Class and Community in Frontier Colorado

Hogan, Richard

Published by University Press of Kansas

Hogan, Richard.
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NOTES

CHAPTER 1. CLASS STRUCTURE AND CONFLICT IN FRONTIER COLORADO

1. See Greeley history, in chapter 4, on Grangers, Greenbackers, and irrigation disputes; *Weekly Register* (Central City), 2 January 1880, 2, on coal strike; *Rocky Mountain News* (weekly, Denver), 23 June 1880, 1, on Leadville strike; *Weekly Register*, 25 June 1880, on strikes in Denver; *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 and 23 February 1880, 4, on intimidation tactics in enforcing collective bargaining.


17. Smiley, *History of Denver*, 373 and 443, on lot jumpers; see Golden history, chapter 5, on political struggles.


19. *Rocky Mountain News*, 26 December 1860, on popular sovereignty; Proceedings of Denver Municipal Government, September 1860, on microfilm in the Western History Department, Denver Public Library; see also Hogan, "Carnival and Caucus."


**Chapter 2. Denver**

1. The initial settlement of Denver, Auraria, and Saint Charles as well as earlier prospecting and settlement efforts are discussed, in detail, by Jerome C. Smiley, *History of Denver* (Denver: Old Americana Publishing Co., 1901), chapters 19–22; Saint Charles Town Company records are in the Western History Department of the Denver Public


3. Leroy Hafen (ed.), *Reports from Colorado* (New York: Lewis Historical, 1948), 19 (on Wildman’s family), and 66–83 (on Wildman).


5. There were forty-nine such households in this sample, so the average wealth for laboring households (including these forty-nine) would be $108,045/261 = $413.97.

6. The career of the People’s Court is reported by B. Richard Burg, “Administration of Justice in Denver People’s Courts: 1859–1861,” *Journal of the Old West* 7, no. 4 (October 1968): 510–521; trials were routinely reported in the *Rocky Mountain News* (weekly, Denver), beginning with the first edition, 23 April 1859.


9. Ibid., 684–686. Smiley claims the club was organized in the winter, but club records (CoHi) include the claim of the Denver Town Company recorded and signed by the club secretary in May 1859. Also, the *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 August 1859, announced a club meeting.

10. Arapahoe County Land Claim Club Records, May 1859 (CoHi).


12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., 28 May 1859, 3.


17. Occupations located in Denver business directory, 1859 (CoHi) and Fifty-Niners Directory (CoD).


22. Ibid., 15 February 1860, 3.

23. *Western Mountaineer*, 24 July 1860, 6, reports the organization of the Denver Vigilance Committee more than five months after the trial of William Harvey. The Golden editor might have been mistaken, or there might have been another vigilance
committee organized earlier that year. Burg, "Administration of Justice," 514, reports on the trial of Harvey and other Bummers, referencing the special edition (3 February 1860) of the *Rocky Mountain News*. Burg implies that this was an action of the People's Court, although he notes the somewhat irregular composition of the court and does not explicitly use the term *people's court*, as he does in most of his other accounts.

24. The chaos of 1860 is reported in Smiley, *History of Denver*, 338-350; in Burg, "Administration of Justice"; and in the editions of the *Rocky Mountain News*, from January to October of 1860. These accounts are very similar; reports in the *Rocky Mountain Herald* differ mostly in interpretation.

25. The Denver Vigilance Committee is distinguished from “vigilantes” because it held trials and did not simply “lynch” the accused.


29. *Rocky Mountain Herald* (daily), 3 September 1860, 2, reports names of posse members. At least four of the nine served as judges or attorneys for the People's Court (Smiley, *History of Denver*, 339–348).


