
No One Stayed: Quarrying Granite in Aberdeen, Colorado, 1889-1892

By Rex C. Myers

Gunnison's star of destiny is on the ascendant," *Gunnison Review-Press* editor Henry C. Olney crowed on July 2, 1889. Colorado politicians had finally decided to erect a state capitol building out of granite from an unopened quarry ten miles southwest of Olney's community. Aberdeen's quarry would "give those who are unemployed in the mines good places," and skilled workers from outside the area would soon add their numbers to the local economy. Olney might have better used a shooting star in his analogy, for less than three years later the quarry closed and its employees scattered.¹

Although not a "mining camp" in the strict definition of nineteenth-century precious metals or coal, Aberdeen's granite quarry shared mining camp characteristics as an extractive industry with a brief existence: 1889-1892. Studies of Western mining traditionally note high geographic mobility among miners.² Aberdeen's quarrymen fit that mold. High demand, skill, and successful unionization improved working conditions in this quarry as they did in underground stopes. But the isolated and closed "company town" nature of Aberdeen, the reality that the quarry hired no local miners, and the fact that none of its workers from outside of Gunnison county stayed after the capitol contract ended, refute all but the broadest suggestion that the "general locality benefited" from this camp's presence.³

Colorado voters selected Denver as their state's permanent capital in 1881. Two years later, legislators formed a Board of Managers of the Capitol Building to erect a suitable structure.

There followed six years of mismanagement (bankrupt contractors, fired architects), political in-fighting (increased costs, partisan control), and intense lobbying over a lucrative \$1.5 million contract (with quarries to provide sandstone or granite and railroads to haul it). Finally, a Denver construction firm of Irish-born William Geddis and Scotsman David Duff Seerie got the job of building Colorado's capitol, using gray Aberdeen granite hauled 299.9 miles to Denver on the narrow gauge Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.⁴

The first carloads of granite left Aberdeen on 31 July 1889, but Geddis and Seerie crews had begun opening the quarry in late June, before completion of the D. & R.G. branch line. Promising to import 150 quarrymen, the contractors hired local stonemason Fred Zugelder—who had actually discovered the granite deposit—and his brother Len to haul freight to Aberdeen until the railroad completed construction of the branch. Geddis and Seerie also gave the Zugelders exclusive rights to build and operate the quarry's bunk and boarding houses.⁵

The *Review-Press* of Gunnison chronicled the quarry's progress. "[E]xperienced quarrymen are constantly arriving and being put to work." Men arrived from Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Missouri. "The men comprise representatives of many nationalities." Among them were Scots like McDonald, McFeters, and McGuire; Germans such as Edberg, Kalb and Merz; Scandinavians like Anderson, Larson, and Gunstrom; and Italians, including Baptiste, Borsego, Deromadi, and Zanella.⁶

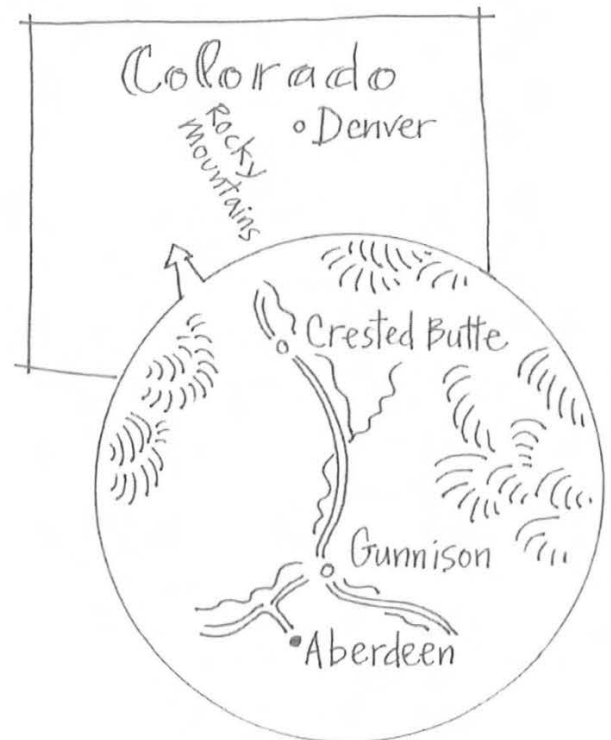
Aberdeen bustled. The Zugelders completed

two sixty foot by twenty foot wooden buildings with plastered interior walls, one a boarding house to feed one hundred men—"square meals" of sage hen and rabbit—the other a bunk house. In addition, they constructed smaller buildings for managers and their families, which included a dozen women and four children of school age, and a company store with a small grocery and a post office that received daily mail. Making the community even more self-contained, Gunnison's Dr. Louis Grassmuck visited Aberdeen every other week to deal with injury and illness.⁷

Despite optimistic expectations, Aberdeen's work force leveled off at 50 to 70 workers and production at 100 carloads per month in pieces 10 or 12 feet square, weighting 37,000 to 40,000 pounds. In Denver, wagons carried stone from the Rio Grande's tracks to Capitol Hill where 130 union stonecutters transformed rough quarry pieces into smooth, unpolished, beveled, "six-cut" blocks, and carved ornamentation for capitol construction.⁸

