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On the Cover: *The struggle for racial equality affected virtually every aspect of African-American life, including leisure activities. Leisure in the African-American community is an area of study now being pursued by a number of local historians, including Moya Hansen, whose work we are proud to publish (page 47). The cover photo shows bicyclists along the South Platte river at the turn of the century. (Photo courtesy of the Colorado Historical Society)*

Introduction

The *UCD Historical Studies Journal* publishes student papers produced within the UCD Department of History. Department faculty members nominate deserving papers written during the previous calendar year, and the journal editors select the best of these based on criteria such as quality of research, historiographical approach, originality, readability, and organization. The journal contributes to the existing body of historical scholarship, but it is primarily designed to function as a learning tool—students can look to the journal for outstanding examples of well-researched and well-written history papers.

The papers in this edition are outstanding achievements, and we are proud to be associated with their publication. Greg Bumpus's essay on the societal implications of postmodernism in Colorado is a scholarly work of the highest caliber. Using a bold and precise prose style, Greg masterfully brings together elements of intellectual, cultural, and urban history. Judy Farrell's paper on the rise of the British working-class press in the nineteenth century is an example of the innovative research that can be done locally on European topics. Students interested in improving their writing can look to Judy's paper for a lesson in organization and clarity. Moya Hansen's groundbreaking paper on leisure in Denver's African-American community is a major contribution to this area of study, and its significance transcends the local nature of its topic. We congratulate all the authors and give them our sincere thanks for dedicating the time necessary to prepare their manuscripts for publication.

Thanks also go to the people who made the preparation of this year's journal a smooth and enjoyable process. Jason Krupar, the president of Phi Alpha Theta, was extremely helpful in securing the funds needed for publication. June Callahan provided much-needed office support. Micheline Davis, of UCD's Publication Department, designed the cover and helped streamline the production portion of the process. Dr. Mary Conroy and Dr. Tom Noel deserve special thanks—they provided guidance and insight throughout the project.

All the students who had their papers nominated this year deserve congratulations. As in the past, the competition for inclusion in the journal was fierce. All the papers nominated were exceptional, and we regret that we were only able to publish three. Nomination is itself an honor, and all the authors whose papers were considered should be proud of this accomplishment.

This is the tenth year of publication for the journal, and we hope that this edition continues the tradition of excellence set by our predecessors. We also hope that readers find it informative and enjoyable. The UCD Department of History and the Alpha Gamma Gamma Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta are responsible for publishing the journal each year, and we thank both organizations for letting us take part in this valuable and rewarding project.

Rick Clyne
Carol Edwards
Elizabeth Muslim

April 1993

Analogous Cities and Tiny Towns: A Postmodern Geography of Colorado

Greg Bumpus

One of the most fascinating developments in the United States in recent decades has been the emergence of new urban environments that hearken back to earlier days. These environments seek to reconstruct the more quaint and friendly city that (we imagine) used to thrive here before corruption, crime, and poverty bred our now familiar postindustrial malaise. Here in Denver, to the north of our campus is the Tivoli complex, while across Cherry Creek lies Larimer Square. Each represents a coordinated effort to project us into the past. Each is a kind of "analogous city," which modifies our perception of history by surrounding us with the "historic."

The rise of the "analogous city" is a phenomenon documented by the contributors to Michael Sorkin's collection of essays, *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space.*[1] Each essayist addresses the subject from a unique angle, which gives the book range and diversity. Most striking, however, are the assumptions and conclusions that the various contributors have in common. Although they differ according to theme, they share a central interpretive theory that makes possible the book's unifying thesis: the rise of the analogous city is a "postmodern" societal development that, in the process of reshaping social space along middle-class technocratic lines, is threatening to destroy the public sphere, and thereby inhibit class interaction. As we shall see, these analogous cities are not merely romantic illusions of the past; they manipulate our sense of the past in order to regulate and control social interaction.

The mode of interpretation that Sorkin's contributors share is implied throughout the book; on occasion it is explicitly named. Trevor Boddy calls

Greg Bumpus received his Bachelor of Arts degree in History from the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1992. He is currently working towards his M.A. degree at UCD, concentrating on cultural history in the United States. This paper was written for History 5570, U.S. Urban History, taught by Dr. Mark Foster in the fall of 1992. In addition to Dr. Foster, Greg would like to thank Pamela Laird and Thomas Freeland, both of whom read drafts of this paper and offered helpful comments and criticism.

the analogous city the "principal mode of *postmodern* urbanism . . . It is one of the basic observations of *postmodern* cultural theory . . . that our age everywhere prefers simulation to reality."* The concept of the postmodern, which is laden with paradox and is highly contested amongst its various proponents and critics, provides the central interpretive structure of *Variations on a Theme Park.* As the principal urban mode according to postmodern theory, the "analogous city" is presented from a variety of perspectives, and several examples of postmodern urban space are held up for scrutiny. This essay identifies several of the forms this city-analogue can take, and discusses local manifestations of this concept in Colorado. In order to do so, we must first articulate the concept and its variations at greater length. Following this theoretical exposition, we will accompany a visitor to our state on his tour of a few of Colorado's prominent analogous cities.

An essential term and abiding concept in the discourse of the analogous city is *simulacrum.*[2] The analogous city is a copy, an ersatz recreation of older, modernist urban forms. It is designed to recreate the traditionally public realm of the central city in a more stylized and controlled environment, in order to facilitate consumption. Here we have city life presented as *spectacle,* a planned and delimited urbane postcard lacking the mud, smog, odors, and potential for violence that threaten us in the real city.[3] The prototype and spiritual center of this simulated city is "Mainstreet, USA," in Disneyland, which has

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* Trevor Boddy, "Overhead and Underground," Sorkin, ed., *Variations,* p.125. Emphasis added. "Postmodernism" has become a shibboleth more often hurled in reproach than used to describe any coherent body of concepts or critical strategies. It can be understood as an attempt to gain perspective on the modern, to reject the idea that "modern" is merely synonymous with "contemporary." The modern thus represents a historical period, from which we are now emerging, marked by a faith in progress and cultural unity that the postmodern specifically calls into question. Most typically, postmodernism is associated with "poststructural" critics as Michel Foucault and Jacque Derrida, for whom language, and in particular the linguistic rules of discourse, must figure prominently in any analysis of history and socio-political institutions. (For further reading on the controversy over postmodernism in North American historiography, see the exchange between David Harlan and David Hollinger in the *American Historical Review* 94, June 1989; see also Russell Jacoby and Dominic LaCapra, *American Historical Review* 97, April 1992.)

For Sorkin and his contributors, the postmodern is understood as a reflexive development in urban planning, architecture, and contemporary city life in general that incorporates earlier modernist symbols in a stylized fashion in order to redefine the city of the present. For urbanists, this means a reconfiguration of both the commercial functions and stylistic expressions of the modern; postmodern "comments" on such modern conventions as Bauhaus architecture, and caricatures "folk" cultural events such as street festivals. Furthermore, as a social development, it promotes consumption and elevates the privileges of the consumer at the expense of less pecuniary and arguably more democratic forms of public participation. This is important to historians because it represents the commodification of history itself; the historic attributes of a given site become "selling points" that impart a sense of days gone by in order to promote buying and selling. The historical has replaced the "newfangled" as a means to attract customers. "Packaging" history in this way both reflects and shapes our mental picture of the past. It projects our present commodity culture back over time in order to justify and render it normative. Such subliminal "presentism" necessarily simplifies history by rendering our historical imagination to a mere tracing of the genealogy of consumerism.

all of the charm and none of the menace of the central business district in Anytown, America. While not all analogous cities indulge in Mainstreet's caricatured form, they do share the tendency to replicate urban imagery and commercial functions (selling and buying) in an environment that has been purged of dirt and danger.

As in Disneyland, the simulacrum is not meant simply to entertain but to create the ultimate historically sanctioned "sellers' market," by regulating the social environment specifically to promote maximum material consumption. The implication for urban studies is that the analogous city is a vehicle to market urban history and culture itself. The simulacrum is the *city-as-concept*, an urban theme park, dressed in heroic "period" architecture. History, or rather the "historic," is offered for sale in a sanitized environment where there is no risk of encountering any of the troublesome elements of the real city. In order to maximize consumption (spending), it may be deemed necessary to deny access to all those who lack the means to consume. The shopper is teleported backwards into a mythical, idealized city of the past. Because the city-analogue is a semiconscious effort to realize the suburban dream of the ultimate leisure society, where nothing is produced and everything is consumed, there must be no reminders of real privilege and poverty. There must not be any reminders of homelessness, no one begging for change, and no trace of proletarian realism to detract from the nostalgic thrill of spending.

For the most part these city-analogues are privately operated zones of pseudo-public space, where the entertainment value of "historic" simulation is not directly for sale, but serves to provide an urban ambiance in order to facilitate the culture of consumption.[4] Such sites range in size from neighborhood shopping centers to entire exurban regions such as Silicon Valley and Irvine in California. They do not conform to a specific model, nor are they without significant differences regarding the range of urban activities and social functions they seek to replicate and control. The defining characteristic that concerns us is their function as surrogate cities, places where the public anarchy of urban life is being replaced with a subtle, regulated image of urbanity, privatized and singularly obsessed with consumption.

Milan Kundera offers an alternative way of thinking about the postmodern problem. It may be helpful to have a more literary metaphor at hand, both because we are dealing with the phenomenon of simulated, fictionalized cities, and because much of postmodern thought springs from the criticism of art and literature. Expressed as it is in the language of the streets, let us consider Kundera's definition of *kitsch*:

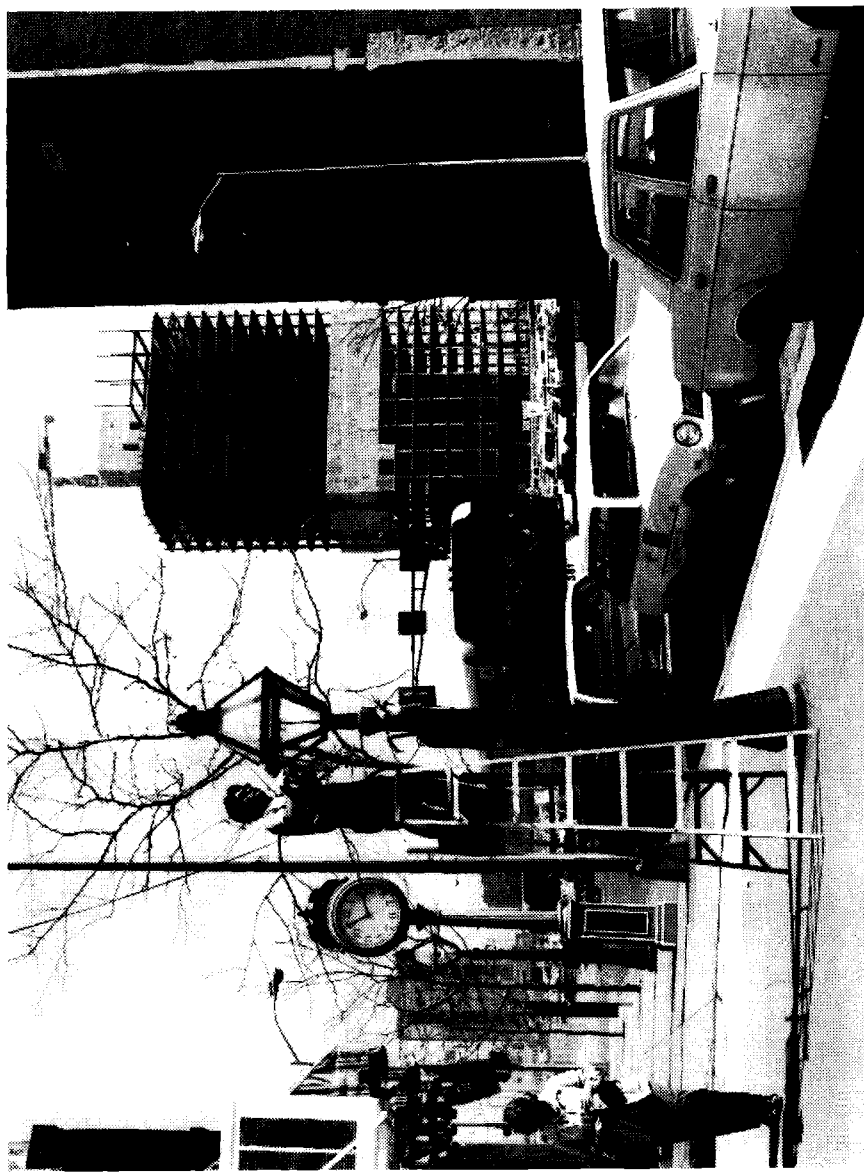
> Kitsch is the absolute denial of shit, in both the literal and figurative senses of the word; kitsch excludes everything from its purview which is essentially unacceptable in human

> existence. . . a world in which shit is denied and everyone acts as though it did not exist . . . a folding screen set up to curtain off death.
>
> The feeling induced by kitsch must be a kind the multitudes can share. Kitsch may not, therefore, depend on an unusual situation; it must derive from the basic images people have engraved in their memories.[5]

Art critic T. J. Clark tells us that "kitsch . . is an art and furthermore a culture of instant assimilation, of abject reconciliation to the everyday, of avoidance of difficulty, pretense to indifference, equality before the image of capital."[6] The postmodern kitsch of the city-analogue is dependent upon a shared "memory" of an ideal, purified city. The extent to which the simulacrum can refute everything "which is essentially unacceptable"—including marginalized groups of people—determines its potency as a cultural analogue, and consequently its success as a commercial concern. It is the modernist kitsch of urbanism—"picturesque ethnic shops piled high with imported goods, mustachioed hot dog vendors in front of improvised street corner fountains, urban life considered as one enormous national-day festival"—which the postmodern plays upon, which is "cruelly mimicked in every Rouse market and historic district on the continent. Contemporary developers have found it eminently easy to furnish such symbols of urbanism, while at the same time eliminating the racial, ethnic, and class diversity" as well as the physical grit and grime from the view of the comfortably well-off consumer.[7] A cleaned-up image of history—the "historic"—is applied like a decal over the present. This denial of the "shit" of the modern world, its danger, pollution, and diversity, by retreating into the "historic," is what characterizes the city-analogue in all of its divergent forms.

Postmodern Colorado

Kitsch as a commodity is thriving in our state, from gentrified inner-city commercial districts to zoning-enforced idyllic mountain towns rehabilitated as ski resorts. From the "surrogate streets" of Casa Bonita and the colorful stalls on the skywalk at the Tabor Center to "historic" Central City and Cripple Creek, the postmodern phenomenon is well advanced. With Sorkin's book as our guide, let us examine a few examples of the simulated cities, mountain towns, and fantasy resort/retail emporia that dot our landscape. Following a few words about the shopping mall, postmodern urbanism's generic expression, we will proceed to sites that demonstrate more particularly the ways in which this phenomenon has shaped the contemporary geography of Colorado.



Larimer Square, a block of Denver's old skid row, was restored as a sanitized boutique and cafe district in the 1960s—downtown's first "analogous city." (Photo courtesy of Tom Noel)

Villa Cinderella

Margaret Crawford describes the evolution of the shopping mall in her contribution to Sorkin's book.[8] She discusses the specific commercial function of the modernist city that the postmodern analogue is structured to replicate—material consumption. Shopping malls hearken back to the retail character of the urban centers that they supersede; however, they eliminate all references to actual labor. Thus the chief difference between the old city and its simulated form relates to issues of class. The real streets of the modernist city were actual production sites, and they were a meeting place for all segments of society. Factory laborers and investor-capitalists mingled together in the retail quarters, alongside the wealthy and working-class women who shopped and worked in department stores in the congested city centers. With the post-World War II flight to suburbia, the white middle class successfully isolated itself on the periphery, abandoning the urban core to the poor. In the suburbs, the better-off class devised the shopping mall to recreate the abandoned commercial center and to provide a substitute for the urban milieu, a centralized source of social contact much needed by residents of the sprawling, homogenous suburbs. Economically speaking, these were strictly distribution and consumption centers. There were no on-site production facilities, and consequently there was no room for working-class people. The shopping mall thus became the first widespread example of postmodern (or posturban) use of space, predicated upon class exclusivity and symbolic urbanism.

