

SECTION AND SILVER:
EDITORIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF POLITICAL REGIONALISM AND
BIMETALLISM IN THE CRIPPLE CREEK MINING DISTRICT PRESS, 1896-1904

A Thesis by

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The following faculty members have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Communication.

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DEDICATION

To Bre

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I must thank a number of people here for making this research everything that it turned out to be. First, Dr. Lisa Parcell, for bridging my fledgling career in media with my passion for history and for both providing the freedom I needed to feel genuine in my research while providing the guidance necessary to make that research valuable to others. Next, Dr. Patricia Dooley, who first welcomed me into the communications department at Wichita State University, and Dr. Jay Price, who bridged the theoretical gap in my work between media studies and history, both of whom were invaluable to this research. Each of the libraries and repositories which I visited to access Cripple Creek district newspapers and relevant studies in Colorado history deserve recognition: the Stephen H. Hart Research Center and Library at History Colorado in Denver; Tutt Library at Colorado College in Colorado Springs; the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming in Laramie; Norlin Library at the University of Colorado in Boulder; the Denver Public Library; and the Franklin Ferguson Memorial Library in Cripple Creek. Additionally, though she is long since passed, I must thank over and over again Edith Stuart Jackson, who began academic study of Cripple Creek district journalism many decades ago. She never completed her comprehensive work on the district, and I sincerely hope my own research serves as an extension of her pioneering efforts. My father Mark and mother Deb Ward of Hugo, Colorado, and brother Brandon Ward of Greeley, Colorado, all influenced this work by making me the researcher I am. Benjamin Waltner Stucky, a fellow scholar and graduate of Bethel College and a very good friend, deserves recognition for always showing me I can (and should) do better. Finally, I thank Breanna Marlene Sage Ward, my wife, for understanding as I spent weeks traipsing all over the Front Range dissecting rolls of microfilm and for supporting me in everything that I do.

ABSTRACT

This historical research explores two political issues, the silver movement and political regionalism, in select newspapers of the Cripple Creek Mining District in Colorado from 1896-1904. These two topics are not suitably studied in prior research on Colorado journalism, which has tended to explore minor press environments and has largely neglected press operations and editorialism during the Gilded Age. This research is grounded in concepts such as sectionalism, which is used to guide the study's investigation of silver and political regionalism. Primary research utilizes the Cripple Creek *Citizen*, *Morning Times*, *Morning Times-Citizen*, *Times* (weekly and daily), *Evening Star*, *Mail*, and *Daily Press* and the Victor *Daily Record* newspapers. Those sources are analyzed to better understand how Cripple Creek Mining District editors manipulated the battle for free silver and bimetallism in the 1890s and identified political boundaries to direct voters in elections surrounding the turn to the twentieth century. Such analysis expands media historian's understanding of Colorado journalism, explores the significant but poorly-researched influence of bimetallism on Gilded Age presses, and applies the critical concepts of political regionalism and sectionalism to mine camp and Colorado journalism. This research concludes with a number of observations intended to generate further study in related concepts by media historians and offers a potential gateway towards the development of cultural theory pertaining to sectionalism during the 1890s in the American West.

PREFACE

My reasons for choosing this particular region and topic for my thesis are entirely selfish. Those who grow up on Colorado's High Plains often have a particular place in the mountains they call their own, even if they visit it only a few times a year. In my case, that region was the western base of Pike's Peak. Bob Womack, the man who first discovered Cripple Creek gold, apparently chased the a gigantic bear into the valley where Camp Alexander, the Boy Scout camp at which I spent several summers, now sits. My favorite hiking trail in Colorado, which follows a ridge in Mueller State Park, is only a few short miles from the Cripple Creek Mining District.

It is my hope that this research shares a slice of that district's fascinating history with the now-healthy field of media history in a way previous projects, such as that completed by Edith Stuart Jackson, could not.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Republican leaders knew trouble was afoot when they came together for their national convention in June of 1896. A coalition of senators from western states had been disrupting party operations for the better part of a decade, engaging in lengthy oratories and frequently crossing the aisle in support of the free coinage of silver. Those crusaders had experienced several setbacks in their bimetallic campaign, including the 1893 repeal of the only piece of pro-silver legislation passed in decades. They were fed up with their party's allegiance to the gold standard of currency, a financial policy that worked against the mining economies of states like Colorado and Nevada. Politicians like Colorado Senator Henry M. Teller were determined to make a stand for silver at the Republican National Convention if dominant eastern United States factions of their party refused to change course on the currency question.

Teller had chosen a pivotal moment to challenge his party. Although the Republicans gathering in St. Louis and, in the following month, the Democrats in Chicago, may not have fully realized it, the 1896 presidential election would prove to be one of the most critical in United States history.¹ With the help of rebellious lawmakers like Teller, Americans were redefining the nation's political parties, continuing the process begun earlier in the decade with the rise of Populism. Unfortunately for Teller, his Republican party chose, in its 1896 platform, to maintain its hard line in favor of gold. A sobbing Teller, having implored his party to come over to silver and having been rebuked, led twenty-two convention delegates out of the convention, bolting the Republican party.² They would form a coalition of regionally-based Silver Republican parties in opposition to traditional Republican candidates and,

¹V. O. Key, Jr., "A Theory of Critical Elections," *The Journal of Politics* 17, No. 1 (3-18).

²"Silver Men Walk Out," *Times* (New York), June 19, 1896.

in particular, Republican presidential nominee William McKinley. The Silver Republicans supported Democrat William Jennings Bryan, champion of the silver crusade, upon his nomination in Chicago.

Back home in Colorado, Teller's constituents were wildly supportive of their leader. The state had been made strong by silver in the 1870s, and as the mineral faced decreasing support from the federal government its economy slipped deeper into depression. Thus, Colorado newspapers hailed silver and its champions like Teller and Bryan, regardless of party. Yet while the silver industry was dominant, a small mining district at the foot of Pike's Peak was churning out gold. It bordered a state Republican stronghold — perhaps the only spot in the state where party came before silver. The district was finding remarkable success in an otherwise depressed state and would likely be negatively affected by the monetization of silver if such change was ever somehow enacted. This community, the Cripple Creek Mining District, was perfectly situated to offer a unique perspective in the heart of an otherwise ideologically homogenous state.

District residents were not to navigate political matters unsupervised. The Cripple Creek district proved to be to a remarkably vibrant journalistic environment in which dozens of presses operated in the 1890s. Although publishers came and went, miners, shop owners, capitalists, and others in the area were always in need of information related to mineral discoveries, local events, and the usual skullduggery common to itinerant mining communities. As might be expected, those in charge were more than willing to express their view on political matters, including those unique to the district.

The present study concerns itself with these opinions. It seeks to better understand how Cripple Creek Mining District editors made sense of the district's relationship with other communities in terms of political matters during the time period beginning with the first Bryan/McKinley presidential contest in 1896 and ending with the district's second labor war in 1903 and 1904. It does so through the rigorous and focused study of two concepts that neatly contain those dimensions of the district's situatedness that make its aggregate political

ideology so ripe for research. First, it explores the handling of the so-called ‘silver issue’ in district newspapers to better understand the apparent tension between the overwhelming interest of Greater Colorado in the monetization of silver with the Cripple Creek district’s gold industry. Second, it seeks to isolate instances of the creation of ideological identity by district newspapers as editors used politics to create regions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ to guide readers to political conclusions.

1.1 Precursors

Efforts have been made to study Colorado mining camp journalism generally and Cripple Creek district journalism specifically. For example, in his thesis “Chaffee County, Colorado, Newspapers, 1890-1910: Editorial Reaction to Populism and to the Colorado Metaliferous Strike,” John E. Ophus explored editorial navigation of Populism and labor conflict from 1890 to 1910, diving deep into coverage of strikes in a central Colorado mining community.³ Others, such as Jackie Helstrom Cummins’ “Colorado Silver Camp Journalism: The Mining Camp Newspaper as Community Builder on the Colorado Silver Mining Frontier, 1865-1885,” attempted to look at specific topics within the greater theme of Colorado mine camp journalism; in this case, the employment of boosterism.⁴ In a study closer to the present one, Edith Stuart Jackson took in her master’s thesis a general approach to the study of journalism in Victor, Colorado, a town within the Cripple Creek Mining District.⁵ Jackson’s “The History of Journalism in Victor, Colorado: In the Cripple Creek Gold Mining District” contributed a great deal to this thesis’ foundational understanding of the district’s journalism history.

³John E. Ophus, “Chaffee County, Colorado, Newspapers, 1890-1910: Editorial Reaction to Populism and to the Colorado Metaliferous Strikes” (Master’s thesis, Western State College of Colorado, 1965).

⁴Jackie Helstrom Cummins, “Colorado Silver Camp Journalism: The Mining Camp Newspaper as Community Builder on the Colorado Silver Mining Frontier, 1865-1885” (Master’s thesis, Wichita State University, 1984).

⁵Edith Stuart Jackson, “The History of Journalism in Victor, Colorado: In the Cripple Creek Gold Mining District” (Master’s thesis, Ohio State University, 1959).

The shortcoming of such works have generally been either in their lack of focus or contextualization within journalism history as a whole. Ophus' work is focused and contributes to an understanding of labor strife in the Gilded Age, but it does so while investigating a county of limited political influence, restricting its relevance primarily to studies of Colorado and Chaffee County, CO history. Jackson's review of Victor journalism history, on the other hand, is centered on a region that was extremely significant in Colorado and nationally at the transition into the twentieth century — the Cripple Creek Mining District — but is intentionally general in its analysis. While Jackson's work was very useful to the present study, it dramatically limits its applicability outside of the study of Cripple Creek Mining District and the surrounding region. It limits its focus to Victor newspapers, side-stepping presses in Cripple Creek town, the largest community in the district and, as such, misses a number of crucial district newspapers. It is also intentionally general, telling the overall story of journalism in the town. This thesis, it can be seen, makes a concerted effort to overcome such shortcomings through the inclusion of Cripple Creek town newspapers and the application of honed but widely applicable foci: silver and political regionalism.

1.2 Methodology

This thesis aims to contribute to fundamental knowledge of Cripple Creek district journalism through a focused and rigorous method of analysis. It does so through the implementation of triangulating strategies that apply cultural-historical, narrative, and immersive analyses which lead to the development of well-founded and organic theory.⁶ Newspaper articles were read and analyzed while cognizant of neighboring and/or conceptually relevant articles included in the study, generating historically- and culturally-grounded findings. Such method allows the core concepts of this study — silver and political regionalism — to be considered within the context of the state and national political environment of the time.

In pursuing its goals, this thesis reviewed a number of primary sources. To ensure

⁶Lisa Mullikin Parcell and Margot Opdycke Lamme, "Not 'Merely an Advertisement': Purity, Trust, and Flour, 1880-1930," *American Journalism* 29, no. 4 (2012).

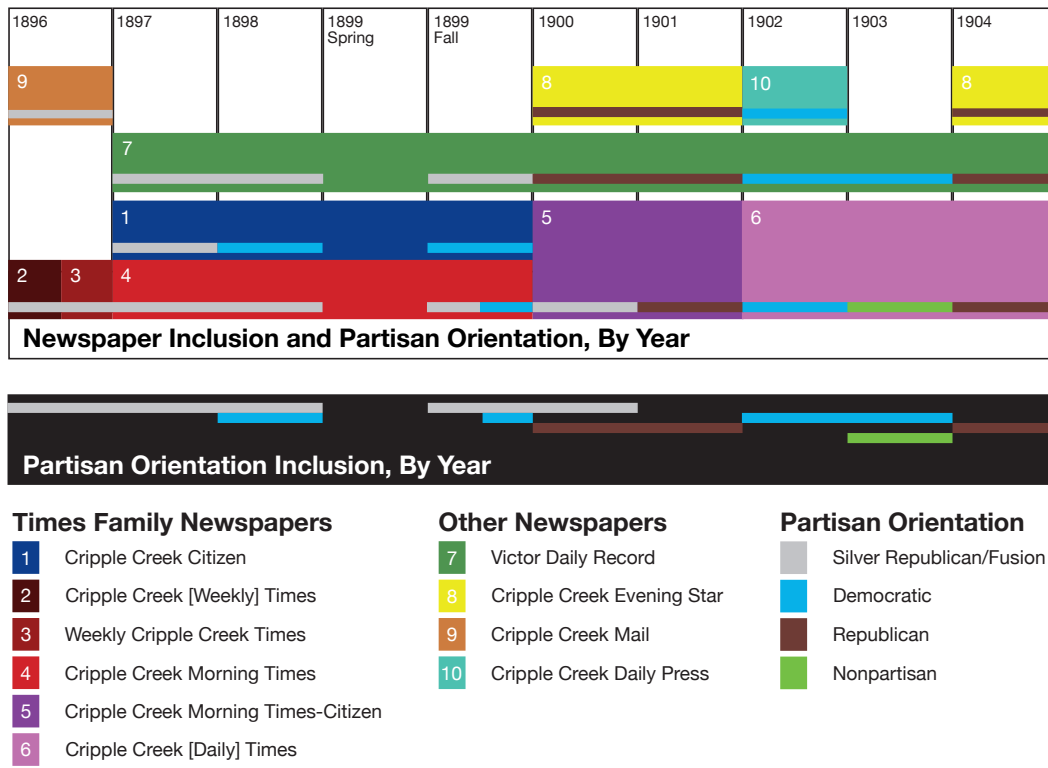


Figure 1.1: The newspapers utilized in the present study.

the inclusion of a multiplicity of perspectives at all times, at least two different newspapers were consulted for each year reviewed in the study; at the same time, no more than three newspapers were thoroughly researched for any given year to maintain a tight focus. Newspapers were chosen for inclusion in this study based on the availability and completeness of the collection. The resulting sample included roughly 2,000 issues of Cripple Creek Mining District newspapers. They were reviewed over the course of approximately two months in microfilm form at various Colorado repositories. The names and political orientations of the newspapers reviewed and the years included for each are provided in Figure 1.1.

In each year, all available copies of each newspaper were reviewed during the months

identified to be particularly relevant to national, state, and county politics; namely, September, October, and early November, those months comprising the fall election season. Initially the research scope was to be limited specifically to the fall election season; however, once research began, the scope was extended slightly to include January, February, and March of 1899, a period of heightened political activity during which the division of El Paso County was considered by the Colorado State Legislature. Notes were taken at each repository and historical analysis conducted after all sources had been reviewed. A brief extension of primary research was conducted during a subsequent research trip to answer emergent research queries.

Additionally, a number of primary and secondary sources were consulted in developing a contextual understanding of the newspapers under review. These sources included interviews conducted by Edith Stuart Jackson with those involved in Cripple Creek district journalism during the period of interest. Such research is reflected both in the chapters of analysis that follow and in the compiled sources provided in the appendix.

1.3 Significance

The present thesis contributes significantly to the study of a number of closely allied concepts. First and foremost, it expands media historians' understanding of Colorado journalism at a pivotal point in that state's history. Colorado was waking politically just as the Populist wave of the 1890s washed over the nation. Despite this, its journalism history (particularly related to the status of Colorado journalism in the 1890s) is scantily researched; apart from the major newspapers of Denver, the *Rocky Mountain News* and *Denver Post*, its presses are largely neglected beyond the studies listed above. This thesis explores culturally and politically influential newspapers of that era, yielding results of interest primarily to media and Colorado historians but additionally to all interested in the challenges of the Populist era.⁷

⁷Although availability was the primary criterion by which newspapers were chosen for inclusion, self-reported circulation numbers (for example, *Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple

Second, this research attempts to probe a particularly poorly-understood topic of the Gilded Age: bimetallism. It is accepted that the so-called “silver question” played a significant role in the rise of Populism and remained a dominant political issue throughout the 1890s.⁸ But how did the issue so completely dominate the political ideology of some regions during that decade? This key question is suited to the Cripple Creek Mining District perhaps better than any other. The manner in which the district’s newspapers, which were forced to negotiate between local interests in gold and state interests in silver, reflect the question of bimetallism in unique and telling ways that lead to a more comprehensive understanding of a complex decade. Thus, this study aids those who seek an understanding of a crucial gap in journalism history, that being the manipulation of the silver issue by newspaper editors in western states. It also benefits those interested in the history of U.S. financial policy as it adds a new dimension to our understanding of public perception of bimetallism.

Finally, it explores a concept critical to the development of journalism history not suitably researched in terms of mine camp or Colorado journalism: that of political regionalism and sectionalism. Cripple Creek historian Edith Stuart Jackson in her review of Victor town journalism identified three distinct political regions as affecting the district’s collective ideology:

Some of the political complications in Colorado were also of a three-cornered variety—the northern part of the eastern half of the state versus the southern

Creek, CO), Feb. 20, 1900), editorial comments, and other factors suggest newspapers included in the study such as the Cripple Creek *Morning Times* (and its various other titles) and the Victor *Daily Record* were among the most influential in the county.

⁸This argument is the premise of Allen Weinstein’s *Prelude to Populism: Origins of the Silver Issue, 1867-1878* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970). See also: Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976). Goodwyn makes the case that Populism’s connection to the silver question ultimately led to the party’s demise; however, the Populist platform would have had more difficulty in many states, and Populist Gov. Waite likely not been elected in 1892, if not for the conflation of the party with silver.

part with the western slope and mountain area centering around Leadville making the third protagonist. Denver, Boulder and Central City led the north; Colorado Springs, Pueblo and Trinidad the south; Leadville the west. Politically, then, the Cripple Creek District came to be the focus of all these forces, and, since many of the leaders were very wealthy and influential men controlling the economy of the state, this was no mean influence!⁹

Such divisions are not unique to Colorado; many states are home to subregions with varying economic, political, and social interests. The present research contributes to studies of all such states by exemplifying how their regional interests play out at the crossroads of such intrastate regions. Furthermore, the scope of the political “regions” considered in this study are not limited to the substate. Colorado as a whole is studied as a region of its own due to its overwhelming obsession with bimetallism; residents were so adamant in support of free silver that all other interests were subverted. Such sectional behaviors will contribute to studies into the sectionalism of other states at various times, including agricultural states throughout the Populist movement, other hardrock mining states such as Nevada and Montana in the late 1890s, or the South during the Civil War and Antebellum eras.

Furthermore, the term “regionalism” is intentionally used flexibly to identify a number of political regions expressed by Cripple Creek district editors. By doing so, this study reveals a number of “us” and “them” distinctions present in the Cripple Creek district to better understand how the silver issue in particular and politics in general were used by editors to draw ideological lines between various communities. Some of these distinctions divide large swaths of territory; others span only a few miles. In each case, the findings offer media historians case studies that can be explored in their own regions and with their own topics of interest.

1.4 Organization of Report

The subsequent chapters of this thesis are organized in the following manner:

Chapter two reviews a number of works that explain the conceptual underpinnings

⁹Jackson, “The History of Journalism and Victor, Colorado,” 13.

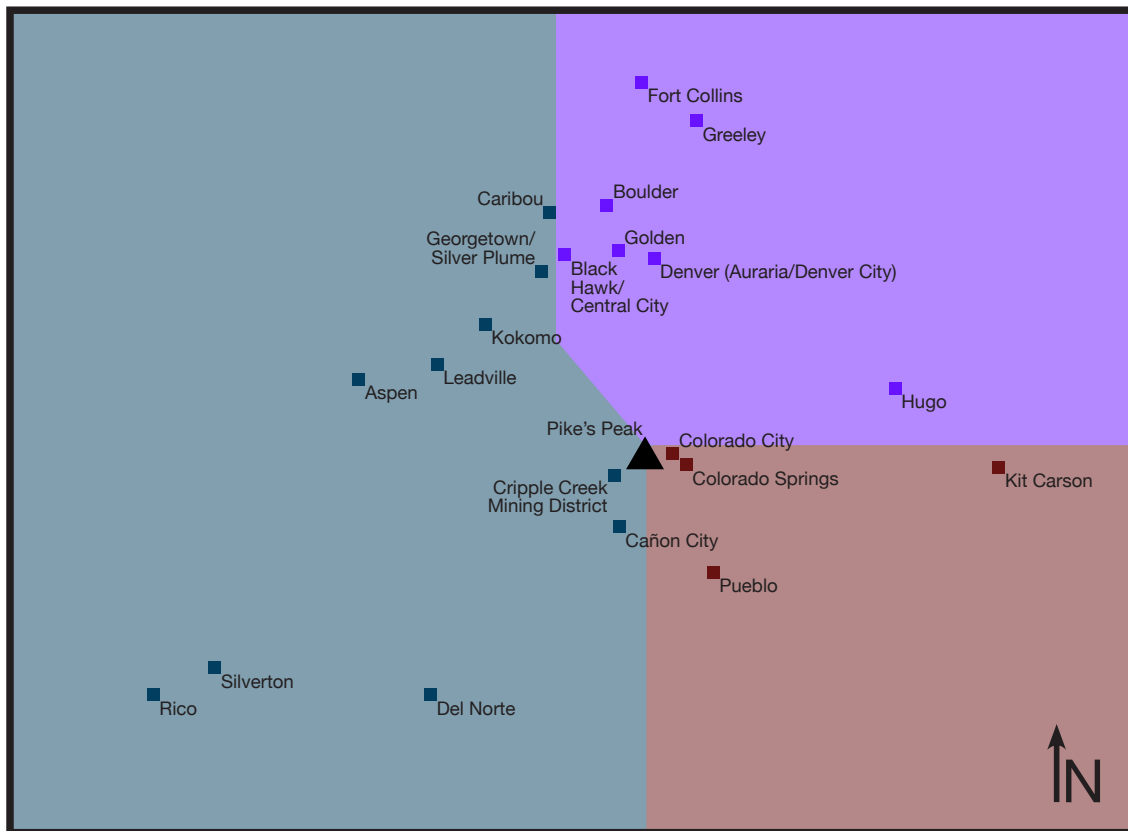


Figure 1.2: A map showing the political regions of Colorado as identified by Edith Stuart Jackson (not to scale).

of the present study. In particular, it explains the concept of sectionalization, which characterizes regions in which local interests politically overwhelm more widespread concerns. The chapter also situates this thesis within the context of existing media history, devoting a great deal of attention to previous studies of Colorado mine camp journalism.

Chapter three provides a sweeping overview of those histories essential for a full understanding of this thesis. It explains the early settlement of Colorado and the dispersment of settlers throughout the state's various regions, charting the development of its mining economy. It also draws attention to the decisions in U.S. currency policy that led to the establishment of the gold standard and the silver crusade of the 1890s. Chapter three reviews the founding and development of both the Cripple Creek Mining District and its neighbor and antagonist, Colorado Springs, and sets the stage for the presidential election of 1896.

Chapter four analyzes district newspaper reporting in 1896-1899, including the McKinley/Bryan contest of 1896 and the gubernatorial election of 1898. In addition to charting the establishment of regional distinctions and reviewing the mutation of editorial utilization of the silver issue during and after the 1896 election, the chapter covers debate regarding the division of El Paso County, in which both the Cripple Creek district and Colorado Springs were originally located. It ends with a consideration of the effects of the resulting division in terms of political regionalism and the status of the silver issue in the leadup to the presidential election of 1900.

Chapter five extends analysis into 1900-1904, including the repeat McKinley/Bryan showdown of 1900 as well as the presidential election of 1904. It charts the decay of silver as an issue and the general political disinterest which categorized the period in the Cripple Creek district press. In particular, the chapter notes the supplanting of both silver and regional interests by labor strife as the district fell into chaos during the widespread economic disruption of 1903-1904.

Chapter six briefly considers the overarching implications of this study, reviewing its most notable findings. In particular, it identifies five concepts related to the silver issue,

political regionalism, and Jackson's earlier research into Cripple Creek journalism. These findings provide insight that should prove useful to media historians as well as researchers in other academic disciplines. The chapter closes by offering a number of opportunities for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In an effort to fully engage the sources utilized in this thesis, a wide-ranging literature was amalgomated from a number of disciplines. It begins with a summary of existing histories of mine camp journalism before pointing to those works specific to the Colorado context. A glance at those histories that best elucidate nineteenth century Colorado politics is presented. The review then proceeds to cite sources that collectively represent the theoretical underpinning of this thesis; key works related to American political sectionalism, party realignment, and pre-1910 currency policy are offered.

The study of journalism in America's western mining camps has typically been conducted under the larger umbrella of frontier journalism. As such, the major texts of that field, written by the likes of Barbara Cloud, William H. Lyon, and Robert Karolevitz, serve as a springboard from which studies of mine camp journalism spring forth.¹ Of those, books such as David Fridtjof Halaas' *Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881* illustrate life for the mine camp newspaper editor.² Unfortu-

¹Such fundamental texts include Cloud's *The Coming of the Frontier Press: How the West Was Really Won* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2008), Lyon's *The Pioneer Editor in Missouri: 1808-1860* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965), and Karolevitz's *Newspapering in the Old West: A Pictorial History of Journalism and Printing on the Frontier* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1965). Additional works by Cloud, including "Establishing the Frontier Newspaper: A Study of Eight Western Territories" *Journalism Quarterly* December, no. 61 (1984): 805-11 and "A Party Press? Not Just Yet!" *Journalism History* 7, no. 2 (1980): 54-55, 72-73 and Gerald J. Baldasty and Jeffrey B. Rutenbeck's "Money, Politics and Newspapers: The Business Environment of Press Partisanship in the Late 19th Century" *Journalism History* 15, Summer/Autumn: 60-69 also informed this study. Major works that discuss (as part of a greater discussion) frontier-era journalism by other authors such as Hazel Dicken-Garcia's *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989) and Michael and Edwin Emery's *The Press and America* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996) were also helpful.

²David Fridtjof Halaas, *Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981).

nately, works like Halaas' focus primarily on mine camp journalism during America's mining boom years, which ended roughly a decade before the rush to Colorado's Cripple Creek Mining District. The research of David Vergobbi comes much closer to the time period and cultural setting of this study. His doctoral thesis "Hybrid Journalism: Bridging the Frontier/Commercial Cusp on the Coeur d'Alene Mining Frontier," for example, explores tensions between labor and capital as the newspapers of an 1880s Idaho mining community negotiated the transition between the frontier and professional eras of journalism history.³ That work sets the stage for the entry of the Cripple Creek Mining District as the last major gold rush in the history of the contiguous United States.⁴

Texts pertaining to mine camp journalism specifically in Colorado communities are few and far between, but they do exist, and each resource contributes a great deal to one's understanding of the peculiarities imposed upon the state's presses. The most generally informative of these is Jackie Helstrom Cummins' "Colorado Silver Camp Journalism: The Mining Camp Newspaper as Community Builder on the Colorado Silver Mining Frontier," a work that serves as a window into the operation of newspapers in Colorado towns like Leadville. Its most valuable contribution to media history is its study of mine town presses as community boosters and the ultimate impossibility of lasting success for such papers in Colorado resulting from the gold standard of currency.⁵ In regard to this thesis, Cummins' work was limited in relevance due to its focus on the period prior to Cripple Creek district's existence, but contributed to an understanding of the context into which the district's newspapers were born. Another work, John E. Ophus' "Chaffee County, Colorado, Newspapers, 1890-1910: Editorial Reaction to Populism and to the Colorado Metaliferous

³David Vergobbi, "Hybrid Journalism: Bridging the Frontier/Commercial Cusp on the Coeur d'Alene Mining Frontier" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1992).