Fifty to seventy men reduced profitability enough from the projected 150 employees to make Fred and Len Zugelder reconsider their bunk and boarding house agreement. On 15 October 1889, they joined the ranks of quarry workers as \$3.00 per day drillers; management took over housing and feeding workers. Superintendence of the quarry came to rest in the hands of Missourian C. T. Hansard, who assumed his position in mid-October.⁹

Despite Dr. Grassmuck's best efforts, "la grippe" claimed two lives the winter of 1889-1890. Driller John Leahey, from Chester, Massachusetts, died in October, and twenty-four-year-old Jeannette Edwards, "among the fairest flowers of the Gunnison Valley" and the wife of Illinois bookkeeper A. H. Edwards, succumbed on 20 January.¹⁰ On 19 May, thirty-year-old derrick boss Frederick Anderson died instantly when a five-ton block slipped from its ropes and crushed his head "as if an egg shell." He left \$500.00 in



uncashed paychecks for his mother in Sweden.¹¹

A clearer window into the identities of Aberdeen's workmen opened in November 1890. Fred Zugelder preserved Geddis and Seerie's quarry payroll ledger, although the first sixteen months of pages have been removed. This was most likely done by Zugelder's son Karl, once a student at Aberdeen's school and the proud artist of doodles that decorate the surviving pages. A. H. Edwards' crisp script introduces fifty-four employees:

33 drillers at \$2.75 to \$3.00 per ten-hour day; 3 derrickmen (\$3.00); 3 assistants (\$2.50); 3 stationary engineers (\$2.75 to \$3.00); 3 groutmen to remove unwanted stone (\$2.50 to \$2.75); 2 blacksmiths for sharpening tools (\$4.00); 2 cooks (first cook at \$60.00 per month, second cook at \$35.00); and 1 each: superintendent (Hansard at \$200.00 per month); clerk (Edwards at \$100.00 per month); foreman (Ned Miller at \$4.00 per day); a flun-

key to oversee boarding house operations (\$2.75); and a tool boy to shuttle drills between the workmen and blacksmiths (\$2.50).

Spread across double 10.5 by 14-inch pages, working life at Aberdeen quarry comes alive: days and hours worked and wages paid; amounts spent monthly on store purchases—most indulged in as little as a dime, few spent over \$4.00 per month—on groceries by non-boarders, and on lamp oil; deductions of \$0.70 per day for board, \$1.00 per month for a bunk, and Grassmuck's \$1.00 monthly medical fee.¹²

Patterns emerge. Aberdeen resembled a company town—a single employer, with its workers relatively isolated geographically and economically and provided with and charged for room and board, medical care, and store purchases. The stereotype is not complete, however. Boarding house residence was not compulsory for all quarry and derrickmen—some lived in nearby cabins—plus Geddis and Seerie paid by check, not script. Occasionally Gunnison's newspaper referred to quarry workers visiting town, with corresponding blank entries for a day not worked in the ledger, indicating that a few men came and went from

Aberdeen.¹³

Work patterns define themselves. Forty-eight names appeared monthly in winter and seventy-one in summer.¹⁴ Between twenty-seven and forty-two quarrymen boarded all month. Drillers always constituted more than half of the workforce. Some people worked every day; accumulations of twenty-six to thirty consecutive days in the ledger were normal, weather permitting. Weather could stop work altogether. When "the most severe [snowstorm] in these parts for years" hit Gunnison in the last two weeks in February 1891, some men did not work enough to equal bunk, board and medical charges. Anxious to keep stone cutters on site—and, perhaps, happy—Hansard instructed his clerk to vary boarding charges so no one owed money, but twenty-one men received no net pay that February.¹⁵

One pattern predominates—the transitory nature of Aberdeen's work force. From November 1890, through April 1892, 183 different names appeared. One hundred men (56%) worked three or fewer months; fifty-three (29%) worked for less than a month. A mere twenty-eight people (15%) stayed on Geddis and Seerie's payroll for twelve months or more, and only two workmen—

