area. The value of the region which was to become the Colorado National Monument was recognized early, as was the potential for mountain resorts on the Grand Mesa and Pinon Mesa. The *Grand Junction News*, in August of 1883, reported Pinon Mesa as a "Coming Summer Resort" because of its proximity to Grand Junction and the relative ease of access.⁷⁴ The Mesa Lakes, on the Grand Mesa, were the object of attention a few years later when the first guest lodging was constructed. In June of 1891, the *Grand Junction News* advertised a package trip to Mesa Lakes including travel by stagecoach and lodging at the resort. The A. A. Miller study of Mesa County resources, recognized the recreational aspects of the district as an important resource and promotional tool in 1899:

The farmer, merchant, mechanic, or professional man, wearied with the daily grind of business, finds within a few hours journey by team or horseback, the wildest mountain scenery, deepest sylvan glens, the coolest lakes and streams, and all pleasures of forest and hill.⁷⁵

The opening of automobile roads, such as the Midland Trail in 1912,⁷⁶ boosted tourism, and a number of early promotional materials, especially after 1900, spotlighted scenic attractions.

By the mid-1890s, Grand Junction, and the Grand Valley had emerged as a trade center and focal point for the Western Slope, and more people turned their energies to new enterprises. Local merchants expanded their inventories. National retail chains and luxury items became a part of the community's retail activity.⁷⁷ This trend has continued into the present, as Grand Junction now serves a large section of Western Colorado, as well as portions of Utah and Wyoming, as a retail trade center.

The 1927 Deboer city plan suggested a strategy to ensure the development of Grand Junction, and found service to be a primary consideration. Deboer saw cities as clearing houses, transportation, and supply centers for the district they served.⁷⁸ The city plan predicted that an urban center with a population of 100,000 or more, would develop between Denver and Salt Lake City. This study emphasized that farming would provide stability for that center, for "the city with the strongest agricultural or horticultural background will be the more stable city."⁷⁹

Stable growth was recognized as desirable and necessary for

progress by virtually all frontier communities, however, the spirit of the Western Slope - the Grand Valley spirit - viewed that growth somewhat differently. In the frontier community that progress often came at the expense of a neighboring community, making success an even sweeter prize.⁴⁰ However, the communities which comprised the Grand Valley district competed less with one another than with outsiders. This unity of Grand Valley communities came early. The *Grand Junction News* proclaimed in November of 1882: "In settling this country we want a class of citizens that will work in harmony for the interest of the entire reservation."⁴¹

The Grand Valley competed as a unit against other fruit producing areas. Organizations such as the Mesa County Agricultural and Horticultural Society, organized in mid-December 1883 expressly to promote the production and marketing of Grand Valley produce, reflected this attitude. Officers included men representing all the major areas of the Grand Valley working together for the benefit of the valley as a whole.⁴²

Early Grand Valley promoters possessed a sincere enthusiasm for their district and endeavored to impart that enthusiasm to prospective immigrants and supporters. They were successful, at least for a time, in doing just that. The development of the Grand Valley seemed to be preordained, for residents and visitors alike recognized it as a special place imbued with astounding inherent qualities sure to make it an important district. A visitor to the Grand Valley in 1895 wrote: "It is difficult to repress one's enthusiasm after witnessing such marvelous displays of the bounty of nature as were everywhere observable about Grand Junction and its tributary valleys."⁴³

However, even if the earliest expectations for the Grand Valley as the New Eden have not been fully realized, it remains a special place. As has been suggested, special enough that its residents insist on thinking of the region as more than a geographical area.⁴⁴ The spirit of boosterism brought the first settlers to the Grand Valley, and helped them survive the difficult times. The spirit of boosterism did not allow the abandonment of optimism, even if complete success remained elusive. That optimism was transferred to hope for progress in another direction or another emphasis.⁴⁵ Boosterism has remained a constant theme in the Grand Valley.

Redirection by boosters has occurred repeatedly, and served to maintain unity. The earliest boosters identified and pursued

key themes which are still evident in the promotion of the Grand Valley today: suitability for agricultural and industrial production; the valley as a center of trade and transportation; and the wonderful, healthful climate which lends itself to recreation and a superior quality of life. Early Grand Valley boosters took their task to heart and rendered a job well done. Contemporary promoters remain as convinced of eventual success as were the early boosters: if the success of the Grand Valley is not total and complete, it is not because the valley lacks in resources, it is merely that the opportunity for, or key to, that success has not yet been found.

NOTES

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⁸Frank Hall, *History of Colorado*, Vol. 4, (Chicago: Blakely Printing Co., 1895), p. 210.

⁹George A. Crawford to "Col. McMurtie, 25 November 1881 (photocopy of original), in George A. Crawford Collection, Stephen H. Hart Library, Archives, Colorado Historical Society (Denver), ascited in Underwood, *Town Building*, p. 7.

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²⁰*Clifton Success*, Special Souvenir Edition, February 1909, p. 1.

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- ³²Ibid.
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- ³⁴Grand Junction News, 18 November 1882, p. 1.
- ³⁵Paul Richter in Jocknick, *Early Days*, p. 265.
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- ³⁸Abbott, *Colorado*, p. 78.
- ³⁹As found in the *Grand Junction News*, "The Grand Junction News," 28 October 1882, *Colorado Magazine* XIII (July 1936), p. 137, wrote that a correspondent from the Denver Republican filed that report with his paper on 20 October 1882.
- ⁴⁰Daily Sentinel, 20 November 1893, p. 2.
- ⁴¹Abbott, *Colorado*, p. 78.
- ⁴²Haskell, *History of Mesa County*, p. 21. Also see Atherton, *Main Street*, p. 332, for a general discussion of service organizations in the frontier community of the late nineteenth century, and Underwood, *Town Building*, for a discussion specifically of their development of Grand Junction.
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- ⁵⁸Rait, "Development," p. 68.
- ⁵⁹Grand Junction News, 11 November 1882, p. 4.
- ⁶⁰Hall, *History of Colorado*, p. 222.
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- ⁶²Deboer, "City Plan," pp. 14 and 29.
- ⁶³Haskell, *History of Mesa County*, p. 13.
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- ⁶⁹Pinon Mesa: A Coming Summer Resort," *Grand Junction News*, 18 August 1883, p. 1
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- ⁷⁷Haskell, *History of Mesa County*, p. 21.
- ⁷⁸Hall, *History of Colorado*, p. 218.
- ⁷⁹Vandenbusche and Smith, *A Land Alone*, p. 1.
- ⁸⁰Atherton, *Main Street*, p. 332.

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Dr. & Mrs. David M. Rees, Grand Junction

Katherine B. Roe, Colorado Springs

S. P. Rogers, Grand Junction

Sherkel, Mohler, Dirks, Shenk, M.S.'s, P.C.,

Grand Junction

Dan M. Showalter, Grand Junction

Mr. & Mrs. Robert Sikes, Meeker

Mrs. Ruth P. Smith, Grand Junction

Betsy A. Sneed, Grand Junction

Ruth Stewart, Grand Junction

Robert & Carol Strobl, Grand Junction

Don Veale Agency, Grand Junction

H. P. Vorbeck, Grand Junction

Wayfinder Press, Ouray

Dr. Clifton M. Wignall, Grand Junction

Hazlett and Betty Wubben, Grand Junction