

1. The Instant City—The Gold Rush and Early Settlement, 1858-1892

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1.1. Introduction

Native Americans lived in the Denver region thousands of years before the arrival of the gold seekers and permanent settlers. As the authors of *Denver: An Archaeological History* remind us, before creation of a city “other groups of people inhabited the plains, mountains, forests, and riversides of the area. These people—Native Americans of various nations, tribes, and bands—did not mark their boundaries on maps, although they must have known the limits of their territories and their trails intimately.”¹ This context focuses on the early years of the city’s development, but it is important to remember native people occupied the area when the first prospectors arrived, and their presence influenced many aspects of the city’s early development, including routes of travel, patterns of settlement, and frontier lifestyles.

The discovery of small amounts of gold in the Denver area in 1858 led all manner of miners, merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs to undertake a rigorous cross-country journey and stake their claim to the promise of a new and prosperous life in the West. Some also arrived with plans to develop towns and everything attendant to urban life. In 1860 two of the pioneer settlements merged to form Denver City, which soon shed its mining camp status and emerged as a center of commerce and government.² The new town grew slowly at first, adding essential businesses, services, and trappings of culture. The nation’s focus on the Civil War, Denver’s isolation, and a series of misfortunes that befell the community thwarted rapid progress in the 1860s. Perseverance of citizens and their leaders resulted in connection to a transcontinental railroad route and extension of a rail network through the state; expansion of the population; attraction of industry, manufacturing, and agriculture; creation of a streetcar system; and rapid, steady growth during 1870-92. The foundations of modern Denver were laid during this era, including major development of the downtown commercial district and early neighborhoods, warehouses and industrial facilities, the state capitol, city government and public institutions, the first parks and parkways, churches and cultural organizations, and transportation and utility systems. Growing widely beyond the initial nucleus of settlement, Denver spread to encompass an ever-expanding ring of residential subdivisions and satellite towns.

In the discussion below, initial references to historic buildings still standing are accompanied by a State Identification Number (5DV.XXX) if surveyed and contained in History Colorado’s COMPASS database. Buildings known to be present but not surveyed will be identified by the notation “(extant).” Resources without these notations are demolished or have unknown status.

1.2. “Beautifully Situated on the Bank of the River”: Denver’s Founding and Early Development: 1858-1869³

The discovery of gold brought a rush of hopeful people to the Pike’s Peak region. Following the widely publicized California gold strikes of the late 1840s, miners searched the West for a new El Dorado, exploring areas likely to contain the precious mineral. Early rumors of gold and location of small amounts of it in the vicinity of present-day Denver in 1850 and 1857 intrigued fortune seekers in other parts of the country, who formed parties traveling west in 1858. As in earlier frontiers, some groups planned to claim speculative townsites in hopes of profiting from the sale of lots to settlers or by selling supplies and services to those arriving in what was then part of Kansas Territory. Historians Thomas Noel and Stephen Leonard observed: “Denver, the child of 1858 gold discoveries on the South Platte River, might have died at birth except for some sharp developers.”⁴

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Four groups claimed land for towns at or near the confluence of the South Platte and Cherry Creek, an isolated location almost three hundred miles from New Mexican trading towns to the south, five to six hundred miles from Kansas and Nebraska communities to the east, and almost four hundred miles from Mormon settlements to the west.⁵ In June 1858 William Green Russell, a Georgia farmer and veteran of earlier booms, came west with a large party who found traces of gold in the South Platte River at Cherry Creek and then Dry Creek (today's Englewood), where they initiated a fledgling settlement, Placer Camp, before expanding their search into other regions.⁶ On September 9 prospectors from Lawrence, Kansas, created the first townsite, Montana City, farther north.⁷ On September 24 mountain men and Kansas prospectors established the townsite of St. Charles, on the northeast side of Cherry Creek where it joins the South Platte, before heading east to promote their town and sell lots.⁸ Members of Russell's party returned to the area and with others from the Lawrence contingent founded Auraria on the southwest side of Cherry Creek on November 1.⁹ Auraria's four principal roads, today's 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th streets, were drawn parallel to the course of Cherry Creek.¹⁰

The last burst of town platting accompanied the arrival of experienced town promoter William H. Larimer, Jr., whose party appropriated the almost deserted St. Charles townsite on November 16. Six days later Larimer's group created the Denver City Town Company to lay out lots on the former St. Charles claim, naming their town after James W. Denver, governor of Kansas Territory.¹¹ Denver City's plat, featuring streets named after members of the town company and Native Americans, ran diagonal to true compass points and parallel to the South Platte River, Cherry Creek, and the Smoky Hill Trail. Finally, the enterprising Larimer created the townsite of Highland on bluffs on the northwest side of the South Platte River in December 1858.