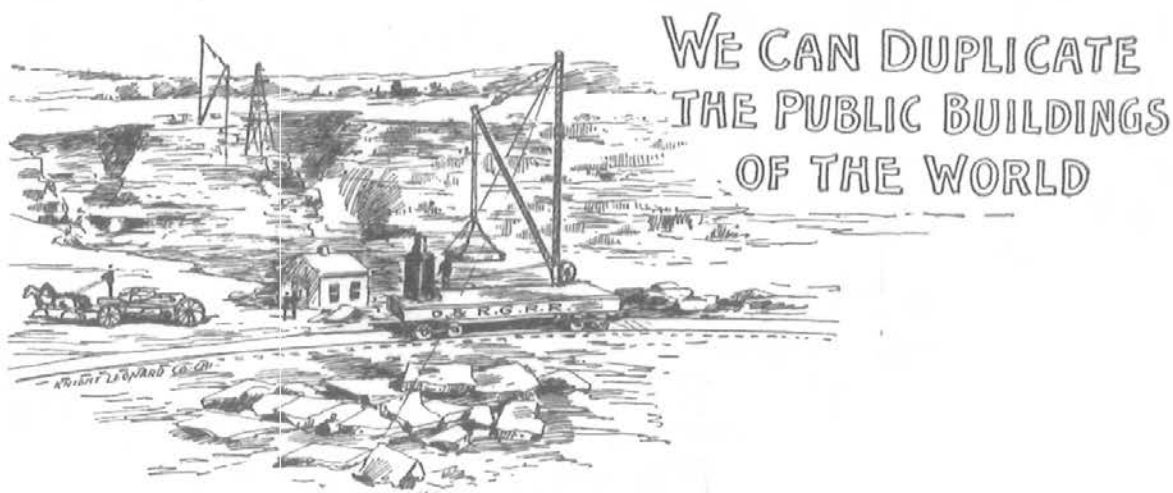


Figure 1. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad promoted quarries along its right-of-way, like the one at Aberdeen. Colorado Historical Society.

Romano Zanella and Fred Zugelder—drew pay for all eighteen months covered in the ledger.

Drama unfolds, too. On 1 March 1891, the names of three new drillers appeared: Henry Jensen (age 24), Peter Olsen (25), Peter Peterson (21)—experienced \$2.75-per-day workmen from an Amberg, Wisconsin, quarry. Unrecorded in payroll notations, each carried a “traveling card” from the Quarrymen’s National Union, Branch 28. The national organization was founded in Barre, Vermont, in August 1890, and quickly grew. Pledged to “Unity, Secrecy, Protection,” Jensen, Olsen, and Peterson lived in company housing, paid board, bunk and medical fees, and bought goods at the company store. They put in twenty-nine, twenty-six, and twenty days respectively, normally of ten-hours duration, and talked to the men about unionization and Q. N. U.’s national platform of nine-hour days at ten-hour pay.¹⁶

They found in the boarding house tight camaraderie and a willing audience. Aberdeen drillers knew their skills exceeded those of area coal and hard rock miners and understood the national labor market for quarrymen.¹⁷ They recognized Q. N. U.’s success in organizing their compatriots and supported the union’s goal of a ten-percent reduction in work with no loss of pay.¹⁸ Formation of Branch 46, took little time on Saturday night 4 April 1891, when twenty-eight granite quarrymen—roughly half of the fifty-four employees on Geddis and Seerie’s payroll— assembled in the boarding house to talk unionization. Stretching fatigued muscles from a ten-hour day spent cutting hard, gray stone for Denver’s capitol, they listened as Peter Peterson called them to order.¹⁹

Participants in the 4 April meeting elected long-time driller Alex McDonald president. He made “a few remarks on the nature of the meeting and the benefits to be derived therefrom,” then the twenty-eight men quickly elected an executive board of nine. Treasurer Mike Brennan collected a \$1.00 initiation fee and \$.25 monthly dues, Secretary William Thompson received instruction to

contact national headquarters for an application and supplies, and Yard Steward Peter Olsen promised to secure other members. In fact, among thirty-six Aberdeen drillers and derrickmen employed that April, only eight opted not to join Branch 46 immediately: driller Frank Kalb, who joined on 10 October; and drillers J. B. Keefer, Carl Pfrommer, Jacob Savits; driller Len Zugelder—who rarely worked a twenty-day month—and his brother Fred, just appointed \$3.50 per day foreman; and derrickmen Romano Zanella and Wallace Moore, who also joined 10 October. Only Kalb, Savits, and Zanella boarded at the quarry regularly. The other five lived elsewhere or, in Pfrommer’s case, boarded infrequently. From April through November 1891, as quarrymen came and went, Branch 46 membership stayed at 27 to 28, declining thereafter as quarry work tapered off.²⁰

Branch 46 held its second meeting 9 May, adopting by-laws which set fines for speaking out of turn (\$0.10 to \$0.25), using profane language (\$0.15), or missing a meeting—held at 6:30 p.m. on the second Saturday of every month (\$0.10 without a “reasonable excuse”). More to the point, Secretary Thompson made a motion that defined his union’s primary goal: “that Branch No. 46 demand nine hours work and ten hours pay and eight hours on Saturday.” That motion carried unanimously. Members also voted to demand an end to the monthly \$1.00 bunk fee.²¹

Sometime during the week of 11 May, Secretary Thompson presented Branch 46 demands to Superintendent Hansard with a 1 June strike deadline. Hansard immediately notified Geddis and Seerie and word spread quickly. Walter E. Brooks from Q. N. U.’s Park Siding, Colorado, branch wrote in a letter of support to the Aberdeen union: “We will be in the struggle for nine hours and in it to win.” His branch presented like demands and an identical deadline.²²

Nationwide, similar scenarios played out as the Quarrymen’s National Union flexed its muscle. National Q. N. U. Secretary John J. Byron sent



Figure 2. Stone cutters in Denver finish blocks of Aberdeen granite for the Colorado state capitol building. Colorado Historical Society.

encouragement to Aberdeen:

I hope your committee will be composed of conservative men [and] that their actions will not throw any discredit on the organization, as it has been the case in a good many other places, where they done [sic] more harm than good. . . . Show to them . . . and by force of argument convince them that a man satisfied with his condition and treatment will give a more satisfactory day's work in nine hours than he would in 10 hours dissatisfied.²³