The symbols of urbanity included the use of impressive large-scale architecture, generally organized around an arbitrarily chosen theme that suggested a historical base the suburbs plainly lacked. Cinderella City in Englewood and Villa Italia in Lakewood were among the first malls in suburban Denver to exhibit this trend. They adopted Gothic and Italian Renaissance genres, respectively. Fairytale towers, colossal arches, wrought-iron railings, fountains, and "cobbled" linoleum "streets" attracted thousands of middle-class suburbanites whose world was otherwise defined by the cul-de-sac and the split-level horizontality of their housing developments. These early analogies of the city borrowed their self-conscious sense of fantasy from Disneyland. They also incorporated older simulacra, the thematic movie palaces of the 1930s and 1940s (in Denver, the Aladdin, the Gothic, the Mayan), which offered a safely stereotyped vicarious experience of more ancient and exotic urban environments.

More recent developments have led to the downplaying of the fantasy motif in favor of a generic "galleria" construct, marked by a fondness for glass atria, tiled porticoes, and abundant plants and sculpture. At the same time, the malls have come to include a broader range of services, as befits a pseudo-city; banks, insurance outlets, automotive centers, health clubs, and restaurant/food courts now lure the consumer to spend more time, to feel less

like s/he is at Disneyland and more at home, comfortably soaking up the "urban" experience. Semipublic spaces serve as art galleries and concert halls. What is missing are the workers, the pamphleteers, the drunks, and discontents that one would find in a truly public space. Any action so authentically urban as a protest or a picket or an impromptu political speech is impossible to imagine, and private security guards ensure that roving bands of teenagers remain "civil" at all times. The mall is plainly privately controlled, despite its pretensions to the contrary.

Even here, our sense of history is subject to subtle manipulation. The symbols of the public city of kitsch remain. At Boulder's Crossroads mall, stylized signs like those of bygone days swing over shoppers' heads (just above the .5 kilometer walking track). The signs have nothing to do with the shops over which they hang, for they are pure signifiers, abstract reminders of a world of urban artisans who lured their illiterate clientele with pictographs. A shoe hangs over the CPI Photofinish outlet, a clock dangles near Eddie Bauer's, a key is suspended over the Orange Julius. By such means can the simulacrum prod our collective memories, subliminally reassuring us of the historical continuities that render the analogous space "authentic." The symbolic link to our cultural ancestors, be they merchants of Venice or American artisans, is a shared commercial, capitalistic orientation.

"History" for Sale

The culture of consumption that the shopping mall fosters can be dressed either in theme-park fantasy or in modernist glass. While these are usually constructed from the ground up, the city-analogue may also be adapted to inhabit actual streets and extant buildings. These "city tableaux" are described by M. Christine Boyer in Sorkin's book. She sees the South Street Seaport in New York as the epitome.[9] She describes three variations on this theme: 1) the pure fabrication, 2) the "historic zone" where new construction is allowed but must conform to thematic guidelines, and 3) preserved districts whose physical "historic" stasis is regulated by law, while at the same time old buildings are adapted to retail activity. Colorado boasts a range of these three analogous forms, all of which recreate an ideal history, a "filtered version" of the past designed to incorporate the sensation of time-travel into the experience of shopping, dining, and gambling.

Postmodern fabrication west of the metro area is abundant. One of the oldest examples is Tiny Town in Turkey Creek Canyon, where children may experience firsthand the joys of the simulacrum. Miniature streets, houses, wagons, and a petite railroad recreate on a child's scale the bustling life of small town America. Of course the scene is highly synthetic and sanitized; there are no junkyards, no brothels, no quagmires. Little girls and boys can observe—with all the verisimilitude that comes from being there—the utopian pastoral ideal of the frontier community and marvel at the industriousness

and genius of her or his forbears. Such an experience is useful preparation for the child who will live in an increasingly simulated urban environment.

Not far away, just off I-70, lies Heritage Square, the grown-ups' version of Tiny Town, with a more sophisticated and consciously Western iconography. Here we hitch up with a solitary traveler, an out-of-state businessman on a five-day trip. Let's keep him company as he tours the postmodern sights of Colorado.

Built from the ground up in the 1970s, Heritage Square is a cluster of retail, artisan, and food establishments, catering to the tourist and the adventurous local with a hearty appetite for cowboy kitsch. In recent years the Square has diversified, taking on alpine slides and paddleboats, but its original appeal was the main cluster of buildings which replicate Dodge City (as depicted at "Frontierland" in Disneyland). Strolling the wooden-planked boardwalk (in his uncomfortably new snakeskin boots), the intrepid shopper can easily imagine himself transported back a century—or at least onto the soundstage of a John Ford western at high noon. Squinting like the Duke through the clapboard stores' front windows, he spies racks of stuffed animals, T-shirts, postcards, and other esoteric memorabilia of the Centennial State: pine-cone birds, buffalo-chip bunnies, and posters of the unofficial state mammal, the Jackalope. He will not find a replacement for the pin mechanism in his Colt .45; he will not rob a bank, visit Western Union, or dirty his boots with horse manure. If, however, he needs a new Stetson, a pair of designer chaps (some Chaps cologne, perhaps), or a set of hand-blown glass Christmas tree ornaments, he is in luck. Retiring from his purchases, he can relax over a sarsaparilla in the saloon-styled ice cream parlor, served by teenagers in showgirl costumes. Next door he can eat prime rib and catch a risque vaudeville show. Returning to the parking lot, you can be sure the consumer will not be pestered by any doubts that the Old West was a fine place indeed.

Let's assume that our visitor skipped dinner at Heritage Square, for he has a full itinerary ahead of him. Across the highway a few miles to the south, he will dine at The Fort restaurant. Safely ensconced within the rough pine enclosure, in the very shadow of Buffalo Bill's grave, he will feast by lamplight on buffalo steak, pheasant, or venison, with an appetizer of Rocky Mountain oysters, should he be so bold. The stoic, severed heads of big-game animals—cougars, bighorns, bison—silently watch him eat, reassuring him of his utter dominance over Nature.[10]

Baby Doe Kitsch

Just up Clear Creek Canyon the traffic bogs down as our visitor approaches Colorado's commercial soul (its karmic center, if you like), our state's oldest economic region and its newest transmutation of the postmodern—the appropriately named Central City. Here the simulacrum has reached a statewide epitome. Heritage Square's synthetic storefronts,

Tiny Town is just that. (Photo credit: Tom Noel)

sarsaparillas, and tame ragtime revues are completely eclipsed by the spectacle of consumption that Central City has become since the introduction of gambling. Gambling itself is a potent image and signifier of the Frontier; gambling plus alcohol creates a bonafide Saloon, completely convincing if one screens out the barrage of electronic noise coming from the slot machines in the next room. The gambling towns combine the second and third of Boyer's "tableaux" categories. They are actual structures and streets dating from the nineteenth century, where gaming is restricted by law to buildings renovated to appear "as they would in the 1890s." Surrounding this "historic" zone, new buildings have arisen that must conform to zoning regulations, which dictate what is appropriately "period" in archi-textual terms. This might be called Baby Doe kitsch, present everywhere as Victorian balconies, polished brass railings and spittoons, wine-dark paneling, and overstuffed furniture.

The female change-makers and cocktail waitresses are outfitted with high lace collars and fishnet tights. Burly bartenders with waxed mustaches wear garters on their sleeves. Surely this is how it really was! On the street, mean-looking hombres with upholstered vests and ankle-length riding dusters (available from J. Peterman, $180) challenge us to enter their casinos. We suppress a flinch as one reaches for his holster—and relax when he withdraws a walkie-talkie. To be sure, the guns are here, but unlike our image of the old days, nowadays weapons are concealed. Knowledge of this gives Central City a particularly keen postmodern edge, a faint suggestion of real danger, which matches a greater historical continuity; today, as in the 1890s, gold is pouring out of these hills.

Baby Doe kitsch existed before the advent of legalized gambling, but in the new era it has come into its own. Formerly, Central City was merely a "real life" Heritage Square, and a modest tourist income maintained the elegant Opera House and little else. Shops were dilapidated, the streets were seldom repaired, and curio shops, along with ice cream parlors and cowboy bars kept the coyotes from the door. With gambling the analogue-Central City burst forth, and completely obliterated the gradually disintegrating real town. With a speed never approached in the days of the first gold rush, outside capital transformed Central City utterly. As the price per square foot in historic buildings redoubled exponentially, the analogue-Central City emerged in a blur of million-dollar facelifts. Structural surgery accompanied the cosmetic. Newly excavated basements, subdivided floors, escalators and closed-circuit security systems appeared as well as mahogany bars, billiard tables, and subdued wall-to-wall oriental carpeting. Player pianos with digital circuitry and CD-ROM drives arrived to impart the appropriate convivial mood. Vast kitchen facilities were created to provide cheap buffets of peeled shrimp and leg of lamb to the gambling hordes.

All of this is intended to provide our visitor with the sensation of "history," without ever reminding him of the actual past. Stories of

Central City's Toll Gate Saloon as it appeared in the pre-gambling era
(Photo credit: Glen Cuerden)

super-exploited miners, martial law, Klan violence, Ludlow-style massacres and the like would, after all, only distract the patron from the main point of his visit: to throw away his money in an atmosphere of ahistorical Baby Doe kitsch. The introduction of gambling intensifies the commercial and classless characteristics of analogous space. Las Vegas (which offers grandiose examples of Greek, Arabian, and Gothic kitsch, and goes strangely unnoticed by Sorkin's contributors) is the most direct technical antecedent of the analogue-Central City; the gambling towns are simulations of the Vegas simulacrum. Just as shopping malls were built to facilitate the culture of consumption, the gambling towns have radically concentrated consumption along with its postmodern spatial requirements. Gambling—the conspicuous waste of money—may be consumption's purest form.

Ski Country, USA

Because our guest has arrived in the winter, he will clearly want to spend a few days near the ski slopes. With his hefty winnings from Central City in hand, he decides to visit the analogue-town of Aspen. The ski resorts' small-town charm is cultivated to appeal to urban tourists who use their vacation to draw sustenance from a cozy, alpine village environment. The town centers of Aspen, Steamboat Springs, Vail, Breckenridge, and Telluride are all fully gentrified, filled with pricey restaurants and retail stores. Rows of buildings with zoning-enforced false fronts recall a rustic mining camp. The slopes above town are dotted with theme-oriented condominiums and hotels that generally incorporate a Swiss Chateau motif. Farther away, removed from the tourists' view, are the cramped bungalows and trailer park ghettoes that house the regional proletariat, service workers. Much like the gambling towns, the ski centers depend completely upon outside capital; much of their real estate is owned outright by multinational concerns. They must consequently control the social environment and package—or manufacture—their "history," which, linked with the ski areas themselves, is their principal commodity.

The social consequences of this infusion of capital are quite real. Langdon Winner notes in his essay that Aspen and Telluride are preferred "bedroom" communities for Silicon Valley moguls who demand a pristine retreat from the congested, toxic mess that they have created in the southern Bay Area.[11] As more people of this social stratum move in, lower-income residents are pushed aside, much in the same manner described by Neil Smith in his documentation of the recolonization of the Lower East Side in New York.[12] Residents of Pandora, Colorado, near Telluride, are being evicted from their homes as the town is "being transformed into an international ski mecca," according to the *Rocky Mountain News*. "The hippies-turned-capitalists are the ones trying to drive us out," comments one resident of the town, most of whose citizens are employees of the ski industry. As in New York, violence accompanies dislocation; a resident reported "six or eight gunshots Monday

night after the local news reported they weren't going to extend our [eviction] deadline."[13] The historical continuity of class violence thus underscores the efforts of developers to create a "historic," classless, homogenized community of consumption. This illustrates the social control function that characterizes the privatization of public space. Welcome to the postmodern Wild West.

Cuernevaca Kitsch

After his ski break, our traveling consumer returns to the metro area to conduct some business at the Denver Tech Center. He follows the old U.S. 40 into town, and decides to lunch at Casa Bonita. The rosy hued cement-stucco bell tower looms over the JCRS shopping center, promising tropical relief from the dreary suburban winter on West Colfax. Because it is the holidays, he has to contend with a parking lot clogged with tour buses. Inside, he takes his place in line, which winds through a crumbling adobe maze decorated with plastic creepers and begonias (much like the line for the "Pirates of the Caribbean" attraction at Disneyland). He proceeds through the Furr's Cafeteria-style queue, claims his tray (Combination #3) and enters the restaurant proper. Suddenly the ceiling vanishes; he finds himself meandering down a whitewashed alley, papered with old peeling bullfight posters. The sounds of falling water and mariachi trumpets and violins fill the air. No matter the time of day, inside Casa Bonita it is always just after nightfall, the first artificial stars winking overhead, the air filled with laughter, misty and redolent of *sopapillas*, full of promise for an exotic night to come.

His only dilemma is which part of Old Mexico he should settle in to enjoy his meal. Seeking a likely spot, he passes beneath flower-laden trellises, along benches from which he can watch the cliff divers perform, through oak-beamed cloisters, over rope bridges, through caves and mineshafts lit by flickering lanterns. Everywhere the concrete palm trees, cast-iron candleholders, mission bells, awnings, *calles* and *plazas* seduce him to stay. He at last settles beneath the waterfall in a forgotten grotto where the music is filtered by soothing splashing sounds from the adjacent lagoon. Surrounded by fern-encrusted Mayan ruins, uncomfortable in the high humidity, he sits where he can observe an enchanting (blonde) *senorita* who tugs at the sleeves of her peasant blouse as she stirs the *sopapillas*, framed in a baroque iron arch. Watching her, imagining he is a character in Malcolm Lowry's *Under the Volcano*, he does not notice that his *enchilada* is cold and his *tostada* is soggy.

Casa Bonita is an entire analogue-continent compressed into one building. It incorporates every cliche and romantic stereotype that North Americans cherish about Latin America. The simulacrum is potent enough to banish all thoughts of poverty, revolutions, drugs, debt, invasions, death squads, *contras* and the like that might impede on our enjoyment of this pure Hispanic fantasy. The "historic" realism anchors our ahistorical certainty that this is the truest Mexico, the once-and-future Latin paradise: timeless, carefree, colorful,

sensuous, with just a hint of danger for the gringo. No more than a hint, though; rows of jail cells with reassuringly rubber bars and beaming bandoliered Pancho Villa-types allow us to laugh and relax as we never could if we were really "down there." Gone are worries about getting knifed or mugged or catching Montezuma's Revenge. This Cuernevaca kitsch cultivates consumption by bringing to the surface our latent *tourista* persona, free-spending and eager to please. Our guest leaves carrying an embroidered *sombrero,* and as he exits he waves a nostalgic *Adios.*

Exopolis

Arriving at the Tech Center in the early afternoon, our visitor still has to conduct his business, to execute the orders for which his company authorized this expense-account trip in the first place. This entails a visit to a brokerage house adjacent to the hotel, where in the course of a 45-minute meeting he discharges his corporate duty, unleashing a flurry of faxes to various clients and regulatory agencies. Their decisions thus delegated, his regional counterpart shakes his hand, and they agree to meet for a social dinner in the evening. This frees our visitor to accomplish several tasks that he has postponed. He arranges a dental check-up, before which he has time to return his rented car, go to the bank, and shop for souvenirs for his children (Bronco memorabilia) and his wife (turquoise jewelry and a cashmere sweater). After the dentist, he runs a quick three kilometers and showers at a health club, consumes a Coors at a bar, and repairs to his hotel room for a two-hour nap before dinner. He wakes up at 8:10, and is promptly at the restaurant by 8:30. All of the above he has accomplished within a two-block radius of his hotel room.

Edward Soja's essay in Sorkin's book illuminates the concept of *exopolis,* variously called "edge cities, technopoles, technoburbs, silicon landscapes, postsuburbia, [and] metroplex," offering Orange County, California as its defining example.[14] "A transactional web efficiently knotted into a series of flexible manufacturing and service complexes, able to capture the new 'scope' economies of post-Fordist technology," exopolis transcends the spatial determinacy of the modernist city. The manufacturing and service complexes Soja refers to are nerve centers, relay stations for capital and information that determine the ageographical boundaries of exopolis. Streets, offices, and other shared spaces are replaced by fiber optic cables, microwave uplinks, and computerized bulletin boards. The modernist grid of city blocks is now less important than the information grid—the Network—that substitutes fax numbers and interface codes for street addresses and business cards.