⁴This statement leaves room for the Alaskan Klondike Gold Rush of 1896-1899, which did not yield so much as half the amount of gold as did the Cripple Creek district.

⁵Jackie Helstrom Cummins, "Colorado Silver Camp Journalism: The Mining Camp Newspaper as Community Builder on the Colorado Silver Mining Frontier, 1865-1885" (Master's thesis, Wichita State University, 1984).

Strikes,” pressed into the time period of the present study. That work is extremely focused, providing insight into the handling of labor tensions by newspaper editors in a small region of Colorado.⁶ Ophus’ research is detailed and deserving of attention; however, it is limited by its focused attention on a Colorado county of relatively little political influence.

The work of Edith Stuart Jackson, on the other hand, leads directly into this thesis and thoroughly informed its creation. Jackson’s own master’s thesis, titled “The History of Journalism in Victor, Colorado: In the Cripple Creek Gold Mining District,” provides an overview of journalistic endeavors in the second most populous town in the Cripple Creek Mining District.⁷ In addition to reviewing the major newspapers in Victor and the events that most significantly affected them in the district’s heyday, Jackson provides biographical sketches of a handful of its most important editors. The work is extremely well-researched and is built upon several years of study. The present thesis stands, to a large extent, on its shoulders. It expands Jackson’s scope to the district as a whole.

Researchers outside of media history have taken steps into Colorado’s early political history, but, as in the case of the state’s mine camp journalism, sources are not particularly abundant. Two stand as excellent points of entry. The first, R. G. Dill’s *The Political Campaigns of Colorado*, is the definitive source for information on the state’s political history through the mid 1890s.⁸ Dill is quite biased in favor of the state’s Republican party, the dominance of which was being threatened when the work was published as silver forces gathered steam in 1895, but his book is a detailed and informative summary of the major developments in Colorado politics in the leadup to the period of present interest. A second source on the matter can be found in Wilbur Stone’s canonic *History of Colorado*; specifically,

⁶John E. Ophus, “Chaffee County, Colorado, Newspapers, 1890-1910: Editorial Reaction to Populism and to the Colorado Metaliferous Strikes” (Master’s thesis, Western State College of Colorado, 1965).

⁷Edith Stuart Jackson, “The History of Journalism in Victor, Colorado: In the Cripple Creek Gold Mining District” (Master’s thesis, Ohio State University, 1959).

⁸R. G. Dill, *The Political Campaigns of Colorado* (Denver: Arapaho Publishing Company, 1895).

chapter 21 of that work's first volume, titled "Colorado's Political Campaigns."⁹ Stone strikes a more objective stance in his recounting of early Colorado politics, but his attention to the matter is much briefer. Together the two works should be a first stop for anyone researching matters involving the politics, parties, and politicians of Colorado through the nineteenth century.

A handful of other relevant works deserve notice. These include James Chandler Prude's "Parties and Politics in Denver, 1893-1904" and John Foster Powers' "'Blaine and Free Coinage': Factionalism and Silver in the Republican Pre-Convention Campaign of 1892 in Colorado."¹⁰ Select biographies of Colorado politicians active during the time of interest provide additional perspective. Works on Populist Governor Davis H. Waite such as John R. Morris' *Davis H. Waite: The Ideology of a Western Populist* shed light on the influence of the Populist party on Colorado politics in the 1890s.¹¹ Biographies of Senator Henry M. Teller, however, are more representative of Colorado's politics as a whole, particularly regarding bimetallism. Teller's life is told in works such as Colorado historian Duane A. Smith's *Henry M. Teller: Colorado's Grand Old Man* and Ellis Elmer's earlier *Henry Moore Teller: Defender of the West*.¹²

Though works may be scarce regarding Colorado mine camp journalism and politics, they most certainly are not regarding the Cripple Creek Mining District itself. In fact, so many books exist on the topic that most would be wise to limit one's self to only a few titles. Without doubt the most important of these is Marshall Sprague's *Money Mountain: The*

⁹Wilbur F. Stone, *History of Colorado* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1918).

¹⁰James Chandler Prude, "Parties and Politics in Denver, 1893-1904" (Master's thesis, University of Denver, 1969); John Foster Powers, "'Blaine and Free Coinage': Factionalism and Silver in the Republican Pre-Convention Campaign of 1892" (Master's thesis, Colorado State College (Greeley), 1968).

¹¹John R. Morris, *Davis H. Waite: The Ideology of a Western Populist* (Washington: University Press of America, 1982).

¹²Duane A. Smith, *Henry M. Teller: Colorado's Grand Old Man*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002; Elmer Ellis, *Henry Moore Teller: Defender of the West* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1941).

Story of Cripple Creek Gold.¹³ In terms of objectivity and comprehensiveness, no other work on the topic of Cripple Creek history comes close. The value to be found in other texts, then, relate to the nuances of the district; its unique culture and pivotal events. Mabel Barbee Lee's *Cripple Creek Days*, for example, offers a first hand account of the Cripple Creek district, Lee having arrived as a child just as the area began booming.¹⁴ Meanwhile, a review of the district's violent labor clashes is provided in Benjamin McKie Rastall's "The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District."¹⁵

This study frequently draws upon the concepts of political regionalism and sectionalism in an effort to understand the ideological fences constructed by newspaper editors to guide readers in distinguishing between the regional "us" and "them." Such ideas are visible in the political consciousness of the nation since its inception; formal recognition and study of sectionalism and regionalism, however, is most accurately attributed as having roots in the writings of Frederick Jackson Turner, particularly his posthumous collection of essays *The Significance of Sections in American History*.¹⁶ In that work, Turner makes the case that various parts of the United States have, at various times in history, developed within themselves a sense of ideological unity in which the politics, culture, and/or economy of that section are seen as unified and contrary to the practices of another section.¹⁷ For much of the nation's early history, clearly defined sections constituted the East and West, the latter an area for colonization by the Northern and Southern subsections of the former.¹⁸ In Turner's conception, past sections were flexible and changed over time as issues drew

¹³Marshall Sprague, *Money Mountain: The Story of Cripple Creek Gold* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1979).

¹⁴Mabel Barbee Lee, *Cripple Creek Days* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1984).

¹⁵Benjamin McKie Rastall, "The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District" in *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin* 3, no. 1 (1908).

¹⁶Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1932).

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 33.

states together and as the line of the frontier marched westward. Geography and geographic regions are highly influential in the development of the perceived boundaries of sections.¹⁹ Such regions exist on the local as well as the interstate scale; the Mississippi River has been used on countless occasions to identify the geographic eastern and western regions of the United States, while Colorado contains within itself a number of small-scale regions developed through natural and cultural geographical distinctions, as explained in the following chapter.

Unfortunately, the terms “section” and “region” are often used interchangeably in political and historical study, leading to conflation and confusion. A review of literature on the sectionalism within the state of Idaho, for example, shows both used to describe the ideologically-unified zones of the state.²⁰ For the purposes of this study, distinction between the terms will be used based on the scale of the identified area: in discussing the presence and implication of political zones at the sub-state level, the term “region” is used; “section” will designate such zones at the state or multi-state level. Thus, Colorado, the Mountain States, and the West are here considered sections; Colorado’s High Plains and Western Slope as well as subdivisions of the Cripple Creek Mining District are regions.

Colorado’s political situation during the years 1896-1904 was one of intense sectionalization predicated on matters of monetary policy. The bolt of Teller and his allies from the 1896 Republican National Convention was not in opposition to the party but in allegiance to section. Bradley J. Young describes the situation succinctly in his review of the ideology of the Silver Republicans and the West: “Republicans on all other issues, the silver faction differed from its eastern colleagues only on what monetary system the country should use. For these dissenters, however, this issue superseded all others in importance.”²¹

¹⁹Ibid., 45.

²⁰Leslie R. Alm, et al., “Political Culture and Ideology in the Mountain West: Regionalism in the State of Idaho,” *The Social Science Journal* 41, no. 2 (2004): 163-178.

²¹Bradley J. Young, “Silver, Discontent, and Conspiracy: The Ideology of the Western Republican Revolt of 1890-1901,” *Pacific Historical Review* 64, no. 2 (1995): 243-265.

Today, in an America that has abandoned both the gold and silver standard in favor of a fiat currency, it can be difficult to connect on even a basic level with the impassioned debates over monetary currency common during much of the nation's past. This distance is exacerbated by the plentitude of partisan texts on the matter currently filling library shelves, relics of the currency battles of the late nineteenth century. A review of the effect of this struggle on Colorado and the Cripple Creek district is presented in the following chapter; here it is appropriate only to point to a handful of sources suitable for entry into the issue. Perhaps the best example of an entry text relevant to this study is Gretchen Ritter's *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America*, a history that charts the arch of U.S. financial policy debate from the currency instability resulting from the Civil War through the 1896 presidential election that effectively killed the silver movement.²² Ritter's text provides succinct explanations of the various monetary systems proposed during the 1890s, including: free silver, in which silver would be coined at an unrestricted rate, likely leading to the predominance of silver as currency over gold; bimetallism, in which a fixed value ratio would be established between silver and gold, leading to what advocates claimed would be a balanced currency; and monometallism, in which *either* silver *or* gold would be coined.²³ Throughout the 1890s a "limping" standard was in effect in which gold was the dominant currency but limited amounts of silver were coined.

Though it advocates in favor of the gold standard, J. Laurence Laughlin's 1900 book titled *The History of Bimetallism in the United States* presents a more economic and statistical consideration of the matter in the context of the second McKinley/Bryan showdown; the anti-silver tone of that text might be countered by reviewing Farmer's *The Conspiracy Against Silver*.²⁴ Finally, a brief study of the influence of the silver issue on Colorado politics

²²Gretchen Ritter, *Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America* (New York: Press Syndicate of University of Cambridge, 1997).

²³*Ibid.*, 183.

²⁴J. Laurence Laughlin, *The History of Bimetallism in the United States* (New York: D.

was conducted by Paul F. Gerhard in “The Silver Issue and Political Fusion in Colorado: 1896.”²⁵ That text devotes special attention to the overall sentiment of Colorado newspaper editors surrounding the 1896 election, illustrating the state press’ widespread support of silver political factions.

Sectional interests have been shown to be highly influential in elections, particularly the 1896 presidential contest. This is highlighted in the research of Harvey L. Schantz, which analyzed through large-scale quantitative study the effects of section on presidential elections. His research showed that the Rocky Mountain section, which had grown increasingly and almost singularly supportive of the Republican party through the 1892 election, experienced a monumental swing away from Republicanism in 1896.²⁶ This change represents an intensification of sectionalization as the silver-producing Rocky Mountain states placed sectional political interests before party. The sectionalization of Colorado and its mountain neighbors contributed significantly to the realignment of 1896 and subsequent close of the third electoral system and situates the state politically within the context of this study. First identified by V. O. Key in his article titled “A Theory of Critical Elections,” political realignment is a process by which electorates fundamentally alter a state’s political climate through a “critical election,” setting the tone of political discourse for years to come.²⁷ Voting behaviors in the West and, in particular, in Colorado, represented the abandonment of a system in which the Republican party was granted control over state politics. As explained in Kleppner’s *The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892: Parties, Voters, and Political Cultures*, the migration of Colorado voters to the Greenback/Populist parties for the 1892 election, done in support of

Appleton and Company, 1900); E. J. Farmer, *The Conspiracy Against Silver, or, A Plea for Bi-Metallism* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969).

²⁵Paul F. Gerhard, “The Silver Issue and Political Fusion in Colorado: 1896; A Study of the Pre-election Maneuvers of Political Parties and of the Members of the Colorado Delegation to the Fifty-fifth Congress,” in *University of Wichita Bulletin* 35, No. 4 (November 1960).

²⁶Harvey L. Schantz, “Sectionalism in Presidential Election” in *American Presidential Elections: Process, Policy, and Political Change*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 119.

²⁷V. O. Key, Jr., “Theory of Critical Elections.” *The Journal of Politics*, 17, No. 1 (4).

those party's perceived allegiances to silver, was a significant blow to the old party system, which Kleppner identifies as perishing in that election.²⁸ This structural dissolution and the resulting political instability, coupled with the chaos of the Panic of 1893, set the stage for realignment through the McKinley/Bryan election four years later.

Having reviewed the above texts, this thesis proceeds in the following chapter to outline relevant events in Colorado, Cripple Creek, and U.S. monetary policy history in the years leading up to 1896. Such information prepares the reader to tackle the question at the core of the present study: How Cripple Creek Mining District editors managed the district's relationship with other communities in terms of political regionalism and bimetallism. Detailed investigation of that question follows in chapters four and five.

²⁸Paul Kleppner, *The Third Electoral System, 1853-1892: Parties, Voters, and Political Cultures* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 260.

CHAPTER 3

OVERVIEW OF RELEVANT COLORADO AND LOCAL HISTORIES

To fully comprehend the context in which this study is nested one must have a fundamental knowledge of two subjects: 1) the early history and geography of the Cripple Creek Mining District, El Paso County (of which both Cripple Creek and Colorado Springs were a part from their foundings until 1899), and Colorado as a whole; and 2) major events in post-Civil War United States currency policy. The following chapter provides the most critical details pertaining to each subject, presented chronologically. It begins with a review of the early settlement of the region that later became the State of Colorado and rapid development of its mining industry before proceeding to a description of its economy and human geography in the years proceeding statehood. It concludes as the Cripple Creek Mining District is born and begins booming, devoting special attention to the development of journalism in the district while reviewing what is likely the most tumultuous era of the state's political history.

3.1 Territory of Wealth: 1858-1875

When a band of fortune-seekers struck into what are now called the foothills of Colorado's Rocky Mountains in 1858, the region was a new frontier. It was split among the Kansas, Nebraska, Utah, and New Mexico territories, and only wandering trappers and a few scattered settlements and forts has pressed into the lands of native American Indian tribes.¹ In the eastern half of the region rolled the High Plains, the South Platte River cutting through the north and the Arkansas River through the south.² Up from these plains rose the Rocky Mountains, which covered roughly the central third of the state. The area

¹Carl Ubbelohde, Maxine Benson, and Duane A. Smith, *A Colorado History, Eight Ed.* (Boulder: Pruett, 2001), 55.

²Mel Griffiths and Lynnell Rubright, *Colorado: A Geography* (Boulder: Westview, 1983), 13.

remaining in the far west of the region consisted of the high plateaus of the Western Slope. Within these generalized boundaries smaller geographical distinctions existed, particularly where individual mountain ranges carve out localized ecological systems and, later, served to physically and psychologically divide the territory's inhabitants. Popular routes to the Pacific coast steered clear of the rugged Colorado mountains, with both the Oregon and California Trails cutting up through modern-day Wyoming and only a branch of the Santa Fe breaking into the region as it followed the Arkansas River. Thus, when a group of prospectors collected the first flakes of gold from their pans in that summer of 1858, a new age was ushered unto the largely unpopulated land.

In the spring of 1859 the Pike's Peak Gold Rush erupted, with as many as 100,000 people leaving their homes in the east for Colorado.³ After stopping for supplies in Denver City or neighboring Auraria, prospectors fanned out into the mountains to the west and northwest. By summer a lode mine had been established in Boulder Canyon, and soon settlements such as Central City and Blackhawk were founded in nearby Gregory Gulch.⁴ By the time territorial status was given to the region in 1861, towns like Cañon City, located southwest of Denver City, and Colorado City, straight south and on the eastern slope of Pikes Peak, supported prospectors eager to expand the scope of Colorado mining activity.

In the early 1860s gold reigned throughout Colorado, forging jobs and a population to fill the sparsely-inhabited land. Those who were not miners supported miners; by some estimations the number of settlers required to support the industry was five times the number pulling mineral from the ground.⁵ Yet gold proved, at least initially, to be too short in supply to sustain the young territory. As the decade progressed, miners expanded outward from initial discoveries in search of new sources of gold. What they found, however, was a more common but substantially valuable metal which became the backbone of Colorado's young

³Ibid., 62; Note that the "Pike's Peak" gold rush did not include the land surrounding Pike's Peak but was instead roughly 100 miles north of that area.

⁴Ibid., 67.

⁵Ibid., 71.

economy: silver.

By the mid 1860s, placer mining, which was conducted on the surface and involved simple methods like panning and sluicing, had largely played out, leading to a transition to hard rock mining.⁶ No longer could enterprising miners strike out on their own, extracting metals from the surface; hard rock mining required capital, specialized skill, and often milling. The mining game transitioned from an individual- or team-oriented venture to a corporate one. Near the same time, substantial silver lodes were uncovered. Investors attempting to hold together struggling gold communities lined up to finance major hard rock operations, leading to Colorado's silver boom.⁷

Many gold camps transitioned into silver towns, as was the case for towns like Georgetown and Silver Plume in Clear Creek Canyon. Others withered and died. Still others sprouted up where gold had been sparse or absent before. Silver ore was discovered in 1869 near what became the town of Caribou, the northernmost substantial silver operation in the territory. In the San Juan Mountains of southwestern Colorado, where a minor gold rush had taken place in the early 1860s, silver mines began opening in the early 1870s in settlements such as Del Norte, Silverton, and Rico.⁸ Kokomo was developed in the Ten Mile District while Aspen grew in the Roaring Fork, both in the center of Colorado territory. Then, in 1879, Colorado's greatest silver camp, Leadville, boomed. Its population surged 400 percent.⁹ That year, Lake County, within which Leadville was situated, boasted \$11,285,278 in metal production, more than all Colorado mining counties combined.¹⁰

⁶Duane A. Smith, *Silver Saga: The Story of Caribou, Colorado* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2003), xix.

⁷Liston E. Leyendecker, Christine A. Bradley, and Duane A. Smith, *The Rise of the Silver Queen: Georgetown, Colorado, 1859-1896* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 22.

⁸Robert L. Brown, *An Empire of Silver* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1965), 39, 59.

⁹Don L. Griswold and Jean Harvey Griswold, *The Carbonate Camp Called Leadville* (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1951), 99.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 58.

Yet even as silver fever surged in the early 1870s, the lasting value of Colorado's silver mines fell into doubt, due not primarily to the overabundance of silver but to federal currency policy. In the young years of the United States, a bimetallic standard of currency established both gold and silver as legal tender throughout the nation. Upon the recommendation of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, Congress had, in the 1790s, adopted a monetary policy in which the value of silver was fixed to that of gold at a ratio of 15 weights of silver to 1 weight of gold.¹¹ The ratio was adjusted slightly in 1834 to 16 to 1, a move intended to better reflect the market values of the metals.¹² The effect of the change, however, was to artificially bolster the value of gold and make more appealing the demonitization of silver later in the century.¹³

The first blow to Colorado's silver prospects came not in these early monetary decisions but in 1873 with the demonitization of silver as currency. The Silver Coinage Act of 1873 made law what had quietly become an increasingly monometallic monetary system in the United States, installing a limping standard in which both gold and silver were considered legal tender but only gold was being coined in substantial amounts by the U.S. government.¹⁴ The act spurred a massive devaluation in silver, which dropped from a market value ratio of roughly 15.7:1 against gold at the beginning of 1873 to nearly 18:1 by the end of 1879, with periods of incredible volatility in 1876 and 1879 during which the ratio dropped as low as 19.5:1.¹⁵ The Silver Coinage Act of 1873 cast the silver boom of 1870s Colorado in an ominous light. Its full effects, however, would not be felt for over a decade, leading Coloradans to charge unwaiveringly forward with the expansion of their silver industry.

¹¹J. Laurence Laughlin, *The History of Bimetallism in the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1900), 23.

¹²*Ibid.*, 69.

¹³*Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 210, Chart XVII.



Figure 3.1: A map of major mining towns and other relevant settlements (not to scale).

3.2 The Centennial State: 1876-1890

On August 1, 1876, its economy booming with income from its mines and its population swelling, Colorado was granted statehood. In the 17 years since gold had first been discovered, Denver (formed by the consolidation of Auraria and Denver City settlements in 1860) had evolved from a supply stop on the way to Colorado's mines to a political and economic hub. The mountain towns dotting the Colorado Rocky's supported thousands of miners and businesses. As the state's residents and settlers began to see themselves as more than a confederacy of mining camps — as citizens in a new American state — distinct regions of human geography emerged.

The core of Colorado's prosperity and population was its principle mining region,

which, by 1882, stretched from Boulder County just west of Denver southwest to Dolores County in the San Juan range.¹⁶ Gilpin County, home to Central City, was the state's most profitable core of gold production at the time, while Clear Creek (Georgetown) and Lake (Leadville) counties were booming from silver. Calm was far from the norm in mining camps and towns; they experienced major fluctuations in population as mines tapped into new lodes and old veins stopped paying out. The first major labor disputes in Colorado history also came about during this period, epitomized by the failed 1879 worker's strike of Leadville.¹⁷ Generally, however, the years from statehood through the 1880s mark a period of bounty in Colorado's mining communities.

At the same time, the state's Piedmont regions, which followed the South Platte and Arkansas Rivers across parts of the High Plains to the east, began to flourish. Denver developed as the region's political, economic, and cultural nexus while nearby Boulder and Golden continued to grow as miners passed through. Further north, irrigation along the South Platte River sparked settlement in towns like Greeley, the experimental utopian community encouraged by New York *Tribune* editor and publisher Horace Greeley, and Fort Collins.¹⁸ As communities spread eastward along the river, their identity and affiliation to the Denver Piedmont core was countered by the harsh realities of living on the high plains. Similarly, Pueblo and towns along the Arkansas River were ideologically and culturally drawn away from Denver and towards the distinct southern, Hispano region of the state.

Colorado's rivers and the irrigation ditches they filled turned countless acres of Colorado's Piedmont into workable agricultural lands. In the heart of the high plains, located between the South Platte and Arkansas River valleys, farming was less successful but no less promising. In 1870, the Kansas Pacific railroad cut through this area, providing the

¹⁶Charles W. Henderson, *Mining in Colorado: A History of Discovery, Development and Production* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926), 62.

¹⁷Richard E. Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Minters: A History of the Mining Labor Movement in the American West, 1863-1893* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 132-133.

¹⁸Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith, 126.

most direct line from the eastern states to Denver and Colorado's mines.¹⁹ Along the route, shipping points such as Hugo and Kit Carson cropped up to support plains industry, providing an outlet for cattle ranchers raising herds on the state's sprawling grasslands. Such communities were joined in the 1880s by hopeful settlers bedazzled by the prospect of the Colorado "Rain Belt," arid lands on the Eastern Slope that real estate promoters wrongly claimed would experience increased rainfall as a result of irrigation projects in the Piedmont.²⁰ At the urging of railroads, settlers planted corn and small grains in the counties of the plains, particularly along rail corridors. They continued pouring onto the Eastern Slope until, by the early 1890s, an increasingly harsh drought suggested the lands may not be as farm-friendly as advertised.²¹ By the middle of the 1890s, Colorado's true lack of potential for dryland farming would become apparent, sparking a mass exodus that would return the region to its enduring status as home to cattle ranchers and shipping points.

In the south of the state developed another subdivision of the state's population, defined by distinct culture that in many ways shared more in common with New Mexico than Colorado.²² The San Luis Valley was, in the days before the 1859 gold rush, the only area in the state with a sizeable non-American Indian population. It was inhabited by Hispanos who utilized farming and ranching practices common to the American Southwest. As a region, the San Luis Valley struggled to unify its political and cultural identity through the 1870s and 1880s, and localized affiliations based around county seats and markets were dominant.²³ The region's sense of Hispano community was diminished by an infusion of Anglo economic and agricultural practices, particularly the influence of railroads and irrigation, but was replaced with a uniquely multifaceted ethnic culture that retained southern Colorado as

¹⁹Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith, 117

²⁰William Wyckoff, *Creating Colorado: The Making of a Western American Landscape, 1860-1940* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1999), 172.

²¹*Ibid.*, 174.

²²*Ibid.*, 191.

²³*Ibid.*, 197.

a distinct region.²⁴

Finally, there developed on Colorado's Western Slope a fiercely independent and unique region of human geography. A rugged area largely untenable for agriculture, it was settled later and more sporadically than other parts of the state and quickly developed a sense of removal from the politics and culture east of the Continental Divide.²⁵ Major rail lines in the east did not connect with the Western Slope of the state until the 1880s, and it was not until late in the decade that many isolated mining communities received rail service. In the vast areas in the west absent of precious minerals, attempts were made to establish an agricultural economy; by the 1890s farmers were learning to successfully cultivate the land, exemplified in fruit orchards characteristic of the Colorado River Valley.²⁶

As the definitions of individual subregions within Colorado developed, a unique community rose to prominence at the eastern foot of Pike's Peak. As railroader General William Jackson Palmer developed his Denver and Rio Grande line through the Colorado Piedmont toward Mexico in the late 1860s he desired a major settlement to promote settlement along his railroad and to provide himself and his wife, Queen Palmer, a place to live.²⁷ Land at the eastern foot of Pike's Peak was purchased, plotted, and publicized as Fountain Colony, to be developed in the same temperance spirit of other Colorado cooperatives. Lots were made available in the summer of 1871.²⁸

Three qualities distinguished Colorado Springs, as the town came to be called, from other settlements in the state. The first was its tenuous relationship with alcohol. Although temperance was written into the settlement's original charter, drink was plentiful, provided largely through pharmacies and a downtown "spiritual wheel," a spinning, partitioned tray

²⁴Ibid., 213.

²⁵Ibid., 220.

²⁶Ibid., 230.

²⁷Marshall Sprague, *Newport in the Rockies: The Life and Good Times of Colorado Springs* (Chicago: Sage, 1961), 22.

²⁸Ibid., 32.

built into a wall that, a coin having been set thereupon, would spin around to reveal a shot of whiskey.²⁹ While many of the city's most prominent citizens were known to drink, some of its most vocal, such as *Gazette* editor J. Elsom Liller, made much noise attacking town officials for not strictly enforcing the ban.