"None of these hot heads," Byron admonished Branch 46. "We want peace, if it can be brought about satisfactory to us."²⁴

"Monday [1 June] about thirty drillers at Aber-

deen granite quarries struck for nine hours every day and eight on Saturday with the same pay," Gunnison's *Tribune* reported. "[They] threw down their drills . . . and walked out," the state Bureau of Labor Statistics said. "Messers, Geddis and Seerie," the *Tribune* continued, "could not grant the reduction and those who would not return to work were discharged." The precise number of strikers was twenty-six. Of the thirty men who joined Branch 46 between 4 April and 1 June, eight had left before the strike. All twenty-two remaining members walked, and an additional four men who first appeared on Aberdeen's payroll in June participated in the strike. Two of these men later joined Branch 46; the other two left within four months.²⁵

Hansard threw men out of the company's boarding house, necessitating their retreat to

Gunnison. He then reopened the Aberdeen quarry on 3 June with non-union workers, including four brought in during the last weeks of May in anticipation of a strike and twenty-two replacements imported from Denver.²⁶ Derrickman Wallace Moore, who did not participate in the strike, remembered years later that Hansard hired “rock and coal miners, ranchmen, cowboys, mule skinners, bull whackers and even hobos” to keep Aberdeen operating.²⁷ In total, the payroll book indicated that management hired thirty-eight replacements (all at \$2.50 per day)—sixteen lasted a week or less, a couple only two days.²⁸

“[Five hundred] men out since May 1,” Q. N. U. national secretary J. J. Byron wrote to Branch 46 members on 7 June, placing them in the context of the national effort to secure a nine-hour day for quarry workers. Byron urged Aberdeen

union members to stay the course. “Do not get alarmed at the threat of the Superintendent [Hansard]. I think he is trying to scare your members.” Two points proved crucial in the quarrymen’s bargaining. First, cutting granite demanded skilled labor—labor that management could not hire easily and might not be able to hire at all if the Q. N. U. “put the scab on that job.” Second, Denver’s unionized granite finishers erecting the capitol building supported Branch 46, refusing to work Aberdeen stone produced during the strike.²⁹ Hansard needed skilled labor and union labor to maintain production. Fifty-four men worked during the strike, about the same number employed during May, but output dropped. “It was thought that others had been secured . . . but the new men were inexperienced and could make no headway in drilling the hard

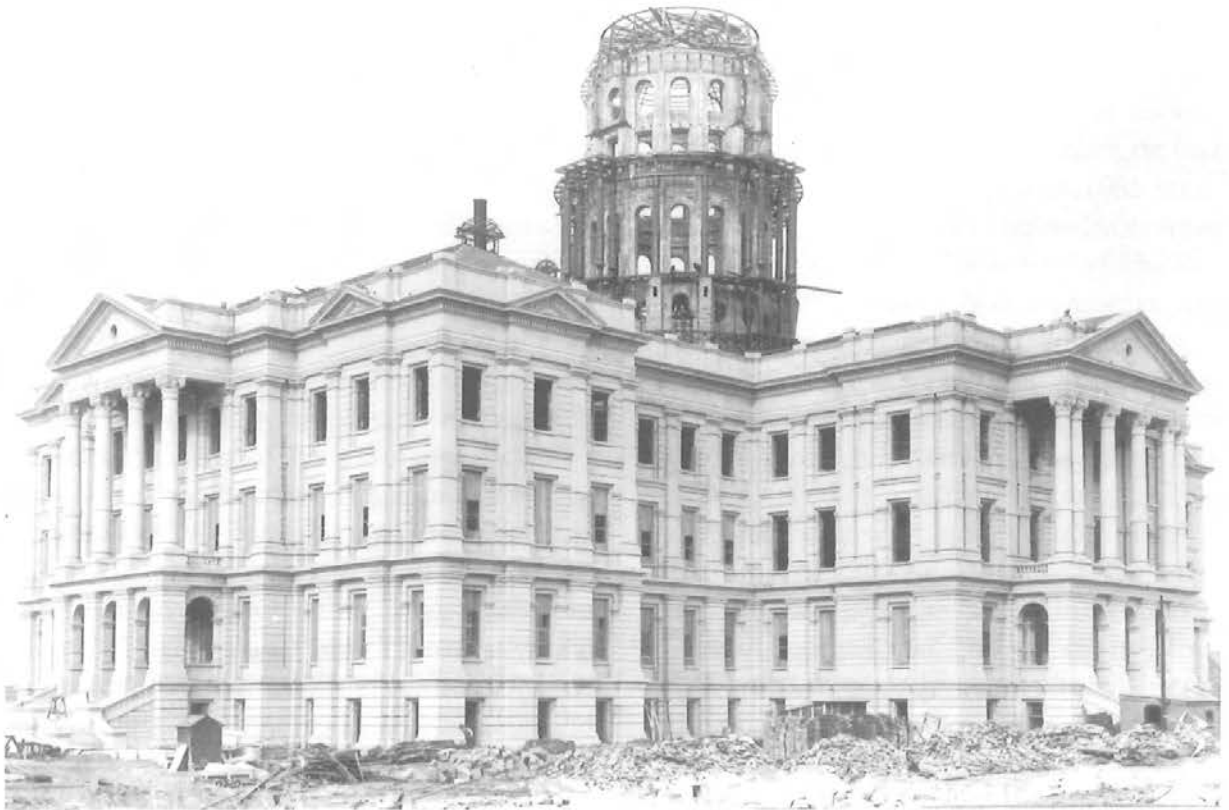


Figure 3. *The Colorado state capitol building under construction, 1892.*
Colorado Historical Society.