From these real estate beginnings Denver's early development proceeded, and many of today's commercial, governmental, cultural, educational, and religious institutions are the result of trends, events, and accomplishments of the first decade of its history.

Denver City and Auraria Quickly Become Rivals

Denver City and Auraria quickly surpassed the other settlements and became rivals. Both gave town lots to individuals and groups considered beneficial to their development. Methodist pastor George W. Fisher, the first clergyman in the area, received lots in exchange for promising to build a log cabin; he preached the area's first sermon in December 1858.¹² The first fraternal group held meetings to plan a Masonic lodge at Auraria.¹³ By the end of the year freighters from Missouri River towns and New Mexican trading communities began to bring supplies to the settlements.¹⁴ Kinna and Nye sold miner's hardware and cooking utensils from their hardware store-tin shop in Auraria beginning on December 1.¹⁵ At year's end Auraria, with about fifty log buildings, was almost twice as large as Denver City.¹⁶

During the winter of 1858-59 accounts of the Pikes Peak region's mining promise, including a journal of William Russell's, received widespread notice farther east. Battered by hard times resulting from an 1857 worldwide economic downturn, hundreds of men and a few women prepared to head west. Reports of important gold discoveries in the mountains early in 1859 and verification of mining district wealth by persons such as Horace Greeley encouraged a deluge of prospectors to begin the journey.¹⁷ Many of the fortune seekers set out from towns on the Missouri River, such as St. Joseph, Omaha, Kansas City, and Leavenworth. There businesses offered the types of provisions needed for mining on the frontier to those embarking on one of the overland routes to the settlements at Cherry Creek.¹⁸ Historian Clyde L. King asserted the discovery of gold in the mountains held great significance for Denver's future, forcing it to transform from a mining camp to a major supplier of goods and services to the mining camps: "It meant that Denver could become the center through which capital should flow that was to be used in opening up the great resources of the state, and the center in which the transportation, industrial, and political problems of Colorado were to be solved."¹⁹

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Denver City and Auraria gained important buildings and services during 1859 as this new focus brought new types of construction. Richard “Uncle Dick” Wootton, arrived in Auraria with his family on Christmas Day 1858 accompanied by several barrels of “Taos lightning,” and raced entrepreneurs Blake and Williams to establish the first exclusively commercial log building in the area.²⁰ His competitors, who had set up a business tent in Denver City in November 1858, erected a large hotel and store known as Denver House (later rebuilt and called the Elephant Corral, 5DV.47.2).²¹ Many of the first buildings served multiple purposes, with some saloons also serving as a place for religious and political meetings, entertainment, and a variety of other activities.²² The Denver House also functioned as a meeting place and community center during the early years. Enterprising pioneer Thomas Pollock opened the first blacksmith shop, Kasserman and Company initiated the first carpenter shop, and Karczewsky and Reitze offered the first bakery goods.²³ Pollock also started a hotel, where frontier ministers William H. Goode and Jacob Adriance preached; later in 1859 the two organized the Auraria and Denver Methodist Episcopal Mission.²⁴

During 1859 the first ferry began operating across the South Platte River to connect the northern and southern settlements and enable gold seekers to access routes to mining districts in Gilpin, Park, and Boulder counties.²⁵ The first pioneer’s baby was born, the first murder committed (and man hanged), the first theater opened, and the first general meeting was held to consider organizing a state government. A brickyard began operating, and the firm of Foster and Marion, who advertised their services as civil engineers, surveyors, and draughtsmen, indicated one of them was “a practical architect.”²⁶ Settlers could join chess and debating clubs, hear poetry readings, or play billiards.²⁷ One of the more important businesses in the settlement consisted of providing entertainment and lodging for travelers passing through on the way to and from the mining camps.²⁸ The Temperance/Tremont House (5DV.2954, no longer extant) provided lodging, food, and entertainment, as did a few similar establishments.²⁹