Second, Colorado Springs was in many ways closer allied to London, England, than Denver, Colorado. Many of the settlement's original financiers, promoters, settlers, and visitors were English. The influence of many of these individuals led to the development of a distinctly British culture and the town's labeling as "Little London." So pervasive was this culture that a popular joke in the 1870s and 1880s, quoted from Marshall Sprague's *Newport in the Rockies: The Life and Good Times of Colorado Springs*, said, "two Americans stood chatting in the sunshine on Tejon Street [downtown Colorado Springs]. One carried an umbrella and had his trousers rolled up. The other asked, 'Why are you walking around with an umbrella and your trousers that way?' The reply: 'Just got a cable from London. It's raining cats and dogs there.'"³⁰

Finally, the town's economy came to be dominated by a model that, though prevalent in modern-day Colorado, was previously unheard of. Colorado Springs was heralded in the 1870s as a haven for those afflicted by tuberculosis and other breathing problems, leading to a rush of patients to the town, desperate for any promising treatment for their various maladies.³¹ Through that decade and into the 1880s, Colorado Springs became first a health destination and, soon thereafter, an early American example of a tourism center, with visitors eagerly scrambling through Pike's Peak's canyons and highlands. Elegant hotels and retreats such as the Antlers and Broadmoor were constructed, and a cog railway was installed to comfortably lift passengers straight to the mountain's peak. The Colorado Midland was constructed to connect Colorado Springs directly to Aspen mines in the center of the state's

²⁹Ibid., 66.

³⁰Ibid., 87.

³¹Ibid., 72.

mountains. By 1890, the city's population had jumped to 11,200 from 4,500 only six years before. Colorado Springs had become a leisure retreat — one of the first in America's West.

Elsewhere in Colorado the state's economy diversified somewhat through the 1880s, but mining remained a dominant source of income. That business, however, was never a sure one, and as Colorado's silver mines dug deeper through the decade, the value of silver faltered. By the end of 1885 it had slumped to all new lows in relation to gold, and by the end of the decade silver was regularly dipping below a 22:1 ratio.³² Such fluctuations put an incredible strain on Colorado silver mines, with increased efficiency from improved processes and equipment struggling to match the almost constant devaluation of their product.

The gathering storm seemed to clear in 1890, a year that held great promise for Colorado and its silver mines. Silver proponents in Washington managed to push through the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which increased the previously minimal monthly silver purchase of the federal government from between \$2 to \$4 million dollars under previous law to 4.5 million ounces.³³ While it stopped far short of returning the United States to a bimetal standard of currency, it did offer some relief to slumping silver prices and, therefore, to those depending on the value of the metal for their livelihoods. Silver jumped back to almost 17:1 against gold. Thus, as Colorado stepped into the closing decade of the 1800s, its future was promising.

3.3 The Greatest Gold Camp on Earth: 1891-1896

As silver mines were constructed across Colorado's vast mining corridor the hills and valleys west of Colorado Springs in El Paso County remained pristine. Despite predictions in the 1870s that the ground at the western foot of Pike's Peak was full of gold, the region failed to attract serious attention, with proven discoveries elsewhere distracting prospectors away.³⁴

³²Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism*, 210, Chart XVII.

³³This action shifted the amount of silver purchased from a set dollar amount to a set weight, regardless of dollar amount.

³⁴Marshall Sprague, *Money Mountain: The Story of Cripple Creek Gold* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1979), 14.

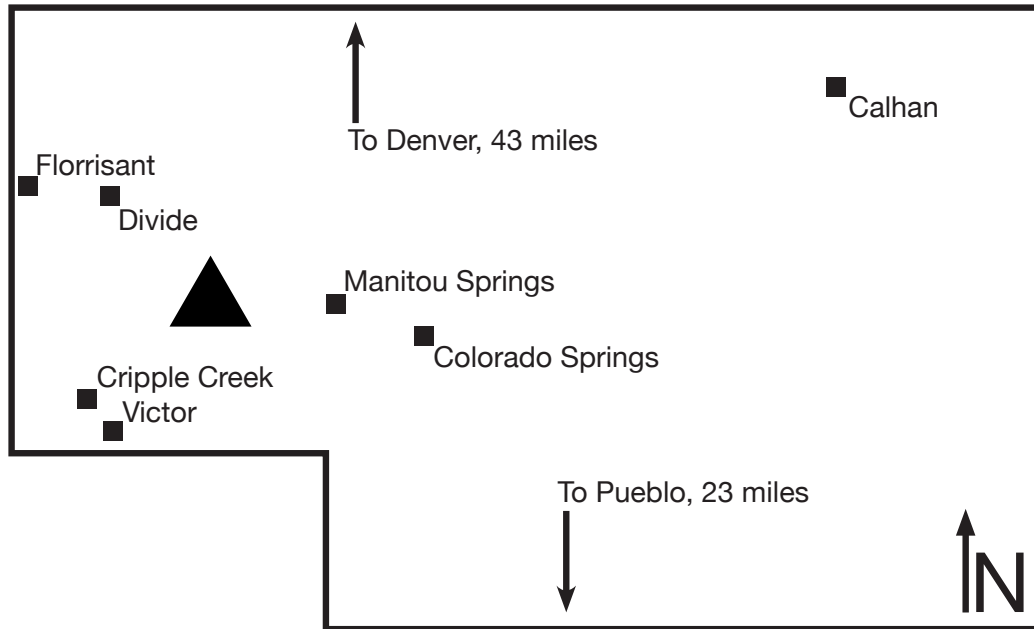


Figure 3.2: A map of El Paso County (not to scale).

Some tested the region as early as 1874 but found nothing. Later, in 1878, Bob Womack, who lived in the area and championed its minings prospects, discovered an individual piece of float that fetched a decent assay, but failed to locate its source.³⁵ A number of hoaxes and busts in the region made more trouble for Womack, who became convinced the region sat on significant gold deposits, as he attempted to gain support for the area. In fall of 1886 he staked his first claim, the Grand View, where he thought gold *might* be found, and the next spring staked another, the Sunview.³⁶ Then, after years of prospecting without a significant discovery, Bob Womack struck gold. On October 20, 1890, he staked a proven claim, the El Paso Lode.

Attention was not immediately paid to Womack's discovery, but by the following

³⁵Ibid., 18. The term "float" refers to a small piece of a surface mineral deposit that breaks free from the surrounding deposit and is carried downhill by water; finding float was a signal to a prospector that valuable minerals may be in the area. An "assay" is an assessment of a mineral that determines the value of the metal (in this instance, gold) trapped within.

³⁶Ibid., 40-41.

spring, the 40 or so prospectors who had heard of the find and traveled to investigate it decided to formally organize the area.³⁷ On April 5, 1891, the Cripple Creek Mining District was created.³⁸ The following summer was not particularly profitable for the fledgling district; hundreds of claims were staked but little gold was pulled from the ground.³⁹ Then, in November, the first major investment in the district was made — \$80,000 for a single property. The first townsite in the district, Fremont, was founded in the same month, and a neighboring rival townsite, Cripple Creek, in February of 1892. That year miners began pouring into the district, lured by the promise of quick success, as had miners in the original Colorado gold rush some 33 years earlier.

Meanwhile, the decade that had begun with promise for the state's silver industry was turning out to be a nightmare. After a strong recovery immediately following passage of Sherman Silver Purchase Act, silver prices had fallen sharply in 1891 and to unprecedented lows in 1892.⁴⁰ Coloradans felt they had been shorted by a silver bill that did too little, as did silver advocates in Washington. Upon the silver issue, U.S. Senator Henry M. Teller, Colorado's "Great Silver Champion," built for himself a political platform that resonated powerfully with his constituents. He, too, felt the 1890 act had been a far cry from what he and his allies had originally proposed: full remonetization of silver as currency.⁴¹ A Republican, Teller and other western senators often broke with their party on certain issues such as agriculture and, above all others, silver.

The free silver movement, discussed here in terms of the opening years of the 1890s, was no mere continuation of the monetary policy debates characteristic of the decades surrounding the Civil War. Those battles had broken down along party lines and were largely

³⁷Wilbur F. Stone, *History of Colorado* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1918), 276.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 64.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 75.

⁴⁰Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism*, 210, Chart XVII.

⁴¹Duane A. Smith, *Henry M. Teller: Colorado's Grand Old Man* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002), 180.

satiated by the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, which offered minor concessions to silver advocates while maintaining the limping standard instated by the Coinage Act of 1873.⁴² Instead, the free silver movement of the 1890s was marked by sectional and class differences that tore political parties apart. This new fight for bimetallism drew a great deal of energy from growing Populist sentiment in the state, but as Robert Larson notes in *Populism in the Mountain West*, the silver issue came to subsume other Populist concerns such as antimonopolism and social reform.⁴³ In Colorado, such developments drew the state into a battle that pitted local interests against those of the East, leading the state to political sectionalization that determined who was and was not fit to rule in local, state, and federal political positions.

The brewing state resentment over the silver issue exploded as the nation fell into the Panic of 1893 and the resulting multi-year depression. Troubling economic signs were catapulted to catastrophe as business failures increased in the leadup to the collapse of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad in February of 1893.⁴⁴ A resulting panic was stemmed, but only temporarily. The stock market crashed May 5; thereafter depositors began to doubt the stability of banks and withdrawals began, starting in New York and radiating outward. On June 27, it was announced that India would cease coinage of silver in favor of the British gold standard, causing a collapse in price of that metal as its market further dwindled.⁴⁵ In July the crisis was fully felt in Colorado; half of Denver's banks closed as the panic climaxed. The following months brought with them the onset of a depression that would last throughout President Cleveland's second term and into the 1896 election.

Colorado was devastated. In the four days following the India announcement the

⁴²Allen Weinstein, *Prelude to Populism: Origins of the Silver Issue, 1867-1878* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 358.

⁴³Robert W. Larson, *Populism in the Mountain West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 38.

⁴⁴Douglas Steeples and David O. Whitten, *Democracy in Desperation: The Depression of 1893* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998), 32.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 34.

value of silver dropped 25 percent from already painful lows.⁴⁶ By September the state had less than half the number of operating mines as had been open in fall of 1892. Tens of thousands were out of work and those businesses that depended on mining for patronage — mills, outfitters, and practically any business within a silver camp — were wrecked. Compounding the state's economic woes, the drought already straining resources on the High Plains intensified, dismissing once and for all the tragically hopeful prospect of a Colorado Rain Belt.

Without silver the state was in dire straits, and without positive legislation there seemed little hope for either Colorado or the silver industry. The legislation that *did* come, far from saving Colorado, spelled disaster for its mines. On June 30, President Cleveland called for a special session of Congress to begin August 7. When the two chambers met, Cleveland set only one task before them: the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act.⁴⁷ Such a bill passed the House by the close of the month. Senators, including Colorado's Henry Teller and Ed Wolcott, were obstinate, but a majority eventually capitulated on October 30. Repeal of the 1890 act was signed into law on November 1, 1893.

Meanwhile, as Colorado's silver economy spiraled, along with much of the United States, into depression, Cripple Creek erupted with prosperity, replete with the fittings of a booming mining community. In July of 1893, Winfield Scott Stratton, Cripple Creek's best-known mine owner, began working an enormous gold vein in his Independence mine.⁴⁸ Denver tycoons like Dave Moffat entered the scene, infusing the district with capital and outside influence. Outfitters, saloons, restaurants, tenements, prostitution houses, and stock brokerages appeared and multiplied. An avalanche of miners thundered in to give them patronage, many of them casualties of Colorado silver mine closures. From only a few hundred prospectors in 1891, the district's population exploded by 1894 to almost 20,000

⁴⁶Ubbelohde, Benson, and Smith, *A Colorado History*, 217.

⁴⁷Henry J. Ford, *The Cleveland Era: A Chronicle of the New Order in Politics* (New York: United States Publishers, 1972), 180.

⁴⁸Sprague, *Money Mountain*, 124.

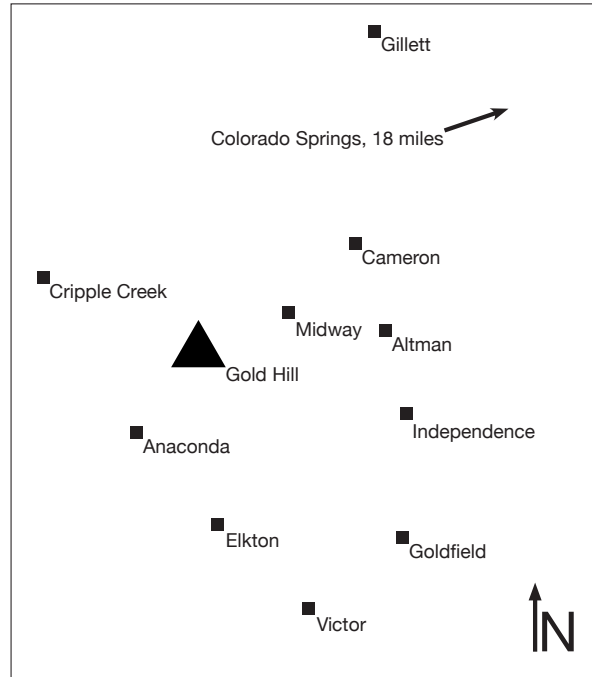


Figure 3.3: A map of the Cripple Creek Mining District (not to scale).

with no signs of slowing.⁴⁹

The massive increase in gold discoveries, population, and capital led to a equally incredible surge in gold production. Output in 1893 quadrupled that of the year before, springing to \$2,025,518 out of 150 mines.⁵⁰ But this surge did not come without a price. As more and more miners appeared, many desperate for the employment available only in Cripple Creek, mine owners saw opportunity. In August of 1893, a labor battle common to hardrock mining communities, that for an eight-hour work day, erupted. Miners wanted \$3.00 for eight hours of work each day, as they had been earning previously. Many mine owners (Stratton and a few others excluded) insisted on nine hours of work at the same rate.⁵¹ A battle ensued that lasted until June of 1894, when the mine owners capitulated on the condition that those labor organizers accused of legal breeches committed over the

⁴⁹Ibid., 300.

⁵⁰Ibid., 297.

⁵¹Ibid., 134.

course of the conflict face charges.⁵² In its wake, the conflict left a pronounced cultural, class, and political divide between the district and its neighbor, Colorado Springs, which staunchly supported the mine owners throughout the conflict.⁵³

Despite the prolonged battle, Cripple Creek maintained previous gold outputs in 1894 and exhibited spectacular growth in the years following. In 1895 production increased to \$6,210,662 and in 1896 to \$7,456,763; by 1896 the district population almost doubled from 1894 levels to 36,850.⁵⁴ Soon after the strike ended, the first railroad tracks connected Cripple Creek town to Colorado smelters and mills by way of the Florence and Cripple Creek railroad, which led out of the district to the west. In December of 1895, a more direct route via the Midland Terminal railroad conferred passengers to Colorado Springs and the Colorado Piedmont.⁵⁵ Relations between Colorado Springs and the district would improve somewhat, largely the result of two devastating fires that destroyed much of Cripple Creek town on April 25 and 29, 1896. Residents of Colorado Springs provided a great deal of support to the district by way of a series of relief trains.⁵⁶ In addition to easing tensions between Cripple Creek and Colorado Springs, the fires provided an opportunity to replace the ragged, unpainted, stick-frame buildings ubiquitous with early mining communities with presentable and enduring brick structures.

As the district boomed, scores of newspapers were born, lived, and died telling its history. Precisely which newspaper was first in the district is unclear; Sprague's definitive district history identifies the Cripple Creek *Crusher* as the forerunner, while prominent

⁵²For detailed accounts of the 1893-94 and later 1903-04 labor conflicts in the Cripple Creek Mining District, see Benjamin McKie Rastall, "The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District: A Study in Industrial Evolution" (Master's thesis, The University of Wisconsin, 1906).

⁵³Sprague, *Money Mountain*, 148.

⁵⁴Ibid., 297, 300.

⁵⁵Ibid., 168.

⁵⁶Ibid., 195.

Colorado newspaper directories point to the Cripple Creek *Prospector*.⁵⁷ Regardless which came first, competitors quickly proliferated in each settlement within the district. Many newspapers lasted only weeks or months; others, such as the Cripple Creek *Times*, lasted for decades under a variety of names and managements.

As a community, Cripple Creek had to navigate difficult political territory in choosing allegiances. Its industry was gold, and high gold prices meant more money flowing into the district. Yet Colorado as a whole was committed to silver; by the 1890s, only Cripple Creek and a few other communities in the state were mining gold rather than silver. Many district miners had honed their craft in the silver mines and would benefit from a more competitive economy; more open mines would mean more demand for miners, leading to higher wages. Mine owners, on the other hand, benefitted from a glut of workers competing for jobs.

Silver was overwhelmingly supported throughout most of the state, causing major problems for certain groups and organizations, especially political parties. In June of 1896, discontent within the Republican party erupted into all-out civil war, with Colorado's Great Silver Champion firing the first bullet. Senator Teller, in protest of the Republican party's refusal to incorporate free silver as a plank of the 1896 William McKinley platform, bolted the national convention in St. Louis. He was followed by the entire Colorado delegation, as well as that of Idaho and much of those of Montana, Nevada, and Utah.⁵⁸ Nationally, the rebels fractured the Republican voter base, pushing many towards the Democratic nominee, William Jennings Bryan. In Colorado, Teller effectively knocked the Republican party free of its base; those who remained true to the national Republican party, the McKinley Republicans, were labeled as goldbugs, beholden to capitalists in the East and against Colorado's silver interests. They were, therefore, largely abandoned by their constituents. Those effected by the mixup included Teller's colleague in the Senate, Ed Wolcott, who claimed to support bimetallism but refused to join in the bolt. Teller spurred the creation of a Silver

⁵⁷Sprague, *Money Mountain*, 101; Wallace Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 1939), 91.

⁵⁸Stone, *History of Colorado*, 440.

Republican party in the state, frequently joining with Populists and Democrats to form local and state silver tickets. Wolcott attempted to salvage the state Republican machinery; in doing so, he condemned his political future.

Many mine owners lived in Colorado Springs and the town was known to be a rare Colorado stronghold of McKinley Republicanism.⁵⁹ It is likely such support reflected a combination of the large number of wealthy gold mine owners and of gold standard-supporting English residing in the town. Regardless of why gold/silver tensions existed in Cripple Creek and neighboring communities, the area was subjected to an unusual tension between gold-bugism and Colorado's sectional silver interests. The ideological/political conflict facing Cripple Creek as the 1896 presidential election approached is neatly summarized in the comments of mine owner W. S. Stratton: "I am deeply interested in seeing Bryan elected. I realize that the maintenance of the gold standard would perhaps be best for me individually, but I believe that free silver is the best thing for the working masses of this country."⁶⁰ Thus, the stage was set in the district for a war of ideas, a struggle that pit gold against silver, district interests against state interests, Colorado Springs against Cripple Creek, and, in time, Cripple Creek against its neighboring mine towns.

⁵⁹*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 1, 1898.

⁶⁰Sprague, *Money Mountain*, 211.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS, 1896-1899

4.1 1896

The 1896 election between William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley came at a time of great excitement in the Cripple Creek Mining District. The district had hauled in more than twice as much gold in 1895 as it had in 1894 and there was every reason to expect continued growth in gold production into 1896.¹ Bolstering such optimism was the prospect that the entire state of Colorado might receive a major jolt of economic fortune should the Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan, be elected president. Since 1894, Bryan had been carrying the banner of the free coinage of silver, a cause neatly summarized in his often cited one-line campaign cry: “I will not help to crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.”² Bryan had stirred the dominant silver faction of his party to action at the Chicago Democratic National Convention in July, pushing down proponents of single-currency policy and ensuring silver would be a central issue in the campaign. A plank demanding the “free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold” was adopted to the party platform, calling for action specifically “without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.” Such a demand flew in the face of Colorado Republican Sen. Ed Wolcott, who advocated for bimetallism only through international accord.³

Coloradans were elated by the prospect of a rejuvenated silver industry, which seemed, for the first time in years, a very real possibility. In the Cripple Creek district papers were quick to rush to Bryan’s side, many abandoning the traditional Republican party completely and following Sen. Henry Teller to the new Silver Republican party. This was certainly

¹Marshall Sprague, *Money Mountain: The Story of Cripple Creek Gold* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1979), 297.

²R. Hal Williams, *Realigning America: McKinley, Bryan, and the Remarkable Election of 1896* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 71.

³*Ibid.*, 79.

true of the weekly edition of the Cripple Creek *Times*, which, despite undergoing management changes during the election months, remained almost single-mindedly devoted to silver and harshly critical of the McKinley Republicans, including politicians previously considered allies of silver. The newspaper tied McKinley Republicans, including Colorado Springs political leaders and Sen. Wolcott, directly to the gold standard. It did not mince words and was happy to call out opposing newspapers. By early October, politicking in the *Times* had devolved into a shouting match between that newspaper and the Colorado Springs *Gazette* in which attitudes against the Cripple Creek neighbor's politics and cultural tendencies came out in full force. "The Colorado Springs Gazette calls The Times a 'red neck,' the *Times* wrote. "Well, that is better than being called a gold bug and an English aping, golf-playing monocle wearing jackass."⁴

Identifying precisely whose editorial voice cried so against Colorado Springs Republicans is difficult to discern with any certainty. Thomas M. Howell was listed on the *Times* editorial page as publisher of the newspaper until October 8, when his name was dropped and Charles H. Berry listed, alone, as editor.⁵ The official name of the newspaper changed in that month from the Cripple Creek *Times* to the Weekly Cripple Creek *Times*, and editorship was passed on to Joseph P. Riley on Oct. 29.⁶ The circumstances surrounding these changes is not clear, but of crucial importance is that the editorial voice of the newspaper was unaffected by the changes. It supported the national Democratic party and Bryan throughout the election. In local and state elections, a fusion ticket of Democrats and Silver Republicans was lifted, underlining that Bryan's endorsement was out of allegiance to the interests of silver primarily and to the Democratic party only secondarily, if at all.

⁴*Times* (weekly) (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 1, 1896.

⁵*Times* (weekly) (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 8, 1896.

⁶The first issue available under the new Weekly Cripple Creek *Times* name was *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 29, 1896; *Times* (weekly) (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 15, 1896 was under the old name, and the Oct. 22, 1896 issue was unavailable. For the arrival of Riley at the paper, see *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 29, 1896. Both newspapers were weekly editions.

Cripple Creek editors were vocal in support of silver — the cause of greater Colorado — even as they recognized the difficulties free coinage would bring to the district. The Cripple Creek *Mail*, an advertiser published by William Barber, was staunchly pro-silver and asked to be mailed to the goldbug east to combat the effects of the “combined money power ... flooding the country with gold arguments.”⁷ Speeches given by Bryan as he campaigned from state to state were given valuable front page space typically reserved for advertisements.⁸ This was done even as district editors and voters acknowledged free silver would come at a price, a fear assuaged by the sheer magnitude of mining operations in the district:

The last three months of the year will show a greater production for Cripple Creek than the first six. The free coinage of silver will take 10,000 people out of Cripple to the silver camps but this, the greatest gold producing district in the world, is a unit for the unlimited coinage of the white metal. We are prosperous and we want to see the rest of the country in the same satisfactory condition.⁹

While the *Mail's* support for silver and Colorado against Cripple Creek's local interests is clear, the rationale for such sentiment was not openly expressed by district newspapers in 1896. In time, however, editors would come to handle the silver issue differently and by the end of the century would clearly explain their willingness to elevate silver above gold.

The 1896 election escaped W. J. Bryan, but not for a lack of support in Colorado or the Cripple Creek district. Nationally, McKinley won with almost 53 percent of the popular vote. Of almost 190,000 total votes cast for president in Colorado, 161,005, or 85 percent, were for Bryan.¹⁰ Cripple Creek editors were disappointed by the result but were forward-looking and enthusiastic about the future for Bryan and the cause of bimetallism. “While the campaign against Mr. McKinley has ceased,” wrote the *Mail*, “the campaign against the single gold standard will still go on — the work will continue as never before — and the

⁷*Mail* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 5, 1896.

⁸See, for example, *Mail* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 3, 1896.

⁹*Mail* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 19, 1896.

¹⁰Williams, *Realigning America*, 186.

administration of a goldbug president and congress during the next four years will convince all, as nothing else can, the need of free coinage of silver.”¹¹

Newspapers exhibited clear allegiance to Colorado’s sectional silver interest when editorializing the 1896 presidential election, but matters related to bimetallism as well as regionalism seeped into other topics as well. Sentiment in support of county division became pronounced during the election months of 1896, particularly in the *Mail*, which echoed the *Times*’ disdain for Colorado Springs. “We are tired of being the tail end of Little Lunnion [sic] and a subject of the queen,” wrote the *Mail*, criticizing Colorado Springs as more English than American.¹² Such attacks were not simply xenophobic; they were closely tied to the cause of silver. Great Britain, a supporter of the gold standard, had been the target of Sen. Henry Teller’s oratory for years.¹³ Combined with its marked loyalty to the traditional (McKinley) Republican party and its being home to many of Cripple Creek’s wealthy mine owners, Colorado Springs gained a reputation as a goldbug stronghold in an otherwise silver state (Cripple Creek district included), providing ammunition to those calling for a split between the Republican, English, gold standard west and the Fusionist, working class, bimetallist east sections of El Paso County. The newspapers of Colorado Springs and particularly the *Gazette* provided additional ammunition to Cripple Creek newspapers by expressing what the *Mail* identified as pro-gold sentiments. “The Colorado Springs Gazette takes pride in advertising itself as the old goldbug paper in the state,” it printed. “Oh, shame!”¹⁴

The *Mail* was not alone in devoting significant attention to the matter of county division. Back at the *Times*, calls for the formal divorce of Cripple Creek district from Colorado Springs were frequent and forceful and were often mentioned in the same breath as silver matters. In one example, the paper said, “the questions of the return of Senator

¹¹ *Mail* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 7, 1896.

¹² *Mail* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 10, 1896.

¹³ Duane A. Smith, *Henry M. Teller: Colorado’s Grand Old Man* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002), 192.

¹⁴ *Mail* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 19, 1896. No italics in original.

Teller to the United States senate and county division are paramount in this campaign.”¹⁵ By election end, the *Times* was claiming Colorado Springs would be happy to be rid of the district and its adamant support of silver, but gleefully called on Cripple Creek to demand more than its neighbor would like to give. “Colorado Springs is badly frightened ... they are dead anxious to get rid of us and the fear with them is that the omniverous aboriginies of this locality will not permit them to have the Peak [Pike’s Peak, located squarely in the middle of El Paso County] to which they are so fondly attached.”¹⁶ Thus, despite the defeat of Bryan, spirits bouyant from the success of state silver forces led Cripple Creek editors to accentuate differences between the district and its eastern neighbor when agitating for county division. Through this habit, which was exhibited by both the *Times* and *Mail*, regional lines were drawn separating the two localities and facilitating the intensification of political ideology within the eastern and western halves of El Paso County. In subsequent years these tensions would come to a head.