granite."³⁰

On 8 June, Hansard met with Peter Olsen and Alex McDonald to settle. Management agreed to pay ten-hour wages for nine hours of work, with Sundays excepted and overtime permitted, and to drop the \$1.00 per month bunk fee. Branch 46 gave up its demand for an eight hour Saturday, agreed "not to make demands that will increase the cost of quarrying stone for the Capitol Building," and agreed "not to interfere" with Aberdeen's non-union employees.³¹ Quarrymen rejoiced, renting three wagons in Gunnison "and with flags flying, after parading the principal streets, they returned to the quarries," singing "Glory, Glory Hallelujah" as they arrived. "Sweeping success was obtained" on 11 June, when union members went back into the company boarding house and back on the payroll working nine hour days, six days a week.³²

By year's end, management switched all drillers and derrickmen to nine-hour days, with or without union affiliation. Stationary engineer John Dickson, Superintendent Hansard, and foremen continued to work ten-hour days. Branch 46 signed an additional twenty-four members after 11 June 1891, twenty-two of them being men who joined Aberdeen's work force after that date. A total of fifty-four men belonged to the branch during its twelve-month existence.³³

As successful as quarrymen felt in June 1891, they also recognized the capitol contract's finite limits. Through December sixty men worked at Aberdeen. In January 1892, with less than 5,000 cubic feet of stone remaining to be cut, Geddis and Seerie reduced employment to thirty-eight; in April just seventeen men worked and then only until the ninth. All employees at Aberdeen "have been discharged," the *Gunnison News* announced; "most of them have left for the east."³⁴ Despite the *News*' optimism that granite quarries "will always remain a source of revenue to this country," Aberdeen closed.³⁵

Gunnison newspapers noted granite workers coming from outside the community in 1889

when Aberdeen opened, and leaving "for the east" in 1892 when quarrying ceased. Skill and geographic mobility characterized these men. Internally, skill bolstered the demands of Branch 46 when unskilled workmen proved unable to process stone. Externally, evidence suggests above average compensation for experienced employees. Using as examples the fourteen drillers, four derrickmen, and three stationary engineers who worked for twelve months or more at \$2.50 to \$3.00 per day when records for the Aberdeen quarry exist, the average gross annual wage was \$742.65 for a driller, \$795.96 for a derrickmen, and \$895.28 for an engineer.³⁶

Comparable national statistics indicate an average non-farm gross wage in 1891 of \$487. Gross annual wages for specific segments of the workforce included \$554 for railroaders, \$442 in manufacturing, \$337 for coal miners, and \$264 for schoolteachers. Colorado's Bureau of Labor Statistics indicated that in a state where laborers and teamsters earned \$1.50 to \$2.00 per day, and coal or hard-rock miners started at \$2.50 per day, Aberdeen's quarry workers were relatively well paid. The Bureau listed an average state wage for quarry workers of from \$2.25 to \$2.33 per day. The \$2.50 to \$3.00 per day wages at Aberdeen put quarrymen ahead of their peers in mining and on a par with skilled building tradesmen like carpenters, boilermakers, machinists, plasters, plumbers and tinsmiths. Clearly Q. N. U. members were skilled, well-paid workers.³⁷

Quarrymen's most dramatic characteristic was geographic mobility. As mentioned previously, only twenty-eight employees—15% of the post-November 1890 workforce—stayed twelve months or more. Editor Olney's optimism that quarrying would yield employment for out-of-work Gunnison residents was not borne out. Checking all 183 Aberdeen names against the 1880 and 1900 national censuses and Colorado's 1885 census, only five from the payroll book appear.

These included Fred Zugelder, who worked

eighteen of the eighteen months listed in the ledger, and his brother Len, who worked seventeen of the eighteen months. Both of these men were established stone workers in Gunnison as early as 1880. The Moore brothers—Wallace, who worked sixteen of the months in the ledger, Clarence, who worked four, and Colin, who worked three—were sons of area rancher William Moore from whom the Rio Grande bought its right-of-way up South Beaver Creek.

Twenty-six different stone cutters and masons appeared in 1880 and 1885 manuscript census data for Gunnison County, but none except Fred and Len Zugelder are found on Aberdeen's payroll. Furthermore, county marriage records from 1877 through 1908 list the names of only four quarry workers: Fred and Len Zugelder, who were married before Aberdeen opened, and Clarence and Colin Moore, married in 1894 and 1901, respectively.³⁸

Such mobility characterized much of the Western United States' experience with mining. In that sense, patterns of movement among quarrymen do not appear unique.³⁹ But focusing specifically on Aberdeen's work force and with limited exceptions of less than 3%—the Zugelder and Moore brothers—no Gunnison men "unemployed in the mines" found work quarrying granite. The Zugelders and Moores aside, all Aberdeen employees came from outside the county to begin work and left once work ended.