31. Some of the confusion in the literature is based on assertions regarding who belonged to the Denver Vigilance Committee and who was opposed to vigilante justice. See, for example, *Rocky Mountain Herald* (daily), 11–15 September 1860; *Rocky Mountain Herald* (weekly, Denver), 28 July 1860; *Western Mountaineer*, 6–13 September 1860; Burg, "Administration of Justice," 518. Eugene Frank Ryder's dissertation, "The Denver Police Department" (University of Denver, History, 1971), 13, relies on Burg and on reports in the *Rocky Mountain Herald*. These sources provide contradictory evidence. Smiley, *History of Denver*, 348, offers a secondhand account, based on discussions with one of the vigilantes. His account implies that the leading citizens of Denver (the boosters) were involved in the lynching and the Denver Vigilance Committee but that they defended these as stop-gap measures and generally preferred “legal” alternatives. Thus they opposed vigilante justice in efforts to establish republican forms of government. This seems the most reasonable conclusion.


33. Ibid., 26 September 1860, 3.

34. Ibid., 24 October 1860, 2 (quote); 3 October 1860, 2 (reports election).

35. Blacksmiths’ meetings and price-fixing efforts (*Rocky Mountain News*, 9 May 1860) were not included in the newspaper data presented in Tables 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 because they did not occur in the first year of the paper's publication (which ended in April 1860). The bakers' price-fixing efforts of 1860 were implied in a later report of a decision to raise the price of bread (*Rocky Mountain Herald* (weekly) 25 May 1861). That report implied that the bakers had previously adopted a standard price list, although explicit reference to the initial decision was not found in the newspaper reports. It is possible that the bakers were not organized until 1861.

36. *Cañon City Times* (weekly, Cañon City), 27 October 1860, 3.

37. Denver City Council proceedings 8–17 October 1860 (CoHi).

41. Council proceedings 9 November 1860 (petition) and 12 March 1861 (prostitution) (Cotti).
42. The Denver company sold unclaimed lots at public auction, in 1860, before surrendering its authority to the municipal government. One such auction was advertised in the *Rocky Mountain Herald* (weekly), 26 May 1860; on legislation, see Smiley, *History of Denver*, 443.
44. Ibid., 443–451.
45. Ibid., 428 and 436 (on the lynching).
46. Ibid., 428.
49. Ibid., 585–586.
50. Ibid., 586–590.
51. Ibid., 593.
52. Ibid., 542 (sale to Gould) and 593 (land grants); Evans’s donation is recorded in the minutes of the Arapahoe County Commissioners 11 July 1870 (County Building, Denver).
53. The Clear Creek miners’ strike was reported in the *Rocky Mountain News*, 16 March 1870.
54. *Greeley Tribune* (weekly), 24 September 1873, 2.
56. *Denver Weekly Times*, 26 May 1880, 1, refers to the actions of police and a judge, who was not terribly busy, prosecuting “drunks, vags, disturbances of the peace, and assaults.” District and federal court dockets were routinely reported, but this story might have referred to a local police court. In the State Archives, in Denver, there are police court records from 1885 but none from 1880.
58. Ibid., 28 January 1880, 3, and 11 February 1880, 4 (on printers’ strike).
59. Ibid., 8 September 1880, 6.
60. Ibid., 27 October 1880, 4, and 3 November 1880, 2.
61. Ibid., 29 September 1880, 8.
62. Ibid., 3 November 1880, 5.
64. Ibid., 18 February 1880, 3.
65. Ibid., 16 June 1880, 1 (Leadville) and 2 (brick makers’ strike).
66. Ibid., 3 November 1880, 2.

**Chapter 3. Central City**

2. Hollister, *The Mines of Colorado*, 76 (quote). One of Gregory’s partners (D. K. Wall) had been a miner and rancher in California and might have helped to draft the laws. See Kemp, *Colorado’s Little Kingdom*, 25–27.


12. Ibid., 51–52.


17. Marshall, *Early Records*, 131; see also *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 October 1860, 2, on mining companies at Spring Gulch.


19. Ibid., 129–130 (on flooding), 134 (on lack of water); Smiley, *History of Denver*, 288–289, 318–319 (on ditch company charter, etc.).