Finally, other political regions within Colorado were mentioned, however briefly, in the columns of the two newspapers. The independence of Colorado’s Western Slope counties, for example, was reflected in the comments of the *Times*, which noted former Populist Governor Davis H. Waite, running again in 1896 for governor as a Populist, stood to make strides in the pro-Populist west and particularly in the San Juan Mountains in the southwest corner of the state.¹⁷

4.2 1897

As the district moved out of 1896 and into 1897 a short-lived period of stability, both in politics and newspaper management, came to define the newspapers under review in this study. Soon before August 10, 1897 the Cripple Creek *Morning Times*, the daily edition of

¹⁵ *Times* (weekly) (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 24, 1896.

¹⁶ *Weekly Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 12, 1896.

¹⁷ *Weekly Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 29, 1896.

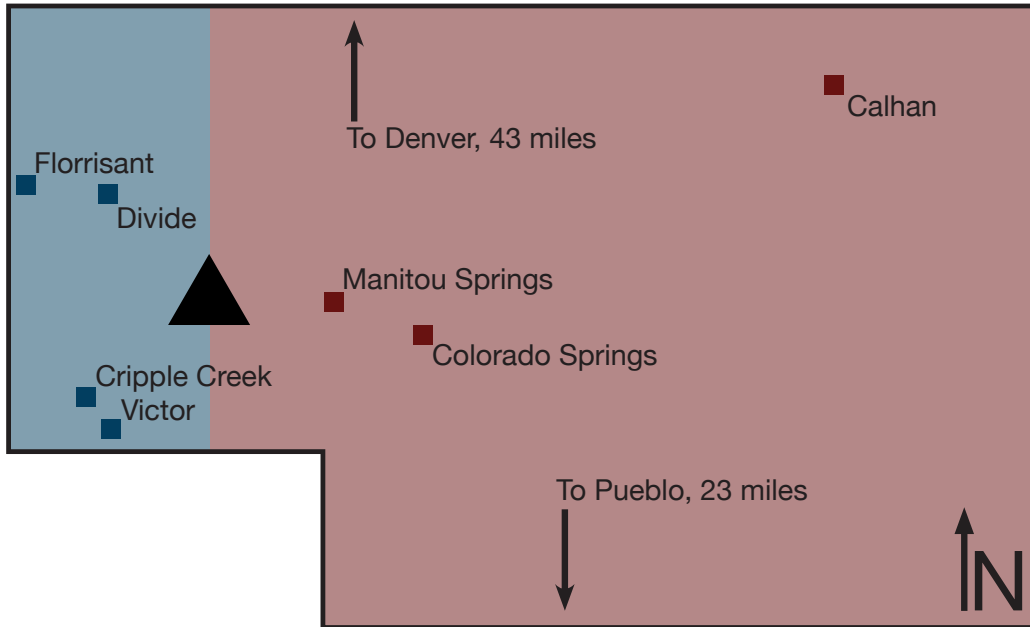


Figure 4.1: A map illustrating the political regions of El Paso County, as identified by district editors (not to scale).

the *Times*, came under the management of G. S. Hoag and his editor, F. J. Arkins.¹⁸ In terms of support of silver, the duo was unwavering. The newspaper supported a straight Silver Republican ticket in the 1897 election and staunchly opposed fusion with the Republicans, who were apparently very desirous of cooperation. The chief argument used by Arkins against fusion, however, was not over differences pertaining to the silver question, but rather regionalistic antagonisms between eastern and western El Paso County, drawing upon the same tensions developed the year before. The *Morning Times* quoted the chairman of the county Silver Republican party as saying:

¹⁸Incomplete holdings make discerning the exact date Hoag and Arkins took control of the newspaper difficult. The Aug. 10 and 11 issues, however, included a notice that all subscriptions had been passed on to Hoag and Arkin's new management (see *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Aug. 10, 11, 1897). The daily edition of the 1896 *Times* could not be found for inclusion in this research; the 1897 *Morning Times* is the daily edition of the same weekly *Times* reviewed for 1896.

The integrity of the Silver Republican party must be maintained, and it is for this reason we are averse to fusing the greater portion of our ticket that the Colorado Springs end of the county may benefit. We want county division; we want self-government, and we earnestly desire that the 50,000 people in this district shall have a direct voice in the management of their own affairs.¹⁹

As the election season continued, editor Arkins repeatedly used the claim that fusionists, who lifted a combined Silver Republican/Democratic/Populist ticket, and the Republicans should both be opposed by Silver Republicans because both tickets were averse to county division.²⁰ Evidence for such claims is sparse. Occasionally, but rarely, the Silver Republican party vote would be encouraged by the *Morning Times* as the only vote for free silver, or for Sen. Teller.²¹ Yet even in these cases, “the Silver Republican party is, above all, the party of county division.”²² Thus, for Hoag, Arkins, and their *Morning Times*, the use of the silver issue and its leading political party, the Silver Republicans, was not, in 1897, about delineating between supporters of bimetallism and the gold standard but between those in favor of home rule for the district and those preferring a unified El Paso County. In this matter, the silver issue was, only a year after the Bryan/McKinley election, being manipulated for use in regional political battles.

Meanwhile, other newspapers eschewed the idea that success for the fusionists meant defeat for county division. The Cripple Creek *Citizen*, for example, did not hesitate to support the fusion ticket while calling for the breakup of El Paso County. According to the *Citizen*, Colorado Springs was under the political thumb of a Republican “gang” set on blocking county division.²³ The key to ensuring county division, therefore, was to support the silver fusion ticket to defeat the Republicans. Fusion, in this case, was perfectly compatible and perhaps best suited to county division. Such fusion, it must be stressed, was only

¹⁹*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 21, 1897.

²⁰See for example: *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 22, 24, 26, 28, 1897.

²¹*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 24, 1897.

²²*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 24, 1897.

²³*Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 19, 1897.

possible through the amplification of pro-silver sentiment in the district; it is highly unlikely Democrats, Populists, and Republican factionists (in this case, Silver Republicans) would have come together if not for the divisive nature of the silver question within Republican ranks. The *Citizen* and the *Morning Times*, then, utilized the regionalistic political issue of county division in similar but distinct ways to drive support to their chosen silver factions, either the straight Silver Republican ticket (*Morning Times*) or the fusion ticket (*Citizen*).

In other matters, the *Morning Times* and the *Citizen* expressed similar sentiments, particularly in relation to Sen. Ed Wolcott. In 1897 President McKinley appointed a U.S. delegation, Wolcott among its members, to the International Bimetallic Commission, an organization charged with negotiating matters of currency standards among nations. If bimetallism was to be agreed upon through the efforts of the commission, England would have to be persuaded to abandon its unilateral endorsement of the gold standard. Wolcott had refused to bolt his party in the 1896 presidential election and remained loyal to the traditional pro-gold Republican party. This put him in severe tension with the sectional silver interests of his state. The success of the International Bimetallic Commission in tying the United States and European nations together under a bimetallic standard was, therefore extremely important to Wolcott's political future. Sen. Teller, among others, insisted the entire exercise of the commission was a farce, as England would never consider a bimetallic system, and that the U.S. should therefore step out and adopt a bimetallic currency independent of other nations. Despite this, Wolcott persisted in his efforts and spent a great deal of time overseas on diplomatic missions intended to encourage cooperation on the development of an international bimetallic standard.²⁴

Wolcott's efforts were indeed in vain, and Cripple Creek newspapers held little back in criticizing his attempts to negotiate with England on the matter. In October the *Morning Times* supported Teller's assertions that talks between the U.S. and England were hope-

²⁴Smith, *Henry M. Teller*, 215. For an example of Teller against efforts to secure an international bimetallic agreement, see *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 9, 1897.

less; that the only way to encourage bimetallism among nations was to install a bimetallic standard in the U.S. first, and that nothing would come of the commission.²⁵ The *Citizen* was less tempered in its reflections on the negotiations and more severe with Wolcott, who the newspaper claimed was only feigning support for silver: “‘Silver Ed’ is about ready to return from England with his cock-and-bull story. He has had a big time hobnobbing with English nobility at the expense of this government, but his trip has not been in vain as it has demonstrated English hostility to bimetallism and shown the American people that they need expect no support from that source until it is forced.”²⁶ If the sentiments of Cripple Creek editors were remotely close to those of Coloradans as a whole, Sen. Wolcott’s political future was in jeopardy.

As Cripple Creek publishers began sidelining Wolcott as a goldbug Republican, another healthy district press was churning out papers at full speed; in Victor, *Daily Record* editor Frank N. Briggs was echoing the *Citizen*’s pro-fusion voice while painting a more nuanced portrait of Wolcott. In a late September editorial, Wolcott’s failed efforts to strike a deal with the English on bimetallism were identified favorably as “honest and herculean,” if hopeless.²⁷ But the newspaper was far from consistent in its encouragement; it had been antagonistic towards Wolcott only days before,²⁸ and by November was outwardly hostile.²⁹ In that case the senator was told to choose, once and for all, “a landing place either in the camp of silver or of gold.” Briggs’ gold camp newspaper was, like other before it, insisting on allegiance to silver over gold, despite the newspaper’s reliance on gold for its existence.

In stark contrast to his contemporaries in Cripple Creek, Briggs avoided conflating the issue of county division with that of bimetallism. Instead, he focused on making silver the chief issue in all political matters during the 1897 campaign, lifting its champion, Teller, to

²⁵ *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 9, 1897.

²⁶ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 16, 1897.

²⁷ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 28, 1897.

²⁸ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 18, 1897.

²⁹ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 6, 1897.

god-like status. Even if politicians were quiet on silver in the 1897 election, Briggs wrote, the state's voters were still concerned with the issue.³⁰ The *Daily Record* also drew on tried-and-true descriptions of Colorado Springs as under the sway of a “gang of goldbug McKinleyites,” further exacerbating county tensions.³¹ Most notably in terms of intra-county regionalism, Briggs chose, in reporting the results of the November election, to present separate vote counts for communities in the east half of the county — dominated by Colorado Springs — and the mining west.³² While he avoided tying division and the silver parties together, Briggs was staunchly pro-division in fall of 1897 and denounced claims by the *Morning Times* that the fusion ticket receiving his support was against division.³³

While different publishers utilized bimetallism as a motivation to vote in different directions, they came together on matters of regional tension. The *Morning Times*, *Citizen*, and *Daily Record* all supported county division, even if they could not agree which political ticket would lead to it. Further, two of these newspapers — the *Citizen* and the *Daily Record* — made the outcome of the election not just a matter of choosing county representatives but as a national proclamation on the silver question as a whole. To the *Citizen*, defeat of Colorado Springs Republicans was crucial because El Paso County was “recognized as the center of gold bugism in the state.”³⁴ Should it go to the Republicans, “eastern people” would see silver as a dead cause. Likewise, the *Daily Record* stated the election of the Republican candidate “would be heralded in the east as an evidence of a change of sentiment on the silver question in Colorado.”³⁵ In this way, El Paso County was made, at least rhetorically, to be a barometer for the status of bimetallism in Colorado, and Colorado's opinion as representative of western states as a whole. Thus, invisible ideological boundaries

³⁰*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 30, 1897.

³¹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 2, 1897.

³²*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 4, 1897.

³³*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 28, 1897.

³⁴*Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 17, 1897.

³⁵*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 15, 1897.

were constructed, isolating El Paso County as a microcosm within the state and separating Colorado and the West from the eastern United States. Similarly, the *Daily Record* again used the English cultural heritage of Colorado Springs as a point of criticism, calling out the town and its Republican gang as “subjects of Queen Victoria” and “of the wealthy aristocracy of Colorado Springs, whose sympathies are anywhere but with those who toil.”³⁶

It warrants mention that these perceived ideological divisions along regional lines were not simple fabrications of district editors. Accounts of Silver Republican political gatherings published in the *Morning Times*, for example, show that the Cripple Creek/Colorado Springs animosity existed even among silver allies. At one event, in fact, district Silver Republicans so antagonized their Colorado Springs peers that the latter withdrew from a convention hall, chased out by jeers of “Good-bye, Little Lunnon: good-bye.”³⁷

Lastly, just as regional delineations trickled forth from 1896 editorializations, so too did they during the 1897 contest. Victor, for example, was identified by the *Daily Record* as a stronghold of Populist sentiment, while Arapaho County, home to Denver, was criticized for overemphasizing its importance in political matters compared to the rest of the state.³⁸

4.3 1898

Both the *Morning Times* and *Daily Record* carried their management into 1898, a year in which both newspapers expressed political positions nearly identical to those of the previous year. Yet unlike 1897, early political editorials were predominantly framed around a single bloody event that took place in the heart of the state’s alleged McKinley Republican stronghold, Colorado Springs — an event that jarred both of the state’s two Republican parties. A showdown between two factions of the Silver Republicans had been brewing in the leadup to the state party convention, to be held at the Colorado Springs opera house on Sept. 8. Two days before the convention’s opening, Richard Broad, Jr., chairman of the

³⁶*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 12, 16, 1897.

³⁷*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 22, 1897.

³⁸*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 21, 1897; Sept. 14, 1897.

Silver Republican state central committee, was removed from his post in a move supported by a majority of party factions.³⁹ Broad, it was thought, was too closely allied with the traditional Republican party; he was claimed to be “an alien,” participating in the Silver Republican party only to interrupt its prospects for fusion with the other silver-allied parties, thus strengthening the chance of McKinley Republican victory in the November election. Upon receiving this news, Broad immediately left Colorado Springs, where he had been to prepare for the convention, for Denver.

The Broad faction bolted, but both it and the Teller faction, the leading wing of the Silver Republican party in the state, laid claim to the opera house. El Paso County delegates of the Teller faction, armed with rifles, took occupation of the building the night of Sept. 6, having heard rumors the Broad faction intended to take similar action the following day. On Sept. 7 at around 4 a.m., a crowd of men brought to Colorado Springs by train from Denver laid siege to the opera house, opening fire on the Teller faction inside.⁴⁰ The following day, the *Morning Times* printed several first-hand accounts of the riot, including the words of Cripple Creek resident George O. Nevins, one of the Teller men attempting to hold the opera house:

The first warning we had was when shots were fired both at the front and side of the opera house. I ran towards the side door, and then started across to the boxes opposite to get a rifle; they were all gone. I then ran back to a dressing room at the side, where some had been placed, and these were also gone. I then went to the center of the stage. The door had been broken in at that time and the crowd was pouring in. Sheriff Boynton came down the aisle and shouted: ‘Get out of this, you rioting — — ———.’ [omission in original] He was intensely excited, and pointed a rifle at me. He repeated these words a number of times. I than [sic] looked around and two more big men with guns stood back of me and

³⁹*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 7, 1898.

⁴⁰Multiple accounts of the event were presented in *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 8, 1898; Precisely how many were present in the crowd is difficult to discern; some in the opera house claimed as many as 50 assailants, while other reports cited few more than a dozen.

drove me from the stage. I went through the side door to the alley.⁴¹

When the smoke cleared, one man laid dead of a gunshot wound, several more were injured, and the Teller faction was routed from the building. Sheriff Boynton, an ally of the Colorado Springs Republican machinery, was looked upon with distrust by district newspapers for his role in the violence. In the aftermath of the so-called riot, Boynton held the opera house under the pretense of professional impartiality while a preliminary investigation took place; however, district articles suggested the Broad faction was occupying the building counter to Boynton's claim.

The district's silver papers were quick to capitalize on the violence as ammunition against both Republicans and Colorado Springs. In the same Sept. 8 issue of the *Morning Times* in which the above passage appeared, editor Arkins demanded to know, "since when were politicians empowered to shoot down men? Is not the safety of persons guaranteed in Colorado Springs?"⁴² His paper would repeatedly refer to the incident throughout the campaign; later that month McKinley Republicans would be called murderers and the makers of "widows and orphans" for their role in the riot.⁴³ As the election grew near in late October, the events at the opera house would be dredged repeatedly to indict Boynton, Broad, and Republican politicians of wrongdoing.⁴⁴

While harsh, the *Morning Times'* criticisms were not out of step with those of other district newspapers. The morning after the attack, the *Citizen*, which had gone through a number of management changes earlier in 1898, seized on the riot to strengthen its argument in favor of county division:

Colorado Springs, that very law abiding and godly town that will not tolerate licensed dram shops, that always points the way for us Cripple Creek heathen to

⁴¹ *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 8, 1898.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 21, 1898.

⁴⁴ *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 28, 1898.

follow, that sits wrapped in its mantle of egotism and self congratulation and tells those legislators, it was able to purchase, that we of the Cripple Creek district are incapable of self government, that we are not respecters of law and order, that we are anarchists and rioters and that life and property would not be safe if we were intrusted with power, has again come to the front with an outrage that is a disgrace to the name of this fair state.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, Victor's *Daily Record* focused its editorializations of the riot on prominent Republicans, especially Senator Wolcott. That paper accused Wolcott himself of purchasing politicians within the Silver Republican leadership, including Broad, in an effort to disrupt the Silver Republican machinery. Wolcott's organization was then blamed for hiring "thugs and assassins from Denver" to attack the lawful Silver Republican convention in Colorado Springs.⁴⁶ Such comments contributed to a larger campaign against Wolcott that featured prominently in the *Daily Record's* editorial position throughout the 1898 election season.

Although each paper utilized the opera house riot differently, they each conflated the violence with one of the two themes investigated in all study. In the case of the *Morning Times*, the event was used to marginalize a faction of the Silver Republican parties as murderous anarchists, supplanting the traditional Republicans as the civil, natural party while elevating the position of Silver Republicans. The silver loyalists were not, then, rebellious traitors to the Republican party proper; instead, the Colorado McKinley-supporting Republicans were the bolters. The *Daily Record*, rather than launching a tirade against the entire Republican party, targeted its already unpopular leader, the ultimate traitor to Colorado's sectional silver interest: Wolcott. Thus, the goldbugs were behind the murder in Colorado Springs, and the enemies of silver would stop at nothing to crush Colorado's chief industry.

The *Citizen*, meanwhile, used the riot to build momentum in its increasingly aggressive campaign for county division, drawing out regional tensions between the mining district and its neighbor to the east. In September, when the newspaper declared itself then, before, and thereafter a Democratic newspaper, the *Citizen* urged readers to vote Democratic so

⁴⁵ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 8, 1898.

⁴⁶ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 8, 1898.

that Republican Colorado Springs politicians would be happy to be rid of the district's political influence, supporting the argument made by the *Weekly Times* two years before.⁴⁷ The opera house riot was used to make Cripple Creek residents resent Colorado Springs politicians and support division. In an article that accused reigning Colorado Springs Republicans of conspiracy, the paper asked: "Are the citizens of this end of El Paso county reduced to the level of the negroes of the south, with [Sheriff] Boynton and the Colorado Springs gang in the position of slave drivers?"⁴⁸

At the same time, mine owners were subtly associated with the same allegedly corrupt, goldbug politicians running Colorado Springs for taking up residence in the town.⁴⁹ A pro-division editorial in the *Morning Times* stressed the importance of the greater silver cause in relation to gold, declaring that, "the miners of the greatest gold camp on earth have not forgotten their brothers in the silver producing districts of the great west and they will once more prove their loyalty on election day." Thus, gold mining, the life-blood of the Cripple Creek Mining District, is again identified in the district press as being a subordinate concern to the driving industry of the state, silver.

Emotional language was used not only to draw political-regional lines separating the silver-allied west half of El Paso County from the goldbug east half but to make larger distinctions as well. Specifically, a unified, anti-silver East was presented as of incredible wealth and desirous of Wolcott's reelection to the senate.⁵⁰ The best way to combat this power, the *Citizen* said, was to join the Democrats.⁵¹ In these various divisions of "us" and "them," allegiance to silver was used to characterize the preferred division as *most* in favor of silver. Nowhere is this more clear than in an Oct. 12 editorial that claimed that Colorado "is known all over the United States as the hot bed of the free silver sentiment,"

⁴⁷ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 29, 1898.

⁴⁸ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 4, 1898.

⁴⁹ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 17, 1898.

⁵⁰ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 23, 1898.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

while “Cripple Creek district has the reputation all over the state of being the stronghold of silver.”⁵²

While the opera house riot was by far the predominant editorial topic in the 1898 election, others, such as the insistence that silver remained an issue to Colorado voters, found their way into district columns. Each newspaper set out to make this point in its own way. The *Daily Record*, for example, chose to return to the old argument that the nation’s eyes were still on Colorado as a gauge of silver’s support throughout the country. “A goldbug in Colorado,” the newspaper said, “could do more harm to silver in congress than a dozen gold advocates from New York or Massachusetts.”⁵³ Others, such as the *Citizen*, simply pointed out that bimetallism was still getting attention in the eastern press. “If one may judge by the space used in eastern newspapers in the discussion of the depreciated silver dollar,” it said, “the money question is still before the people.”⁵⁴

Finally, 1898 saw the first signs of a new regional delineation developing not between the Cripple Creek district and some outside political “other” but within the district itself. These were expressed separately in the *Citizen* and *Daily Record*. The former Cripple Creek newspaper criticized the *Daily Record* for being upset a Denver *Republican* article did not mention Victor in discussing the Cripple Creek district. It accused its smaller neighbor of injustice and went so far as to call it “too bad that this district cannot be cut in twain just to please some of the jealous Victorites.”⁵⁵ The *Daily Record*, on the other hand, claimed that the matter of county division would be taken up by a pro-silver legislature the following spring and that Cripple Creek’s politics would place it at a disadvantage when it came to choosing a county seat once division inevitably happened.⁵⁶ Such comments foreshadowed the editorial tone that would come to dominate district newspapers in 1899 — one that drove

⁵² *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 12, 1898.

⁵³ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 6, 1898.

⁵⁴ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 3, 1898.

⁵⁵ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 19, 1898.

⁵⁶ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 6, 1898.

a wedge between what had previously been the harmonious political region of the Cripple Creek Mining District.

4.4 1899 Pt. 1

Cripple Creek Mining District newspapers had expressed strong sentiment in favor of the division of El Paso County for several years. They longed for separation from Colorado Springs, the state's stronghold of traditional Republicanism, whose votes endangered the otherwise assuredly silver-friendly ballots of the western half of the county. As the Colorado State Legislature began its 1899 session, the matter of an independent county for the district was opened for debate. In the process, not only did the ideological mountain separating Cripple Creek and Colorado Springs seem to grow taller, but new faultlines of division appeared within the district itself.

In the years leading up to the 1899 proposal to divide El Paso County, those newspapers available for consideration in this research were largely aligned in favor of an independent west end. When the prospect for division became tangible at the beginning of 1899, however, the previously uniform field became far more variegated. Both of the Cripple Creek papers central to this study, the *Morning Times* and the *Citizen*, continued in January their stalwart advocacy for division. The Victor *Daily Record* forged a new path. From the outset, the newspaper's primary concern seemed to be not whether the east half of the country should be cleaved from the west, but that, whatever the outcome of the proposal, Cripple Creek should not be a county seat. One of its first reportings of the new year on the matter of division stated the district mining town of Gillett was offering to construct county buildings free of charge should a new county be created and Gillett be named county seat.⁵⁷ Nine days later it crossed into open conflict with Cripple Creek over the matter when it framed the debate around Cripple Creek's affinity for gambling.⁵⁸ "A town that aspired to be the county

⁵⁷*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Jan. 15, 1899.

⁵⁸Enforcement of a ban on gambling was, according to the *Daily Record*, markedly lax in Cripple Creek compared to other district towns.

seat of a new county,” the *Daily Record* said, “should have enough respect for law and order to follow the good example of its neighbors. It would be a strange thing if Victor, Goldfield, Altman and Anaconda should be compelled to seek justice in a town that has neither the decency nor the morality to enforce the statutes of the state and its own ordinances.”⁵⁹ The placement of the county seat aside, however, Briggs’ *Daily Record* was in January supportive of efforts to split El Paso County.⁶⁰

That changed as debate progressed into February. In its Feb. 3 issue, the *Daily Record* privileged the perspective of anti-divisionists for the first time, presenting testimony by the El Paso county assessor which stated that “only a few people would be benefitted [by division]. The people who are working for wages must eventually pay these additional taxes; rents would be higher, and the price of provisions and supplies would naturally be increased. All taxes would be higher. I represent the laboring class and desire to protect the man behind the hammer.”⁶¹ A week later, the attitude of the paper’s editorial page swung to a position strongly skeptical of the merits of division. Three consecutive opinion briefs questioned the division proposal so recently supported. “Why this unbounded, wild-eyed enthusiasm for county division when only three or four days ago there was silence and left-handed opposition?” asked one.⁶² The following day, the new position of Brigg’s paper was clear: the *Daily Record* was anti-division, on the grounds that a new county would 1) increase taxes, 2) cede Victor’s political strength to Cripple Creek, 3) benefit only Cripple Creek, 4) damage eastern El Paso County economically while strengthening it politically, and 5) give Cripple Creek a victory on the matter of county division when that town had opposed a division of the mining district’s school district the year before.⁶³

On the point that division would benefit El Paso County Republicans politically, it

⁵⁹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Jan. 24, 1899.

⁶⁰*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Jan. 25, 1899.

⁶¹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Feb. 3, 1899.

⁶²*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Feb. 9, 1899.

⁶³*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Feb. 10, 1899.

may be that pro-silver forces in Cripple Creek should have given the *Daily Record's* position more attention. Silver fusion tickets were wildly successful in the 1898 election, casting aside claims that silver was a dead issue in the wake of McKinley's 1896 victory. That year silver forces in the Cripple Creek district overwhelmed traditional Republicans in Colorado Springs, leading the *Morning Times* to declare it "a source of considerable congratulation that El Paso county has been wrested from the goldbugs, who have long oppressed the people of the Cripple Creek district."⁶⁴ The district's population leapt from 42,615 in 1898 to 50,111 by 1900, after which it began to slide as production edged lower in the following decade.⁶⁵ In the short term, the *Daily Record's* proposed strategy — overwhelming the Colorado Springs vote, just as that city had previously done to the Cripple Creek district — may have aided silver candidates in later elections.

Whatever the merits of the *Daily Record's* arguments, they went unheeded by other dominant district newspapers. At the *Morning Times*, Arkins had targeted the pending division debate immediately after the conclusion of the 1898 election.⁶⁶ Soon after the bill was introduced to the legislature for debate his paper published, on its front page, a lengthy open letter to lawmakers that outlined the arguments in favor of division. Two of these are crucially important. One related back to the contention made periodically that monometallic gold mine owners *lived* in Colorado Springs but wished to retain influence over district politics.⁶⁷ The letter spoke directly to those owners, "the people who live in the district are entitled, in reason, to control its affairs. If you wish to reside here, you will have an equal right with us and an equal voice in the affairs of the district; but if you prefer to

⁶⁴*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 9, 1898.