The Denver Technological Center (DTC) is a principal local node in the global exopolitan system. Here, and in nearby Greenwood Village/Greenwood Plaza, are branch offices and manufacturing facilities for IBM, Apple, Hewlett-Packard, Toshiba America, and a host of interrelated businesses. The

DTC offers the businessman of the nineties full access to the Network, and provides a range of "executive support services" from food, drink, and lodging to chiropractors, tax assistance, and tanning booths. Retail stores proliferate nearby. Convenient outlets abound to provide software, reprogram cellular phone frequencies, protect against viruses (both biological and cyberspatial) and regulate the executive's stress level with nutritional supplements and exercise. Close by, golfing and boating are available at the Paradise Valley Country Club and the Cherry Creek Recreation Area. Regular shuttles connect the complex with Stapleton, and with Centennial Airport just down I-25, which is ideally situated to handle small private and corporate aircraft. This is the local garrison of the global information economy, and the business it transacts has little to do with the entrenched economy of Denver. In terms of the hyperspatial reorganization of business and communications described by Soja, the DTC is more a suburb of Irvine or San Jose than of Denver. The digitized transnational byways that transport information and capital connect the DTC more directly with Tokyo than with the Front Range. In this light, the name "Denver Tech Center" seems both accurate and disarmingly frank. We are observing a local manifestation of the postmodern (a)geography described by Soja as "a new kind of 'peripheral' urbanization, an offset urban form . . that is the seedbed of exopolis."[15]

Conclusions

In Maurilia, the traveler is invited to visit the city, and at the same time to examine some old post cards that show how it used to be . . . If the traveler does not wish to disappoint the inhabitants, he must praise the postcard city and prefer it to the present one . . . though he must be careful to contain his regret at the changes within definite limits, admitting that the magnificence and prosperity of the metropolis Maurilia, when compared to the old, provincial Maurilia, cannot compensate for a certain lost grace, which, however, can be appreciated only now in the old post cards, whereas before, when that provincial Maurilia was before one's eyes, one saw absolutely nothing graceful and would see it even less today, if Maurilia had remained unchanged; and in any case the metropolis has the added attraction that, through what it has become, one can look back with nostalgia at what it was.

from *Invisible Cities*
by Italo Calvino[16]

The postmodern geography of Colorado includes places—and hyperplaces —not noted explicitly above. Many towns and cities have preserved "historic" districts and/or converted public streets into controlled pedestrian/retail zones, along the lines of Larimer Square, the Tivoli complex, Pearl Street Mall in Boulder, and Old Town Fort Collins. These types of analogous zones combine attributes of Ski Country charm, Baby Doe kitsch, and generic

A small slice of Colorado Kitsch

shopping mall functionality and social control. Not long ago Larimer Square added an outdoor high fidelity music system, an innovation that "encloses" and analogizes the outdoor space. This, the downtown Denver ambiance, and other accoutrements such as horse-drawn carriages place Larimer Square at the forefront of this group in terms of "historic" simulation. The persistent trend, which conforms to the thesis of Sorkin's Variations on a Theme Park, is the increasing privatization of public space, hand in hand with the exclusion of those groups unwilling or unable to participate in the spectacle of consumption.

The "end of public space" referred to in Sorkin's title is spelled out by Trevor Boddy: in the city-analogue, "marginal social groups and political activity have been quietly excluded from the public domain, and monoclass, monoform, and decidedly monotonous hermetic archipelagos have been created."[17] The privatization of public space constricts the freedoms of expression, organization, and petition guaranteed by the First Amendment. On the Pearl Street Mall, Boulder merchants' pressure on the city has led to a conspicuous form of policing designed to squeeze out "transient" undesirables; it seems the latter are not in fact as transient as the merchants would like them to be. Municipal regulations prevent individuals from conducting polls, circulating petitions, selling wares, or "performing" without a permit. Recently the city staged a high-visibility shakedown of the less reputable-looking denizens of the public Courthouse lawn. They were ostensibly looking for drugs, but publicly acknowledged their true intent—to frighten off the "transients," whom the city felt were intimidating the middle-class patrons of the shopping district.

Thus Boulder mimics big-city forms of postmodern oppression documented on New York's Lower East Side by Neil Smith, and in South-Central Los Angeles by Mike Davis.[18] In both cases, police surveillance and military tactics from curfews to baton charges have been essential to developers' efforts to restrict public assembly of the homeless in parks and to safeguard newly gentrified analogue-urban environments. The recent riots in Los Angeles become more comprehensible when seen as a response to the persistent efforts of police, real-estate interests, and municipal government to "revitalize" the inner city by evicting tenants, closing parks, and designing "bum-proof" benches and sprinklers to drench anyone caught sleeping outdoors. Boulder's privatization of public space is clearly not so advanced, but the identical social dynamic is present: the exertion of the combined interest of private profit and public coercive force against the marginalized poorest class. As Crawford tells us, the overriding priority is that shoppers be free to enjoy their inalienable right to consume free of distraction and annoyance.[19] This same principle governs indoor private/public space such as shopping malls, where today Salvation Army Santas no longer ring bells, but hold discreet signposts that read "ding!" and "dong!" Yet another aspect

of the modern is stylized, rendered quaint and refined as pure simulation.

If we are to understand ourselves properly in an increasingly postmodern situation, we must consciously address the extent to which our common, public life is gradually being subsumed by a political/aesthetic reproduction of urban experience. We must come to see that our limitless pursuit of pure consumption has direct and devastating consequences upon the millions of Americans who are too poor to consume, and too underrepresented to make effective use of public institutions to address their plight. The apparently innocent analogous cities that surround us reinforce social divisions based on the ability to consume, and increasingly delimit our opportunities for truly public interaction and expression. To conclude with the words of Edward Soja, "if we can recapture our critical ability to see the 'spatiality' of social life as inherently and instrumentally political, we may be able to take apart those deceptively embracing simulations and reconstruct a different cartography of power than the one now being mapped out inside exopolis."[20]

Endnotes

1. Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1992.

2. For the definitive postmodern statement on simulacra, see Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations*, New York: Semiotext(e), 1983.

3. This notion of the spectacle is presented by Guy DeBord in *Society of the Spectacle*, Detroit: Red and Black, 1983. This work, first published in 1967, is commonly cited as a forerunner of postmodern social theory.

4. See R.W. Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, *The Culture of Consumption*, New York: Pantheon, 1983.

5. Milton Kundera, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, New York: Harper and Row, 1984, pp.254-256.

6. T.J. Clark, "Clement Greenberg's Theory of Art," *The Politics of Interpretation*, W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, p.211.

7. Quotations from Trevor Boddy, "Underground and Overhead," in Sorkin, p.126.

8. Margret Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," in Sorkin, p.3.

9. M. Christine Boyer, "Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at South Street Seaport," in Sorkin, p.181.

10. At the Fort, as in Heritage Square, the simulacrum is not an "analogous city," but rather an analogous outpost of civilization. The romance, which as always rests on the amelioration of disorder and danger, depends not upon the repression of social conflict and diversity (as in urban analogies), but upon the repression of the more elemental chaos of Nature, here subdued and embodied in the fixed gazes of long-dead beasts.

11. Langdon Winner, "Silicon Valley Mystery House," in Sorkin, p.31. In this context, the executive class is fleeing one analogous city (the "exurban" region called Silicon Valley) for another—the pristine mountain resort.

12. Neil Smith, "New City, New Frontier," in Sorkin, p.61.

13. *Rocky Mountain News*, December 2, 1992, p.10.

14. Edward Soja, "Inside Exopolis: Scenes from Orange County," in Sorkin, p.94.

15. *Ibid.*, p.97.

16. Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jaconovich, 1974, p.30.

17. Boddy, p.150.

18. Smith, p.61; Mike Davis, "Fortress Los Angeles," in Sorkin, p.154.

19. Crawford, p.3.

20. Soja, p.122.

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The Evolution of the British Working-Class Press: 1830 to 1855

Judy Farrell

> . . .the floodgates of knowledge, which the tyrants of the world have raised to stem the torrent, are being broken down. We have tested its refreshing steam; the mist of ignorance and delusion is past; we *perceive* the injustice practiced on us, and *feel* the slavery from which we have *not yet power to free ourselves*. Our emancipation, however, will depend on the extent of this knowledge among the working classes of all countries or its salutary effects in causing us to perceive our real position in society.[1]

With these words, working-class reform leader William Lovett captured the essential role of the radical press in 19th-Century England: to raise the floodgates, educate the working classes about their "real position in society," and set an agenda that would allow them to "free themselves" from the paternalism of the traditional British economic and political systems.

As continued industrialization brought more people to British cities, a new culture grew. Workers in cities gathered together in corresponding societies, Chartist organizations[2], labour unions, and other groups where they formed common goals, demands, and directions. Their perception of themselves as a distinct "working class" strengthened, helped by their associations with each other.[3] Lovett exemplified this working-class society. Starting as a tradesman, he eventually became a spokesman for the laboring

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classes and part of the vanguard of the working-class movement in Britain.

With the French Revolution still vivid in their minds, the upper and middle classes viewed this stirring of the working class with alarm, and took steps to keep the underclasses from organizing, uniting, and presenting a challenge to the present structure of society. Their efforts were futile. By the end of the century, many of the "radical" ideas they so vigorously opposed were accepted components of society. Working-class enfranchisement, improved working conditions, and the formation of a Labour Party that represented the worker interests exemplified the change that had rocked British society during the Victorian era.[4]

Another example of this social transformation was the removal of the Newspaper Stamp Duty. Newspapers were one tool used by the leaders of the radical movements in Britain to advance their cause—one that the government attempted to suppress. The history of the radical and working-class press in England between 1830 and the late 1850s reflects the demands of the working classes for an improved standing in society; the attempts of the ruling classes to prevent workers from assuming that place; and the government's eventual capitulation to the inevitable empowerment of the working classes.

With the development of an industrial society in Great Britain, the lives of the lower classes changed. Men and women from rural areas began moving to the cities to find employment in the new factories. Educational opportunities became available, and the literacy rate increased. In 1816, 875,000 children out of a total of 1.5 million attended some kind of school for some period. By 1835, that number had grown to 1.45 million of a potential 1.75 million, with an average attendance of one year.[5] The percentage of brides and grooms able to sign the marriage register increased from 58.4 percent in 1839 to 77.9 percent in 1843, and reached 94.65 percent in 1893.[6]

Faced with the high cost of books and newspapers, working-class men joined together to purchase these educational materials. In his autobiography, William Lovett said he first became interested in pursuing knowledge through involvement in a literary association called "The Liberals," which met in Gerard Street, Newport Market. It consisted mostly of working men who paid a subscription fee to purchase a library of books to circulate among association members.[7]

Thomas Carter, a tailor from Colchester, noted a similar cooperative effort on the part of 10 employees in a workshop as early as 1807. The workers here shared the expense of purchasing a radical weekly newspaper, *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*.[8]

Carter later moved to London and made a habit of having breakfast at a coffee shop where he could read newspapers from the previous day. He relayed information to his co-workers.[9] Working men also could read newspapers in taverns and newsrooms. Newspapers often were read aloud,

allowing those who could not read to share in the information.[10] This helped to foster an awareness of radical and labor-oriented issues, and encouraged discussion. Because of this sharing, newspaper readership was much higher than circulation figures indicated. Contemporary estimates of the number of people who read a single copy of a newspaper ranged from six to 80.[11]

Efforts to gain access to newspapers, books, and other kinds of information illustrate a change in the working classes. They acquired increased awareness of, and interest in, the world around them. In the words of William Lovett, "In short, my mind seemed to be awakened—to a new mental existence; new feelings, hopes, and aspirations sprang up within me, and every spare moment was devoted to the acquisition of some kind of useful knowledge."[12]

A discussion of the working-class and radical press in Britain during the 1800s logically begins with the passage of the Newspaper Stamp Duty of 1819. It followed a pro-reform rally at St. Peter's Field near Manchester at which soldiers rushed the crowd and attacked the protesters, killing 11 and injuring hundreds. In the aftermath of what came to be called "Peterloo," fears about a potential working-class uprising ran high. Parliament responded by enacting a series of bills known as the "Six Acts," designed to keep the working classes from organizing, gaining power, or distributing information. Among the measures passed were the Seditious Meetings Prevention Bill, Blasphemous Libel Bill, and the Newspaper Stamp Duties Bill.

Newspaper stamp duties were not new. Newspapers had been required to pay a duty since 1712, when they were perceived to be exercising their freedom of expression too vigorously, particularly in criticizing the government. Viscount Canning noted that:

> The freedom with which they exercised their functions seemed to have given offence not only to the Government, but to the Parliaments of the day; for in a message sent from the Crown to the House of Commons in 1712 was a paragraph calling their attention to the subject, and recommending them to find a remedy without delay. The result was the passing of an act imposing a stamp upon newspapers.[13]

Thus, from its inception this duty had been designed to curtail the freedom of the press. The stamp duty was increased in 1776, when Lord North declared newspapers "a species of luxury that ought to be taxed."[14] It was raised several more times until, in 1815, it reached its highest level of 4 pence.

The bill passed in 1819 did not raise this stamp duty; instead, it required anyone publishing a newspaper to pay a bond, or surety, of £300 (if within 20 miles of London) or £200 (outside the London area) as security

against any fines that might be levied for future libel charges.[15] The act also expanded the number of publications subject to the duty by adopting a broad definition. It defined newspapers as pamphlets and papers containing news, intelligence, occurrences, commentary, or information on church or state, and published more frequently than every 26 days.

The purpose of this act was clear. It was designed to restrain "the Abuses arising from the publication of blasphemous and seditious Libels."[16] The act began by noting that pamphlets and newspapers had been published that excited hatred and contempt of the government and constitution, and vilified religion. These publications were available "in great numbers, and at very small prices."[17]

Parliamentary debate during consideration of the bill also demonstrated the desire of the government to keep newspapers from printing "seditious and irreligious" stories. Members voicing opposition to the Act did so based on two arguments. Mr. Macdonald, a Member of Parliament, objected to ministers requesting new laws to suppress irreligion and sedition without demonstrating the inadequacy of current laws. He pointed out that strong libel laws already existed.[18] He also noted that the act required newspaper proprietors to enter into sureties to keep the peace before they had committed, or showed a disposition to commit, any crime.[19]

In objecting to the surety, he condemned it as censorship of the worst type: censorship based on money, designed to keep those without the necessary funds from expressing their opinions.[20] That was precisely the intention of the act's supporters. Parliament sought to keep the newspapers in the hands of the upper classes, and saw the combination of the stamp duty and surety payment as a way of preventing the working classes from becoming proprietors, publishers, or consumers of the news.

Opponents argued that it was particularly objectionable to propose restriction on information when the country had started promoting education of the poor. Did it make sense, they asked, to keep the poor from participating in the public debate after enabling and encouraging them to exercise their minds?[21]

In the view of others, though, promoting education was precisely where the society had gone wrong. A Member of Parliament, Mr. Bankes, said that "one great source of evil" was the effort to provide general education to the lower classes, "which certainly tended to the establishment of a state of society not contemplated in former times." He warned that it was unwise to educate the working classes unless "special care was taken what kind of knowledge was communicated to them."[22]

Bankes recognized that the floodgates opened by the "awakening" of the working classes threatened to sweep away the traditional upper-class monopoly on information, political influence, and society. He saw the need to control the flow of information to the working classes. Enough of his

fellow Members agreed with him to pass the Newspaper Stamp Duties Bill, and it became law in 1819.

If Parliament hoped to turn back the tide of working-class publications, the act fell far short of expectations. In 1830, after the defeat of a reform bill that would have liberalized voting requirements sparked riots and political rallies, unstamped weekly newspapers began flooding the country. Published in defiance of the stamp duty and usually selling for substantially lower prices than stamped newspapers, this "pauper press" consisted of more than 550 newspapers between 1830 and 1836. Many were published for just a few editions.[23]

Not all the publications were radical. Some were literary; others contained "useful knowledge"—information of an educational nature designed to instill "middle-class values" in the working classes, in an attempt to reduce the influence of the radical working class press. These publications were ignored by the government, while the radical publications were pursued for violating the Newspaper Stamp Duty Act.[24]

Many radical unstamped papers were published by the same small group of men. When one enterprise was shut down, they simply started another. Proprietors were concerned with politics, not with profit. Sometimes different publications helped each other, sharing presses and helping put out another paper when its proprietor was absent.[25] The most influential newspapers were in London, although regional publications also sprang up. In Glasgow, for example, there were 34 unstamped newspapers. Of these, 16 were political in nature, although only the *Herald to the Trades Advocate* was run completely by working men. Other radical publications included the *Agitator, The Friend of the People,* and the *Radical Reformers Gazette.* Like their London counterparts, these papers seldom lasted for more than a year.[26]

A few London papers lasted longer, building up circulations of several thousands. One popular publication, *The Poor Man's Guardian,* maintained a circulation of between 12,000 and 15,000 for about two years.[27] The radical newspapers were designed both to educate the working classes and to increase their radical consciousness by calling for universal male suffrage and repeal of the stamp duty.[28] With common goals, the unstamped press set a unified agenda for the working classes. An examination of the publications reveals this agenda.