27. See, for example, Hollister, *The Mines of Colorado*; King, *A Mine to Make a Mine*; or Fossett, *Colorado*.


31. Ibid., 46–47.

32. Ibid., 86–87, 100; Eureka District records are in Denver Public Library (CoD).

33. District Court records are located in the Denver Federal Center, although some records are also in the State Archives, Denver.


42. Proceedings of Board, Central City Hall.

43. Ubbelohde et al., *A Colorado History*, 139–141 refer to the “statehood faction.”

44. Ibid., et al., *A Colorado History*, 139–147, discuss the struggle for and against statehood.


46. Ibid.


49. *Weekly Register-Call* (Central City), 15 June 1878, 1.

50. Ibid., 8 June 1878, 2.

51. Ibid.


54. Ibid., 5 November 1880, 1 (on Denver), 4 (on Central City).

55. Ibid., 10 December 1880, 1.

**Chapter Four. Greeley**


4. Claim club records (CoHi).
5. Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* 4: 338–339; according to the claim club records (CoHi), Ellen later sold her claims to H. J. Graham.


7. County Commissioners proceedings (Weld County Centennial Center in Greeley).

8. County Commissioners proceedings (Weld County Centennial Center in Greeley).

9. The ranchers were identified in an 1871 Gazeteer, located in the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library (CoD); in the 1870 Census; and in the 1867 Cattlemen's Association Records, in the Colorado State Historical Society (CoHi).


13. Willard, *The Union Colony at Greeley*, reports the minutes of the New York meeting, 6–12.


15. Ibid., 6–12.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., xxi.


21. Colony records are in the Greeley Municipal Museum (also reproduced in Willard, *The Union Colony at Greeley*, 171).


24. Among the Weld County Farwells, C. B. was a Weld County commissioner in 1863 (Commissioners records, Centennial Building in Greeley), Joseph and Cyrus D. were enumerated in the 1870 Census, and C. D. was elected to the executive council (Willard, *The Union Colony at Greeley*, 379).

25. Willard, *The Union Colony at Greeley*, 31 (on cavalry); Carl Ubbelohde, Maxine Benson, and Duane Smith, *A Colorado History* (Boulder, CO: Pruett 1972), 112; note that the battle of Summit Springs (1869) established Anglo supremacy on the plains, but Colorado editors continued to discuss "the Indian problem."


28. Ibid., 274–278.

29. Ibid., 267.

30. Ibid., 51–52.

31. Ibid., 50–52.


35. Proceedings of Executive Committee (Greeley Municipal Museum; reprinted in ibid., 53, 81).
36. Boyd, *A History of Greeley*, 59–61; see also proceedings of Municipal Board of Trustees (City Hall); *Greeley Tribune* (weekly), 3 May 1871.


38. It was possible to hold more than one membership and more than one farm lot, but this required additional capital improvements. Minutes (24 February 1871, reprinted in ibid., 96); Greeley Municipal Museum has list of shareholders and those holding water deeds.


41. Ibid., 19 April 1871.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.


45. Ibid., 23, 373–374.


47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Greeley Trustees Proceedings (City Hall).


51. Ibid., 296–298; see also court records in Weld County Courthouse, in Greeley (some of these records have been or are being moved to a silo for storage).


54. U.S. Census of 1870.

55. Steine!, *History of Agriculture*, 121.


62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., 22 January 1873, 2.

64. Ibid., 11 June 1873, 2.

65. Ibid., 27 August 1873, 2.

66. Ibid.


PART TWO. CAUCUS TOWNS OF COLORADO

1. This is, essentially, an application of Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1978), 133–138, using monopoly capital investment as the “threat” to local actors' interest in maintaining their control of the local economy. In a similar manner, the tradition of class-based political struggle could be viewed as providing a “repertoire” of collective action. The established form of government (Carnival or Caucus) could be viewed, in Tilly's terms, as providing the “opportunity” for laboring or nonlaboring class political action. My argument also builds on Rubenstein, *Rebels in Eden*, chapter 3, regarding the combined effects of semi-autonomous local residents being exploited by nonresident investors. Rubenstein's discussion of “neo-colonialism” is, in this regard, particularly appropriate, since the frontier political economy institutionalized the contradictory interests of local autonomy and incorporation into the national political economy, which undermined local control of economy and government.