⁶⁵Sprague, *Money Mountain*, 300.

⁶⁶*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 10, 1898; "Now for county division," that issue said. "It is next in line."

⁶⁷*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Jan. 12, 1899. It must be noted the letter does not itself call forward the debate over bimetallism but that Colorado Springs leaders as a whole and the mine owners residing there in particular had previously been identified in the press as monometallists.

remain away, you have no right to object to our local self-government.”⁶⁸

A second argument in the letter speaks profoundly to the orientation of the district to matters of bimetallism and helps explain precisely why the press in a gold camp felt it could so confidently champion the silver cause along with the rest of Colorado even though free coinage would threaten the gold industry. It came in response to the charge that counties previously restructured around mining districts, most notably, Lake County around Leadville, had fallen into financial ruin when the silver industry collapsed. Cripple Creek district, it was argued, had proven its viability as a county. “We have outlived the period of probation,” the letter stated, “and we are still both populous and prosperous. Silver camps will rise and fall according to the changing views on the money question, but the value of our product is permanent and secure.”⁶⁹ This sentiment comes closest to explaining the seemingly schizophrenic attitude of the Cripple Creek Mining District press, which had previously expressed little introspection on the matter of the conflicting interests facing the district. Hoag and Arkins of the *Morning Times* felt confident supporting silver while situated in a gold camp because the prevailing attitude dismissed silver as insignificant to the global demand for gold. Wolcott’s attempts to draw England into an international agreement endorsing bimetallism had been roundly criticized by the press as hopeless. Gold was the standard in enough countries that, regardless of the American position, the Cripple Creek district would find a market.

As the weeks passed, the *Morning Times* and *Citizen* continued lobbying in favor of division and the *Daily Record* against. A war of ideas was afoot to persuade district residents to support division, despite the fact that they would not vote on the matter and that the decision was to be made in the legislature. In the process, district newspapers became local propaganda machines. When James Parfet, editor of a Gillette newspaper (presumably the *Forum*), opposed division, he was immediately labelled an ally of Colorado Springs and an

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

enemy of “every citizen in the camp.”⁷⁰ Gillett was situated on the far eastern periphery of the district, much closer to Colorado Springs than most district towns. Its liminality between the political regions of Cripple Creek and Colorado Springs may have made it more vulnerable to the ideological pressure of the county’s eastern half. If the claims of the *Morning Times* that the Colorado Springs *Gazette*, which opposed division, was flooding the district’s periphery with anti-division editorials were true, Gillett’s apparent conversion may not be surprising.⁷¹

Yet Gillett was not the only district town with anti-division sympathizers, and the Briggs’ *Daily Record* was not preaching to a vacuum in Victor. Both the *Citizen* and *Morning Times* were aware of this. The former chose to frame the conversation in terms of the ‘evil Republican political machine,’ with unsuspecting miners falling prey to the influence of the Colorado Springs gang. “All of the sentiment against the division in the Cripple Creek district seems to be among Victor men who are employed by the Colorado Springs owners,” the *Citizen* claimed.⁷² The *Morning Times*, on the other hand, was more dismissive of the threat posed by the Victor opposition, portraying anti-divisionists as jealous of Cripple Creek’s probable position to be named county seat rather than raising objections of substantive merit. Citing the speech of a Victorite, the *Morning Times* said, “there is but little opposition from the town of Victor, and it comes from a few men who are moved by selfish interests. I want to say that if Victor were guaranteed the temporary county seat, all opposition would vanish.”⁷³ Meanwhile, the *Daily Record* stood fast in the face of the Cripple Creek press, even showing open allegiance to Colorado Springs in some editorials. “If there is to be a piteous appeal for home rule,” the paper stated in response to calls in Cripple Creek for managerial independence, “it should come from Colorado Springs, which

⁷⁰*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Jan. 17, 1899.

⁷¹*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Jan. 18, 1899.

⁷²*Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Feb. 25, 1899.

⁷³*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Jan. 25, 1899.

is now controlled by the 'serfs, vassals, and bondmen' of Cripple Creek."⁷⁴ Later in the same editorial, however, the root of Victor's opposition to division is laid bare: a fear that Victor would be politically devastated by Cripple Creek's influence:

Behind the cry is the selfish desire of the Creek to rule the other towns of the district with an iron hand. It is not mere jealousy which inspires Victor with a dread of division. The hand now sheathed in velvet has been shown too often. Victor realizes that a new county with Cripple Creek as the county seat would be a severe blow to the aspirations of every other town in the district and make them political ciphers. With Cripple and Colorado Springs in competition we now secure recognition because we control the balance of power — with Cripple against the field we would have to be content with the bones from the Cripple Creek table.⁷⁵

Debate raged in Denver as in the district, but by March, the creation of a new county from the western half of El Paso County, to be called Teller County, was assured.⁷⁶ The political divide between the Cripple Creek district and Colorado Springs was to be formalized. In the days leading to Governor Charles Thomas' March 22 signing of the county creation bill, the Cripple Creek papers allowed their focus to wander away from the base merits of division towards the selection of a county seat. In such editorials the superiority of Cripple Creek was always made clear, and, perhaps intentionally, Victor was often excluded as a competitor. "The question of a permanent county seat will be submitted to the voters of Teller county," reported the *Citizen* days before the signing. "There will be two strong competitors, the city of Cripple Creek and the town of Goldfield."⁷⁷ Victor was relegated to the role of influencer, pulling support behind Goldfield rather than being a contender itself. Meanwhile, Briggs and the *Daily Record* continued the fight against division to the end, warning of a potential future east/west rift that would pit the various smaller towns of the

⁷⁴*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Feb. 21, 1899.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶The pro-silver sentiment carried by the county's chosen name should not be overlooked.

⁷⁷*Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), March 17, 1899.

Cripple Creek Mining District against the powerful Cripple Creek town; a split not unlike that characteristic of the unified El Paso County.⁷⁸

Against Briggs' thundering protestations, division came to pass, and when it did, the *Daily Record* tempered its tone considerably. On that day, the following poem written by Murray Schick, city editor, appeared on the front page:

County of Teller—All hail to the name
Inscribed long ago on the tablet of Fame,
First written in silver, now proudly enrolled
On pages of silver in letters of gold!
The youngest of counties, so small yet so great,
The child of the grand old Centennial state
Born where the turreted mountain peaks rise
From green, rolling plains to the bright western skies!
Out from their ramparts this banner we fling:
“Our harvests are golden and gold is the king.”

County of Teller, thy badge is displayed
In temples of finance and markets of trade;
Wherever men gather to buy or to sell
'Tis sought by the pauper and nabob as well;
Its magical lustre in ballroom and school
Lends beauty to ugliness—wit to the fool.
The nations look to thee impatiently for
The playthings of Peace and the sinews of War,
And unto thy standard their governments cling,
For gold is thy harvest and Gold is the king.

County of Teller, though riches are thine—
The fruits of the earth and the spoil of the mine—
Though gift-laden embassies come from afar
Allured by the gleam of thy new-risen star,
Trust not to thy treasures alone, nor disdain
The virtues and blessings that gold cannot gain,
But be thou an empire whose homes are its pride;
Where peace and contentment and justice abide;
Where women shall smile and the children shall sing;
Where Right shall be ruler though Gold is the king.⁷⁹

⁷⁸*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), March 1, 1899.

⁷⁹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), March 25, 1899.

Schick's poem must have been a welcome reprieve to district residents who had been subjected to the war of words between the *Morning Times* and *Citizen* on one side and *Daily Record* on the other. The growing gap between Cripple Creek and its neighbors, all of whom would now be forced to work together not only in business but in county operations, was temporarily bridged. Yet Schick's poem could not permanently repair the fractures that had become visible within the previously monolithic Cripple Creek Mining District. Cripple Creek had won its battle for independence from Colorado Springs; no longer, it seemed, would silver parties face serious contention from the traditional Republican stronghold. But as the *Daily Record* had observed, the prospect of a new east-west division within the infant Teller County was at hand. Furthermore, the silver question, a political issue that had been used to draw boundaries around the Cripple Creek region — to define the “us” and “them” in all political matters and which had played so prominent a role in the 1896 election — was nearing the end of its viability.

4.5 1899 Pt. 2

Making sense of the election season of 1899 as reflected in the district press is no simple task; it was characterized by complexity of opinion and, in some instances, fickle loyalty to political tickets. In terms of management, Hoag and Arkins continued to direct operations of the *Morning Times* while Briggs controlled the *Daily Record*, as had been the case for two years. The *Citizen* again struggled to find managerial consistency, but control was more stable in 1899 than in previous years. In terms of personnel, then, 1899 was relatively calm.

Additionally, by September, what had been heating up into a vitriolic battle for the new Teller County seat had fizzled considerably as the result of an unfortunate turn of events in Victor. In August, a fire that started in a town dance hall spread to destroy a large swath of the town's business district.⁸⁰ It would hardly make sense for a town struggling to recover from such a calamity, with many of its major buildings, including two railroad stations,

⁸⁰Sprague, *Money Mountain*, 315.

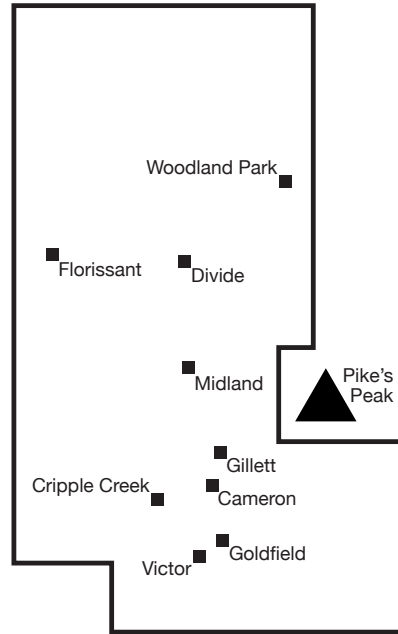


Figure 4.2: A map of Teller County, CO, as created by the state legislature in spring of 1899 (not to scale).

smoldering, to mount a campaign in pursuit of the county seat. The *Daily Record* was unabashed in its lamentations. “The fire came as a calamity upon Victor in many respects,” it read. “One of them is in the matter of the county seat fight that was surely shaping up in favor of this city previous to our affliction.”⁸¹ After admitting its weakened position would bar it from contesting Cripple Creek’s claim to the county seat, the *Daily Record* fell quiet on the matter until the election.

Victor papers were not the only ones sorry to see the county seat fight fall so quickly in favor of the district’s most populous town, and other papers, including at least one press within Cripple Creek itself, was advocating selection of alternatives. In mid-October, the *Citizen* reprinted an editorial which had appeared in the Cripple Creek *Evening Star* in support of Goldfield, a town just outside of Victor, as county seat. The editorial echoed the general sentiment of the *Daily Record*, stressing a boom would undoubtedly ensue in the

⁸¹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 16, 1899.

chosen city that the *Evening Star* said Cripple Creek did not need.⁸²

The human soul who has his fellow creature's welfare at heart should struggle with all his might to locate that county seat as far from the city of Cripple as possible, for in so doing he will be instrumental in securing employment for thousands of worthy mechanics whose talents and labor will be necessary for many months to come in the future building up of a new city. Cripple is already a big town.⁸³

The *Citizen* expressed displeasure with the endorsement; the *Morning Times* called it "traitorous" and a "betrayal."⁸⁴ Nothing more of the *Evening Star's* editorial opinion, strategy, or political position at the time the editorial was written can be ascertained; according to an announcement in the *Citizen*, the paper was sold on Oct. 31 into Republican ownership, though its management and editorial staff remained the same.⁸⁵

The *Citizen* made its opinion in favor of Cripple Creek known while expressing its opinions in a subdued manner. It did not lash out against contending towns, but instead highlighted the benefits that would follow should Cripple Creek be chosen. Thus, editorials on the matter did not attempt to weaken Victor and Goldfield, both of which were perceived to be vying for the seat, with Goldfield the greater competitor.⁸⁶ They simply reminded readers that the "ambitions of our [Cripple Creek's] sister cities should suggest to our people the necessity of immediate and vigorous action." Even in the case of the *Evening Star's*

⁸²*Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 14, 1899. The article specifies that the article appeared in "the Anaconda edition of the Cripple Creek Evening Star." It is not clear whether or not it appeared in the Cripple Creek edition as well; the *Citizen's* wording seems to suggest it was not, while a mention in the Sept. 24 edition of the *Morning Star* makes it seem as though it appeared on the fifth page of the Cripple Creek edition as well.

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 24, 1899.

⁸⁵*Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 31, 1899. In that article, George Kyner was identified as business manager and P. H. Knowlton as a member of the editorial staff. Knowlton would become sole proprietor of the paper by 1901, while Kyner would become long-time managing editor of the *Daily Record* in 1902.

⁸⁶*Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 14, 1899.

endorsement of Goldfield, discussed above, the *Citizen* limited its response to a rebuke of the rival paper and not an attack against the stated merits of Goldfield.

Voters were not only charged with selecting a county seat. Autumn of 1899 served as a final testing ground for the ongoing strength of the silver issue on the road to the presidential election of 1900. The status of the bimetallic cause within the district might best be characterized as chaotic. Republican intrusions into the Silver Republican party made headlines in 1898 through the Colorado Springs opera house riot. In 1899, such disruptions in Teller County politics were so significant as to drive some Cripple Creek editors to switch political tickets mid-election and forge alliances with parties that had been bitter enemies only months before.

The *Morning Times*, for example, was pressed by party wrangling to tie itself into an editorial knot. It entered the campaign season with a continuation of its 1898 position fully in support of the Silver Republican party. September political editorials were dominated by an anti-Democrat attitude that attempted to utilize both bimetalism and regional divisions as weapons against that party. Operationalization of the silver issue was the more pronounced of these two tactics and neatly exemplifies the editorial gymnastics Arkins attempted to perform. Having had joined ranks with the Silver Republicans in the past several elections to form fusion tickets, the Democrats were in 1899 allying themselves to bimetalism and making themselves loyal subjects of Colorado's chief sectional interest. The *Morning Times* criticized the party for doing so, claiming, "the Democrats are so busy explaining that they are still for silver, and intend to carry out the Chicago platform of 1896, that people are beginning to get suspicious."⁸⁷ Later in the month, when the Silver Republicans held their county convention and reiterated their support for bimetalism in the opening sentence of its platform, the Democratic party was attacked for failing to continue to support fusion between the pro-silver parties in state and county affairs through the 1900 election.⁸⁸

⁸⁷*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 16, 1899.

⁸⁸*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 29, 1899. A number of prominent newspapermen were noted in the same article for their involvement in the Silver Republican party,

In the days immediately following the convention the *Morning Times* fell quiet on political matters until Oct. 10, when a week-long spree of editorials began illuminating the previously invisible battle for control of the county Silver Republican party. On that day, the newspaper published a piece that claimed a conspiracy by pro-Wolcott forces was underway to “deliver the county of Teller ever into the hands of the Wolcott managers ... to capture the machinery of Teller county, the county named after the grand advocate of bimetallism.”⁸⁹ “The Times states now,” Arkins wrote, “openly and frankly, that it will not be led one step toward the Wolcott camp, either by the campaign committee, or for any other cause.”⁹⁰ The following day the *Morning Times* declared the conspiracy successful, and Arkins would use every issue through Oct. 20 to expose what he claimed was a coup d’état against the flagship silver party by the only pro-gold party in the state. As the days passed, his arguments against the new Silver Republican party in terms of bimetallism grew increasingly exotic. The Oct. 15 edition tied support of bimetallism to support of the laboring classes and the “workingmen,” drawing upon populist sentiments as the *Morning Times* had not before done.⁹¹ Four days later Arkins decried fellow Silver Republican Frank N. Briggs for using his newspaper, the Victor *Daily Record*, to continue to support the Silver Republican ticket. “F. N. Briggs,” Arkins wrote, “is one of the traitors to the interests of silver, and is one of the knowing advocates of being swallowed by the McKinleyites. The Record must be a red hot ‘silver’ organ when it hires that immaculate gold bug McKinleyite, Charlie Berry, to write its editorials. We presume that the Wolcott forces trusted Charlie with the task.”⁹²

Finally, on Oct. 21, the *Morning Times* was quiet on political issues, but it would not remain so. The following day it announced its support of the Democratic ticket — the very

among them Teller County party Vice Chairman Frank N. Briggs of the Victor *Daily Record* and Secretary Frank J. Arkins of the Cripple Creek *Morning Times*.

⁸⁹ *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 10, 1899.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 15, 1899.

⁹² *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 19, 1899. Berry had himself edited the Cripple Creek *Times* in 1896 and the *Citizen* in 1897.

same that it had roundly lambasted a few weeks before — claiming there was “no longer any Silver Republican party in Teller County.”⁹³ The change of heart was not a willing one, and Arkins was forced to spend several columns explaining the newspaper’s decision. “The Times is not a Democratic paper,” he wrote, “but it is forced, in view of these conditions, to support the ticket of that party because it is the only ticket presented to the people of Teller county that represents unfaltering opposition to this attempted betrayal of the cause of silver and because its candidates are good, clean, competent men.”⁹⁴ He printed an account of how the alleged coup had transpired.⁹⁵ Most important to this study, he denounced any attempt to bridge gold and silver parties, and especially the McKinley Republicans and Silver Republicans, together.⁹⁶

The party struggle limited the ability of the *Morning Times* to contribute to the county seat debate. It tried, before the beginning of the Silver Republican party struggle, to magnify regional tensions within the Cripple Creek Mining District, accusing “certain men over the hill” of trying to steal the county seat from Cripple Creek.⁹⁷ The significance of this allegation is in its phrasing — “the hill” was used to ideologically delineate west (Cripple Creek) and east (the rest of the mining district) Teller County just as Pike’s Peak had been used to separate west (Cripple Creek district as a whole) and east (Colorado Springs) El Paso County. As the debate continued in other newspapers, however, the *Morning Times* was forced to focus on other political matters. It would not again speak out regarding the county seat battle until November, when it discounted Goldfield as a reasonable contender, a “city of badly kept and high wooden sidewalks, on ground that runs down from the steepness of the mountain to the depths of a swamp.”⁹⁸

⁹³*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 22, 1899.

⁹⁴*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 24, 1899.

⁹⁵*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 28, 1899.

⁹⁶*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 31, 1899.

⁹⁷*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 3, 1899.

⁹⁸*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 3, 1899.

Arkins was not the only one scrambling to maintain a consistent political position in the midst of conflict within the Silver Republican party. Briggs and his *Daily Record*, with the assistance of editorialist Charles Berry, were forced to navigate the tumultuous political waters, but unlike Arkins, Briggs kept his press allied with the Silver Republicans. Like the *Morning Times*, the *Daily Record* opened the election season with assaults against county Democrats, claiming that party's outspoken support of silver should not be cause to support it above other pro-silver parties in 1899. Briggs echoed Arkins' sentiments precisely:

The Democrats of Colorado are endeavoring to steal all the credit from the silver question and by yelling 'Bryan and silver' slip into the offices that are to be filled this fall in the various county elections in this state. As a Silver Republican The Record objects to this mode of procedure. There is no national politics in the election this fall. The silver question is not an issue in our local elections.⁹⁹

By the end of the month, the *Daily Record* began moving in a very different direction than their Cripple Creek contemporary, supporting fusion with both the Populists and McKinley Republicans against the Democrats.¹⁰⁰ On Oct. 10, the same day on which the *Morning Times* first warned readers of a possible coup against the Silver Republican party, Briggs published an editorial accusing Arkins and a handful of other party members of being "traitors and disorganizers" as well as Democratic sympathizers, noting Arkins had been removed from his post on the party executive committee.¹⁰¹

After framing Arkins and his allies as bolters, Briggs switched direction regarding the role silver was to play in the election. His position identified the Silver Republican party as the same it had been before the alleged coup; however, he needed to explain why the Republican party supported the Silver Republican candidates. The resulting orientation was one of convenience: silver was only an issue when it benefitted an argument in the *Daily Record* and was not when it did not — a change that could happen in a single sentence.

⁹⁹ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 12, 1899.

¹⁰⁰ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 27, 1899.

¹⁰¹ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 10, 1899.

“Silver is not an issue in this campaign,” one editorial stated, “but if it were the Teller Silver Republican ticket has the truest and most consistent set of silver men of any in the field.”¹⁰²

As Briggs and Arkins fought for control of the Silver Republican party, the *Citizen*, which supported the Democratic ticket, allowed its opponents to annihilate one another. It unabashedly exemplified claims made by both the *Morning Times* and *Daily Record* that Democrats were using the silver question to garner support. It decried the “Republican-silver-plated-Wolcott ticket,” drawing both the Republican and Silver Republican parties together as collaborating with enemy Wolcott in favor of gold interests.¹⁰³ In comparison, those true to the silver cause were said to be coming over to the harmonious and consistent Democratic ticket, arguing that “silver men don’t overlook the fact that the Democratic ticket is the only simon-pure anti-Wolcott ticket.”¹⁰⁴ Later, during a scrap with then *Daily Record* editor Berry over judicial candidates, the *Citizen* would make further use of the “silver” label, using it to classify the *Citizen’s* candidate and association with Wolcott to attack the paper’s opponent.¹⁰⁵

In this editorial behavior the true utility of silver in the 1899 election is exemplified. Rather than a cause around which Coloradans could rally in support of sectional self-interest, bimetallism was, in the 1899 election, merely a label — an identifier to be applied in delineating between the “us,” which, in every example, was the pro-silver party, faction, or fusion, and the “them,” which was the goldbug, Wolcott, anti-Colorado group. “Silver” was a badge to be won by the strongest political party. Also important in 1899 was the shift away from strong political regionalism between the Cripple Creek Mining District and outside regions, particularly Colorado Springs, and a growing focus on intradistrict divisions. The identification of an east/west tension within the district occurred earlier in the year during the county division debate of January through March. That perceived split did not

¹⁰² *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 12, 1899.

¹⁰³ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 12, 1899.

¹⁰⁴ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 16, 1899.

¹⁰⁵ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 3, 1899.

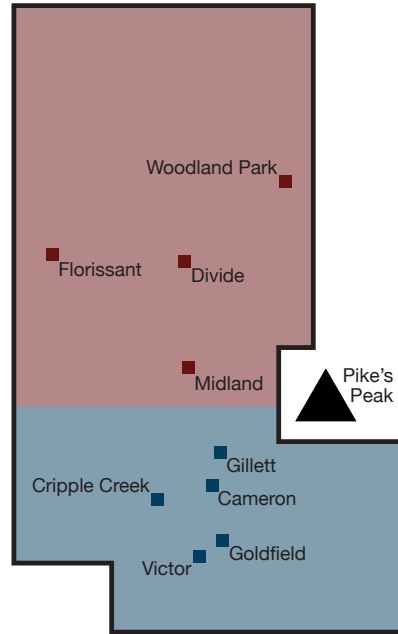


Figure 4.3: A map of political regions in Teller County as identified by district editors (not to scale).

go away after division became certain. As noted above, Arkins wrote of the “men over the hill” from Cripple Creek, drawing a line between the dominant town in the district from the others, as had been done between the district and Colorado Springs in prior years. Parties were also identified with certain regions of the young Teller County. Northern, non-district towns Woodland Park, Divide, and Florissant were identified as Republican.¹⁰⁶ Victor was identified as having been a Democratic stronghold in a Silver Republican/pro-fusion district.¹⁰⁷ On a higher level of regionalism, Colorado’s 1899 elections were not identified in district newspapers as referenda on bimetallism for the eastern United States as they had been in years before.

Eventually, voters sorted matters out, gave one party recognition as the truest silver party in the district, and determined which town would be allowed to set the tone for the rest of the district. The Democratic ticket, first scorned and later supported by the *Morning*

¹⁰⁶ *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 29, 1899.

¹⁰⁷ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 23, 1899.

Times and always boosted by the *Citizen*, was elected, pushing down the so-called Silver Republican party still supported by Briggs, Berry, and the *Daily Record*. Arkins immediately began distancing the *Morning Times* from the Democrats after the election's conclusion, stressing a silver mantra: "The Times is a silver paper. It believes in fusion and amalgamation of forces until after the great battle is fought."¹⁰⁸ The *Citizen*, its dominant disposition favorable towards the Democratic party and riding on a significant victory against an allied Republican force, claimed just the opposite, saying "there will be no more fusion in this state."¹⁰⁹ Briggs, having suffered a substantial defeat, was more or less silent on political matters following the election.

The *Daily Record* did take one last opportunity to comment on the county seat issue, stirring ominously the regional tensions that were developing within the district. "There was no organization of the east end as against Cripple Creek on this question and no organized fight was made against the Creek. If Victor had not burned down the city would doubtless have organized a fight for the county seat ... and it is doubtless lucky for the west end city that Victor was not in the fight."¹¹⁰ Cripple Creek newspapers were more conciliatory, having had their way; "We have none but the best of felling [sic] for Goldfield," printed the *Citizen*, "and to a generous enemy we extend the cordial hand and trust that whatever bitterness may have been engendered will pass away."¹¹¹ Despite kind words, however, the county seat battle had further developed regional strife within the district even as the silver issue had become devoid of its original significance, although it appeared to retain significant political power. If bimetallism were to be a serious issue in the second McKinley/Bryan contest for Cripple Creek district voters, an ideological realignment would have to repair the damage done in 1899.

¹⁰⁸ *Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 12, 1899. No italics in the original.

¹⁰⁹ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 8, 1899.

¹¹⁰ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 9, 1899.

¹¹¹ *Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 8, 1899.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS, 1900-1904

5.1 1900

At the start of 1900 the Cripple Creek Mining District was just about to turn nine years old, a ripe, old age for many mining camps. Yet the boom that had begun in 1892 with the rush of destitute silver miners into the district had still not ended, although it would reach its peak later in 1900. Never again would the district hold so large a population as it did then, when around 50,000 people lived in the bustling communities of Cripple Creek, Victor, Goldfield, and surrounding settlements.¹ And never again would so much wealth be pulled from the district's winding underground tunnels. In 1900 alone, \$18,199,736 of gold would come out of Cripple Creek mines, more that double the amount produced in 1896, providing serious economic power for the district and its mine owners.² Cripple Creek towns had been freed from El Paso County and were enjoying a new-found political freedom. The district, it seemed, was coming into its own time.