Skill and mobility came together in Quarrymen's National Union Branch 46 records. Stone workers moved easily between jobs. In addition to the three union organizers from Wisconsin, eleven of thirty-two quarrymen who came to Aberdeen after the strike brought traveling cards from other Q. N. U. branches. Thirty-two of the fifty-four members of Branch 46 took traveling cards with them, indicating that they intended to move to another unionized quarry. It is certainly possible some quarrymen among the remaining twenty-two "left for the east" and found work in other quarry operations.⁴⁰

The Quarrymen's National Union promised its members "Unity, Secrecy and Protection." Unity manifested itself in several types of group identity. Most obviously, all but two union members physically boarded at Aberdeen. Only Wallace Moore and Len Zugelder did not. On the other hand, not everyone who boarded joined the union. After Branch 46 formed, twenty-two men who did not join boarded at Aberdeen. Of those, eighteen were eligible as drillers or derrickmen. Of this group, one workman stayed eight months, but most remained for three months or fewer. Eight of them joined Aberdeen's workforce as strike breakers and stayed beyond the work stoppage. While a perfect correlation between boarding house residence and union membership did not exist, clearly when Henry Jensen, Peter Olsen, and Peter Peterson came to Aberdeen to organize a union, they found the opportunity to do so within confines of the company boarding house.⁴¹

Once organized, skilled quarrymen in Branch 46 enjoyed another measure of unity. Q. N. U. moved quickly after its August 1890 formation and established sixty-eight branches across the United States in fewer than eighteen months. Any quarryman who wanted to exercise the mobility his skill permitted, needed to belong to the union. Aberdeen quarry workers who did not join Branch 46, "must get pretty well washed before they work any place that we have control of," observed J. J. Byron.⁴²

If union membership became "family" of a sort, Aberdeen's payroll showed evidence of real blood relationships among workers. Twenty-four payroll surnames had multiple given names, like three Moore brothers or two Zugelders. Interestingly, in all but four cases, employment overlapped and most often one person had long-time tenure. Even discounting coincidence to explain some name duplication, the fact that this involved fifty-six men (31%), suggests that quarry work was family employment. One member hired on first then sent for his kin.⁴³

Isolation essentially doomed the Aberdeen quarry to a single, thirty-five month contract to supply Colorado's state capitol. Payroll and union records permit an understanding of the men who worked there for half of that period. Editor Olney's belief that Aberdeen was Gunnison's economic "star of destiny" aside, the quarry provided little short-term and no long-term impact. Those hired came primarily from outside the county, earned and spent their pay in a company town rather than in the general economy, then left the region when employment ceased. Remote from even Gunnison, Aberdeen's workers visited that town infrequently, worked long days and enjoyed little access to stage, wagon, or railroad travel. As skilled workers, they earned above average wages for the era, but spent their income in Gunnison only indirectly through store purchases and the consumption of boarding house meals. Frederick Anderson's \$500 in uncashed paychecks left when he died in May 1890, represented about everything he had

earned since the quarry opened, and help illustrate quarry workers' physical isolation.

Among Western "mining" communities, Aberdeen may be an exception in that it required mobile, skilled workers from the start. The same mobility and skill took them out of the area when work ceased. Certainly this transitory workforce raises doubts about assumptions that isolated camps, be they mining or quarrying, multiple or single employer, provided direct benefit, let alone long-term economic stability, for supply communities. The isolation of boarding house residence and the shared skill levels of drillers and derrickmen, plus cognizance of a national quarrymen's labor market, facilitated a sense of group identity that produced unionization and a successful strike for shorter hours. Family ties may have enhanced communication, mobility, and group identity. But camaraderie and unity proved as fleeting as the capitol contract and Editor Olney's hopes of reversing economic depression. Many came; no one stayed. ■

Notes

1. Gunnison *Review-Press*, July 2, 1889.
2. Duane A. Smith, *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1967), 204-05; Mark Wyman, *Hard Rock Epic* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979), 58-59; Otis E. Young, Jr., *Western Mining* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 178. Although not directly analogous to Robert M. Tank's study, "Mobility and Occupational Structure on the Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Frontier: The Case of Denver, Colorado," (*Pacific Historical Review*, 1978, 47 (2), 189-216), Aberdeen's experience suggests that in- and out-migration were economically selective, as skilled quarry workers moved seeking greater economic opportunity (213). Likewise, this paper gives limited support to Ralph Mann's conclusions in "Frontier Opportunities and the New Social History," (*Pacific Historical Review*, 1984, 53, 463-491), that geographic mobility was more prevalent than upward mobility on the frontier, and that "individual fortunes were very dependent on town fortunes." (464).
3. Young, *Western Mining*, 288. The quote is central to Young's conclusion as to the contribution mining camps made to the development of the American West. More broadly, Duane Smith (*Rocky Mountain Mining Camps*, 249) concludes that the "lasting significance, as well as the intensity, vitality, urgency and vigor of the frontier" sprang from the individual mining camp.
4. Board of Managers of the Capitol Building, Minute Books A and B, Box 32199, Colorado State Archives, Denver, Colorado. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, *Fourth Annual Report*, 1889 (Denver, CO: W.F. Robinson & Co., 1890), 8. My study of the politics behind Aberdeen's selection is in "Railroads, Stone Quarries and the Colorado State Capitol," *Journal of the West*, 39:2 (Spring, 2000): 37-45.
5. D. & R. G., *Fourth Annual Report*, 8; Gunnison *Review-Press*, 25 June, 29 June, 2 July, and 1 Aug. 1889. Fred Zugelder originally discovered the granite deposit that became Aberdeen quarry. See Myers, "Railroads, Stone Quarries and the Colorado State Capitol" for a more detailed chronology.
6. Gunnison *Review-Press*, 1 Aug., 24 Aug., and 17 Sep. 1889. Geddis and Seerie, Payroll Book (partial), November 1890 to April 1892, Gunnison Pioneer Mu-