2. In this regard, I am inclined to differ with Jeffery Paige, *Agrarian Revolution*, who tends to minimize the importance of political experience and resources in his structural model of rebellion and revolution. Rubenstein, *Rebels in Eden*, offers a more compatible analysis in his discussion of “quasi-independence and local power” in chapter 4.

3. This is an extension of Rubenstein, *Rebels in Eden*, and Schwartz, *Radical Protest and Social Structure*, applying the same model of “internal colonialism” and “structural, extra-institutional power” to explain local capitalist rebellion. All too often, neo-Marxist theories have ignored capitalist rebellion, except in the context of bourgeois revolt, but Moore, *The Social Origins*, offers some interesting ideas on this topic, particularly with regard to “revolution from above.”

**CHAPTER 5. GOLDEN**


2. Records of the Mechanics Mining and Trading Company are in the Colorado State Historical Society (CoHi) in Denver.


5. Records of all three Denver town companies are in CoHi.


7. *Western Mountaineer*, 7 December 1859, 3 (advertisements) and 4 (wagon road).

8. Smiley, *History of Denver*, 319; *Western Mountaineer* reported the organization and operation of these companies, beginning with the first edition (7 December 1859).


10. Ibid., 7–14 December 1859.


16. Ibid., 25 January 1860 (cemetery), 1 February 1860 (property owners’ meeting), 8 February 1860 (Golden City Association), 21 March 1860 (citizens’ meeting).

17. Ibid., 21 March 1860 (citizens’ meeting), 3 April 1860 (election); Association records (CoHi).

18. *Western Mountaineer* reports election and first meeting of new board in 28 June 1860 edition; subsequent references are in 5 and 12 July 1860 editions; see also *Western Mountaineer*, 8 February 1860 (court cases), 6 September 1860 (People’s Court).

19. Junction District and Middle Park club records are in the County Clerk’s office in Golden. Golden City Association records are at the Colorado State Historical Society (CoHi) in Denver.


23. The lynching is reported in the *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 November 1860.
25. Ibid., 4 April 1860.
28. *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 December 1859 and *Western Mountaineer*, 14 December 1859; see also Smiley, *History of Denver*, 319; Saint Vrain club records (CoHi); Ovando J. Hollister, *The Mines of Colorado* (Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles, 1867), 75 (Casto) and 87 (Golden bypass).
29. Casto's letter and Golden's reply are published in *Western Mountaineer*, 18–25 January 1860; see also Loveland's advertisement in ibid., 15 February 1860, and report of McCleery trial in 1 November 1860.
30. Ibid., 3 March 1860 (citizen meeting), 12 July and 16–23 August 1860 (toll road dispute).
31. Ibid., 4 April 1860 (court case), 11 April 1860 (Golden's attack), 25 April 1860 (club organizes), 2 August 1860 (Carter's warning).
32. Junction District Claim Club records are in the vault at the Jefferson County Clerk's office in Golden.
33. Claim club records (Jefferson County Clerk).
34. Smiley, *History of Denver*, 493 (Territorial government); Jefferson County Commissioner records are in the County Building in Golden.
35. Junction club records in County Clerk's Office, Golden.
37. County Commissioner records (County Building, Golden).
38. Territorial District Court records in County Clerk's Office, Golden.
40. City government records are in the Golden City Hall; *Colorado Transcript* (weekly, Golden), 19 December 1866.
44. *Colorado Transcript*, 19 December 1866.
45. County Commissioner records (County Clerk).
46. City Council records (City Hall); ordinances were published in the *Colorado Transcript*, beginning in January 1871.
47. Ibid., 5 April 1871.
49. Ibid., 583–594; Dorsett, *The Queen City*, 57–59.
54. Ibid., 2: 397–399.
55. Ibid., 2: 411–423; Smiley, History of Denver, 598–599.
57. Ibid., 2: 400–402.