The Poor Man's Guardian, "A Weekly Paper for the People," was among the most influential of the unstamped papers. Published in London by Henry Hetherington, a working class radical, it survived from July 9, 1831 until December 26, 1835, building up a substantial circulation. Published weekly, it consisted of eight pages. Proud of its unstamped status, the newspaper's front-page flag declared, "Published in defiance of 'law,' to try the power of 'right' against 'might;'" and "KNOWLEDGE IS POWER."

The edition published Saturday, August 25, 1832, features a front-page

story on unstamped publications. It rails against selective enforcement of the Newspaper Stamp Duty, targeted at publications the government found particularly noxious. Noting that 128 people were convicted by metropolitan magistrates in a six-month period for selling unstamped publications, it alleges that most of them "had been unjustly consigned to dungeons principally for selling *The Poor Man's Guardian* and the *Cosmopolite* (another radical publication)."[29] The writer notes that there were "upwards of 50" unstamped publications, and asks,

> . . . WHY should *The Poor Man's Guardian* have to sustain, almost exclusively, the malignant persecution of these Whigish reptiles? Evidently because its pages are devoted to the honest advocacy of the poor man's rights and interests. The *'liberal'* Whigs assure us they by no means desire to suppress *all* Cheap Periodicals. Oh! no; some of them are perfectly harmless;--the Penny Magazine, for instance, is a publication deserving the *especial* patronage of the Whigs, as it cannot fairly be charged with ever having put a single useful idea into the head of any one of its readers. We have, however, by the publication of the *Guardian*, effectually and for ever destroyed the aristocracy of knowledge. We have torn up by the roots that accursed and deadly Upas tree, POLITICAL IGNORANCE, which withered the energies and destroyed the vitality of all the industrious classes of society. We have, moreover,called into existence a numerous progeny, all, we are happy to say, in a thriving condition.[30]

As the most influential political party of the day, the Whigs were frequent targets of attacks from unstamped publications. These newspapers also disparaged members of the aristocracy and monarchy for serving no useful function in society, while benefitting from the labor of working men. That attitude is obvious in the July 16, 1831, edition of the *Poor Man's Guardian*, which commented on the planned coronation of William IV. The article states that "A CORONATION is nothing more, as far as we can see, than a splendid farce, which, *of course*, is exhibited at the country's expense."

> . . . let us starve—let us be oppressed—let us be persecuted—the 8th of September will be our day of rejoicing—we shall see *the coronation!* and shall catch a glimpse, may be, of Mr. and Mrs. William Guelph, when they are really and truly crowned our King and Queen—Ha! ha! ha! shame on such useless, such wilful, such childish extravagance, when *starvation* is in the land! Employ the gold that will be that day

> wasted, in buying corn for the myriads of our Irish brethren, who are wanting food—or, if they deserve it not, send it as a relief to the noble Poles against their overpowering oppressor.[31]

This same edition contains a report of a "Meeting of the working classes." The unstamped press provided a forum for both announcing when meetings would take place and reporting on proceedings afterward. This particular meeting was called to consider whether to petition Parliament to remove all restrictions on freedom of the press, and to restore the civil and political rights of the working classes. The *Guardian* reported that:

> The CHAIRMAN (Thomas Wakeley, Esq.) commenced by stating that it was an honour for him to be appointed to the situation of Chairman, over a meeting which was attended by those who lived by their daily labour, more so than if he were in the House of Peers itself. He commented at some length upon the injustice of excluding the wealth producers from all participation in the rights of representation; . . . He proceeded rapidly over many features of the Reform Bill, and dwelt with severity upon several points which he considered would injure the working classes, and leave them in a worse situation than they are in at present. . . . Still he thought the Bill would render essential service as a stepping stone to further and more substantial concessions. He then read a portion of a letter from Mr. Hume, in which that gentleman stated his readiness to move for a repeal of the Six Acts, but thought it could be more effectually done after the bill had passed.[32]

The first resolution passed by this meeting called for recognition of the indisputable right of every male adult to vote, without any property qualification.[33] The second also sounded a familiar theme for the unstamped:

> That this Meeting views with alarm and indignation the repeated attempts of a Whig Ministry to shackle the press, by attempting to withhold from man the liberty of expressing his opinions, and interfering with that great law of nature which, when it gave him the power to speak, also gave him the right to speak as he thought.[34]

The New Poor Law Act also drew fire from the *Poor Man's Guardian*. This law set government policy toward the poor, including the establishment of workhouses. A story on the subject in the Saturday, November 14, 1835

edition covers two full pages and half of a third. It starts with a letter from a reader on the subject, and builds on his comments, demonstrating how a criminal in prison "is indulged with twice as much bread, three times as much meat, and more than four times as much cheese as the unfortunate man who is guilty of only being poor."[35] The plight of the poor in both England and Ireland frequently drew the attention of unstamped publications.

Richard Carlile's influential radical newspaper, *The Gauntlet*, sounded many of the same themes as the *Poor Man's Guardian*. *The Gauntlet* cost 3 pence and lasted from February 10, 1833, to March 30, 1834. In the inaugural edition, Carlile set out his agenda:

> On behalf of the oppressed of all nations, and more particularly on that of the people of this island and its dependencies, I throw down THE GAUNTLET to the oppressor, be he king, prince, priest, or lord, and dare him to enter the field of discussion, to show cause why he is an oppressor, and why the people should not rise and put an end to his oppression. The time is come, in which we ought not any longer to fear any thing as of divine right. In human society, there is no right, but that which is common to every man,—the right of the people as a whole. The right to legislate is involved in the right of the people to appoint the legislator, and the right of the people to appoint the legislator admits of no right abridgement. So that, in fact, we are still in this country, under the ban of the oppressor, because the appointment of the legislator is not yet in right extended to the whole people.[36]

He went on to mention the impact of the Reform Bill passed in 1832, which extended enfranchisement to some elements of the middle class, and defined what he hoped to accomplish with his newspaper.

> I begin this publication at a moment when the privilege of choosing the legislator has been slightly altered and extended; and it is my hope and calculation, that I shall be able to sustain it; that is, that I, on my part, may have the health to edit it, and that the yet politically excluded and suffering portions of the community may see the root of their evils extensively enough to sustain this as one of the publications that constitute their best guardians, best advocates, and best instructors.[37]

Carlile also railed against the Newspaper Stamp Duty, saying, "It is very evident that the present ministers are exceedingly reluctant to give the

people any benefit in a great extension of the freedom of the press, or in any other way. They are persecutors of all persons connected with the press, who do not support them in their profligacy."[38] He told his readers that "the most virtuous patriotism of the present day is resistance to bad laws," and he practiced this patriotism by resisting the Newspaper Stamp Duty. He used his publication to examine the plight of working people, stating that millions worked in unhealthy employment, causing disease and starvation. He said they were "greater and more degraded slaves than the negroes of the Americans, and as ill-conditioned as the savages of the Nicolaitan Islands, who fill their stomachs with an unctuous earth to appease the cravings of hunger."[39]

Carlile enumerated the causes of the condition of the working people, attacking taxation, tithes, and landlords. He said the land should belong to the people with all rents used for public revenue, thus lifting the burden of taxation from the working man. He also attacked the aristocracy, printing a poem formerly printed in the *Glasgow Radical Reformer's Gazette* that ridiculed peers (members of the nobility):

WHAT IS A PEER?

What is a Peer?—An Useless thing—
A costly TOY to please a King—
A BAUBLE near the throne;
A lump of animated clay—
An INCUBUS—a DRONE.

What is a Peer?—A Nation's curse—
A PAUPER on the public purse
Corruption's own jackal;
A haughty domineering blade—
A CUCKOLD at a masquerade—
A DANDY at a ball.

Ye butterflies whom Kings create—
Ye caterpillars of the state,—
Know that your time is near;
Enlightened France will lead the van,
to overthrow your worthless clan:
This moral learn—that God made MAN,
But never made a PEER.[40]

With this sort of rhetoric, it is not surprising that the aristocracy looked on Mr. Carlile with some alarm. They had been doing so for some time, since

he had established a long career in publishing radical newspapers. In fact, his name was raised frequently during the debate before passage of the Newspaper Stamp Act in 1819, and his writings cited as the kind that the bill aimed to squelch. Undeterred, Carlile became one of the strongest voices in the unstamped press.

In the 1819 debate, Carlile was referred to as "blasphemous" because among his targets were the church and religion in general. The inaugural edition of his newspaper declared that "The root of the evil is in the priesthood. . . . Kings, priests, and lords are monsters in human society."[41] The flag of the March 3, 1833, edition stated, "I challenge the World to make a good moral Defence of Kingcraft or Priestcraft." He carried on this attack on the church in a front-page article criticizing government policy toward Ireland, asking its architect, Earl Grey, "What are you doing for Ireland? You are destroying every man's peace there to keep what you call the king's peace. You are making desolation where there are now habitations, that the Babylonish church may yet be satiated."[42]

Other unstamped publications shared this disdain for religion, including a publication called *Slap at the Church.*[43] The role of the church in Ireland came in for frequent criticism, as did the impoverished state of the Irish in general.

The Gauntlet also featured summaries of Parliamentary proceedings as did many unstamped papers. The February 23, 1833, edition contains a lengthy account of debate in the House of Commons on the system of taxation and a call for abolition of the Newspaper Stamp Duty.

While continuing to call for its abolition, publishers of unstamped newspapers continued to face imprisonment for defying the law. John Doherty, publisher of *The Poor Man's Advocate, or Oppressor's Castigator,* addressed his readers from prison on Saturday, December 8, 1832. Published from January 21, 1832, to January 5, 1833, in Manchester, the *Advocate* was a radical trade union publication. Doherty found himself in a doubly uncomfortable position:

> Most of the readers of this are aware, that I was under bail to appear for judgment, under the Gilpin prosecution. The terms of that bail required me to appear in the Court of King's bench in November, to receive the judgment of the court for that affair; while the terms of this second bail required me to appear at the New Bailey, at Safford, yesterday, to be tried for the second, or what I may now call the 'Ogden and Arrowsmith prosecution.'[44]

Both cases involved charges of libel against the publisher. Given the circumstances, it is not surprising that his newspaper survived for only

another month. Its short life span was typical of newspapers during the era of the unstamped publications.

The end of this era came in 1836, when Parliament reduced the Newspaper Stamp Duty from 4 pence to only 1 pence. On the surface, this appeared to be a loosening of restrictions on inexpensive newspapers; in practice, it had the opposite effect. Although it reduced the duty, the bill also established more severe penalties for violators, making it more costly to defy the law.

J. Hume, M.P., explained the purpose of the decrease during debate on the issue and expressed disappointment in the House of Commons for shutting the door on the free press, saying it was evident that the bill was designed to "put down" the unstamped newspapers. He said that a paltry penny tax would allow the "reign of ignorance" to continue.[45] Fergus O'Connor, a leading member of the Chartist movement, summed up the result this way: "The reduction upon the stamps has made the rich man's paper cheaper and the poor man's paper dearer."[46]

Thus, the government accomplished more by reducing the Newspaper Stamp Duty than it had by passing the act in 1819. The result was a drastic reduction in the number of newspapers. During the era of the unstamped hundreds of papers were published; after 1836, there were less than 50 working-class papers.[47]

Still, the unstamped press had created a new class of newspaper readers, placing newspapers financially within the reach of the working classes. These reading habits did not evaporate with the demise of the unstamped press. A new class of radical stamped newspapers arose and carried forward the working class agenda. The most successful radical stamped newspaper launched after 1836 was a Chartist publication, the *Northern Star*. The Chartist movement consisted of working-class radicals who espoused a six-point People's Charter: universal male suffrage, secret ballot, equal electoral districts, payment of M.P.s, abolition of property qualifications for M.P.s, and annual parliamentary elections. Its main support came from the growing industrial centers of the Midlands and northern England.[48]

Published weekly in Leeds, the *Northern Star's* first issue rolled off the press November 18, 1837. The paper's founder, Feargus O'Connor, was a fiery leader of the Chartist movement. O'Connor had been born in Ireland and was from a middle-class background. He partially financed the newspaper venture by selling shares for £1 each, offering his own guarantee of a fixed dividend of 10 percent. He saw this as a way of providing a sense of ownership among other members of the Chartist movement. Aiming to raise £800 through selling shares, he succeeded in generating £690.[49]

The press run for the first edition of the *Northern Star* was 3,000, and the paper sold for 4 1/2 pence; according to printer Joshua Hobson, "The first week we could have sold three times three thousand, but we had not stamps

to print more." The newspaper became a profitable concern within a month.[50] The success of the publication was unprecedented, and it was the first time a provincial newspaper became a major national force.

While legal, O'Connor's publication continued to promote a radical agenda. The tone was set in the first edition, where O'Conner drew his readers' attention to the stamp on the front of the publication:

> Readers—Behold this little red spot in the corner of my newspaper. That is the Stamp; the Whig *beauty* spot; your *plague* spot. Look at it: I am entitled to it upon performance of certain conditions: I was ready to comply, and yet, will you believe, that the little red spot you see has cost me nearly Eighty Pounds in money, together with much anxiety, and nearly one thousand miles of night and day travelling ... but for the present suffice to say,—there it is,—my license to teach.[51]

According to one of O'Connor's biographers, "The *Star* was the direct heir to a tradition of popular democracy pioneered in the pages of the unstamped press."[52] However, the *Star* accomplished something that previous radical publications failed to do: it provided a unifying voice for radicals across the country. With so many publications during the era of the unstamped, the message became fragmented. The reduced number of newspapers after 1836 meant a more unified message, and O'Connor's publication became the main medium for that message.

Providing a national publication had been one of O'Connor's main goals. He said, "The *Northern Star* is not, nor was it ever intended to be, *a mere Leeds newspaper*. 'Tis a national organ; devoted to the interest of Democracy in the fullest and most definite sense of the word; and it is, consequently, supported by every true Democrat in every place where it became known."[53]

By December of 1837, the *Star* had a circulation of more than 10,000, with almost half that number coming from Leeds and nearby cities. Its strong support in the North reflected the strong radical movement in that part of the country.[54] In July, 1839, the Bull Ring Riots in Birmingham spurred interest and circulation surged to 50,000. The average circulation for 1839 was 36,000 copies per week.

Although resembling an unstamped newspaper in its themes and contents, the *Star* had advantages its predecessors did not. Because the newspaper stamp also served as a postage stamp, it could be distributed nationally through the mail without additional cost. The stamp also meant that the proprietors were not constantly in danger of being shut down. Thus, the enterprise was more stable.