- seum Collection. (Hereafter cited as "Company Payroll.")
7. Gunnison *Review-Press*, 24 Aug., 17 Sep. 1889; Company Payroll. Dr. Grassmuch served as Mayor of Gunnison concurrently with most of Aberdeen's operation. Management deducted \$1.00 per month from wages of all but supervisory employees. Providing such a service and deducting its cost automatically from wages was a common practice in many larger Western mining operations. Wyman, *Hard Rock Epic*, 178.
 8. Gunnison *Review-Press*, 17 Sep., 30 Nov. 1889. Granite suitable for building purposes has a "grain" to it. Skilled "drillers," at first using hammers and hand-held drills, and later, steam or hydraulic drills, made rows of holes in stone and then split it using wedge-like devices called "plugs and feathers." Traditional hard-rock miners also drilled into stone to plant explosives, but were interested in breaking rock apart rather than producing uniform pieces
 9. Gunnison *Review-Press*, 15 Oct. 1889; Company Payroll.
 10. Gunnison *Review-Press*, 15 Oct. 1889, 25 Jan. 1890.
 11. Gunnison *Review-Press*, 24 May 1890.
 12. Company Payroll.
 13. Wyman (*Hard Rock Epic*, 27, 65-67), briefly discusses company mining towns in the West; Company Payroll; Gunnison *Review-Press* and *Gunnison Tribune*, 1889-1892.
 14. June 1891 was an exception, with 88 total employees because of a strike and the hiring of temporary replacements. From January through April of 1892 numbers tapered downward as Geddis and Seerie finished their capitol contract and laid off workers.
 15. Quoted from the *Gunnison Tribute*, 28 Feb. 1891; Company Payroll.
 16. Company Payroll; Quarrymen's National Union of the United States of America, Branch 46, Aberdeen, Colorado, Minutes Books, Lois Borland Collection #1, Box 6, Western State College Archives, Gunnison, Colorado. (Hereafter cited as "Union Minute Books.") No national records of the Q.N.U. are known to exist.
 17. During 1891 coal miners in Crested Butte and silver miners near Pitkin stopped work. Employers quickly dismissed and replaced them (*Gunnison Tribune*, 7 Mar., 21 Mar. 1891). The distinctions in skill that Olney made in 1889 were borne out during the June 1891 strike, when Geddis and Seerie had no trouble firing non-union men, but could not hire replacements with sufficient skill to cut granite.

Joshua L. Rosenbloom ("Was There a National Century? New Evidence of Earnings in Manufacturing," *The Journal of Economic History* 56:3 (September, 1996)), demonstrates that by 1879 well-integrated labor markets developed in Northeastern and North Central states and shortly thereafter elsewhere. Certainly the arrival of skilled stone workers in Denver prior to formal decisions on capitol construction indicates a viable national information network.
 18. During the eight months after the union's formation at Bare, Vermont in August 1890, National Quarrymen's Union representatives succeeded in organizing more than forty branches in nineteen states as far west as Spokane, Washington. Within eighteen months, they had organized over sixty locals.
 19. Company Payroll; Union Minute Books.
 20. Union Minute Books; Company Payroll. Between the local's formation on 4 April and the strike on 1 June, only two additional drillers joined Branch 46: twenty-one year old John Byer, an N. Q. U. member who brought a traveling card from Branch 41 at Park Siding, Colorado, when he hired on 3 May, and driller Antonio Calogne, who arrived on 5 May. In addition to an initiation fee and dues, national assessed all members five cents whenever a quarryman died.
 21. Union Minute Books; Colorado Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Third Biennial Report, 1891-1892* (Colorado Springs, CO: Gazette printing, Co., 1892), 176.
 22. Walter E. Brooks to William Thompson, 14 May 1891 and 22 May 1891, in Union Minute Books.
 23. John J. Byron to William Thompson, 26 May 1891, in Union Minute Books.
 24. John J. Byron to Peter Olsen, 2 June 1891, in Union Minute Books.
 25. *Gunnison Tribune*, 6 June 1891; Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Third Biennial Report*, 176; Company Payroll.
 26. Company Payroll; Union Minute Books. Geddis and Seerie charged the twenty-two imported workers \$5.25 for train fare from Denver.
 27. Wallace Moore in *Gunnison Courier*, 18 July 1935. Even if Moore correctly represented the replacement workers' past occupations, payroll records indicate that none of them came from Gunnison County.
 28. Eight stayed for four months or more.
 29. Byron to Olsen, 4 June 1891, and Brooks to Olsen, 7 June 1891, Union Minute Books; Colorado Bureau of Labor Statistics, *First Biennial Report, 1887-1888* (Denver, CO: Collier & Cleveland Lith. Co., 1888), 88, 103. Q.N.U. Branch 46 sought and received support from Denver's Granite Cutters National Union, members of which did the stone work on the capitol. Formed nationally in 1877, this G.C.N.U. branch took shape in April 1885 with 29 members. More skilled than drillers who quarried stone, these craftsmen were in high demand during the 1880s building boom in