Chapter 6. Pueblo

4. Baskin, History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, 767–769; Cook County, Illinois, was notorious for voting fraud during the reign of Chicago Mayor (“Boss”) Richard Daley. It was said that even the dead turned out to vote for the Daley ticket.
5. Baxter, vol. 6 (CoHi); Baskin, History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, 769–770; Cañon City Times (weekly), 15 July 1861.
8. Rocky Mountain News (weekly, Denver), 27 August 1859; Cañon City Times, 7 October 1861; Hall, History of the State of Colorado 3: 450.
10. Cañon City Times, 5 September 1861 (lynching), 29 August 1861 (vigilance committee).
11. Ibid., 29 September 1860 (Indian treaty); 3 November 1860 (killing Navajos in New Mexico).
13. Whittaker, Pathbreakers and Pioneers, 144–156; see also Smiley, History of Denver, 374–375, on the Reynolds Gang; Baxter, vol. 6 (CoHi).
15. County Commission records are in the Pueblo County Courthouse in Pueblo.
16. U.S. Surveyor General’s records are in the Federal Record Center in Denver.
17. The irrigation company records are in the Colorado State Historical Society (CoHi), in Denver; Arkansas Valley Claim Club records are in the Fremont County Courthouse in Cañon City.


25. County Commissioner records are in the Pueblo County Courthouse in Pueblo.

26. Baskin, *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado*, 776 (sale in 1869); County Commissioner proceedings (Pueblo Courthouse); *Colorado Chieftain* (weekly, Pueblo), 7 April 1870 (election).

27. *Colorado Chieftain*, 7 April 1870 reports the election. Baxter, although a candidate of the People's Party for municipal office, was the Republican candidate for county commissioner. As was the case in Greeley, the lines of partisan struggle were less easily defined than electoral rhetoric might suggest. Baxter represented the "people" because he was a long-term resident and "one of the largest property holders of Pueblo County." He also shared the boosters' interest in economic development, however, and was, among other things, half-owner of the Jewett Grist Mill (see Baskin, *History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado*, 783).

28. *Colorado Chieftain*, 6 June 1870, 2 (license laws), 7 July 1870, 2, and 14 July 1870, 2 (weapons); see also 8 February 1872 (court records).

29. District Court records, State Archives in Denver.

30. Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* 3: 458; court records at State Archives in Denver; delinquent taxpayers were listed in the *Colorado Chieftain*, 7 April 1870.


32. Ibid., 18 April 1872, 2.

33. Ibid., 21 November 1872, 4.

34. Ibid., 10 March 1870.

35. Ibid.


37. Ibid., 5–15.

38. Ibid., 9–18, 23.


42. Ibid., 23.

43. Ibid., 23–25.

46. Colorado Chieftain, 19 December 1872, 2.
47. Hall, History of the State of Colorado 2: 100–101; Colorado Chieftain, 23 January 1873.
48. Colorado Chieftain, 12 December 1872, 1.
50. Frank Fossett, Colorado (1880; reprint ed., Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, 1976), 167; these figures are considerably lower than those from 1874 (see Hall, History of the State of Colorado 2: 214).
52. Ibid., 3: 462–469; Baskin, History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, 781.
55. Hall, History of the State of Colorado, 3: 445; see also Steine!, History of Agriculture in Colorado, on sheep wars and the Prairie Cattle Company.
56. Rocky Mountain News (weekly, Denver), 28 April 1880, discusses the federal court cases.
57. Steine!, History of Agriculture in Colorado, 134, on illegal fences.
59. Ibid., 246.