Like its unstamped predecessors, the *Star* could be found in clubs, working-class reading rooms, coffee houses and taverns. Friends shared copies and radicals combined their funds to purchase subscriptions. The tradition of reading aloud also continued.[55]

Despite O'Connor's roots in the middle class, the paper was strictly aimed at the working classes. O'Connor said he rejoiced that the *Northern Star's* readers were drawn from the "humble and useful classes," adding that he did not aim to move in any other "orbit." He thanked the working people for making the publication a success.[56] O'Connor and the *Northern Star* moved working-class radicalism from illegal unstamped publications to legal stamped publications. He benefitted from the reading habits developed in the era of the unstamped, and providing a strong central voice for the Chartist movement throughout the country. O'Connor exploited the advantages of the stamp—free postal delivery and legal publication—while carrying on the spirit of, and using personnel trained in, the unstamped era.[57]

The *Northern Star* was not the only publication to carry on the tradition of the unstamped. Other Chartist, Owenite (followers of utopian reformer Robert Owen), and trade union publications circulated in the years between 1836 and the repeal of the stamp duty in 1855. Among these were *The National Reformer and Manx Weekly Review, McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal,* and *The Northern Tribune.*

Published by Bronterre O'Brien, *The National Reformer and Manx Weekly Review* also promoted a Chartist agenda, although it did not always agree with O'Connor. In fact, the edition for Saturday, January 9, 1847, includes a front-page story taking exception with O'Connor's Land Lottery. O'Brien stated:

> We gave, in a former series of the *Reformer,* our reasons at length for discarding all such projects as O'Connor's land lottery, without caring to trouble ourselves with what are called the details. . . . We object to them because their inevitable tendency is to destroy all chance of a UNITED ACTION, on the people's part, for the recovery of their rights; by sectionalizing and splitting them up into as many separate bodies, having distinct interests, as there may be formed societies, having distinct and selfishly exclusive objects in view. We object to them also, because the whole of their operations is based upon what no honest Chartist should be a party to, namely, a practical recognition of these laws and institutions, touching the rights of property, which, as men and Chartists, we had sworn to set aside by constitutional means, and which we cannot possibly recognize without stultifying all our past proceedings in respect to the People's Charter.[58]

The paper then goes on to discuss Irish affairs, Parliament, the plight of poor people in the Scottish Highlands, and other issues that reflect the focus of early unstamped newspapers. There is, however, a difference. The publication also includes the account of a boy named Kester Sharp, who drowned after falling through the ice on a reservoir where he was skating with a group of other children. Most radical papers during the unstamped era focused exclusively on their political agenda. Now, human interest items began to make their way into the publications. In the back of this same edition, for example, a column headed "Chit-Chat," provided the following information:

> It is estimated that the annual amount expended in New York City for cigars is not less than 730,000 dollars; There is an old joke respecting a poor attorney which is to purport that, having lived without causes, he died without effect; 'The two rarest things in all nature,' says Bishop Warburton, 'are a disinterested man and a reasonable woman.'; Mr. Liston the eminent surgeon, performed two painful operations on Saturday week, while the patients were stupefied by the vapour of ether; A Chiropodist, named Wolf, has been committed for trial at Southwood for defrauding Dr. Wake, of £1, under pretence of extracting his corns.[59]

This represents a marked break with the serious-minded radical publication of the 1830s, and also marks the beginning of the move toward a mainstream working-class press, one that fully realized after the repeal of the Newspaper Stamp Duty in 1855. Even before 1836, Henry Hetherington, proprietor of the *Poor Man's Guardian*, said another of his publications, *The Two Penny Dispatch*, "would abound in Police intelligence, in Murders, Rapes, Suicides, Burnings, Maimings, Theatricals, Races, Pugilism, and . . . every sort of devilment that will make it sell."[60]

The *Northern Tribune* also mixed of radical news with information of human interest. One edition from the 1850s discusses an explosion and fire that destroyed a crowded, run-down area of Gateshead; a visit by David Urquhart and criticism of his speech; and a story about the Hungarian government. It then features a story about folklore of the town of Shields. The story relates various ghost stories concerning different buildings in the town, and otherworldly inhabitants named Fatty, Jack the Hammer, and Handy Jack.[61]

The January 11, 1844, edition of the Owenite publication, *The New Moral World*, includes an item about courtship rituals among the Bedouin tribes, which are described as "singular and amusing." This light feature accompanies weightier matters, including a front-page letter from Robert

Owen himself, written from New Harmony, Indiana, where the Owenites established a socialist community.[62]

During the 1840s, another type of publication—the Sunday newspaper —began building a working-class readership. These sensational weekly publications thrived despite the 1-pence newspaper stamp duty. They represented the shift in emphasis from promoting a political agenda, as the unstamped and radical publications sought to do, to making a profit. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* was founded in 1842, followed by *News of the World* in 1843, the *Weekly Times* in 1847, and *Reynold's Newspaper* in 1850. They built a substantial circulation, with a combined total of 275,000 in 1850, compared to a combined total of 60,000 per day for the London daily press.[63] By 1855, circulation for the Sunday papers reached 450,000, and it continued to grow throughout the century, reaching a combined circulation of 1,725,000 by 1890. That number was boosted substantially by *Lloyd's Weekly's* circulation of 900,000 following the "Jack the Ripper" murders in 1889.[64]

Long before Jack the Ripper, these newspapers focused on murders, rapes, divorce actions, and other sensational crime stories. They combined these stories with coverage of politics. Published on Sundays, they provided workers with reading matter for their one day off. When first launched, these newspapers circulated most heavily in the same areas as the unstamped and Chartist publications had. They were available at the same coffee houses, public houses, and other places the unstamped publications had been offered. Thus, they also benefitted from the reading habits formed by the working classes during the days of the unstamped newspapers.[65]

After years of agitation, the Newspaper Stamp Duty was repealed by Parliament in 1855. While debate in 1819 centered on the need to control the flow of radical ideas and information, debate at the time of repeal centered on the issues of lost revenue, the cost of sending papers through the mail, and the question of copyright for items carried in the press.

In debate in the House of Lords, for example, Lord Monteagle objected to the loss of revenue. He noted that the newspaper stamp produced £485,000, a sum that corresponded closely to the interest on permanent debt incurred during that year. He contended it did not make sense to sacrifice revenue at a time when Parliament faced such a debt.[66]

The other two questions dealt specifically with the impact of the Stamp Duty's repeal on *The Times*. One was the question of postage. The new legislation required payment of extra postage for publications weighing more than 4 ounces. Because *The Times* was the only newspaper that regularly exceeded that weight, it opposed this portion of the bill, as did some members of both Houses of Parliament. It was, however, adopted.[67]

Some Members of Parliament objected to the bill because they believed it did not contain adequate copyright protection. Newspapers frequently reprinted information from other publications, particularly *The Times*. Some

Members pointed out that *The Times* spent considerable time and money gathering news, and said it was not fair to allow other newspapers to exploit that information without incurring the same expense. However, no copyright provisions were added to the law.[68]

Thus, *The Times* did not enthusiastically support repeal of the Newspaper Stamp Duty. In fact, *The Times'* management also objected to the idea on other grounds. Testifying before a select committee appointed to report on newspaper taxes, *The Times* manager, Mowbray Morris, was asked if he thought it desirable that cheaper papers should be made available to the general public. He replied that he had "very little opinion of the sagacity of uneducated people." He was then asked if he considered it to be in the public interest that newspaper publication "should be limited to a few hands, and be in the hands of parties who are great capitalists;" he said he did.[69]

The end of the Newspaper Stamp Duty marked the beginning of daily newspapers aimed at the working classes. Whereas previously dailies were out of reach financially, the new *Daily Telegraph,* launched in London in 1855, sold for 1 pence. It continued the trend toward sensationalism started in the Sunday papers.[70]

It also marked the end of the era of the radical press. In its last edition, the *Northern Tribune* recognized the changes to be caused by the repeal of the stamp duty.

> The abolition of the penny stamp on newspapers . . . will cause a revolution in journalistic literature, and in all periodical publications partaking of a political character. Indeed for political publications there will be no place; they must become newspapers or nothing. The *Tribune* circulation is partly local, partly general. The latter must be appropriated by a metropolitan newspaper. Life-enduring ties bind us to this district, and it would be quite impossible in Newcastle to super-intend a paper published in London.[71]

The editor announced that the newspaper would merge with a London publication, the *Reasoner,* and would be known as the *Reasoner and London Tribune.* As the editor pointed out, purely political newspapers no longer were required. The working class press had evolved, between the 1830s and the late 1850s, from illegal, radical vehicles for political agitation, to publications broader in scope, focusing on crime news and other sensational subjects as well as political reporting.

Proprietors of the post-1855 publications were more concerned with commercial success than promoting a political agenda, and that was reflected in their story selection. In January 3, 1857, even the staid *Times* featured stories headlined "The Double Murder of Children in Newington;" "Robberies

and Personal Violence;" and "A Week of Horror."[72] At the opposite end of the social scale, the January 7, 1865, edition of the *Miner and Workman's Advocate* featured "The Poisoning of Five Persons at Gresford;" "Horrible Murder at Aldershot by a Madman;" and "Shocking Child Murder."[73] These efforts at sensationalism paid off. Between 1855 and 1860, daily newspaper circulation trebled. It doubled again between 1860 and 1870.[74]

These later newspapers benefitted from the reading habits established among the working classes during the 1830s. The unstamped publications opened the "floodgates" of information to common men, and instilled in them a desire for information about their world. The development of the working-class press reflected the mainstreaming of the working classes into the social structure of British society, where they became active participants in, instead of disenfranchised subjects of, the system.

Endnotes

1. David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth Century Working Class Autobiography*, 1981, pp.174-175.
2. The Chartist movement was a working-class reform movement that had as its main goal universal male suffrage.
3. For more on the development of the working classes, see Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom*, and E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 1963.
4. For more on these changes, see L.C.B. Seaman, *Victorian England*, 1973.
5. Raymond Williams, "The Press and Popular Culture: An Historical Perspective," *Newspaper History, from the 17th Century to the Present Day*, George Boyce, James Curran, and Pauline Wingate, Editors, 1978, p.42.
6. *Ibid.*, p.42.
7. Vincent, pp.134-135.
8. *Ibid.*, p.118.
9. *Ibid.*, p.118.
10. Ivon Asquith, "The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press, 1780-1855," *Newspaper History*, Boyce *et al*, editors, pp.100-101.
11. *Ibid.*, pp.100-101.
12. Vincent, p.135.
13. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 137, Third Series, March 2-May 2, 1855, p.953.
14. *Ibid.*, p.953.
15. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Volume 41, First Series, November 23, 1819 to February 28, 1820, Columns 1681-1682.
16. *Ibid.*, Columns 1677-1678.
17. *Ibid.*, Columns 1677-1678.
18. *Ibid.*, Column 1321.
19. *Ibid.*, Column 1322.
20. *Ibid.*, Column 1324.
21. *Ibid.*, Column 1325.
22. *Ibid.*, Columns 1348-1349.
23. Asquith, p.101.
24. Patricia Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism in the 1830's*, 1970, pp.156-202.
25. Asquith, p.106.
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27. Asquith, p.100.
28. *Ibid.*, p.106.

29. *Poor Man's Guardian*, Volume 2, No. 23, August, 1832, p.1.
30. *Ibid.*, p.1.
31. *Poor Man's Guardian*, Volume 1, No. 2, July 16, 1831, p.1.
32. *Ibid.*, p.2.
33. *Ibid.*, p.2.
34. *Ibid.*, p.2.
35. *Poor Man's Guardian*, No. 232, November 14, 1835.
36. *The Gauntlet*, No. 1, February 10, 1833, p.1.
37. *Ibid.*, p.1.
38. *Ibid.*, p.1.
39. *Ibid.*, p.1.
40. *Ibid.*, p.2.
41. *Ibid.*, p.2.
42. *The Gauntlet*, No. 4, March 3, 1833, p.2.
43. Hollis, p.326.
44. *The Poor Man's Advocate*, December 8, 1832.
45. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, Volume 34, Third Series, July 8-August 20, 1836, p.274.
46. James Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom*, 1982, p.61.
47. Asquith, p.106.
48. Seaman, p.83.
49. J.A. Epstein, "Feargus O'Connor and *Northern Star*," *International Review of Social History*, Volume 21, No. 1 (1976), pp.55-56.
50. *Ibid.*, p.56.
51. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom*, p.61.
52. *Ibid.*, p.60.
53. Epstein, "Feargus O'Connor and the *Northern Star*," p.62.
54. *Ibid.*, p.69.
55. *Ibid.*, p.70.
56. *Ibid.*, p.69.
57. Paul A. Pickering, "Class Without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement," *Past and Present*, No. 112 August 1986, p.160.
58. *National Reformer, and Manx Weekly Review of Home and Foreign Affairs*, No. 90, No. 15-New Series, January 9, 1847, p.1.
59. *Ibid.*, p.12.
60. Asquith, p.107.
61. *Northern Tribune*, Volume 1, No. 12.
62. *The New Moral World and Gazette of the National Society*, Volume 6, No. 29, Third Series, January 11, 1844.
63. Rob Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century*, 1990, p.30.
64. *Ibid.*, p.30.
65. Sindall, p.30, and Boyce, p.250.

66. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* volume 138, Third Series, May 3-June 21, 1855, p.965.
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68. *Ibid.*, p.443.
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71. *Northern Tribune,* Volume 2, No. 9, March, 1855.
72. Thomas Boyle, *Black Swine in the Sewers of Hampstead: Beneath the Surface of Victorian Sensationalism,* 1989, p.3.
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74. Sindall, p.30.

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Entitled to Full and Equal Enjoyment: Leisure and Entertainment in the Denver Black Community, 1900 to 1930

Moya Hansen

4128. Equality of privileges to all persons.--Sec.1. That all persons within the jurisdiction of said State shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of all the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and all other places of public accommodation and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens. (L. '95, p. 139, 1; R.S. '08, 609.)

On April 28, 1905, William H. Knight offered public thanks in the *Colorado Statesman* to 300 friends who attended his Easter Ball at Denver's Manitou Hall. He also tendered his apologies to a young man of the community "who was handled roughly" in the ladies' reception room while getting his hat and coat. By way of explanation, Mr. Knight said, "if I do not keep order at the hall it will be taken away from the colored people. For good things don't last long."[1]

This pessimistic viewpoint, expressed in the pages of Denver's newspaper for the African American community, echoed the concerns of blacks across the country. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century an increasing number of Jim Crow laws gave legal sanction to social discrimination against blacks. These laws barred blacks' access to education and jobs, denied their political rights, forbade them to purchase property, and segregated them from the larger community in every possible way.[2] This

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seemed only right to many white Americans who, by 1900, had accepted the myth that the Negro was "dull, stupid, ignorant, vicious, lazy . . . the clown, the thief, the liar." National newspapers, from the yellow press to the most respected journals, publicized Negro crimes and presented stereotyped images of blacks through poems, stories, articles, editorials, cartoons, and jokes.[3] Most Americans thought that blacks lacked a cultural past and assumed that, unlike European immigrants, they would be incapable of assimilating white American culture in the future.[4]

Institutional segregation was a discouraging development from the African American's perspective. Reconstruction had offered black Americans the hope that they could earn the rights and privileges enjoyed by white Americans through education, occupation, religion, property ownership, and cultural attainments.[5] The struggle for access to public entertainments caused less friction between the races than the struggle for housing, education, and economic opportunities, but the pursuit of leisure-time activities within the black community had important cultural implications.

Growth of Leisure Activities in America

Leisure activities had long been associated in Europe with a "leisured class," a group that had no obligation to work. After the Civil War, Americans enjoyed increasing affluence and the very wealthy began to emulate the lifestyles of wealthy Europeans. This included travel abroad and at home, extended visits to spas and resorts, lavish entertainments, and the building of country homes away from the dirt, noise, and congestion of urban areas. Less affluent Americans could not afford the luxury of travel and country homes, but an urban middle class with shorter work hours and more money emerged after the turn of the century, and these people created new forms of leisure and recreational activities. Many of their pastimes carried a price tag, and leisure increasingly became a means of defining one's wealth and social status. Equally important, however, was the part leisure played in the cultural assimilation of some 19 million immigrants from southern and eastern Europe.[6] Americans encouraged immigrants to give up their native pastimes and adopt American activities as a way to become American. African Americans, on the other hand, were denied access to the very things that Americans were urging on newly arrived foreigners. The harder blacks tried to assimilate, the more stringent the segregation laws became. Consequently the implications of segregation and discrimination in leisure activities were broader than just a denial of access to public places.

Leisure as an Expression of Affluence

During the nineteenth century, America's Protestant work ethic emphasized the misuse of time and stressed "edifying" leisure activities such as reading, lectures, musical performances, church-related activities, and

philanthropic works. These activities were appropriate expressions of a civilization that scientists had deemed superior in every way. "Refined" and cultured inhabitants of this civilization did not indulge in revelries, excesses of emotion, inconsistencies of thinking, or anything else that might identify them with the lower orders of humanity. "Refined" people manifested their refinement through such outward symbols as education, manners, elocution, dress, housing, church and social affiliations, and the choice of appropriate leisure activities.

Black elite families attempted to disprove stereotyped images of the Negro by acquiring wealth, education, culture, and refinement. On the one hand, they emphasized these values among themselves with the hope that they personally would be accepted by and assimilated into the larger white society. On the other, they emphasized these values to set an example for the remainder of the race, hoping that whites would cease to see blacks as unworthy of the rights and privileges granted other Americans.[7] Thus the importance of adopting society's cultural norms had ramifications for blacks that were not present for other groups.

For African Americans to adopt American cultural values, their communities had to be stable and moderately wealthy. Denver's black community was both. In 1900, Denver's black population was only 3,923, comprising 1.93 percent of the population. By 1929, the black community had grown to 7,000, still only 2.25 percent of the total population.[8] On March 17, 1890, the *Denver Republican* claimed that "more colored men own their own homes in Denver than in any other Northern city." According to the editorial, the reason for this was that in the early 1880s Denver had a large influx of blacks from Missouri and Arkansas who found that Denverites would not sell or rent property to them. Some of the city's more prominent blacks, together with a few whites, decided to build and sell small homes to blacks on the installment plan.[9]

Although the paper did not state the results of the plan, the Denver Inter-racial Committee, "an organization of white and colored persons interested in the promotion of amity between the races," studied the black community in 1929 and found that 49.3 percent of blacks in the city owned their own homes and that of those homes, 44 percent of them were unencumbered.[10] The survey also showed that 90 percent of Negro heads of household were laborers with an average weekly salary of $22.50. This meant an average annual income of $1170.00 at a time when $1197.00 was the minimum comfort level per family. (The number of persons per family was not given.) Although this put the head of household below the comfort level, the 1920 census showed that 34 percent of married black women supplemented family incomes with salaries averaging $11.09 per week, adding another $576.68 to the annual income. The remaining 10 percent of Denver's black heads of household held occupations of a more prestigious nature.