As a maturing community explored its increasing economic and political strength its presses underwent maturation of their own. Two of the most significant Cripple Creek newspapers, the *Citizen* and the *Morning Times*, were consolidated under the ongoing management of Gail S. Hoag and editorship of Frank J. Arkins, who had led the latter paper since 1897. That merger made the new *Morning Times-Citizen* a powerful force; if the newspaper's own account is to be trusted, its combined circulation was around 5,000 a day, more than all other Cripple Creek newspapers combined.³ Arkins' voice remained ardent in support of silver and whichever political party was deemed most dedicated to that cause; he

¹Marshall Sprague, *Money Mountain: The Story of Cripple Creek Gold* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1979), 300.

²*Ibid.*, 297.

³*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Feb. 20, 1900.

entered the year championing William Jennings Bryan's renewed bid for the presidency as in the best interests of silver and Colorado.

In light of other developments, it seems the *Morning Times'* account of the Silver Republican party scrap of 1899 — Arkins had claimed a coup had infected the Silver Republican party with McKinley Republicans, leaving the district without a genuine Silver Republican organization — was the closest to reality. In July, Briggs of the *Daily Record* replaced the “free silver flag” that had headlined that newspaper's editorial column with a new flag waving for “the advancement of humanity, a greater America and the development of Colorado's boundless resources,” dropping silver from his proclamation.⁴ Briggs himself left the Silver Republican party.⁵ The newspaper was, in the leadup to the election months of 1900, shedding all vestiges of the silver cause and adopting a Republican position. At the same time, P. H. Knowlton developed his Cripple Creek *Evening Star* into a staunchly Republican newspaper. Thus, as the presidential election season dawned on the Cripple Creek district, Republicanism found its voice.

Knowlton's newspaper stood from the very start of the 1900 election season in contrast to the field of pro-silver newspapers in this study, presenting the delegates to the Republican county convention as “a solid phalanx, pledged and avowed to work, vote and support with the utmost will the national and county ticket and Hon. E. O. Wolcott for the United States senate.”⁶ Yet the paper went further than mere support for Wolcott, who many Coloradans viewed as a traitor to silver and the state, by openly assaulting Senator Henry Teller, Colorado's Great Silver Champion. Teller was portrayed as weak for seeking continued fusion of the silver parties at the Democratic state convention;⁷ weeks later, he would be characterized as “a political renegade, a man without a party, a man who is old and becoming

⁴*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), July 7, 1900.

⁵*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 1, 1900.

⁶*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 1, 1900.

⁷*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 12, 1900.

decrepid, childish and unfit to represent himself, not to speak of the people of Colorado.”⁸ Briggs, in contrast to this strong position of Knowlton, would not take the *Daily Record* to such an extreme. His newspaper did not so boldly criticize Teller, avoided endorsement of Wolcott, and instead limited itself to attacks on Bryan, who was supported by both Colorado Democrats and Silver Republicans.

Both Republican papers, however, were outspoken in their denial of silver as an issue in the 1900 election, despite the nomination of Bryan, who had only four years earlier campaigned on a platform against cruxifiction to the “cross of gold.” The papers approached silver from opposing and seemingly contradictory positions. In the judgment of the *Daily Record*, Bryan was saying nothing on the matter of silver, taken as an indication that he had shunned the issue in the 1900 campaign.⁹ Bryan would repeatedly be accused of abandoning the cause as a dead issue; Bryan “has made hundreds of political speeches since the Kansas City convention,” the paper read, “and not one of them has been a silver speech. He never refers to the silver question at all.”¹⁰ The *Evening Star*, on the other hand, began by claiming Bryan was championing silver to a disinterested population in the west, “threshing the silver question over again with the result of finding there is little grain, but a large amount of chaff.”¹¹ The *Evening Star* would, as the election proceeded, adopt the same position as the *Daily Record* that Bryan had given up on bimetallism.¹²

Meanwhile, the *Morning Times-Citizen* was presenting the case that silver was the predominant issue in the election. It reprinted a speech given by Democratic politician *Rocky Mountain News* publisher Thomas M. Patterson who proclaimed Bryan’s loyalty to the issue and spoke of its centrality to Colorado’s economy.

‘Give integrity to silver,’ said he [Patterson], ‘and the hundreds of silver mining

⁸*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 1, 1900.

⁹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 7, 1900.

¹⁰*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 6, 1900.

¹¹*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 12, 1900.

¹²*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 4, 1900.

camps in this state would be revived [sic] ... The cause of silver is the cause of this state, and when there are thousands in the East and South earnestly fighting the battles for silver and for Colorado and the Rocky Mountain region, I cannot comprehend why there should be a single voice raised in extenuation of the infamous policy of the administration and the multiplied infamy of Edward O. Wolcott in his betrayal of our people.’¹³

The *Morning Times-Citizen* later criticized Colorado Republicans for continuing to neglect silver, accusing that party’s state convention of having “thrown down the gauntlet to the people of Colorado.”¹⁴

Yet even Arkins seems to have sensed a weakening the silver issue in Colorado. On the same day the above article appeared, another sought to strengthen bonds among less traditional voting blocs. “The men may be convinced that silver is dead, or at least a few of them might be, but not the woman,” one article said, appealing to women voters for the first time in the period under review.¹⁵ Another put Coloradans on the state’s eastern slope as in dire need of silver’s aid. “The men of the plains,” it said, “during the past four years have felt the grind of the gold monopoly as they never have before.”¹⁶

District newspapers drew attention to several regional divides during the 1900 election, none of which rivaled the intensity of the El Paso County tensions of previous years. One developed out of an incident that occurred at Victor in which Vice President Theodore Roosevelt and Sen. Wolcott were harassed nearly to the point of physical violence. The *Evening Star* attempted to deepen the sentiment that Victor was a lawless Democratic stronghold in the aftermath of the event (and smaller incidents nearby in Salida to the southwest and Pueblo to the southeast), printing that, “The party of Bryan stands for just such incidents as occurred at Victor, Salida, and Pueblo. And why should we expect anything else of Democrats?”¹⁷ Later articles would continue portraying Victor as Democratic and Cripple

¹³ *Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 1, 1900.

¹⁴ *Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 18, 1900.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 30, 1900.

¹⁷ *Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 28, 1900.

Creek as Republican, perhaps so Republican as to counter fusion sentiment elsewhere in the county and lead to the election of Republicans in November.¹⁸ The *Evening Star* also used affinity between the western, silver-producing states to suggest Bryan, in allegedly abandoning the silver cause, had also abandoned the American west.¹⁹ Finally, it printed an interview with Republican congressional candidate H. M. Hogg who identified a number of political regions and their political affiliations.²⁰ Hogg pointed to the Western Slope as in favor of fusion and the High Plains of the east as staunchly Republican, with the Arkansas River Valley allegedly coming back to the Republican fold after a stint with fusion. Arapahoe County, the core of Colorado politics, was said to be contested. Lines drawn in other newspapers, such as the *Daily Record*, were similar, particularly regarding a geographical and ideological divide between fusion/Democratic sentiment on the Western Slope and in mining towns and a Republican bent in the agricultural east.²¹

Neither Briggs' *Daily Record* or Knowlton's *Evening Star* underwent any major editorial changes during the election of 1900 — each was steadfast in support of the Republican ticket, even if they supported its candidates differently. At the *Morning Times-Citizen*, however, Hoag and Arkins carried some of the same political flexibility exhibited in 1899 into the new year. At the beginning of September, the *Morning Times-Citizen* was, as far as can be ascertained, an independent newspaper, beholden to its own political leanings. During these first few weeks the newspaper repeatedly degraded the Republican party, heralding the ongoing importance of silver in Colorado politics.²² That changed on Sept. 17, when, according to an article in the Cripple Creek *Daily Press*, the paper was sold to a company of Denver Republicans.²³ The deal led to a gradual shift in editorial tone away from strict

¹⁸*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 11, 1900.

¹⁹*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 20, 1900.

²⁰*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 1, 1900.

²¹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 11, 1900.

²²For example, *Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 15, 1900.

²³*Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 18, 1900.

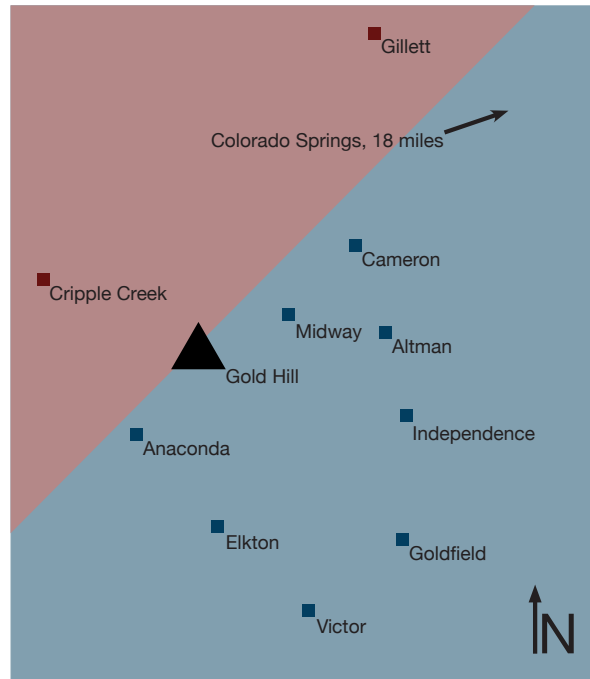


Figure 5.1: A map of intradistrict political regions, as identified by the district press (not to scale).

support of the silver parties toward moderate Republicanism until, in mid-October, an Independent ticket including a number of Republicans for state office, most notably Frank C. Goudy, Republican candidate for governor, was endorsed.²⁴ On that day Frank Arkins' name disappeared from the editorial page without explanation, although he apparently remained with the newspaper.²⁵

In the course of a single year, then, the three 1900 district newspapers studied in depth for this work all came under the influence of Republicanism — Briggs' *Daily Record* in September of 1899, Knowlton's *Evening Star* in October of 1899, and Hoag's *Morning Times-Citizen* in September of 1900. This brought a strong Republican influence into the district for both the 1900 and 1901 elections, after which the papers under review diversified

²⁴*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 12, 1900.

²⁵He was said to be editor of the newspaper in an April 1, 1902 article announcing the sale of the *Morning Times-Citizen*.

in terms of political allegiance. How widespread the surge in Republicanism among district newspapers was beyond these three cases is impossible to discern, as almost all others active at the time have been lost. The influence of outside forces in support of the Republican party, however, is clear, exemplified by the purchase of the *Morning Times-Citizen* and *Evening Star* by allegedly pro-Republican buyers. As these purchases were made not in time to significantly influence the 1899 election but with sufficient time to make a difference in 1900, it may be that these outside forces made a bid for Republican support in Cripple Creek district sensing an urgent need. Wolcott desperately needed Republican votes in the Colorado legislature to extend his term as U.S. Senator beyond 1901. Having anchored himself in 1896 to the Republican party instead of bolting along with the Silver Republicans, as Teller had done, Wolcott jeopardized his chances for reelection. Unless the state party managed to wrangle additional Republican votes in the 1900 election, Wolcott would be replaced in the legislative session of 1901.

Thus, all three newspapers — or at least their purchasers — were doomed to be disappointed on election day when the Republicans were unilaterally routed in the state by Democratic and fusionist forces.²⁶ Bryan carried the state handily, taking 55 percent of the total vote; Democratic candidate for governor James B. Orman won by a similar margin. In terms of offices won, the Republicans were scarcely better off the day after the election than the day before. Yet the margin of victory for Bryan, the silver candidate, in the state was off 30 percent from its level four years earlier. Republicans were regaining their former power, recovering from the injuries suffered at the hands of the Silver Republican bolt in 1896, not to the point of being able to retain Wolcott to the U.S. Senate, but to the point of relevancy in state politics. “Free silver coinage lost the [Democratic] party votes everywhere excepting the west[ern slope],” the *Daily Record* said, “and that issue is so dead that no convention will ever again dare to put it in its platform.”²⁷

²⁶*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 8, 1900.

²⁷*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 11, 1900.

5.2 1901

As was expected, Colorado soon found itself with a change in delegation to the U.S. Senate for the first time since 1889. With Col. B. F. Montgomery, a Teller County Democrat, presiding as speaker, Republican Edward O. Wolcott was denied renewal to his post, with Democrat and *Rocky Mountain News* publisher Thomas M. Patterson elected in his place. Thus, even as the state seemed to be swinging back towards Republicanism through the outcome of the election of 1900, Colorado found itself sending for the first time in its history a delegation to the U.S. Senate devoid of a Republican.

Meanwhile, the trio of then-Republican Cripple Creek district newspapers — the *Morning Times-Citizen*, the *Evening Star*, and the *Daily Record* — carried their management and ideological bents into the new year unaltered, though Hoag's *Morning Times-Citizen* did abandon whatever vague connection remained between it and the Silver Republican party. The departure of Wolcott from the state's political spotlight was not widely publicized during the election season, but it did not go completely unnoted. The *Daily Record*, for instance, capitalized on Wolcott's fate to bolster his party's position in district politics. "The strenuous opposition to Senator Wolcott which diverted much strength from Republican candidates will play no part in the present campaign," it said. "It is purely a local issue, affecting local interests only."²⁸

Following in the vein of 1900, silver, when mentioned at all, was again denied as an issue relevant to voters, be they in Cripple Creek district or elsewhere in the state. Briggs and his *Daily Record* preferred to minimize the issue by excluding it from the conversation altogether. It was not until Oct. 27 that the *Daily Record* mentioned the silver issue by name; it did so then only in quoting a Nevada Senator John P. Jones, who returned to the Republican party from the Silver Republicans because "the silver issue is dead and we are face to face with other issues."²⁹ Fusion was roundly denounced as a tool of silver parties

²⁸*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 3, 1901.

²⁹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 27, 1901.

and, therefore, of the past.³⁰ The *Morning Times-Citizen* went so far as to deny the Silver Republicans presence in the political realm in light of the silver question's fading significance. "Bryan is not running in this election to assist the Democrats and the Populist and Silver Republican parties have gone out of existence," it said. "This leaves the Democrats to starve alone."³¹

More varied were comments related to still-developing regional divides within Teller County. The Republican Cripple Creek newspapers locked onto Victor as a Democratic stronghold within the district and solidified what had been, in Cripple Creek newspapers during years past, a relatively reserved rift between the two towns. No longer did newspapers in the county seat patronize Victor as a jealous neighbor. Instead, they characterized it as greedy, power-hungry, and dangerous. "Who runs Teller County?" asked one *Morning Times-Citizen* article.³² "Victor shall not administer the affairs to the detriment of the metropolis of the county, their home and the brightest star among the mining camps of the west," added another.³³ Hoag's paper would only intensify its comments against Victor as the election pressed on, reaching a climax when the *Morning Times-Citizen* entered into an editorial battle against a Democratic organ, the *Victor Times*. After printing a particularly harsh editorial from the *Times* in which Cripple Creek was labeled a "big, overgrown, blubbering booby," the *Morning Times-Citizen* said the following:

We print the paragraph so that the voters in Cripple Creek may know precisely what the Victor contingent thinks of us. First they elect a Democratic ticket composed of nominees entirely from the less populous end of the district—this ticket they force down the throats of Cripple Creek despite the strongest protest; they then demand every Cripple Creek man to support the ticket. After doing all this they lack the good judgment not to be ungracious, but instead day after day utter the vilest abuse against the city of Cripple Creek and against our people.

³⁰*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 3, 1901.

³¹*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 3, 1901.

³²*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 24, 1901.

³³*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 22, 1901.

Such coarseness deserves the severest censure, and the Democrats of Cripple Creek can administer this by casting their votes for the Republican ticket.

A vote for the Republican ticket is a vote against Victor ignorance and imbecility.³⁴

The *Evening Star* had its own complaints against Victor, but they largely mirrored Victor's earlier complaints against Cripple Creek for holding too much power over the county's politics. "No one section of the county should be favored in preference to any other section," the paper said, decrying the overrepresentation of Victor candidates on the Democratic ticket. "This is a county of large proportions and no one section should dominate any other section."

Within Victor, the *Daily Record* raised no objections to the barrage of attacks made against its readership and at times aided its Cripple Creek contemporaries in assaulting anti-Republican Victor newspapers. Briggs chose to keep his paper mostly away from matters of political regionalism. He did, however, draw upon an old ideological divide that had been absent in the past two elections: the Cripple Creek district/Colorado Springs rift. A brief editorial claimed a pair of prominent Democrats, including the party's candidate for sheriff, met with mine owners in a secret Colorado Springs meeting.³⁵ The comment failed to germinate into wider use of the formerly popular division. However, in a single editorial, Briggs' newspaper resurrected not only the tension between those communities just east of Pike's Peak and just west of it, but drew in animosity towards mine owners among working-class Victor miners.

A handful of other regional delineations were identified by the papers. The *Evening Star* reinforced the previously-expressed notion that the northernmost communities in Teller County were solidly Republican.³⁶ The town of Goldfield, meanwhile, was identified as Democratic-leaning by the *Morning Times-Citizen*.³⁷ More important was that paper's

³⁴*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 26, 1901.

³⁵*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 24, 1901.

³⁶*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 5, 1901.

³⁷*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 20, 1901.

abandonment of the same regional tensions being dredged to the surface by the *Daily Record*. Rather than set El Paso County and Colorado Springs apart as a political “other,” Hoag and the *Morning Times-Citizen* praised that county’s thriftiness in managing its budget.³⁸

5.3 1902

In 1901, Cripple Creek district editors had continued their shift in tone away from silver while reframing the district’s ideological boundaries, turning their attention away from Colorado Springs and focusing on entrenching intradistrict divisions. In terms of management, however, 1901 had been a quiet year in which the two dominant newspapers, the Cripple Creek *Morning Times-Citizen* and the Victor *Daily Record*, remained under the control of their respective multi-year operators. Stability in management (if not political orientation) characterized those newspapers at the core of this study.

The management shakeups of 1902, then, fundamentally altered the composition of the district’s press. Changes started immediately. In the first days of January, Frank N. Briggs, who had managed the *Daily Record* since at least 1897, left the newspaper.³⁹ J. F. Greenawalt was identified as the managing editor immediately after his departure, although that man stayed only until March 19. The following day George E. Kyner, who would remain at the helm for years, took control of the newspaper, joined by manager A. Q. Miller, who would later go on to make a name for himself in Kansas journalism.

Meanwhile, the *Morning Times-Citizen*, which had been managed by G. S. Hoag and edited by F. J. Arkins since the summer of 1897, was subjected to similar change. A brief farewell appeared in the April 1 edition of that newspaper announcing its sale to a John I. Irby.⁴⁰ In the same issue was printed a brief salutatory that established a slight name change for the newspaper — it would henceforth be called, simply, the *Times* — and a new

³⁸*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 29, 1901.

³⁹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Jan. 2, 1902. It is unclear whether Briggs officially left the newspaper on Jan. 1 or 2, as the Jan. 1 issue was missing.

⁴⁰*Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), April 1, 1902.

editorial emphasis.

We realize that it is customary for a new management to attempt an announcement of the many and great things it intends to accomplish. But we are going to be an exception to the rule. Instead of indulging in a string of promises that might never be kept, and for which we might have to apologize, we are going to allow the paper to speak for itself ... its one aim will be to publish a paper having in view at all times the best interests of the entire district, as it knows no town, city or sectional lines. The columns of the paper will always be open to a healthy and timely discussion of any subject.⁴¹

In the place of Hoag and Arkins was W. H. Griffith who, like Kyner at the *Daily Record*, would stay with the *Times* through the remainder of the present study.

Following suit, P. H. Knowlton of the *Evening Star* left his newspaper after the 1901 election, being replaced by W. Robert Karr in November of that year. Unfortunately, 1902 and 1903 issues of the *Evening Star* relevant to this study do not appear to have survived. 1902 issues of the Cripple Creek *Daily Press*, however, a deeply Democratic newspaper with both Victor and Cripple Creek editions, did. That newspaper, the labor organ of the district, had been under the management of C. R. Young since April of 1900.⁴² He was still with the newspaper at the beginning of the 1902 election season, but soon stepped back and allowed E. J. Campbell to take control.

As it had the year before, the *Daily Press* supported a straight Democratic ticket in the 1902 election, opening the season with an account of the Democratic state convention. The newspaper published excerpts of a speech given at that event by ex-Governor Charles Thomas who drew his party close to bimetallism once again.⁴³ Colorado, he said, would continue to make the silver issue a factor in elections. “I hope,” the article quoted Thomas as saying, “we will not live to see the day when it is otherwise.” The *Daily Press* again mentioned bimetallism two days later in a reprinting of the official Democratic state platform

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²*Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), April 24, 1900.

⁴³*Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 10, 1902.

before falling silent on the matter for a number of weeks.⁴⁴ On Oct. 23 the newspaper presented another Thomas speech in which silver was mentioned, this one arguing that the legislative efforts of Republicans threatened the value of silver and that if that party saw success in the election, silver mines would close and Wolcott would replace Teller in the United States Senate.⁴⁵ That editorial marked a turn for the *Daily Press*, which then began pressing silver as an issue central to the 1902 gubernatorial election through reprintings of editorials from other Colorado newspapers as well as speeches and letters from Democrats and silver advocates. Republicans were portrayed as aspiring “assassins” of silver and were criticized for opposing Sen. Teller’s ongoing support of bimetallism.⁴⁶ It continued the fight right up to election day, urging voters that, “A vote for Peabody [the Republican candidate] and Wolcott is a vote against silver. A vote for Stimson [the Democrat] and Teller is a vote for silver and for Colorado.”⁴⁷ Of course, neither Wolcott or Teller were actually up for election by popular vote in 1902; they served as foils to represent opposition against and support for silver.

The *Daily Press* was not the only Democratic paper in 1902. Apparently as a result of the managerial changes experienced earlier in the year, both the *Daily Record* and *Times* came to endorse Democratic tickets, a reversal of their 1901 positions. In the case of Kyner’s *Daily Record*, the shift was made clear by the preference of news related to Democratic goings-on, such as the state convention, as well as staunch opposition to Wolcott. Like the *Daily Press*, the *Daily Record* was relatively quiet on silver until late in the election, when bimetallism was elevated to status as a crucial issue. Kyner, however, printed more original content in support of silver, including editorials that returned Colorado to its long-time place on the national stage as a beacon for the strength of the issue. “The interest of our state,” said a front page editorial, “demand that we should stand by bi-metallism. Should

⁴⁴*Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 12, 1902.

⁴⁵*Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 23, 1902.

⁴⁶*Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 30, 1902; Oct. 31, 1902.

⁴⁷*Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 4, 1902.

the republicans carry this state, it would be heralded throughout the east that Colorado had gone back on bimetallism.”⁴⁸

In demonstrating its new, unbiased editorial position, Griffith was slow to show the political hand of his *Times* and was proud to advertise its independence. It printed both the Republican and Democratic ticket in September, followed by a statement that the paper would not “be a bitter, narrow partisan journal. The day for that kind of journalism, in our opinion, has gone.”⁴⁹ It carried that position into October, responding to calls to print its selections by saying plainly, “The Times has but one answer to make, and that is to wait; that at the present time it is impossible to give an intelligent opinion,” and going on to chastise other newspapers for their partisanship.⁵⁰ When Griffith chose to endorse the Democrats in the election, he did so slowly and quietly, lifting individual candidates over the course of several days, never attacking Republicans. It was not until the Nov. 2 issue, the last before election day, that a straight ticket was printed, and even that was hidden in the back of the newspaper behind the editorial page.⁵¹ At the same time, the newspaper was reluctant to make a major issue of bimetallism, but the issue did make its way into *Times* columns through the speeches of others.

Similarly, the *Times* shied away from drawing regional political lines. The most aggressive article on the matter printed a speech by Democratic Senator Thomas Patterson in which the Republicanism of El Paso County was contrasted to the Democracy of Teller County and the Cripple Creek district, the former said to threaten the reelection of Sen. Teller to the U.S. Senate. “Is it possible,” Patterson asked, “that Teller county is going to allow El Paso county to overthrow her? Is it possible that there are self-respecting Teller county men and women who want to retire on the night of the 4th of November with the

⁴⁸ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 4, 1902.

⁴⁹ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 14, 1902.

⁵⁰ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 11, 1902.

⁵¹ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 2, 1902.

conviction that El Paso county has captured Teller county?”⁵² The *Daily Record*, as it had under previous management in 1901, also avoided regional antagonisms, simply noting Victor as a perennial Democratic stronghold, Cripple Creek as Republican (but allegedly shifting to the Democrats), Teller County as Democratic overall, and El Paso County as entirely Republican.⁵³

Campbell and the *Daily Press* were almost completely silent on matters of political regionalization. This is not to say the newspaper was nondevisive; Campbell simply chose to target other editors for ridicule rather than entire communities. Kyner of the *Daily Record*, for example, was labeled as a Republican and a sobbing schoolchild after the *Daily Press* was selected over the *Daily Record* for a printing contract.⁵⁴ In reality, both editors supported the Democratic ticket in the election. At the same time, Campbell accused Griffith of feigning impartiality when hesitating to support a ticket in the election. “He [Griffith] hoisted the Democratic and Republican tickets, side by side, at the head of his editorial columns, followed by a bid which was interpreted to say: This space is for sale to the highest bidder. Who wants it?”⁵⁵ That editorial went so far as to imply Sen. Teller, who had formally converted from the Silver Republican to the Democratic party and was typically above criticism, would ultimately pay the *Times* to support the Democratic ticket.

All three newspapers agreed that silver remained an issue while minimizing regional tensions; they varied only slightly in their attitudes toward ex-Sen. Ed Wolcott. Both the *Daily Record* and *Daily Press* demonized him, believing he was still operating the machinery of the Republican party and that, if that party managed to capture the state legislature in the election, he would try to replace Sen. Teller and return to Washington. In the *Daily Record* Wolcott was described as a “candidate behind the scene” working to displace Teller,

⁵² *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 12, 1902.

⁵³ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 8, 1902; Oct. 15, 1902.

⁵⁴ *Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 3, 1902.

⁵⁵ *Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 24, 1902.

“the people’s candidate.”⁵⁶ The *Daily Press*, meanwhile, called for voters to “rebuke Wolcott, traitor to the state”; his sins against Colorado, however, were in relation to labor and divorced from his failure to satisfactorily endorse silver.⁵⁷

Generally speaking, however, 1902 was characterized by a distinct shift away from the editorial tendencies relevant to silver and regionalism of the year before, likely at least partially a result of major managerial changes at both the *Times* and *Daily Record*. Silver, having been shifted from an authentic political issue in the 1896 election to a mere delineator of loyalties in subsequent years had, by 1901, nearly been dropped from the discussion altogether. In 1902 it made something of a comeback, receiving varying degrees of attention in all three newspapers reviewed for the year. Additionally, intradistrict regional tensions, which had been increasing each year since the 1899 county division debates, were minimized in the newspapers. The Colorado Springs/Cripple Creek rift made its usual appearance but, as it had been in 1901, was relegated to a minor role. New editors had thoroughly transformed the editorial tone of Cripple Creek district journalism, reprioritizing silver and subjugating regionalism, in many ways returning to patterns more representative of 1896-97. How long that reversion would last, however, was entirely unclear.