CHAPTER 7. CAÑON CITY

1. Cañon City Times (weekly), 15 September 1860; O. L. Baskin (ed.), History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado (Chicago: Baskin, 1881), 627–629; Frank Hall, History of the State of Colorado, 4 vols. (Chicago: Blakely, 1889–1895) 3: 392–393. These accounts refer to a “lot-jumping” incident that seems to have been more apparent than real. Kroenig and Young had come to Cañon City in October 1859 with some of the Fountain City residents, but they constructed nothing to secure a claim. In March 1860, Kroenig and Young returned, having secured a commitment from the major wholesale trade merchants, and established Cañon City.
3. Land claim club records are in the Fremont County Courthouse, in Cañon City; see also Cañon City Times, 3 November 1860.
4. Claim club records (courthouse).
5. Claim club records.
6. Cañon City Times, 26 January 1861 published notice of sales.
7. Ibid., 29 September 1860, 3; p. 1 reports public meeting.
8. Ibid., 6 October 1860; see Jerome Smiley, History of Denver (Denver: Old American Publishing Co., 1901), 319, on the Provisional Territory estray law.
9. Cañon City Times, 22 December 1860 reports the Civil Code; 29 December 1860 edition reports the public meeting that established the criminal code.
11. Cañon City Times, 2 February 1861, 3.
14. District Court, County Surveyor, and claim club records are in the Fremont County Courthouse, in Cañon City. Baskin, History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, 567 reports on County Commissioners.
19. Court and Commissioner records are in the County Courthouse; Frazier's court is discussed in Baskin, History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, 628.
20. Commissioner records from 1865 to 1870 are in the Fremont County Courthouse, in Cañon City.
21. County Commissioner records (courthouse), see Alvin Theodore Steinel, History of Agriculture in Colorado (Fort Collins, CO: State Agricultural College, 1929), 111, on territorial laws.
26. Baskin, History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, 659; Frazier was enumerated in the 1870 census as a blacksmith, and his household was therefore included in the service industry.
27. Commissioner records (courthouse).
28. Town government records are in City Hall and are available on microfilm through the State Archives in Denver.
29. Cañon City Times, 1 August 1872, 3.
31. Cañon City Times, 6 March 1873, 3.
32. Ibid., 15 May 1873, 2.
36. Ibid., 46.
CHAPTER 8. THE ENDURING LEGACY OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

interests of farmers and speculators but does not deal, directly, with the concept of exploitation. Robert Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (New York: Knopf, 1968), explores the conflicting interests of ranchers and farmers and the extent to which local boosters represent the interest of the ascendant industrial classes. He also deals, more directly, with the significance of relations with eastern capital—in his case, the Chicago meat-packing interests and the railroads. In this regard, Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper’s Millennium* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), offers an outstanding analysis of how capitalization affects local class relations and how ethnic and religious distinctions are exploited in efforts to segment the laboring classes.

Among historians who focus on the process of economic and political development from a national (or, at least, nonlocal) perspective, John Denis Haeger, *The Investment Frontier* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981) and Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789–1837* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), offer exceptionally insightful analyses of relations between speculators and farmers, on the one hand, and government, on the other. Nevertheless, neither explicitly addresses the relationship between national capital investment and local class structure, nor do they frame their arguments in terms of class conflict more generally.

Richard Franklin Bense!, *Sectionalism and American Political Development, 1880–1980* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), applies world system theory in explaining how the financial, commercial, and industrial core (essentially, the Northeast) exploited the largely agrarian and extractive industries of the South and West, but he ignores class structure and class conflict, both in the core and in the periphery. Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), offers a structural model, essentially explaining the increase in federal administrative capacity by the increasing complexity of the national political economy. He, like Theda Skocpol, in *States and Social Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), and “Political Response to Capitalist Crisis,” *Politics and Society* 10, no. 2 (1980), 155–201, views the state as a relatively autonomous political structure that is more or less capable of accommodating the challenges of governing in a national or international political economy.


that state officials are functionally independent from the capitalist class and serve as managers of the crises of capitalism. Skocpol, “Political Response to Capitalist Crisis,” argues that Block does not go far enough in asserting the autonomy of the state.


7. At the Social Science History Meetings in Chicago in 1988, Steve Rytina suggested that partisan affiliation is, by definition, cooptation. Although I certainly see the merits of this argument as well as the benefits of extraintitutional struggle, cooptation has negative connotations, suggesting that partisan politics are irrational. I am more inclined to see class-based partisanship as short-term rationality within the limits of available experience and resources, particularly since some segments of the laboring classes later adopted more radical tactics.