- Denver. By 1888 the branch listed 145 members and had secured for them a \$4.00 per day pay rate for nine-hour days, six days a week.
30. *Gunnison Tribune*, 13 June 1891.
 31. Agreement signed by Olsen, McDonald, Geddis and Seerie, Union Minute Books; Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Third Biennial Report*, 176.
 32. *Gunnison Tribune*, 13 June 1891; Wallace Moore, *Gunnison Courier*, 18 July 1935; Company Payroll; Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Third Biennial Report*, 176. Only three union employees worked overtime (usually ten hour days) after the strike. Although the agreement made no mention of Sunday work, no Branch 46 member worked Sundays on a regular basis.
 33. Company Payroll; Union Minute Books.
 34. *Gunnison News*, 16 Apr. 1892.
 35. Quoted from *Gunnison News*, 9 Jan. 1892. Little additional stone came from Aberdeen's quarries after April 1892. David Duff Seerie built his mansion in Denver using Aberdeen stone in 1893 and 1894. Zugelder used stone locally for monumental work, fence posts, and limited construction. Additional granite came from the quarry in the early 1900's for minor capitol remodeling, and construction of Colorado's State Museum and an office building in Salt Lake City. The Rio Grande removed the track from its Aberdeen Branch in 1904. See: Ann D. Zugelder, *The Aberdeen Quarry* (Gunnison, CO: Privately Printed, 1989).
 36. Company Payroll.
 37. U.S. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, Part 1 (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975), 168. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *First Biennial Report*, 231, 288-289, 291; Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Third Biennial Report*, 8-9, 10, 44.
 38. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Census for Gunnison County, 1880 and 1900 (1890 manuscript census data is not available); Colorado Manuscript Census, 1885; Gunnison County, Clerk and Recorder's Office, "Marriage Records," 1877-1908; Karl Zugelder, "Trip to Aberdeen," 1958, Manuscript, Gunnison Public Library. Karl Zugelder, son of Fred, remembered two former quarry workers assisting his father with small stone contracts after Aberdeen closed: driller Frank Kalb first employed April 7, 1891, and Carl D. Pfrommer who worked intermittently for ten months during the period studied, but never for more than 15 days a month. Karl also remembered Pfrommer as a part-time gold miner in the Gunnison area. In 1902, Fred Zugelder used the Aberdeen payroll ledger to record an unspecified three month job. He kept track of a dozen workmen, Frank Kalb among them. Neither Kalb nor Pfrommer appear in the 1900 manuscript census for Gunnison County, however.
 39. Wyman, *Hard Rock Epic*, 59-60.
 40. Union Minute Books.
 41. Company Payroll; Union Minute Books. Included in this number are only the men who boarded for one month or more. Many replacement workers boarded for between two and thirty days, but did not stay after the end of June.
 42. Byron to Olsen, 8 June 1891, Union Minute Books.
 43. Company Payroll. The names included: Albert (employed 7 months), J.A. (5) and Mangus (6) Anderson; James (1), Mike (16) and Tom (1) Brennan; August (10) and John (4) Byer; A.N. (7) and Tom (3) Edwards; C.H. (1) and William (3) Evans; Charles (5) and John (11) Gunstrom; Superintendent C.T. Hansard (16) hired his son Ted (11) as Waterboy; Jerry (2) and John (2) Hayes; James (5) and Joseph (4) Jansen; Alex (11), August (7) and William (2) Johnson; Chester (2) and Frank (2) Kibble (who came together as replacement workers and worked for parts of June and July, 1891); A. L. (1) and C.J. (2) Larson (who also came together as replacements); Gus (2); Alex (15) and John (2) McDonald; Fred (2) and Foreman Ned (15) Miller; Clarence (4), Colin (3) and Wallace (16) Moore; Dave (1), T.J. (3) and William (8) Morris; John (2) and John C. (3) Murray who came together; Frank (1) and union organizer Peter (6) Peterson; Cash (2) and Olaf (5) Reed; Charles (12) and George (1) Snyder; sixteen day replacements J.W. and S.G. Spence; George (7), Jacob (14) and Osmand (11) Stone; Toolboy Ernesto (14), and derrickmen Dammie (3), Romano (18), and Tobia (13) Zanella; and Fred (18) and Len (17) Zugelder.