5.4 1903

Though the political expressions of district editors were mostly aligned in 1902, those editors continued to discuss political matters frankly and exhaustively throughout the election season. Both Griffith of the *Times* and Kyner of the *Daily Record* followed their newspapers into 1903; however, their attention to politics during the fall election season evaporated. The election, as reflected in those two newspapers, passed with very little notice in the district. Editors were instead fixated on what they correctly perceived to be a more pressing matter: the outbreak of the second Cripple Creek labor war.

The relationship between mine owners and their working-class employees had been

⁵⁶*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 1, 1902.

⁵⁷*Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 17, 1902; Oct. 14, 1902.

relatively amicable in the years that followed the 1893-1894 strike. During that time, the Western Federation of Miners had strengthened its position in the district without disturbing mine owners. No strikes were carried out during the period, and the output of district mines had risen each year through 1900. In his comprehensive analysis of Cripple Creek's two labor struggles, Rastall observed simply that, in the leadup to 1903, "The best of feeling prevailed between employer and employed, and a more prosperous, contented, industrial district would have been hard to find."⁵⁸ This had allowed the attention of district newspapers to be directed outward at neighbors like Colorado Springs and toward the state at large.

In 1903, however, the peace in Colorado between capital and labor came to an end. That year, unlike the several before it, was witness to the start of the second bloodiest labor conflict in state history, with the Cripple Creek district at the center of the violence. Disruptions began when mill owners in Colorado City, just outside Colorado Springs, resisted unionization of their workers by the Western Federation of Miners, firing employees who joined up with the union.⁵⁹ Strikes were called on several mills in February 1903 and lasted into March. As the dispute dragged on, district residents urged the matter be settled through arbitration, fearing the W.F.M. might draw district miners into the fray to strengthen their position. Arbitration was insisted upon by the state legislature and both parties drawn into negotiations. Such talks proved partially successful, resulting in the reopening of some mills, but one manager, MacNeill of the Colorado Reduction and Refining Company, refused to reinstate union miners to their former jobs.⁶⁰ Two days after MacNeill rejected the terms of arbitration, the fears of Cripple Creek district miners were realized. The local union demanded all district mines cease shipments to the Colorado Mill. When the mine owners took no action the following day, a strike was called against all mines supplying the mill, 14

⁵⁸Regarding production: Marshall Sprague, *Money Mountain: The Story of Cripple Creek Gold* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1979). Production ducked slightly in both 1901 and 1902; Benjamin McKie Rastall, "The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District: A Study in Industrial Evolution" (Master's thesis, The University of Wisconsin, 1906).

⁵⁹Rastall, "The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District," 73.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 80.

operations in all. Miners were hesitant to be pulled into the conflict, but their involvement proved influential; an informal agreement was reached between the W.F.M. and MacNeill in May and the strike came to an end.

For a brief time it seemed as though widespread labor unrest had been averted, but that period proved short-lived. The W.F.M. accused MacNeill of violating the spirit of the agreement by refusing to reemploy union workers at their previous position and rate of pay.⁶¹ Meanwhile, other mills announced wage decreases in contradiction to agreements made with the unions. Crowning these ongoing disputes was the inability of the state legislature to pass an eight-hour day law during the 1903 session, falling short of an amendment to the Colorado Constitution passed by voters the year before demanding the legislature do so. The W.F.M. responded with widespread disruption. In August, the union workers of all district mines were called out, roughly 3,500 individuals. Mine owners, claiming they were being punished for the various failures of the Colorado City mill managers and the legislature, insisted the strike be called off and announced they would no longer operate their mines in cooperation with the W.F.M. In August the El Paso mine became the first to reopen with nonunion labor; a tall board fence was constructed around it and armed guards employed to keep out strikers. When the same was attempted at a second mine, the Golden Cycle, on Sept. 1, both a justice of the peace and a carpenter who had helped construct the Golden Cycle's fence were attacked and badly injured.⁶² The National Guard was called for and set up camp near Goldfield on Sept. 4; by the end of the month over 1,000 troops were spread out through the district.

It is no surprise, with the lives of all district residents so thoroughly shaken, that editors were unable to give election matters much attention. At the *Times*, Griffith attributed his paper's relative silence to the nonpartisan nature of county elections and his paper's impartial position. "The efforts of any paper or organization," the *Times* printed, "to create

⁶¹Ibid., 86.

⁶²Ibid., 93.

the impression that there is a wide difference between the Democratic and Republican candidates for the supreme bench on certain questions, such as leaning toward either side in the contest between capital and labor, are simply absurd ... both of them are honest, upright and intelligent men.”⁶³ Silver made its way into the newspaper’s pages, but only briefly and in terms of economics rather than politics. Similarly, Wolcott was mentioned in a preview of a coming Republican primary, but only insofar as his faction was said to be the dominant one in the county.⁶⁴

Instead of bothering with politics, Griffith and the *Times* were busy attempting to present strike developments in a manner consistent with their new editorial standard of journalistic integrity. In response to criticism by a district union that his newspaper was not doing enough to support the strikers, Griffith claimed:

The Times is the one paper of the district that has given all the news of the strike.

It has given it just as its staff of reliable reporters has found the news to be.

It is true that The Times has not abused or villified either side to the controversy, but that is not the kind of a paper The Times is.

It believes that both capital and labor have rights and that a paper, which pretends to voice the feelings and sentiments of the great people, must give both of these elements a fair and honest hearing through its columns.⁶⁵

Griffith’s claim does not appear to be bloviatory; the *Times* did, through the duration of the 1903 election season, share both sides of the conflict in its articles and stay away from the matter editorially to the greatest extent possible. The *Times* was, in its handling of political and news items in 1902 and 1903, distinct from other newspapers reviewed in this study in that it seemed to strive towards journalistic professionalism and adhered, by and large, to impartial reporting practices.

⁶³ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 30, 1903.

⁶⁴ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 10, 1903; Sept. 12, 1903.

⁶⁵ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 16, 1903.

Kyner, meanwhile, was also quiet on election news in favor of strike coverage, but his *Daily Record* faced unique challenges spared of the *Times*. His newspaper took a pro-labor position and was willing to call out anyone it perceived not to be pulling its weight in supporting the strikers. This included Griffith and the *Times*, which the *Daily Record* called “the mine owner’s leading organ.”⁶⁶ But Kyner’s full-throated support of the labor position was not without consequence. At about 11 p.m. on Sept. 29, as Kyner and his staff were preparing the following day’s edition, the National Guard conducted a raid upon the *Daily Record* office. Kyner himself had stepped out; upon returning to the office, he found it occupied by troops and was himself placed under arrest, along with four employees of the newspaper.⁶⁷ They were hiked from Victor to the military encampment near Goldfield and placed in a bullpen in which other labor leaders were being held.⁶⁸ Kyner and his employees were released the following night with charges of criminal libel pending. Kyner remained defiant upon his return. “The Record has espoused the cause of the toilers in the pending struggle. It has been the policy of the paper to be fair but firm in this cause of the miners. This policy will be firmly pursued to the end, and arrests and imprisonment of every sacred right vouchsafed to every American freeman will not alter our course.”⁶⁹

Kyner avoided most of the conventions of political editorialization previously identified in the district’s press. Silver was not mentioned nor were any significant regional distinctions. He did, shortly after his release from the bullpen, print a story in which Wolcott was admonished by other Republicans for stopping short of endorsing Republican Gov. Peabody’s sending of the National Guard to the district. The article’s portrayal of Wolcott as

⁶⁶*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Sept. 25, 1903.

⁶⁷*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 1, 1903.

⁶⁸The presence of the militia was widely seen in the district, both in conversation and in practice, as an attack against labor forces. Mine owners had requested the troops and were financing their presence and General Bell, leader of the expedition, expressed strong anti-labor sentiments in his reports Gov. Peabody. Troops began widespread arrests of labor leaders and sympathizers on Sept. 10 and continued for months. For reference see Rastall, *The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District*, 99.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

moderate to paint other Republicans as blindly pro-capital broke from previous patterns.⁷⁰ Predictably, the newspaper in late October endorsed the Democratic ticket in the local election.⁷¹

Thus 1903 continued along the path started down in 1902. That year had seen a distinct departure from the editorial trends characteristic of the years prior; 1903 reinforced that change through its overwhelming preference of strike coverage to election news and opinion. It seemed, therefore, that 1902 had not been merely an interruption to the pattern to be returned to in later years. Instead, silver appeared to be a dead issue. Wolcott remained, at times, a symbol of the enemy, but not for his opposition to the Silver Republicans, a party that had completely vanished from the conversation. Finally, regional delineations were again absent. The Cripple Creek district was uniformly subject to the effects of the labor war. Under the oppression of military rule and amid widespread economic disruption, both internal and external divisions were temporarily forgotten.

5.5 1904

The chaos of the strike extended into 1904, intensifying through a series of events that fundamentally altered the presses of the district. On Nov. 14, 1903, only days after the election, an attempt was made to derail a passenger train near Victor. Gov. Peabody responded by declaring the district, which was still under military rule at the time, in a state of insurrection and rebellion. In the resulting period of marshall law, the *Daily Record* was temporarily placed under military censorship, firearms in the district registered or taken, and union workers arrested in greater numbers and subjected to detention without habeus corpus.⁷² In time the situation calmed, with the number of occupying troops decreased steadily through winter until, on April 11, the military withdrew completely. The strike was ongoing, but mines were operating with imported non-union laborers and the streets free of

⁷⁰*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 2, 1903.

⁷¹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 29, 1903.

⁷²Rastall, *The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District*, 111.

soldiers.

Peace, it seems, never lasted long during a Cripple Creek strike. June 6 crashed through the calm, becoming the bloodiest day of the conflict and setting course towards a violent and contentuous end. At 2 a.m. that morning the platform of the Independence train station supported a crowd of men who had worked the first night shift in the local mines and were waiting to go home. As the train pulled in an explosion rocked the platform, blasting it into a crater and tearing apart the station wall. Thirteen men were dead and many more injured. Within an hour an investigation was underway and the district militia told to assemble at the Victor armory in case further violence broke out. It did.⁷³ Against the wishes of the county commission, the mine owners organized a public meeting in Victor later in the afternoon. A member of the Mine Owners Association launched into a speech decrying local union members as murderers and arsonists. Tensions became elevated; one man shouted against the speech, then a fist flew, then a revolver came down upon another man's head, and then a shot was fired, followed by a cacophany of shots scattered throughout the crowd. Two men were killed and three injured.⁷⁴

The militia responded to the riot by surrounding the town's union hall and, when its occupants refused to surrender, opening fire upon the building. Those inside soon surrendered. In Cripple Creek a mob formed and sacked that town's union hall and store. The following day the first of a long series of deportations was carried out, 25 union men being sent out of the district for their membership in the Western Federation of Miners. In the weeks that followed hundreds more men would be shipped away to Kansas and New Mexico and dumped at the state line without formal charges being filed.⁷⁵

Kyner, meanwhile, was made to atone for his allegiance to the strikers, although

⁷³Ibid., 119.

⁷⁴For an detailed if subjective description of the riot, see Mabel Barbee Lee, *Cripple Creek Days* (Lincoln: Bison Books, 1984), 210. Also, Rastall, *The Labor History of the Cripple Creek District*, 119.

⁷⁵Ibid., 131.

he was allowed to remain in the district. On June 8 the *Daily Record* plant was wrecked by an armed gang; it is unclear whether the attack was committed by anti-union men or strikers angry at the moderate tone the newspaper had taken in an editorial earlier in the day.⁷⁶ The attack was apparently more persuasive in swaying Kyner away from support of the W.F.M. than had been his 1903 arrest. When the *Daily Record* reappeared in Victor after securing new printing supplies it was of an entirely different voice than it had been the year before. In anticipation of Gov. Peabody's arrival to give a speech in Victor near the November election, Kyner heralded his visit as the "biggest political day ever witnessed in this city," saying the district "OWES HIM MUCH FOR THE PEACEABLE AND PROSPEROUS CONDITIONS THAT WE ENJOY, AND HE PROMISES MORE IF WE ELECT PEABODY THIS FALL."⁷⁷

The *Daily Record* was out for the Republicans, then, but it largely avoided speaking up regarding politics. Bimetallism was not mentioned at all during the 1904 election season, and Wolcott was included in articles without any ill word; he was, in fact, mentioned in an election day article as receiving an ovation in Denver that proved "he is still a popular political hero."⁷⁸ When he did address political matters editorially, Kyner treaded carefully, clearly aware of the fragility of his political position, as expressed when announcing the paper's support of the Republican ticket:

The Record sympathized with the men but not with the leaders and did the best it could to secure their return to work through a settlement of the strike; it stood by the men until lawlessness began to reign, when it declared that it would no longer fight their battles and asked that the strike be called off ... The Record fears no criticism from this stand and it cares not if any should be offered. It is the only sensible position to take and it proposes with pride to stand in this campaign for the re-election of Governor Peabody and the republican ticket with the firm belief that prosperity in this district and state will follow. The Record claims many friends among the democrats of this county and it invites them to a

⁷⁶Ibid., 127.

⁷⁷*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 30, 1904; caps in the original.

⁷⁸*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 8, 1904.

fair consideration of this proposition with the view of the welfare of the district and state at heart.⁷⁹

Though it continued to ignore the matter of bimetallism, issues of regionalism made a comeback in the *Daily Record's* columns. Locally, categorizations of district towns by political affiliation were common near the election, although they were descriptive rather than critical. Victor was noted as traditionally Democratic although it jumped that track and voted Republican in the election, and Cripple Creek was identified as thoroughly Republican.⁸⁰ A unified Colorado was also presented as an embarrassed unit looking to prove itself to the East. One man who had recently returned from a trip to New England was quoted as having said, "I don't know what they would think of us if we should not re-elect Gov. Peabody. They all take it for granted that we will do so, and I heard many comments on the line that Colorado had got around to its senses at last and was going to come to the front again."⁸¹

Kyner was not the only one returning to the identification of regions, and he was not the only convert to Republicanism by a newspaper that had been Democratic the year before. Griffith at the *Times* had similarly observed the district's ideological shift and was singing the Republican party line even louder than his Victor friend. "Never before," the *Times* read on Sept. 2, "has the continuation of a Republican administration meant so much to the material welfare of the state as it does this year to Colorado."⁸² A week later it declared itself fully committed to the cause: "The Times is a Republican paper. It believes in the principles advocated by the Republican party, and that Republican success in Colorado this fall is essential to the industrial peace and prosperity of the state."⁸³

Like the *Daily Record*, the *Times* perceived Colorado to be a shamed state, ridiculed

⁷⁹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 14, 1904.

⁸⁰*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 9, 1904.

⁸¹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 19, 1904.

⁸²*Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 2, 1904.

⁸³*Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 9, 1904.

by newspapers to the east like the Chicago *Chronicle* “a menace to the whole country.”⁸⁴ Yet to Griffith, Teller County itself was a cursed region within Colorado that had to prove its new political resolve through the 1904 election. Its residents were given the same degree of importance that editors had claimed for them in reference to the silver question only a few years ago. “The issue is before the voters of Teller County. Not only Colorado, but in every community where the horrors of the past year have been discussed, the question [sic] will be, ‘What did the people of the Cripple Creek district do in the election? Is the federation going to go back again?’”⁸⁵ At the same time, new intradistrict regions were identified, with Goldfield targeted as a lasting stronghold of the Western Federation of Miners.⁸⁶ Regardless of the affinities of individual towns, however, the *Times* spoke of a politically healed region in the days following the election. “Teller County has been redeemed,” it read. “It is no longer the stronghold of Democracy. And with its redemption the Cripple Creek district is freed from the danger of again falling into the hands of the Western Federation of Miners.”⁸⁷

Unlike Kyner, however, Griffith drew bimetallism back into the conversation in 1904. He did so in presenting news and opinion related to the presidential election, which received little attention in any of the newspapers reviewed but slightly more in the *Times*. Democratic presidential candidate Alton Parker was said to be comparable to W. J. Bryan in all matters except the silver issue — the point which had driven so many Republicans to vote for Bryan in 1896 and, to a lesser degree, in 1900.⁸⁸ Bryan, meanwhile, was framed as having moved beyond the silver issue to focus primarily on opposing Republican imperialism.⁸⁹ Newspapers claimed Democrats, including William Jennings Bryan, had abandoned silver, making use of the tired issue of bimetallism to support Republican candidates.

⁸⁴ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 12, 1904.

⁸⁵ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 28, 1904.

⁸⁶ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 4, 1904.

⁸⁷ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 9, 1904.

⁸⁸ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 28, 1904.

⁸⁹ *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 16, 1904.

Silver was also drawn upon to support the Republican ticket by the *Evening Star*. Under the management of R. E. Hicks, that newspaper was as adamant a supporter of Republicanism as the *Times*, citing the same speech as Kyner to claim Bryan and Democracy had set aside silver to combat imperialism.⁹⁰ Hicks, however, further utilized silver against the Democrats, calling on straggling Silver Republican voters to abandon their allegiance to a Democratic party that had forsaken the silver cause.⁹¹

Hicks followed Griffith in labeling the Cripple Creek district, along with other counties that had seen labor struggles in 1904, a paraiah to the rest of the state, noting that at the Republican state convention “Teller, San Miguel and Las Animas were looked upon as the martyr counties of the state.”⁹² Outsiders were again watching the district, counting on it to make amends through the election. In October the “WHOLE WORLD” looked upon the district; by November the onlookers were limited to the rest of Colorado.⁹³ Finally, those counties which had seen major labor strife in recent years, Teller included, were identified together as having shifted their votes in 1904 in favor of Republicanism after the election, furthering the redemption narrative of the district while tying it together with other ‘victim’ regions freed from Western Federation of Labor lawlessness.⁹⁴

The ideological shift from 1903 to 1904 was momentous, both among Cripple Creek district residents and in the newspapers they read. The issues of silver and regionalism, which had been increasingly marginalized in the late twentieth century, found new relevancy as the district moved against Democracy in the aftermath of the 1903-1904 labor war. Bimetallism was reweaponized against silver stalwarts like Bryan to weaken their party. Editors drew new political regions that quarantined the violent district and drew it close to other counties that had been affected by W.F.M. disruptions, separating them together from the rest of the

⁹⁰*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 16, 1904.

⁹¹*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 24, 1904.

⁹²*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 17, 1904.

⁹³*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 20, 1904, caps in original; Nov. 5, 1904.

⁹⁴*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 14, 1904.

state. Those editors demanded district voters adopt Republicanism to show their loyalty to Colorado at large, thus abandoning their dangerous, Democratic pasts.⁹⁵

⁹⁵*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 6, 1904.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters presented findings in chronological order to encourage understanding of that information as representative of the progression of journalism in the district from 1896-1904. Chronology, however, can obfuscate the most interesting and important material by muddling it with other details. Five observations of particular significance emerge from the analysis of chapters five and six: 1) that Colorado's sectional interests came before Cripple Creek's local ones; 2) that the political issue of "silver" was abstracted, over time, and became a mere political label; 3) that the scope of political regions identified by editors varied based on the scope of the dominant political question at hand; 4) that silver — be it a genuine political issue or a foil at the time — was removed from the conversation by the second district labor war; and 5) that Edith Stuart Jackson's division of Colorado into three political regions was a gross oversimplification. A consideration of each finding in turn follows.

1) Colorado came first.

One would assume, when learning of the Cripple Creek district's position as a gold-producing camp within a silver-producing state, that its editors would be faced with a dilemma on the matter of support for bimetallism in 1896 and onward. The editorial comments of district newspapers support the hypothesis that some degree of tension existed.¹ However, district editors supported Colorado's sectional silver interest while openly admitting that the monetization of silver would hurt the well-being of the district. Had Sen. Teller and his Silver Republicans managed to carry the nation to a bimetallic standard, with or without the help of W. J. Bryan in the White House, Cripple Creek would have faced both the reduction of its work force as some of its miners scattered back to the state's silver mines

¹*Mail* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 19, 1896.

and a decrease in the value of gold due to lessened demand. Despite this fact, silver received widespread editorial support in 1896 and the years following.

Of course, the *Morning Times* hinted very strongly that the district's proclaimed willingness to weaken itself for the betterment of Colorado may have been less altruistic than it may have seemed at first glance.² The silver cause had seen good times and bad, and the value of the metal had fluxuated accordingly. Gold, however, was assuredly going to continue to be a major part of U.S. monetary policy — the power of eastern gold proponents assured that — and even if, through some inconceivable political upheaval, the United States switched to a monometallic silver currency, overseas markets like England would keep the gold market afloat. Based on the strength of gold relative to silver and the overwhelming sentiment in favor of silver throughout the state, editors could endorse the interests of Colorado (and avoid incurring the wrath of former silver miners within the district) without feeling threatened in terms of the strength of gold, thus remaining allied with the state-as-section.

By supporting silver, district editors made a traitor out of the east end of El Paso County, creating well-defined political regions with the district in the west and Colorado Springs in the east. Editors like Arkins claimed Colorado Springs and the mine owners residing therewithin were betraying Colorado's interests by supporting McKinley Republicanism.³ As if this were not enough, Colorado Springs had strong cultural ties to England, the one place in the world even more loyal to gold monometallism than the East section of the United States. The editorial creation of two political regions from El Paso County was thus made easier with the help of the silver issue and, as the votes showed, very real political differences resulting from the Silver Republican/McKinley Republican split existed between the two.⁴

2) "Silver" morphed from an issue to a political label.

²*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 10, 1898.

³*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 19, 1897.

⁴*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 4, 1897.

Given their swift adoption of Silver Republican positions and editorial comments, there is every indication that Cripple Creek editors were genuinely in support of silver and everything bimetallism would bring with it in the 1896 election. With every subsequent election, however, the concept of “silver” was abstracted further and further from its literal and practical meaning, eventually becoming a political badge to be fought for by various parties and factions. This process began subtly in 1896 and intensified in 1897-1899 as district newspapers cried out in favor of county division. In that battle silver was conflated with regional distinctions, with the pro-silver district demanding separation from pro-gold Colorado Springs. Arkins of the *Morning Times* urged voters to cast ballots in 1897 for the straight Silver Republican tickets, claiming other silver-allied tickets opposed division.⁵ This claim was countered by other editors who claimed that the fusion ticket was the sure way to support silver and division.⁶ When the debate over division began in 1899, newspapers on each side of the matter again weaponized silver to make their cases. This was most pronounced in the arguments of the anti-division *Daily Record*, which claimed division would create around Colorado Springs “a Wolcott-McKinley-Republican county around which the gold standard followers would gather and grow in strength.”⁷

In other political battles, “silver” became a spoil to be won by the victorious party in an election, with all involved claiming to be the one true silver party in the leadup to November. This was most pronounced in the 1899 election when the county Silver Republican party was apparently infiltrated and overtaken by McKinley Republicans. Both Briggs, who stood by the existing Silver Republican party, and Arkins, who was forced out of the party, asserted their position in terms of loyalty to silver and Colorado’s greater interests. When Arkins reluctantly supported the Democratic ticket, he did so because, he claimed, that ticket stood for “unflinching opposition to this attempted betrayal of the cause of silver.”⁸

⁵*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 22, 1897.

⁶*Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 19, 1897; *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 28, 1897.

⁷*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Feb. 10, 1899.

⁸*Morning Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 24, 1894.

The always Democratic Cripple Creek *Citizen*, meanwhile, had laid claim to silver for its party since the start of the election season; both Arkins at the *Morning Times* and Briggs at the *Daily Record* had criticized Democrats for claiming silver as their own before doing so themselves later in the election.

Senators Teller and Wolcott were similarly used as embodiments of silver and gold by the various newspapers. Teller, with few exceptions, could be summoned in any article to give its position merit, whereas Wolcott represented gold, Colorado Springs, England, and everything the district wished not to be. When district newspapers finally lost interest in silver in 1902, Teller and Wolcott remained emblematic of what the district perceived to be good and bad about politics; Teller, after becoming a member of the Democratic party, remained “the people’s candidate” despite his departure from the Silver Republican party he had created, while Wolcott was “traitor to the state” even after silver had lost its significance as a meaningful political issue.⁹

3) Regional identifications shifted based on the scope of the dominant political conflict.

Cripple Creek district editors were constantly identifying political regions to frame editorial discourse. The scope of those regions varied but seem to corrolate with the dominant political issues of the time. Stepping back, five political foci seem to dominate the attention of newspaper editors in relation to this study: 1) the Bryan/McKinley race and discussion of silver as a genuine issue in 1896-1897; 2) the county division battle of 1896-1899; 3) the selection of the Teller County seat in 1899; 4) the partisan grappling of 1900-1902; and 5) the second labor war of the district in 1903-1904.

Isolation of the first foci is complicated by the conflation of Bryan’s presidential run with county division. In cases in which regional lines were drawn without the imposition of the county division discussion, however, distinctions are drawn on a large scale, with the American West opposed to the East in a sectional block. This was exemplified in calls for

⁹*Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 1, 1902; *Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 17, 1902.

the Cripple Creek *Mail* to be sent back to the east in 1896 to counter the influx of money allegedly coming from the eastern section.¹⁰ Later in 1897 Colorado was made to be an example to which the East would turn to gauge the lasting significance of silver as an issue in national politics.¹¹ Thus, in identifying political regions (or, in this case, sections) in the context of the 1896 presidential contest, editors cast a wide net when agitating regarding national matters.

This focus was narrowed in editorials pertaining to the division of El Paso County into two smaller counties. In arguing that issue, editors drew clear lines when identifying two local political regions: Colorado Springs and the goldbug, McKinley Republican eastern half of El Paso County against Cripple Creek district and the pro-silver, fusionist (or occasionally solely Silver Republican) western half. In regard to county division, the identification of vast political sections, such as those used in the 1896 election, was not useful to editors. Instead, the intensification of Colorado Springs' undesirable political traits at the local level was more practical. This was most naturally done by Briggs and his *Daily Record* in printing separate vote counts for the eastern and western halves of El Paso County in 1897.¹² When division became plausible and district towns began to speculate on the location of the eventual county seat of the new county, the level of political regionalization became even more localized. In early years of the debate, all of the district had been brought under a common banner as oppressed by eastern El Paso County and desirous of division. That unified district region was split in two when Cripple Creek and Victor newspapers began bickering over which town should be given the county seat. An east/west regional split not unlike that which characterized El Paso County before division soon developed between the eastern and western towns in the district. Interestingly, during the initial division battle, the fight had been framed so as to put a majority of communities in El Paso County in opposition to the

¹⁰ *Mail* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 5, 1896.