8. Anthony Giddens, *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), uses the term *double hermeneutic* to describe the relationship between social scientist and social reality. This might be a useful way of considering the relationship between economic circumstance and political struggle as they relate to the interpretation of the oral history of a class. In any case, the class is viewed here as neither an objective nor a subjective reality but as an ongoing dialectic, involving objective constraint and resistance based on subjective experience and the interpretation of past and present circumstance. The vision of the future is, of course, more problematic.

9. Scott G. McNall, *The Road to Rebellion: Class Formation and Kansas Populism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) offers a similar perspective on class as process (rather than structure) and also offers an excellent review of the debates surrounding this concept of class, particularly as it relates to class-based political struggle.

10. Patrick H. Mooney, *My Own Boss? Class, Rationality, and the Family Farm* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988), argues that American farmers occupy one of four distinct class locations, depending on their economic resources (market position) and attachment to craft versus pursuit of profit. McNall, *The Road to Rebellion*, argues that farmers (at least in Kansas) were petty-bourgeois. Allan Kulikoff, “The Transition to Capitalism in Rural America,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 46 (January 1989), 3rd series: 120–144, distinguishes farmers as members of the “yeoman class,” who struggled within a capitalist system to maintain quasi-independence (both economic and political) through communal exchange networks and food production for family subsistence. To some extent, I borrow from each of these perspectives, producing a simple distinction between laboring and nonlaboring classes that is production-based (unlike Mooney) but at the same time viewing class as a process (like McNall) and a struggle to maintain relative autonomy (like Kulikoff). Perhaps the concept of *yeoman* would be preferable to *artisan*, although it might seem less appropriate when applied to miners and crafts.

11. *Weekly Register* (Central City), 2 January 1880, 2, reports the coal miners’ strike and reports the strikes in Denver in the 25 June 1880 edition (p. 4); *Rocky Mountain News* (weekly, Denver), 11 February 1880, 4, reports the printers’ strike; the Greenbackers’ platform is published in the *Denver Weekly Times*, 2 June 1880, 1.


15. This interpretation is based on McNall, *The Road to Rebellion*; a more detailed review of all three interpretations is offered in my "Three Pieces of the Populist Puzzle," *Sociological Forum* (forthcoming).


17. Schwartz, *Radical Protest and Social Structure*, describes the radical struggles of the Southern Farmers’ Alliance in terms of “structural power” and “extra-institutional tactics.” His concepts and his general theory of radical protest are essentially reproduced here, although I do not conclude that the laboring classes were coopted.


19. Ubbelohde et al., *A Colorado History*, 160, reports discoveries and difficulties of 1873; *Weekly Register*, 8 June 1878, 3, miners’ meetings; 25 July 1879, 4, claim-jumping; 2 January 1880, 2, defying local courts.

20. *Rocky Mountain News*, 16 March 1870, on strike; *Weekly Register*, 6 August 1880, on “bears” of Wall Street.

21. *Weekly Register*, 18 June 1880, 2, on Typographical Workers Union; *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 June 1880, 6, on intimidation; 23 June 1880, 8, on Mooney in Denver and Greenbackers; see also *Denver Weekly Times*, 16 June 1880, 2, warning to Denver brickmakers.


23. *Greeley Tribune*, 2 October 1878, 2, quote; 16 October 1878, 3, vote in Erie and Greeley. It is likely that in 1880 the farmers of Larimer County were struggling against debt, since the county was primarily settled after 1875 when land prices once again began to boom and capital investment began to increase dramatically (see Fossett, *Colorado*, 157, on population growth). In this regard, the Larimer County farmers were like the indebted Central Kansas farmers, who supported the Populist Party (see McNall, *The Road to Rebellion*).


25. Ibid., 590, on county vote, 1876–1878.


29. On Leadville’s partisan political shifts see *Denver Weekly Times*, 14 April 1880, 2; 5 May 1880, 8; 9 June 1880, 3.