Prestigious occupations were those of entrepreneurs and professionals and those associated with state and local government, the railroads, hotels, and drugstores.

The study did not indicate average salaries for doctors, dentists, lawyers, pharmacists, or local black businessmen. The average weekly wage of a fireman was $40.55, a policeman earned $41.66, and post office employees averaged $31.00.[11] While Denver's black citizens were not affluent, they had weathered the lean years following the Panic of 1893. Then, during the first three decades of the century they began moving north and east of downtown Denver into a neighborhood known as Five Points. This area had a core of business buildings surrounded by moderate-sized brick homes that ranged in value from $2,000 to $5,000.[12] In the "Scott's Chapel Notes" of the October 30, 1909, *Statesman*, the writer said: "Our people are settling around Five Points very rapidly. In a few years this will be an aristocratic colored neighborhood."[13]

Denver's black community had a small number of affluent families, a good number of stable property owners, and a core of leaders who were concerned for the future of its citizens. One of them was Joseph D. D. Rivers, editor of the *Statesman* and a vocal supporter of "race betterment." He encouraged the black fraternal organizations, churches, the YMCA and YWCA, book clubs, women's clubs, and all other organizations that showed the white community that blacks were responsible citizens who were capable of cultural assimilation. Rivers recognized and publicly applauded black citizens for their efforts in this area. For such concerned individuals, an important part of the struggle for assimilation was providing appropriate leisure-time and recreational activities for Denver's black citizens.

Affairs of the Social Season

As in the white community, the social season ran from the fall months into the first part of May. Balls, receptions, dinners, dances, theater, and opera were all popular social activities. Balls, dances, and receptions in the white community were generally exclusive, invitation-only affairs. This seems not to have been the case in the black community. During the first decade of the century, advertisements for balls and dances appeared at least once a month throughout the social season. The public was invited and an admission fee was charged.

On October 29, 1904, the black community was invited to attend the first ball of the season. This "First Grand Masquerade Ball" offered "twelve pieces of music" (presumably twelve musicians) as an enticement to attend. Admission charge was 35 cents and included a "big turkey supper." Another ad that appeared on that date appealed to blacks to attend the "Third Annual Reception and Dance" given by the Soda Dispenser's Club at Turner Hall, Twenty-first and Arapahoe. Admission was 50 cents and refreshments were

George Morrison, Sr., was trained as a classical violinist, but African Americans were not allowed in symphony orchestras. Hundreds of Coloradans—both black and white—enjoyed dancing to his music, and he was the only black orchestra leader invited to play at the Lakeside and Elitch ballrooms. (Photo courtesy of Marion Morrison Robinson and George Morrison, Jr.)

free. As the social season progressed, advertisements appeared for a Grand Mask Carnival, a Smart Set Easter Ball, and "the last ball of the season" sponsored by the Red Carnation Club.[14] These balls and dances were held at halls commonly rented from the white community, and an interesting editorial appeared in January 1905 berating the black community for not following through with plans to build its own hall. The editorial's author was very likely the *Statesman's* editor, J.D.D. Rivers, who said:

> In 1902, amid a world of enthusiasm and bursts of applause, The Lincoln Banquet Association, which met in East Turner Hall, committed itself to the project of building a hall . . . The

> fourth anniversary is here. Subsequent meetings have brought no more results. The matter has ceased to be talked about.

He admonished his readers: "A man who talks race pride and does not do something about it, among a people who are as prone as we are to over-estimating our strength, is a positive detriment." Further, he chastised those in the community who had not "the thrift or intelligence to save," since "a dollar would go further than good wishes." Rivers concluded with: "...Denver is afflicted with too many men of mouth and no money."[15]

In June 1905 an advertisement placed by the Masonic Lodge appealed to people to attend the "First Outing of the Season at Rocky Mountain Lake," a park at 46th Avenue and Lowell Boulevard. All proceeds would be donated to building the Mason's fraternal lodge in Five Points at 22nd and Arapahoe. According to the notice: "It will only be a short while until we can't rent a hall in Denver for either lodge purposes or entertainments. We have the ground, now help us build."[16] While it is unclear exactly what was happening in Denver to preclude the rental of public halls by the black community, clearly there was a perceived threat that such rentals would not be available. The response by leaders in the community was in line with a statement made in 1896 by Dr. J. M. Henderson, a well-known black physician and clergyman from New York, who expressed the opinion that the fate of the African American rested with a middle class that was "vigorous, enterprising, aggressive, and intimately identified with the race and its collective welfare."[17] Building a hall for meetings and entertainments was important to the collective welfare of the community, and the community was asked to support the effort. Because advertisements for balls and dances at various halls in lower downtown and the Five Points area continue to appear through the rest of the decade, the threat of being deprived of rental space may have been more perceived than real. Nonetheless, efforts to raise money continued until a hall was finally opened on February 5, 1912. The grand opening notice of Eureka Hall at 2233 Arapahoe proudly announced that it would be the "first entertainment hall erected by Colored people in Denver." This achievement had not come easily. On February 3, 1912, the paper noted that "after many hard knocks" the Building Laborers Union had succeeded in completing their building. A week later the editor stated: "There are few organizations that have the courage to battle down every obstacle, and then, upon their ruins, erect a temple where they can congregate and deliberate and even expectorate 'if they so choose,' without anybody interfering."[18]

In the first decade of the twentieth century, newspaper accounts of private entertainments such as dinners given by black society are infrequent compared to the number that appeared in the white community's papers. However, it is difficult to know if this was because Denver's more affluent blacks did little entertaining or if it was because they did not want such

notices to appear in the paper. Black aristocrats of eastern society shunned publicity because it smacked of vulgar display, something that refined and genteel white society also found repugnant.[19] Affluent blacks in Denver did not view themselves as "aristocrats." Social status among black Denverites depended on individual effort and initiative, not inherited wealth or lineage.[20] However, without further information, determining how Denver's affluent black community felt about newspaper accounts of their entertaining is impossible. The few notices that did appear during the first decade read much like the notices in white newspapers except for such statements such as the last sentence of the following account:

> On Sunday, the 26th at their elegant new home Park Hill, a beautiful residential district of the city, Mr. and Mrs. William Sprague entertained at dinner Messrs. Parks, Bondurant and J.H. Stuart. The menu and cuisine were of the specially inviting character as to cause all the guests to eat and drink as if the occasion was to be their last supper, while it effectually disposed of the covert slander that one experienced as a school teacher could not also win laurels in the culinary art. The house, a two-story structure, situated on two lots at the corner of 23rd avenue [sic] and Dexter street, [sic] is up to the minute in every respect in its superb furnishings and appointments, and is a credit to the thrift and cultivated taste of its owners.[21]

Accounts of private entertaining do appear more frequently following World War I and read much like similar accounts in chronicles of the white community. In 1924, the end of the summer season appears to have been a time of increased party-giving. The August 30, 1924, paper gives accounts of three different parties. Mr. and Mrs. F. D. Davis hosted a party for 100 guests who danced and played cards; Mr. and Mrs. Frank H. Gross gave the "season's most beautiful party" for 175 guests who danced to Ernie Moore's orchestra; and the "crowning social event of the season" was given by Madame Elsie Anderson "of beauty parlor fame" and her husband at their home. The garden was illuminated with colored electric lights strung in the trees, and the featured entertainments were cards and dancing in the garden.[22]

Clubs and Organizations

A 1944 sociological study concluded that Negroes seemed to have even more club affiliations or "voluntary associations" than whites and offered the opinion that this was because blacks were denied entrance into organized life in American society. They were excluded from politics, trade unions, businessmen's groups, pressure groups, civic improvement groups, and

charity organizations. The study also concluded that the majority of the black community's voluntary associations did not help members attain business, political, or social success, nor did they improve the Negro community in the same way that white clubs improved white communities.[23] Despite the study's conclusion, clubs were as influential in the African American community as they were in the white community and had much the same ideological basis.

Fraternal organizations and secret societies grew rapidly throughout the United States in the late nineteenth century. By 1900, nearly 500 fraternal orders had been established in both white and ethnic communities. One of the original purposes of fraternal organizations had been to provide members with financial aid in time of need. But they also sponsored social events that bound members together through the fellowship of shared good times. African Americans organized Masonic Lodges, Odd Fellows, Colorado Knights of Pythias, and the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World.[24] Along with men's fraternal organizations, which provided most of the benevolent and charitable work done among men in Denver, Denver had four notable black social clubs: the Bon Vivant Club, the Booklovers Club, the Derby Club, and Sigma Pi Phi or Boule.[25] The Boule was an organization first formed in Philadelphia in 1904 for men "of taste and attainment."[26] Dr. T. Ernest McClain, a dentist who came to Denver in 1907, and Samuel E. Cary, a lawyer who was admitted to the Colorado bar in 1919, were members of the organization.[27] Although it is difficult to associate names with the Boule, other possible members of this elite club may have been Dr. Clarence F. Holmes, a dentist who founded the Cosmopolitan Club to fight discriminatory laws and practices in Denver; L. H. Lightner, Supreme Clerk of the American Woodmen Insurance Company and Chairman of the Glenarm Branch of the YMCA; Dr. J. H. P. Westbrook, a physician and the only black member of the Colorado Tuberculosis Society; Dr. Paul E. Spratlin, a pioneer black physician in Denver; Joseph D. D. Rivers, editor of the *Colorado Statesman*; T. K. Price and Thomas Campbell, lawyers; and A. H. W. Ross, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metropolitan Real Estate and Investment Company.[28]

As with women's clubs in the white community, clubs were of considerable importance in black women's leisure-time social activities. Much of the work of both groups was "charitable and benevolent for the relief, assistance and uplifting of women and children in need."[29] Women's clubs at the turn of the century and into the first two decades of the twentieth century, were actively involved in the promotion of "higher social and moral conditions."[30] Black women, however, carried a burden in this respect that their white counterparts did not. The nineteenth century view that women were the preservers and promoters of culture, morality, purity, and cleanliness coincided with the post-Reconstruction view that blacks were morally and

socially regressed. The onus for this behavior fell on black women who were supposedly wanton and sexually permissive and, therefore, incapable of passing appropriate social values on to the children.[31] As Mary Church Terrell, wife of William Harrison Terrell and member of Washington's Negro Four Hundred, put it: "colored women of education and culture know that they cannot escape altogether the consequences of the acts of their most depraved sisters."[32] The desire of black women to overcome the stigma of this stereotype helped shape a major objective of black women's clubs: they undertook the moral elevation of the African American race so that blacks could prove their worth to the white community.

Early in the century, black women strove to improve their homes, their families, and their own educations as a way to build the character of the race. Mothers clubs taught sewing, cooking, gardening, and proper home and child care to the less fortunate. The women established day care centers, nurseries, children's clubs and industrial schools. They led campaigns to close pool halls and gambling dens.[33] All of this fit with like-minded activity among white women during the Progressive reform era.

To further the end of assimilating important cultural values, women formed many self-improvement clubs. Denver could boast of at least 22 of them during this time. The earliest of these clubs focused on reform, but in the first decade of the new century, most of the new clubs focused on self-improvement. These groups emphasized art, literature, music, and needlework as the means by which members could elevate themselves and set a good example for others to follow.[34]

Half of Denver's black women club members held jobs, and their educational level ranged from eighth grade through high school. Only a few had college educations.[35] Elizabeth C. Carter, President of the National Association of Colored Women, noted that black women in the club movement were often "students only of the great school of humanity, but with keen desire and courageous hearts."[36] For the Denver women, club affiliations acquainted them with the formal rules of meeting procedures, to which they strictly adhered, and required them to conduct themselves outside the group in a manner becoming to a lady. Memberships were limited, prospective members were screened before being asked to join, and each group required the women to participate in some specific club-sponsored activity. Four Denver clubs that formed in the first decade of the century are still in existence and retain records that reflect their goals. The Pond Lily Art and Service Club, founded by 16-year-old Augustavia Young to aid in overcoming the stereotypical view of black women, had a goal of self-improvement. Augustavia and her peers met every other week to discuss literature, art, and music. The Taka Art and Literary Club had "mutual helpfulness" as its goal; the Carnation Art, Literary and Charity Club met to bring Negro women closer in friendship and love; and the Self-Improvement

and Social Services Club stated its purpose as improvement of self "along all lines of literary, art, charitable and social activities."[37]

While these early self-improvement clubs may have stressed cultural attainments, many of their literary, dramatic, and musical entertainments were offered to the public for a nominal fee. The women held card parties, bake sales, rummage sales, and sponsored home-cooked dinners and dances. Their artistic endeavors, mainly in the form of needlework and handicrafts, were judged, and the best were offered for sale. The proceeds from these endeavors aided the less fortunate or were sent as contributions to a larger cause such as the Colored Orphanage and Old Folks Home in Pueblo.[38]

In the latter part of the teens and into the 1920s, the clubs again broadened their focus. Like women's clubs in the white community, the black women's clubs had affiliated with larger local, state, and national organizations. In 1903 the black women's clubs in Denver organized to form the Denver Federation of Women's Clubs, which in turn affiliated with the Colorado State Association of Women's Clubs when it organized in 1904. The state organization was a member of the National Association of Women's Clubs, which had been founded on the east coast in 1896 by women aristocrats of color. These wealthy black women felt that it was their duty to uplift the submerged masses of black people.[39] Under the auspices of these state and national organizations, the Denver women's clubs organized a 1915 protest against the movie *Birth of a Nation*, gave money to a 1919 NAACP advertising campaign to protest lynching, proposed and helped establish a sanitarium for blacks in Colorado in 1914, opened the Negro Woman's Club home in Denver in 1916 to provide a residence for unmarried working girls, supported the Red Cross, and entertained black soldiers during World War One.[40]

For black women in Denver, a club affiliation with local, state, and national women's organizations exhibited determination to support the cause of racial betterment. Moreover, on a personal level, clubs offered these women an approved social outlet for their leisure time.

Church affiliations were of great importance in the black community. As James Weldon Johnson pointed out in his 1930 book *Black Manhattan*:

> It is a social center, it is a club, it is an arena for the exercise of one's capabilities and powers...Going to church is an outlet for the Negro's religious emotions; but not the least reason why he is willing to support so many churches is that they furnish so many agreeable activities and so much real enjoyment.[41]

Churches sponsored dinners, picnics, lectures, readings, dramatic presentations, and literary and musical programs. Long before the turn of the century, churches had provided an outlet acceptable to the white community

for leisure-time activities. Churches were available to all members of the black community no matter what their age or social status. Through the first three decades of the twentieth century, the *Statesman* carried regular accounts of the activities of the larger churches, most notably Scott's Chapel, Shorter Chapel A.M.E. Church, Zion Baptist, and People's Tabernacle. As the decades progressed, fewer notices of church-sponsored dinners, readings, and library programs appeared, but picnics, outings, lectures, dramatic presentations, and musical programs continued to be sponsored by these groups. The churches provided not just social activities to fill the community's leisure hours; they became the training ground for black musicians, artists, poets, and orators well.[42]

Sports and Recreation

Sports and recreational activities became an integral part of American leisure following the Civil War. Baseball was on its way to becoming the great American pastime when the first professional baseball team was formed in 1869. The National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs was organized in 1876, but until the 1930s, blacks were excluded from white professional leagues.[43] Among whites, recreational activities such as skating, cycling, croquet, hunting, riflery, archery, tennis, and golf were popular with those who could afford the equipment. A few swimming pools were built at the end of the century, supplementing bathing beaches at the seashore and local lakes. Although some religious prejudice against such activities existed until the 1920s, people had begun to see exercise as a way to maintain a sound mind and body. Experts in child raising advocated athletics and sports as a way to "steer children away from the vices associated with urban life toward the virtues of the lost rural experience."[44] Mass production of sports equipment late in the century began to make sports and recreation more affordable for greater numbers of people, and athletic clubs and country clubs were organized to offer more exclusive recreational settings for the wealthy. The Young Men's Christian Association, founded in England in 1844 and established in Boston in 1851, captured public interest in athletics and gymnastics in the 1890s.[45] In the second and third decades of the twentieth century the YMCA and YWCA played an important role in filling recreational needs of the black community, whose access to most "public" recreation facilities was denied or restricted. The black Glenarm Branch of the Denver Young Men's Christian Association had roots in an organization started in the first decade, but did not have a facility until the second decade. The black Welton Branch of Denver's Young Women's Christian Association was formed in 1916.