¹¹ *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 15, 1897.

¹² *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Nov. 4, 1897.

overbearing metropolis of Colorado Springs; when the county seat fight broke out, it was similarly portrayed as pitting all of the towns of the district against Cripple Creek.¹³ Thus, as political issues became more localized in their scope, so too did the dominant political regions drawn by editors.

As the politics of the district lost the focus of previous years in 1900-1902, the scope of political regionalization shifted to strictly partisan lines. In those years the new Republican press machinery attempted to move voters away from silver back towards the old, Republican-dominated paradigm. As they did so, they intensified divisions between Republican Cripple Creek and Democratic Victor.¹⁴ They also drew other political regions into the conversation to bolster their own ranks, identifying in particular the sparsely-populated northern Teller County communities such as Florissant and Divide as Republican.¹⁵

Political regionalization remained locally focused during the first year of the district strike, when the district was portrayed as a unified community collectively suffering through the troubles. That changed during the election of 1904, when the scope was widened to include the entire state and, to a lesser degree, the nation. Based on the connection between scope of political interest and scope of political regionalization, it seems likely that claims made by editors that all eyes in Colorado were on the Cripple Creek district and its vote in the election were far less about the labor conflict that had rocked the district in 1903-1904 and far more about the gubernatorial and presidential contests.¹⁶ Thus, a critical finding of this thesis is that the implicit political focus of editors at a given time may be ascertained, to some degree of accuracy, based on the ideological boundaries they identify for readers.

4) The second labor war buried silver.

¹³There were, of course, numerous towns in the eastern and northern portions of El Paso County that leaned towards Colorado Springs; these were ignored in editorializations to exaggerate the David versus Goliath narrative.

¹⁴*Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 25, 1901.

¹⁵*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 25, 1900.

¹⁶*Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 28, 1904.

Silver became less and less of an issue with each passing year after 1896, but it was the onset of the district's 1903-1904 labor struggle that effectively ended its time on the stage. Mentions of silver became fewer and fewer; when the issue was mentioned, it was to announce that another silver champion had crossed the line back to the Republican party or simply to denounce silver's relevance in politics. The marginalization of silver during the labor conflict seems at the surface to be commonsensical. Several people had died; everyone in the district was feeling the economic pinch, either by striking against the mines or owning or working for businesses reliant on those out-of-work miners.

While this obvious approach is valid, the abandonment of silver as a matter of political interest to the district remains a notable event. It marks the end of the district's endorsement of Colorado's overwhelming sectional interest in silver and the end of that issue's utilization in local politics. Republican newspapers within the district, state, and nation had been claiming for years that Coloradans had lost interest in the matter and that it was no longer influencing voter behavior.¹⁷ At long last, they seemed to be right.

It must be noted, however, that silver may have been stifled as an issue by the overwhelming voice of Republicanism in the newspapers reviewed in this study. The *Times*, *Daily Record*, and *Evening Star* were all, in 1904, Republican newspapers; they were, however, dominant newspapers in the district, and their universal abandonment of silver was undoubtedly influential.¹⁸ Therefore, the violence of the second district labor war and subsequent conversion of these newspapers to Republicanism may have played a role in the elimination of silver as a political issue within the Cripple Creek district.

¹⁷*Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 12, 1900.

¹⁸It cannot be determined with any certainty that there were any major Democratic newspapers in operation in 1904 after the Independence depot incident. The *Daily Record* was the preeminent Democratic voice in the district before its conversion to Republicanism; in Edith Stuart Jackson's "The History of Journalism at Victor, Colorado: In the Cripple Creek Gold Mining District" (Master's thesis, Ohio State University, 1959), the competing *Daily Press* is noted to have ceased printing sometime in 1903 (119). If Democratic newspapers were in production in 1904, they have not survived.

5) Jackson's political regions oversimplified political regionalization in Colorado from the perspective of Cripple Creek district editors.

This work was very interested in testing the assessment of Edith Stuart Jackson that Cripple Creek district was torn between three well-defined political regions which, together, formed the state of Colorado. She claimed the district was at the confluence of a north-eastern region led by Denver, a southeastern region led by Colorado Springs, and a western region including nearly all of the mountainous portions of Colorado, as well as the western slope. These three forces were said to have applied various political pressures on the district, developing it into it a centralized battleground in which political wars were waged.¹⁹

That the district was a hotbed of political sentiment is made plain by the newspapers included in this study. District editors, as would be expected, were almost always willing to advocate for some political cause in their columns. Additionally, the frequent visitation of the district by major politicians including governors, ex governors, senators, representatives, and even then-Vice President Theodore Roosevelt makes clear that politicians were aware of the district's voting strength. Some newspapers were purchased by interested parties in Denver and perhaps elsewhere (Jackson's northeast region); some developed tones supportive of neighboring Colorado Springs (Jackson's southeast).

However, this research finds little if any support for Jackson's claim of three regions of political influence in the state that came to act in an organized manner upon the district as expressed editorially in district newspapers. Colorado Springs was undoubtedly the state's McKinley Republican stronghold in the years immediately following the bolt of Sen. Teller and his Silver Republicans in 1896. That the influence of Colorado Springs extended throughout the entire southeastern quadrant of the state, however, is a claim disputed by the sources; the southernmost portions of that region, for example, were cited on multiple occasions as typically leaning Democratically.²⁰ Likewise, little evidence was identified in

¹⁹Jackson, "The History of Journalism at Victor, Colorado," 13.

²⁰For example: *Daily Record* (Victor, CO), Oct. 19, 1901; *Evening Star* (Cripple Creek, CO), Nov. 14, 1900.

support of Denver as dominant over northeastern Colorado. In fact, the counties of the High Plains were more frequently cited as of one McKinley Republican mind than either of Jackson's distinctions, suggesting the agricultural regions of the state were more sectionally aligned with one another, north to south, than they were with Piedmont hubs like Denver or Colorado Springs.²¹

One political region identified by Jackson that *did* receive support in the sources was the Western Slope as a unit. Over and over again editorials, articles, and speeches referred to the rugged Colorado West as unified and typically supportive of Populism or, later, Democracy.²² This regional division is also the only one strongly supported by literature consulted in research of this project, with many texts noting the perceived exceptionalism and independent spirit of the region.²³

Thus, this research failed to support Jackson's claim of three political regions in the state, finding instead a more nuanced division of the state's sectional zones. It would be incorrect, however, to claim that Jackson's comment is without relevance. Her perspective retains significance as the perception of an individual who lived and worked for several years in the district and later conducted a great deal of research on its past, not as a historically-sound analysis. Anyone furthering her research should be cognizant of her interpretation of Colorado's political regions and the effect that may have had on her research.

In review, Cripple Creek district newspaper editors were highly focused on the issue of bimetallism throughout most of the period under consideration, although the quality of that attention changed significantly as time progressed. The minimization of silver in the overall editorial conversation beginning in 1902 is no trifling observation, but marks a shift in

²¹For example: *Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 15, 1900; Sept. 30, 1900.

²²For example: *Weekly Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Oct. 29, 1896; *Times* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 10, 1903.

²³William Wyckoff, *Creating Colorado: The Making of a Western American Landscape, 1860-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

the collective psyche of the district's press. In abandoning silver, editors brought to an end the age of Colorado's single-minded sectional interest within the district. As the meaning of silver varied over time, so too did the political regions identified by district editors and used to frame the ideological boundaries of communities in the minds of readers. First used to split El Paso County into an east and west region, such delineators would later be used to divide the district itself.

The challenge now exists to explore additional ramifications of this research through complimentary study. Research should investigate the editorialization of silver during the same time period in silver-centric communities such as Leadville to gauge the degree to which Cripple Creek's silver/gold tension influenced its own characterization and implementation of the silver issue. Similar study should also be conducted in mining communities in other Rocky Mountain states. The accumulation of such knowledge could lead to the generation of overarching cultural theory pertaining to the scope of the effect of silver sectionalization on Rocky Mountain journalism in the context of the critical realignment election of 1896. Additionally, through the study of other sectional issues in American history, other widely applicable observations could be drawn regarding the shaping of journalistic environments by sectional interests.

The Cripple Creek Mining District was unique in many ways, not the least of which was its situation in time and place. Though its editors felt the tension between local and state interests, they managed to support Colorado's silver interests and lead readers through the tumultuous years surrounding the transition into the twentieth century. The identities they forged for the district, products of political regions they manufactured to guide voters towards particular tickets, were far from consistent but had lasting effects on the community. The Cripple Creek district does not today have the population, economy, or influence it had in 1896-1904. Its boom years, however, share with us a great deal about the nature of the press in a singularly original Colorado community.

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- Cripple Creek *Times* (weekly)
- Victor *Daily Record*
- Weekly Cripple Creek *Times*

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

6.1 Newspapers of the Cripple Creek District

The following list is amalgamated from several sources.¹ It utilizes the Colorado Newspapers Bibliography compiled by Wallace Rex as its preferred source, with the Ayer and Rowell directories and an chronology of district newspapers published by Edith Stuart Jackson used as supporting sources whenever available.² Conflicts between Rex and other listings are noted, often with the use of an asterisk; political affiliation is included when provided in other resources. Unless otherwise noted, dates listed are those provided by Rex. Due to the flexible nature of newspaper ownership, management, and editorship, such positions are not included in this review.

Altman

Altman *Champion*, 1897 to 1901 (w)³ (1897: Republican)⁴ (1898, 1899: Independent)⁵

Altman *Eagle*, 1897 to 1898 (w) [Published in Anaconda 1897-1898]⁶

¹While Edith Stuart Jackson thoroughly researched Cripple Creek newspapers and appears to have done so academically and with care to avoid mistakes, she did not compile a comprehensive and well-documented list of district newspapers. This section perhaps goes to an extreme in providing documentation; it does so to make the work of future researchers less tedious.

²This list utilized sections pertaining to Colorado from the 1891, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, and 1909 volumes of the Rowell directory as well as such sections from the 1894, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1905, and 1906 volumes of the Ayer; also, Edith Stuart Jackson, "Cripple Creek-Teller County Newspaper Chronology," *Times-Record* (Cripple Creek and Victor, CO), Dec. 28, 1951.

³Wallace Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 1939).

⁴"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1897* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1897), 86.

⁵"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.1, 1872-1900* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 2; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.1, 1872-1900* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 2.

⁶Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 10.

APPENDIX (continued)

Anaconda

Anaconda *Assayer*, 1896 to 1903 (w)⁷

Anaconda *Examiner*, 1899 to 1903⁸ (w)⁹

Anaconda *Tribune*, 1898 to 1899¹⁰ (w)¹¹

Barry

Barry *Mining Standard* (w)¹²

Cripple Creek *Gold Bug*, Started Feb. 17, 1893 (w)¹³

Cameron

Cameron *Crescent*,¹⁴ 1901 to 1907¹⁵ (w)¹⁶ (1905, 1906, 1909: Republican)¹⁷

Cameron *Golden Crescent*,¹⁸ 1899 to 1901 (w)¹⁹

Cripple Creek

Cripple Creek *Citizen*, 1897 to Feb. 20, 1900²⁰ (d)²¹ (1898, 1899: Republican)²²

⁷Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 10.

⁸Preceded by *Anaconda Tribune*, start date interpreted from Rex note.

⁹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 10.

¹⁰Became *Anaconda Examiner*.

¹¹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 10.

¹²“Colorado” from *N.W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual, 1894* (1894), 65.

¹³Became *Barry Nugget*; Edith Stuart Jackson, “Cripple Creek-Teller County Newspaper Chronology,” *Times-Record* (Cripple Creek and Victor, CO), Dec. 28, 1951.

¹⁴Formerly the *Cameron Golden Crescent*.

¹⁵Begining date is an interpretation of Rex, which lists end date of *Cameron Crescent* as 1901.

¹⁶Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 43.

¹⁷“Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1905* (New York: The Printers’ Ink Publishing Company, 1905), 82; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1906* (New York: The Printers’ Ink Publishing Company, 1906), 93; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1909* (New York: The Printers’ Ink Publishing Company, 1909), 88.

¹⁸Became the *Cameron Crescent*.

¹⁹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 44.

²⁰Merged with *Cripple Creek Morning Times* to become *Cripple Creek Morning Times-Citizen*: see *Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Feb. 20, 1900.

²¹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 89.

²²“Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Col-*

APPENDIX (continued)

Cripple Creek *Crusher*, 1893*²³ to 1894²⁴ (d/w)²⁵ (1893: Republican)²⁶
Cripple Creek *Daily Advertiser*, 1898 to 1898²⁷ (d)²⁸ (1897, 1898: Republican)²⁹
Cripple Creek *Daily Press*, 1899-1914³⁰ (d)³¹ (1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905: Labor)³²

orado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900, 13; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 15.

²³Jackson identifies the establishment of the paper as Dec. 10, 1891; Edith Stuart Jackson, "Cripple Creek-Teller County Newspaper Chronology," *Times-Record* (Cripple Creek and Victor, CO), Dec. 28, 1951.

²⁴Absorbed Cripple Creek *Prospector* on March 24, 1893; was sold in 1895, Rex states Cripple Creek *Times* was "successor."

²⁵Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 90.

²⁶"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1894*, 67.

²⁷Merged with the Cripple Creek *Tribune* to become the Cripple Creek *Tribune and Advertiser*; note the merger date of those two papers is listed in the *Tribune* entry as July of 1899.

²⁸Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 92.

²⁹"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1897*, 71; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 12.

³⁰This paper is the Cripple Creek edition of the Victor *Daily Press*; the claim of Rex that the *Daily Press* merged with the Cripple Creek *Morning Times-Citizen* to become the Cripple Creek *Times* and Victor *Daily Press* is doubted, as the *Morning Times* merged around 1905 with the Victor *Daily Record* to form the Cripple Creek *Times* and Victor *Daily Record*.

³¹Wallace Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 1939), 92.

³²"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1900*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.1, 1872-1900* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 13; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1901*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.2, 1901-1912* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 14; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1902*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.2, 1901-1912* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 15; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1903*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.2, 1901-1912* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 96; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1904*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.2, 1901-1912* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 17; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American News-*

APPENDIX (continued)

Cripple Creek *Evening Star*, May 1, 1900 to 1914³³ (d)³⁴ (w)² (1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905*, 1906, 1909: Republican)³⁵ (1905*: Independent Republican)³⁶
Cripple Creek *Forum*, 1895 to 1907 (w)³⁷ (1906: Democratic)³⁸
Cripple Creek *Gold*, 1899-1905 (w)³⁹
Cripple Creek *Guide*, April 25, 1896 to Sept. 16, 1897⁴⁰ (w)⁴¹
Cripple Creek *Journal*,⁴² December 10, 1893 to July 15, 1894 (w)⁴³

paper Directory for 1905 (New York: The Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1905), 83.

³³Was preceded by Cripple Creek *Star*.

³⁴Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 90, 92.

³⁵"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1900*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.1, 1872-1900* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 12; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1901*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.2, 1901-1912* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 14; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1902*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.2, 1901-1912* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 14; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1903*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.2, 1901-1912* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 96; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1904*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.2, 1901-1912* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 16; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1905*, 83; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1906*, 95; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1909*, 90.

³⁶"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1905* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1905), 80.

³⁷Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 93.

³⁸"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1906* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1906), 85.

³⁹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 93.

⁴⁰Absorbed by Colorado Springs *Facts* September 23, 1897.

⁴¹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 90.

⁴²Weekly edition of the Cripple Creek *Morning Journal*, became the *Weekly Journal* on July 15, 1894.

⁴³Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 93.

APPENDIX (continued)

- Cripple Creek *Mail*, August 24, 1895 to May 14, 1898 (w)⁴⁴ (1896, 1897, 1898, 1899: Democratic)⁴⁵
- Cripple Creek *Miner*, started Feb. or March, 1892⁴⁶ (d/w)⁴⁷ (1895, 1896: Democratic)⁴⁸
- Cripple Creek *Morning Journal* 1894 to 1894 (d)⁴⁹
- Cripple Creek *Morning Times*, 1893 to Feb. 19, 1900⁵⁰ (d)⁵¹ (1896, 1897, 1898, 1899: Independent)⁵²
- Cripple Creek *Morning Times-Citizen*, Feb. 20, 1900 to April 1, 1902⁵³ (d/w)⁵⁴ (1900, 1901, 1902: Independent)⁵⁵

⁴⁴Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 90.

⁴⁵"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1896*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts from George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory, v.1, 1872-1900* (Denver: Denver Public Library), 141; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1897* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1897), 78; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 13; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 15.

⁴⁶Edith Stuart Jackson, "Cripple Creek-Teller County Newspaper Chronology," *Times-Record* (Cripple Creek and Victor, CO), Dec. 28, 1951.

⁴⁷Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 95.

⁴⁸"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1895* (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Company, 1895), 75; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1896*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 141.

⁴⁹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 1939), 93.

⁵⁰In conflict with Rex, primary research showed the newspaper remained the *Morning Times* until merger with Cripple Creek *Citizen*, after which it was the Cripple Creek *Morning Times-Citizen*.

⁵¹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 93.

⁵²"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1896* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1896), 66; "Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1897*, 71; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 13; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 15.

⁵³For starting date, see *Morning Times-Citizen* (Cripple Creek, CO), Feb. 20, 1900.

⁵⁴Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 93-94.

⁵⁵"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1900*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 13; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1901*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 14;

APPENDIX (continued)

Cripple Creek *News* (w)⁵⁶ (1897: Democratic)⁵⁷
Cripple Creek *Prospector*,⁵⁸ May 7, 1892*⁵⁹ to March 24, 1893 (w) [Printed partially in Fremont]⁶⁰
Cripple Creek *Prospector-Star*, 1896 to 1899 (w)⁶¹ (1897: Labor)⁶²
Cripple Creek *Republican*, 1916-1917 (w)⁶³
Cripple Creek *Star*, 1899 to May 1, 1900 (d/w)⁶⁴
Cripple Creek *Sunday Herald*, 1894-1899 (w)⁶⁵ (1896, 1897, 1898, 1899: Populist)⁶⁶
Cripple Creek *Times*, 1893 to 1913 (d/w)⁶⁷ (1899, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906*: Independent)⁶⁸ (1906*, 1909: Republican)⁶⁹

“Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1902*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 14.

⁵⁶“Colorado” from *N.W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual, 1897*, 71

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸Absorbed by Cripple Creek *Crusher*.

⁵⁹Jackson identifies the establishment of the paper as Dec. 10, 1891; Edith Stuart Jackson, “Cripple Creek-Teller County Newspaper Chronology,” *Times-Record* (Cripple Creek and Victor, CO), Dec. 28, 1951.

⁶⁰Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 91.

⁶¹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 94.

⁶²“Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1897*, 78.

⁶³Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 94.

⁶⁴Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 91.

⁶⁵Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 94.

⁶⁶“Colorado” from *N.W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual, 1896*, 66; “Colorado” from *N.W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual, 1897*, 71; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 13; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 15.

⁶⁷Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 91.

⁶⁸“Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 16; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1903*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 96; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1904*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 17; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1905*, 83; “Colorado” from *N.W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual, 1906*, 85.

⁶⁹“Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1906*, 95; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1909*, 90.

APPENDIX (continued)

Cripple Creek *Times* and Victor *Daily Record* 1908⁷⁰ to 1933⁷¹ (d/w)⁷²
Cripple Creek *Tribune*, 1896 to July 1899. Merged with the Cripple Creek *Daily Advertiser*
to become the Cripple Creek *Tribune and Advertiser*. (d/w)⁷³ (1899: Republican)⁷⁴
Cripple Creek *Tribune and Advertiser*, July 1899 to 1900⁷⁵ (d/w)⁷⁶
Cripple Creek *Weekly Journal*, July 15, 1894 to 1896⁷⁷ (w)⁷⁸
Teller County *Daily Union*, 1900-1901 (d)⁷⁹
Teller County *Democrat*, 1900-1903 (w)⁸⁰
Teller County *News*, 1908-1910 (w)⁸¹ (1905: Independent)⁸²
Teller County *Star*,⁸³ 1896-1914 (w)⁸⁴
West Cripple Creek *Republican*, started in 1896⁸⁵

⁷⁰Edith Stuart Jackson, "Cripple Creek-Teller County Newspaper Chronology," *Times-Record* (Cripple Creek and Victor, CO), Dec. 28, 1951.

⁷¹The date entry in Rex is clearly incorrect, as paper was formed by the merger of these two papers.

⁷²Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 91-92.

⁷³Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 95.

⁷⁴"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 16.

⁷⁵This is an interpretation of Rex's dates; the start date is based on the stated merger date in the Cripple Creek *Tribune* entry rather than the listed 1896, which is listed as the start of the *Tribune*.

⁷⁶Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 95; Wallace Rex, *Colorado Newspapers and Out of State Newspapers in Colorado from 1859-1936* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 1936), no page.

⁷⁷Formerly the Cripple Creek *Journal*; the start date is an interpretation of the Rex based on the date the *Journal* was said to have ended.

⁷⁸Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 95.

⁷⁹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 94.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1905*, 80.

⁸³Weekly edition of the Cripple Creek *Evening Star*.

⁸⁴Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 94.

⁸⁵Edith Stuart Jackson, "Cripple Creek-Teller County Newspaper Chronology," *Times-Record* (Cripple Creek and Victor, CO), Dec. 28, 1951.

APPENDIX (continued)

Elkton

Elkton *Herald*, 1898 to 1899 (w) [Published in Anaconda in 1899]⁸⁶

Gillette

Gillette *Forum*, 1895 to 1899⁸⁷ (w)⁸⁸ (1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1905⁸⁹: Republican)⁹⁰

Gillette *Forum* and North Teller County Miner, 1899 to 1905⁹¹ (w)⁹² (1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906: Silver Republican)⁹³

Gillette *Gazette* (w)⁹⁴

Gillette *Leader*, 1900 to 1903 (w)⁹⁵ (1901, 1902, 1903: Republican)⁹⁶

⁸⁶Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 188.

⁸⁷Became the Gillette *Forum* and North Teller County Miner.

⁸⁸Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 215.

⁸⁹The identification of this newspaper in the 1905 Ayer's is likely a mistake; all signs suggest the true name of the paper was the Gillette *Forum* and North County Teller Miner of another entry. Just in case, it is provided here and a citation given.

⁹⁰"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1896*, 69; "Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1897*, 74; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 32; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 35; "Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1905*, 84.

⁹¹Formerly the Gillette *Forum*; the start date is an interpretation of Rex, which lists 1899 as the end date of the Gillette *Forum*.

⁹²Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 215.

⁹³"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1900*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 42; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1901*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 41; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1902*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 41; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1903*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 101; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1904*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 47; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1905*, 90; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1906*, 100.

⁹⁴"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1897*, 74.

⁹⁵Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 215.

⁹⁶"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1901*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 41; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1902*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 41;

APPENDIX (continued)

Goldfield

Goldfield *Crescent*, 1899 to 1909 (w)⁹⁷ (1906: Republican)⁹⁸

Goldfield *Daily Leader*, 1899 to 1902 (d)⁹⁹

Goldfield *Times*, 1895 to 1904 (w)¹⁰⁰ (1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904: Independent)¹⁰¹

Independence

Independence *Gold Belt* (w)²

Victor

Teller County *Banner*,¹⁰² 1898 to 1909 (w)¹⁰³ (1905, 1906: Republican)¹⁰⁴

Teller County *Star*, 1895 to 1918 (w)¹⁰⁵

Victor *Banner*, 1902 to 1908 (d)¹⁰⁶

“Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1903*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 101.

⁹⁷Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 220.

⁹⁸“Colorado” from *N.W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual, 1906*, 89.

⁹⁹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 220.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁰¹“Colorado” from *N.W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual, 1896*, 75; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1897*, 82; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 33; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 38; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1900*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 43; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1901*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 42; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1902*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 42; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1903*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 101; “Colorado” from *George P. Rowell’s American Newspaper Directory for 1904*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 48.

¹⁰²Weekly of the Victor *Banner*.

¹⁰³Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 379.

¹⁰⁴“Colorado” from *N.W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual, 1905*, 91; “Colorado” from *N.W. Ayer & Son’s American Newspaper Annual, 1906*, 95.

¹⁰⁵Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 379.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*

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Victor *Daily Times*, 1898 to 1902 (d)¹⁰⁷
Victor *Mining Record*,¹⁰⁸ 1895 to 1896 (w)¹⁰⁹
Victor *News*, 1894 to 1899 (w)¹¹⁰ (d)¹¹¹ (1896, 1897: Labor)¹¹² (1898, 1899: Republican)¹¹³
Victor *Nugget*, 1921 to 1924 (w)¹¹⁴
Victor *Press*, 1899 to 1903 (d)¹¹⁵ (1900, 1901, 1902, 1903: Socialist)¹¹⁶
Victor *Record*,¹¹⁷ 1895 to 1908 (d/w)¹¹⁸ (1897, 1898: Silver Republican)¹¹⁹ (1899: Silver Republican, Independent)¹²⁰ (1905: Democratic)¹²¹ (1906: Republican)¹²²

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Weekly of the Victor *Record*.

¹⁰⁹Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 379.

¹¹⁰Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 379.

¹¹¹"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1896*, 75.

¹¹²Ibid.; "Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1897*, 79.

¹¹³"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 57; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 64.

¹¹⁴Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 379.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1900*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 70; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1901*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 66; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1902*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 68; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1903*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.2, 1901-1912*, 107.

¹¹⁷Based on the names and dates listed in the record for the Victor *Record* and the Victor *Daily Record*, it is believed they are the same paper. Here, they are both represented by this entry. Additional titles that seem to be under this heading but are listed separately by Rex are the Victor *Weekly Edition Record* and the Victor *Weekly*.

¹¹⁸Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 379.

¹¹⁹"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1897*, 79; "Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1898*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 58.

¹²⁰"Colorado" from *George P. Rowell's American Newspaper Directory for 1899*, in *Colorado Newspapers: Extracts, v.1, 1872-1900*, 64.

¹²¹"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1905*, 91.

¹²²"Colorado" from *N.W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual, 1906*, 95.

APPENDIX (continued)

Victor *Review*, 1895 to 1896 (d)¹²³

Victor *Star*, 1895 to 1915 (d)¹²⁴

Victor *Weekly Record* and Cripple Creek *Star*, 1895 to 1906 (w)¹²⁵

Unknown

Teller County *Union*¹²⁶

¹²³Rex, *Colorado Newspapers Bibliography: 1859-1933*, 379.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Referenced in *Daily Press* (Cripple Creek, CO), Sept. 27, 1900.