The black branch of the Denver YMCA was established in 1908 as the Young Men's Christian Brotherhood. This organization's efforts to provide facilities for its members were aided by a visit from Booker T. Washington in

November 1909. The *Statesman* announced Washington's visit and urged attendance at his lecture. Editor Rivers advised: "With the central idea of the Washington propaganda predominating throughout the country, it is not surprising then that localities are changing its [sic] viewpoint and trying to save the race by teaching the individual to save himself." According to Rivers, "here is the city where more homeless men and boys find refuge in the saloon and resort than any other city in America."[46] Washington's visit to the city was used to raise money for a YMCA facility, but efforts to obtain funds were not successful. In 1913 another campaign was launched to raise $8,000 to purchase a building site. This effort was aided by Dr. J. E. Morland, International Secretary of the YMCA from Washington, D.C. Campaign pledges were evidently difficult to collect, however, because three months later the *Statesman* noted that no attempt would be made to secure a building site until all pledges were in.[47] Ultimately, the group purchased a small facility at Twenty-eighth and Glenarm and it became the Young Men's Christian Association Colored Men's Branch. Along with offering temporary lodging to young men, the YMCA sponsored activities such as an annual Fourth of July Field Day event, and it organized baseball for boys from grades four through eight. It offered a space for its members to play cards, checkers, pocket billiards, and croquet. Croquet was a very popular game with the men, perhaps because "an enjoyable feature of the sport is the large number of ladies . . . who take part almost daily in the game."[48]

By 1920 the YMCA had a membership of 700 men and boys, and in 1925 both black and white citizens of Denver contributed to a building fund. The new Glenarm Branch of the YMCA was built on the site of the original facility. This three-story brick building offered rooms for 54 men and featured a gymnasium and swimming pool. The organization also offered organized clubs, forums and lectures, gym classes, swimming, recreational games, movies on Friday evenings, and Saturday evening social hours for young men and women.[49]

The YWCA in Denver filled a similar need in the lives of black women. Organized in 1916, The Phyllis Wheatley Branch became the African American branch of the YWCA in 1920, and the branch purchased a permanent facility at 2460 Welton Street in 1920 for that sum of $8637.50.[50] Mrs. Gertie Ross, an active woman in Denver's black community, was chairman of the Committee of Management. The branch received a very small budget from its parent organization. To supplement the budget, the association held concerts and recitals that "were well patronized and the money . . . helped to make up part of the budget difference."[51] A barn at the back of the lot served as a club house, and the property also boasted a tennis court. Although the September 1921 monthly report noted that 153 persons played on the court, only 10 of them were women. It was suggested that an investigation be made as to why this was so.[52]

The Glenarm branch of the YMCA was a gathering spot for men and boys in the black community providing recreational activities not found elsewhere in the city. This small residence at 28th Street and Glenarm was purchased in 1915, but was replaced in 1925 by a large, brick, three-story building with a swimming pool and a gymnasium. (Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan YMCA)

The girls had no gymnasium or swimming pool until the Glenarm Branch of the YMCA opened and they were given access to those facilities. The establishment of Camp Nizhoni, the black YWCA summer camp in Lincoln Hills west of Denver near Pine Cliff, was perhaps the most important contribution this group made to providing recreational facilities for young black women.

Children's camps, which were virtually unknown in 1900, became popular for affluent children by 1915. These camps were a response to a growing twentieth-century concern that urban children understand and appreciate nature. In the latter part of the second decade and into the 1920s, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and similar organizations opened less-exclusive facilities.[53] These facilities were not less exclusive where black children were concerned, however. Although the parent branch of the YWCA had two camps—one on Lookout Mountain for young girls and another in Palmer Lake for older girls—neither of these facilities were available to black girls.

The Phyllis Wheatley Branch struggled for five years before fully establishing its summer camping program in 1926. Their first camping effort was a weekend outing in 1920 to Sunset, a spot west of Boulder between Ward and Gold Hill.[54] The following year, YWCA committee members Lillian Bondurant and Zipporah Parks took 12 girls for another weekend outing. Plans for a camp in 1922 were never realized, and in 1923 the planned camping expedition to a site in the mountains near Dumont, Colorado, was protested by poet Arthur Chapman. Ironically, Chapman was the man who had a penned a tribute to the warmth and friendliness of the West.[55] A woman who lived outside of Idaho Springs offered the use of her land and the girls camped there in both 1923 and 1924. That same year the Lincoln Hills development group offered the Phyllis Wheatley Branch a piece of land near the summer resort that the company was developing for blacks. The property was easily accessible by railroad and had a house on it. Although the house was in need of repairs and the annual rental fee was $65.00, the developers agreed to transfer the property to the black YWCA if the girls camped there for three consecutive years. The warranty deed to this property was made out on March 12, 1930, and the price was the nominal sum of 10 dollars.[56]

Although public parks were not off-limits to blacks, the swimming pools at Washington and Berkely Parks were. The city bath house and gymnasium were segregated, and black patrons were allowed in the bath house only on Wednesday and in the showers only at specified times on Wednesdays and Thursdays. Statistics provided by the city showed that use of the municipal bath house declined 50 and 60 percent, respectively, by men and women in 1925 when the Glenarm Branch of the YMCA opened.[57]

Access to public golf courses and tennis courts was denied to blacks, but other forms of recreation such as croquet at the YMCA, bicycling, and

recreational hunting and fishing could be enjoyed without restrictions. The White Front Bicycle and Novelty Works located in Five Points advertised in the *Statesman* during the second decade of the century, indicating a market for bicycles in the black community. Although hunting may not always have been strictly recreational, the Eureka Gun Club was formed, and fishing was a feature of the picnics held at Rocky Mountain Lake.[58]

Four young bicyclists enjoyed an afternoon's outing along the South Platte river at the turn of the century. Their names are unknown, but they obviously were among the affluent members of Denver's black community. (Photo courtesy of the Colorado Historical Society)

Organized competitive sports such as baseball, basketball, football, and track and field competitions both at the community level and in educational institutions allowed limited participation by blacks. The YMCA and YWCA bridged certain gaps in baseball and basketball competitions. All-black adult baseball teams that competed with each another were common late in the second decade of the century. "Our Boys in Baseball" was a regularly featured item in the *Statesman* in the summer of 1919. These notices of baseball

activities name six teams that participated in games at fields located at 31st and Curtis and at 23rd and Welton. The White Elephants, Bolden Brothers, Mile High A.B.C., Union Pacific All-Stars, and American Railway Express Company teams were all mentioned with some regularity. Occasionally, the black teams competed with white teams.

A light-hearted account of two games—a practice game and a real competition—between the Bon Vivant Warriors (a.k.a. "Old-Timers") and the Thirteen Club Tigers (a.k.a. "Hoodoo Youngsters") appeared in the 1922 *Statesman*. Results of the practice game were not given, but a tongue-in-cheek comment was made regarding the group's special arrangements with all Denver hospitals for "quick communications by telephone." The real game was won by the Tigers, 11-5. According to the account, the game "proved a scream and was thoroughly enjoyed by all present." Proceeds went to the NAACP.[59]

High school and college athletics had no clear-cut guidelines for black participation. Nearly all of Denver's black students attended either Manual Training High School at 27th Avenue and Franklin, or West High School at 5th Avenue and Fox. A 1929 Urban League report showed that more than half the black high school students attended Manual (64 students), and comprised 10 percent of the student body. Participation in athletic competition was less acceptable at Manual than at West, which had fewer black students. Because Denver schools were not segregated and the black community supported them with their tax dollars, the schools had no grounds for keeping black athletes out of competition.[60] The same was not true of social functions and school clubs, which were segregated by a ruling because "problems of social adjustment."[61]

Early in the century an incident occurred in college football that clearly delineated the stance taken by Colorado's public and private universities on the matter of blacks in college athletics. A front page headline in the *Rocky Mountain News* announced that "DENVER UNIVERSITY WILL NOT STAND FOR COLORED MEN IN FOOTBALL GAMES." The State Agricultural College in Fort Collins had included a black student in its lineup at a practice game. Denver University players refused to play until the Aggies agreed that they "would not insist upon playing the negro [sic] when it came to professional games." Interviews with coaches and presidents of the colleges participating in the Intercollegiate Athletic Association were printed. The University of Denver football coach stated unequivocally that he was opposed to Negro players: "Football is a white man's game. Negroes on football teams have caused needless squabbles, and we should keep peace in the family by drawing the color line." B.O. Aylesworth, president of the Agricultural College, defended the Aggies coach by saying:

> This is a state institution, and under the constitution it cannot draw the color line. The Agricultural college receives support both from the state and the national government, and as the constitution makes no distinction neither can the college.

President W. F. Slocum of Colorado College in Colorado Springs agreed:

> Colored men are used in Colorado college athletics whenever they prove their merit. They have played on our football team, and where they show ability in that or any other line they will be recognized. Colorado college [sic] is open to students of all colors and races.

President Baker of the University of Colorado in Boulder was able to take a politically expedient stance because CU was not an association member. He commented: "Our school is not mixed up in the affair. . . . Therefore I do not feel called upon to state my views."[62]

The *Statesman* reprinted the *Rocky Mountain News* article on the front page with no comment. Rivers' editorial on page four noted that the only black player who had been allowed to play on a college team had played for Colorado College with no objections from the president. Rivers said that a committee from the Inter-Graduate Association and the People's Sunday Alliance, an early black community group formed to address concerns of the community, would take up the matter with DU's athletic chairman. Rivers further commented:

> If colored students are worthy to be taken into these institutions and are permitted to take class honors there is no reason why they should not play on the athletic field. Race antipathy should not be permitted to dominate where brains, culture and merit are supposed to rule. It is the duty of the college to teach respect for man and not color and in the many sports to give credit where it is due.[63]

Black athletes were becoming more accepted at this time in eastern school competitions, and this may have helped overcome the Colorado colleges' objections as time went by. Athletic participation was not considered "social contact" and was, therefore, less objectionable. However, the reluctance of professional sports organizations to hire black athletes existed for many years.[64]

Public Entertainment and Travel

Although, the Colorado legislature had passed a law in 1908 that clearly extended to all its citizens "full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and all other places of public accommodation and amusement," and had established fines and/or penalties for violations of the law, violations were nonetheless common all over the state.[65]

The 1929 National Urban League's Denver Inter-racial Committee study reported that theaters, eating places, and hospitals were the most frequent violators of the law.[66] No discussion appears anywhere that would indicate that public parks were off-limits to blacks, but advertisements for picnics throughout the three decades suggest that only certain parks were used for large gatherings. While picnics do not fall into the same category as paid public entertainments, they were popular leisure-time activities.

Through the first decade of the century, Rocky Mountain Lake was the only place named in advertisements for community picnics. Picnics, like many other leisure activities in the black community, were frequently a means of fund raising. The Masons held the "first outing of the season" in June 1905 to raise money for building their fraternal hall. This was at the time when community leaders were concerned with the availability of rental space for community functions, and the Masons appealed to everyone to attend. The notice read: "It will only cost each person street car fare 10 cents and admission 25 CTS."[67] The *Statesman* hosted its ninth annual picnic at Rocky Mountain Lake that summer. Although the Masons only offered the Harris Orchestra as entertainment, the *Statesman* offered free swings and hammocks, outdoor sports, tennis, fishing, boating, and other recreations.[68]

In 1910 the Knights of Pythias picnic was held at Turner Hall because they could not secure a place elsewhere. That year the first annual Rocky Mountain Athletic Club picnic was held a Glacier Lake, west of Boulder. No picnics were held at Rocky Mountain Lake that year, and no explanation was given for not using that location. Until World War I, when no summer picnics were held, picnic outings took place at Bloomfield Park, a park that is not listed in the Denver City Directory for that or any other year. Following the war, Rocky Mountain Lake was again noted as the site of a YMCA Fourth of July event. Andrews Park pavilion, another location not listed in the Denver City Directory, was mentioned as the site of summer evening dances.[69] During the second and third decades of the twentieth century, advertisements for picnics given within the city by fraternal and community organizations dwindle, and more notices of mountain outings appear. These sites were accessible by rail or automobile and were concurrent with a general trend in the white community toward recreational outings away from the city.

Between 1904 and 1909 numerous advertisements for clubs and "resorts" appear in the *Statesman*. The Waldorf Club at 1858 Arapahoe Street offered "The Right Place Run by the Right People Where There is a Right Good Time." Mr. and Mrs. D. W. Lacy were the proprietors of the Social Club and Cafe. The Imperial Club operated at 1909 Champa, and the Pastime Social Club, "A Resort for Ladies and Gentlemen," operated at 1821 Arapahoe Street. The Railroad Men and Waiter's Club offered a "Home for Railroad and Clubmen" at 2149 Curtis Street. Week in and week out, the Two Jims Social Club advertised in the paper's pages, offering whist, pool, chess, checkers, "and other pastime games."[70]

While these resorts offered one source of public entertainment for the black community, they were at times also the source of conflict and anger because the white community saw the black clubs and resorts as places of vice and violence. In 1903 the *Rocky Mountain News* reported that the police had raided the Jeffersonian Club because proprietor "Durango Bud" Robinson had been running crap games for "the negro [sic] quarter." According to the article, "There always is imminent danger of a 'rough house' . . . as the frequenters always go armed with razors or revolvers." The report said that as a consequence of the raid "everyone was taken to jail."[71] In 1905 the *Statesman* reported that the People's Sunday Alliance was investigating police dragnets that put innocent black citizens under arrest for frequenting black resorts. Of concern was the fact that resort proprietors, who had to obtain both a license to operate a barroom and one to operate a pool room, were being raided by police on the grounds that they had no license. Although gambling was illegal, gambling halls run by whites were not raided.[72]

In November 1909, the continued conflict between black resorts and police prompted the Fire and Police Board to close the black social clubs. This action was approved by the Colored Ministerial Alliance, a group from five of the black community's leading churches. The *Statesman* warned that any moral victory gained by their action was likely to be short-lived if the community did nothing to combat the immorality that lay at the root of the problem. The paper suggested:

> A more effective way to combat evil conditions is the steady practice of preaching and working against their primary establishment. . . . A high sense of public morals makes it impossible to establish and conduct institutions which openly and flagrantly pervert the law.[73]

An immediate response to the closing of the social clubs and resorts came with the reorganization of the Two Jims Social Club, which became known as the Rocky Mountain Athletic Club. In 1909 the *Statesman* reported:

> It is a source of much gratification to know that its membership comprises only that of some of the best young men in Denver and is conducted in a manner that makes it an ideal place for a social resort . . . the library room is fitted up in home-like style where all the latest literature can be found for the members to peruse, which gives food for thought of all the leading topics, which, within itself is an educational bureau to our young men.[74]

The board of Directors consisted of community leaders Dr. J. H. P. Westbrook, Dr. J. A. Harper, P. B. Holden, and Henry J. M. Brown. By February 1910 the club had 350 members and in March announced plans to relocate in a new building where members could enjoy a "first class cafe," gymnasium, pool and billiards room, and a library. A circular announced that the club had leased a property at 2014 Champa for five years and had fourteen bedrooms for rent to its members. In addition to a gymnasium, the club offered plain baths, shower baths, and one vapor bath. Monthly dues were 50 cents. Prospective members were advised that any member who brought a visitor would be held accountable for the visitor's actions and that ladies would be admitted only on days designated by the Board of Directors. In June the *Statesman* was pleased to announce that the club had "reached the climax."

> Mr. W. A. Rice, one of Denver's expert soda dispensers and originator of special French and Spanish dishes, has opened a lunch buffet equipped with all sanitary improvements, such as a steam table, everything enclosed and all the cooking done before your eyes, no mistake to be made about its cleanliness. Mr. Rice is a hard worker in all lines for the advancement of his race and will be pleased to meet all his friends in and out of the city. . . .[75]

Resorts and social clubs may have continued to operate in the black community after 1910, but they no longer advertised in the *Statesman's* pages. Instead, advertisements for facilities such as the Ozark Club Billiards and Pool Parlor and the Newport Saloon appeared.[76] The 1929 National Urban League survey, conducted during Prohibition, showed that Denver had five billiard halls operated by blacks, the only remaining vestiges of public gathering spots for men who wanted to play billiards, pool, cards, chess, and checkers.[77]

Soda fountains and confectioneries became popular with Americans in the last decade of the nineteenth century, but their popularity with Coloradans soared with the advent of Prohibition in 1916. O. P. Bauer's, Denver's most popular soda fountain and confectionery at 1512 Curtis did not

discriminate against blacks and advertised regularly in the *Statesman*. The black community had three drug stores by 1929 and two of them had soda fountains in 1925. The Radio Pharmacy, owned and operated by black pharmacists Sonny Lawson and Hulett Maxwell, celebrated the installation of their "iceless soda fountain" in 1925 by giving free ice cream to patrons.[78]

Theaters in Denver did not generally refuse black patrons, but they were given only balcony seats. Theater advertisements do not appear at all during the first decade of the century, and appear infrequently in the second and third decades. The NAACP quarterly journal *The Crisis* mentioned in 1910 that "Denver is planning a theater for colored people."[79] However, no mention was made of this in the *Statesman*. A potential candidate for a black community theater may have been the 22nd Avenue Theater at 22nd and Washington in Five Points. It advertised itself as the "Best ventilated, Safest Neighborhood Picture House in the City," showing movies twice daily with an admission charge of a nickel.[80]

The increase in recreational traveling caused African Americans the most difficulty. Denverites had some small advantage in that the mountains were a general tourist attraction and a variety of day trips were offered by the railroads to places like Morrison, Golden, Colorado Springs, Georgetown, and Canyon City. These trips were particularly popular during the second decade when fewer people owned automobiles. Colorado railroads did not discriminate against blacks and the short trips they offered attracted black patronage. In 1905 Denverites and their guests traveled to Manitou Springs, rode the cog railway to the Pikes Peak Half-way House where they ate dinner, and then traveled on to the summit. In 1911, the True Reformers, a group consisting of members of several black churches, arranged an excursion to Tolland on the Moffat Road railway to view the "great Yankee Doodle Lake and perpetual Snow." Glacier Lake was a popular destination point accessible via The Denver, Salt Lake and Pacific Railroad.[81]

The Denver Mountain Parks system, developed between 1910 and 1920, also opened the scenic wonders of the mountains to more people as automobiles became more affordable. Following World War I, the Federal Highway Act of 1920 enabled the expansion and improvement of highways across the United States. Colorado, always eager to attract tourists, paved some roads and built many others that were routes to scenic attractions. Along with other Americans, African Americans purchased automobiles and began to enjoy the freedom offered by this mode of transportation.[82] In 1919, 18 members of the Pleasure Seekers Club traveled by motor truck to Bear Creek Canyon for a picnic. Another group of six Denverites motored to Estes Park one Sunday in a Studebaker Six. In 1923 motor enthusiasts met at the home of Dr. Clarence F. Holmes to organize a Motor Club and prepare for an outing to Daniels Park. This group may have become the Mountain States Motor Club, which reported an enjoyable Labor Day outing at that park in

The Phyllis Wheatly branch of the YMCA was given a large plot of land outside of Pine Cliff by the Lincoln Hills Development Company. This Photograph was taken in back of the Camp Nizhoni lodge in the summer of 1932. (Photo courtesy of the Colorado Historical Society)

1924. The account of this outing offers a glimpse of activities enjoyed bynearly 100 people who ate dinner and watched a baseball game between the "Goats" and the "Sheep." Each team was captained by a lady, assisted by "former star performers on the Clumsy Brothers Team." Following the baseball game the ladies participated in a Rolling Pin Contest to see who could throw the farthest, and a 50-yard dash was held for participants in such categories as "Fat Men," "Fat Women," and "Free for All."[83]

Although day trips may have been feasible by rail or automobile, accommodations were a different matter. Domestics and chauffeurs who traveled with white families were accommodated at such places as the Buckhorn Lodge, a dude ranch north of Hot Sulphur Springs.[84] Other black families traveled if they had friends or family with whom they could stay. Although many public campgrounds were established between 1910 and 1930 to accommodate "tin can tourists," there is no evidence that blacks utilized them unless they accompanied whites as personal servants. However, when Lincoln Hills, Inc. offered mountain lots to blacks at a reasonable price, both owners and their friends used this area outside of Pine Cliff for outdoor recreation. Although no policy of exclusion was openly stated by resort facilities in this state, letters from the black community written to the development company in the 1920s suggest this was the case.[85]

Dr. J. H. P. Westbrook wrote the company's developers in 1925 saying: "This is the last opportunity for colored people to get such a location. In a few years it will be impossible for our group to get anything half as desirable. . . .There is no segregation about it, only a chance to get a large acreage where we can go in peace and contentment. . ." George Ross, attorney and editor of the *Denver Star*, wrote in 1928: "You have been so fair, generous and broad . . . in building up and unfolding the possibilities of these mountain homes for our group, that I sincerely trust that all . . . who are . . . interested will take hold and demonstrate our ability for upbuilding along that line." O. W. Hamlet, who first built a lodge and later built cabins for guests, wrote: "I cannot but write you and express my appreciation of your efforts in supplying to me and our group of people the most wonderful mountain resort I have seen in Colorado."[86]

Without further research, it is difficult to know how many cabins, other than one mentioned by Hamlet, had been built by the end of the decade. Hamlet owned multiple lots and did build cabins, which he rented to summer visitors until his death in 1965. His resort facility was widely known in the black community as Winks Panoramic Lodge, but it is possible that this designation and the facility's renown did not occur until later. A 1930 letterhead from Lincoln Hills, Inc. to the YWCA depicts African Americans fishing, hiking, canoeing, and playing tennis and golf in a mountain setting, but very likely the major activities enjoyed by visitors prior to 1930 were picnics, camping, fishing, and hiking.[87]

Black tourists in Denver generally stayed with families that opened their homes to visitors. Although the Denver Inter-racial Committee report of 1929 noted that black proprietors ran three Denver hotels, this had been a recent development in the black community. The Herndon, at 27th and Welton, and the Palmer Hotel at 1650 Welton had advertised in the *Statesman* as early as 1912, but the Rossonian, at 1650 Welton, was not opened to blacks until late in the 1920s.[88] Despite availability of these facilities, most tourists sought reciprocal arrangements with local families. In 1924 the *Statesman* reported that the home of Mr. and Mrs. George W. Gross was known as "The Colony" because people from so many states were visiting. Eleven guests were planning to "break camp" and return to their homes at the end of the summer after a "Gay Frolic" intended to "cement bonds of friendship made during the summer."[89] But as tourism grew, Denverites evidently found it difficult to keep up with the growing tourist demand. A 1929 editorial from the *Statesman* indicated this when the editor wrote "Summer Tourists and a Suggestion." Noting that Denver was a convention center as well as a tourist state, he advised:

> ...there is one weakness on the part of Denverites...(our group, we mean)....Of late years we have fallen more and more in the habit of grasping the...tourist season as an occasion for 'entertaining.' Those of the dominant group use it as a business proposition....The sad feature of our side of it, however, is...that we spend a considerable sum in the early spring painting, papering, and in other ways dolling up our homes for the tourist season and then spend what we receive from tourists and more in mountain trips, receptions and teas, for the most part entertaining people we have never seen before and may never see again....Mind, we are not suggesting a gold-digging campaign, but merely urging the exercise of a little common sense. People do not, as a rule, plan a vacation trip unless they have the means to foot the bill....They do not come here as paupers and every one of them would probably resent in the most forceful manner any suggestions that they were unable to meet their obligations....Let us act accordingly.[90]

Discontent with summer visitors who were perceived as taking advantage of black Denverites' hospitality may have arisen following the 1925 national NAACP convention. Hosting the NAACP convention was a major coup for the city, and the black community was proud of its achievements in housing and entertaining convention delegates, many of whom were nationally known black leaders.[91] The unprecedented influx of visitors may

have helped spread the word that members of Denver's black community were fine hosts who were eager to show guests Colorado's many scenic attractions and include them in summer entertainments. Overall, however, the community was not affluent, and it must have taxed the resources of many. But the increasing mobility and affluence of blacks met with the acknowledged and accepted segregation practices of the white community, making it necessary for African Americans to devise strategies in travel accommodations that were not necessary among their white counterparts. African Americans did travel, however, and their increasing numbers eventually led to the publication of a travel guide known as the "Green Book." This guide was first published in 1936 and listed hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, and services that catered to blacks.[92]

Conclusion

Leisure activities have in many ways defined a person's social status and in America have, in part, enabled the acculturation of various ethnic minorities. The struggle of African Americans to obtain and participate in these activities has played a significant role in their attempts to overcome discrimination. While leisure may seem frivolous in comparison to problems encountered in obtaining equal educational, housing, employment, and economic opportunities, it is very much a part of the fabric of American life. Its growing importance along with its commercialization in the early decades of the Twentieth century made it yet another area where blacks encountered white resistance and where they had to devise their own methods of coping with discrimination. As in other areas, African Americans adopted the cultural norm of the larger community and developed their activities within its context. The purpose of this paper is not to show how isolation from that norm enabled the black community to develop its own distinctive forms of leisure and entertainment, but rather to show how the community at large adapted itself within that isolation to broader trends. By and large, leisure activities were an expression of culture, refinement, and wealth that were first manifested by the white upper classes and later adopted by white middle classes. Upper and middle-class African Americans adopted and adapted these expressions of culture, much as did middle-class whites, but they did so with the hope that they could elevate the less fortunate members of their race and prove to the whites that they were capable of assimilation into the larger society.

Endnotes

1. *Colorado Statesman*, (Denver), April 28, 1905, p.2. (Manitou Hall is listed in the 1905 City Directory as Manitou Dancing Academy and was located at 15th and Champa.)

2. Cynthia Eagle Russett, *Sexual Science; The Victorian Construction of Womanhood*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989, pp.3, 51-52, 54.

3. Milton Metzer (ed.), *In Their Own Words: A History of the American Negro*, New York, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965, pp.127-128.

4. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1944, 1962, pp.54-55, 60-61.

5. Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990, pp.22-23.

6. Donna R. Braden, *Leisure and Entertainment in America*, Dearborn, Michigan: Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, 1988), pp.9-13. Ellis W. Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions*, New York, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979, p.11.

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8. Ira De A. Reid, *The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado: A Survey of Its Economic and Social Status*, Denver, Colorado: Lincoln Press, 1929, p.1.

9. James Rose Harvey, *Negroes in Colorado*, A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School, University of Denver, Colorado, June 1941, pp.3, 21.

10. Reid, *The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado*, p.7.

11. *Ibid.*, pp.12-14.

12. *Ibid.*, pp.7, 47.

13. *Statesman*, October 30, 1905, pp.5.

14. *Statesman*, October 29, 1904, p.5; March 23, 1905, p.5; April 25, 1905, p.5; May 16, 1905, p.5.

15. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1905, p.4.

16. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1905, p.7.

17. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, p.25.

18. *Statesman*, January 27, 1912, p.5; February 3, 1912, p.5; February 10, 1912, p.5.

19. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, pp.192-193.

20. *Ibid.*, p.138.

21. *Statesman*, December 31, 1904, p.5.

22. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1924, p.5.

23. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, pp.952-954.
24. Harvey, *Negroes in Colorado*, p.32.
25. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, p.137.
26. *Ibid.*, p.103.
27. Billie Arlene Grant, Ernestine Smith, and Gladys Smith (ed.), *Growing Up Black In Denver*, Printed in U.S.A., the editors, 1988, pp.7, 20, 94, 166. *Statesman*, October 15, 1927, p.1.
28. Jessie Fauset, "Out of the West," *The Crisis* 27:1, November 1923, p.18.
29. Jerome C. Smiley, *A History of Denver With Outlines of the Earlier History of the Rocky Mountain Country*, Denver, Colorado, edited for the *Denver Times*, 1901; A Reproduction by Unigraph, Inc., Evansville, Indiana, 1978, p.790.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Dickson, *The Early Club Movement*, pp.22, 27.
32. Mary Church Terrell, "What Role Is the Educated Negro Woman to Play in the Uplifting of Her Race," *Twentieth Century Negro Literature*, edited by D. W. Culp, Naperville, Illinois: J. L. Nichols & Co., 1902, p.175, quoted in Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, pp.243-44.
33. Dickson, *The Early Club Movement*, pp.46, 53, 54.
34. *Ibid.*, pp.6, 140.
35. *Ibid.*, pp.150-155, 168.
36. A. W. Hunton, "Women's Clubs," *The Crisis*, 2:1, May 1911, p.17.
37. Dickson, *The Early Club Movement*, pp.150-155.
38. *Ibid.*, p.145.
39. *Ibid.*, pp.42, 138, 187.
40. *Ibid.*, pp.180, 187, 192.
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43. Braden, *Leisure and Entertainment in America*, p.157.
44. *Ibid.*, p.160.
45. *Ibid.*, p.214.
46. *Statesman*, October 30, 1909, p.1.
47. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1913, p.1; June 18, 1913, p.1.
48. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1918, p.5; April 16, 1919, p.5; July 19, 1919, p.5; July 26, 1919, p.7; June 27, 1925, p.6.
49. *Ibid.*, Faucet, "Out of the West," p.11. *Statesman*, June 27, 1925, p.6. Reid, *Negro Population*, p.44.
50. From a brief history of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the YWCA, 1931; YWCA Archives, File Folder 1055, Box 43A, Collection No.

1254, Colorado Historical Society, Denver, Colorado. No explanation is given regarding the misspelling of Phillis Wheatley's name, but this spelling is consistently used for black branches of the YWCA across America.

51. Nelsine Howard Campbell, History, Phyllis Wheatley Branch, YWCA, unpublished, 1935, p.6; File Folder 1056, Box 43A, Collection No. 1254, CHS.

52. Monthly Report, September 7, 1921; PWB 1921-1924, Box 11, Collection No. 1254, CHS.

53. Braden, *Leisure and Entertainment in American*, p.318.

54. *Statesman*, July 24, 1920, p.5.

55. Arthur Chapman, *Out Where the West Begins and Other Western Verses*, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916 and 1917, p.37.

56. Campbell, History, PWB, YWCA, pp.21-24.

57. Reid, *Negro Population*, pp.44-45. Harvey, *Negroes in Colorado*, p.63.

58. *Statesman*, June 13, 1914, p.5; June 27, 1925, p.6; June 10, 1905, pp.5, 8.

59. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1922, p.5; May 6, 1922, p.5.

60. Reid, *Negro Population*, p.44.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), October 7, 1905, p.1.

63. *Statesman*, October 14, 1905, p.4.

64. Edwin B. Henderson, "The Colored College Athlete," *The Crisis*, 2:4, August 1911, pp.115-118. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, p.610.

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67. *Statesman*, June 2, 1905, p.7.

68. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1905, p.8.

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70. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1904, p.5; January 13, 1905, pp.4, 8; June 10, 1905, pp.5, 8.

71. *RMN*, August 1, 1903. p.3.

72. *Statesman*, April 14, 1905, p.1.

73. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1909, p.5; December 31, 1909, p.4.

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76. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1910, p.3.

77. Reid, *Negro Population*, p.35.

78. Fauset, "Out of the West," p.15. *Statesman*, January 29, 1910, p.8; June 27, 1925, p.5.

79. Reid, *Negro Population*, p.44. *The Crisis*, November 1910. Vol. 1-2, p.6.

80. *Statesman*, April 19, 1913, p.5.

81. *Ibid.*, October 7, 1905, p.5; June 24, 1911, p.5; July 11, 1913, p.5.

82. Braden, *Leisure and Entertainment in America*, p.323.

83. *Statesman*, July 19, 1919, p.5; August 16, 1919, p.5; July 14, 1923, p.5.

84. Personal conversation with Barbara Harmon, owner, Bar Lazy J Ranch, formerly the Buckhorn Ranch established in 1912, Parshall Colorado.

85. Letters to Lincoln Hills, Inc., Winks Panoramic Lodge, Landmark Nomination, National Register of Historic Properties, File 5LG6, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, Denver, Colorado.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Letter from Lincoln Hills, Inc. to Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA, dated March 16, 1930; PWB Misc., 1927-1930, Box 11, Collection 1254, CHS.

88. Reid, *Negro Population*, p.35. *Statesman*, January 6, 1912, p.3; December 31, 1927, p.3; September 15, 1928, p.5. See also Denver City Directories 1910 to 1930.

89. *Statesman*, August 23, 1924, p.5.

90. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1929, p.2.

91. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1925, pp.1-5.

92. Braden, *Leisure and Entertainment in America*, p.329.

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