William N. Byers arrived in 1859 with a printing press to start the region’s first newspaper, the *Rocky Mountain News*, on the second floor of Wootton’s saloon.³⁰ Byers previously helped lay out and promote the town of Omaha and produced a *Guide to Pike’s Peak*. On April 23 the first issue of the paper appeared, providing optimistic predictions for the future while noting a troubling amount of disillusionment among prospectors who found little gold in the area and returned east. The publisher advised those coming to the goldfields to bring a full set of mining tools and clothing and provisions to last three months, as local supplies were insufficient.³¹ Many advertisements in the newspaper’s first year were for businesses offering goods and services in the jumping-off points of Omaha and Council Bluffs. Byers soon became one of the most active community boosters and real estate investors. Utilizing the newspaper to promote his new hometown, he was involved in most of the major plans to further local development in the early years.³²

Denver City demonstrated the importance of transportation systems to a town’s success when it induced the Leavenworth and Pike’s Peak Express Company to open an office in return for fifty-three town lots and shares in the town company.³³ The stage carried passengers, freight, and mail into the settlement and took passengers, mail, and gold out. By attracting the express company Denver City secured its future, as everyone in the area went there to send or receive letters and the settlement gained prominence as the hub of commerce and finance.³⁴ The first stage arrived on May 7, 1859, providing a link to the families and towns the settlers left behind.

In association with the stages a series of stations along the trails were established to provide varying degrees of services for travelers, stage employees, and animals. On the north bank of Cherry Creek in 1859 Samuel and Jonas Brantner built a log house (5DV.7) they sold to single-mother Mary Cawker the following year. Under her ownership the property became Four Mile House, a stage stop on the Smoky

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Hill/Cherokee Trail with a large corral and stables where travelers found refreshment and animals received care. Four Mile House is Denver's oldest identified building. Stages and freighters crossing the overland routes to Denver soon provided pioneers with imported products of surprising sophistication, including tobacco and cigars, wines and liquors, all manner of books, dry goods, housewares, medicines, and ever-popular oysters.³⁵

By summer 1859 the two settlements were flourishing, together containing about three hundred log buildings, with several brick structures under construction.³⁶ Early drawings and the reports of visitors indicated Native Americans set up their tipis near the settlers' rows of wood buildings.³⁷ Semi-arid Denver still had little in the way of landscaping, and most developed areas displayed few of the shrubs, trees, grass, or flowers found in attractive cities farther east. Before they dug wells, settlers hauled water by barrel, cart, or wagon from the rivers and creeks. Early Denver historian Jerome Smiley described the town as presenting "aspects of extreme dreariness."³⁸ To alleviate this situation, nine Denver citizens organized the Capital Hydraulic Company to build a ditch from the South Platte River in an unsuccessful effort to provide irrigation for city residents.³⁹

Early Efforts to Create a Territory and Unified Town

As early as 1858, settlers met to discuss ways to achieve organization and recognition of a new territory that would establish needed laws, a government, and officials. A delegate dispatched to Washington promoted the idea, but received little encouragement. The large influx of people in 1859 led to an even greater desire for laws, judges, and legal remedies. Meeting in Auraria in April, delegates from several settlements proposed a new governmental entity to include parts of Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Utah (named Jefferson, a widely popular designation approved by voters). In December the provisional territorial legislature passed an extra-legal act to consolidate Denver, Auraria and Highland; granted the town a charter establishing certain powers; and enabled the first city election, which resulted in John C. Moore becoming mayor. Agreement on consolidation of the communities became imperative, as Jefferson Territory lost impetus after failing to receive official recognition and disorder continued to plague the community.⁴⁰

Byers and other leaders realized that a successful future for the community lay in uniting the competing towns and establishing a new government and laws. An accord was reached in April 1860, when Auraria voted to merge with its old rival, creating a town known as Denver City.⁴¹ Denver citizens crafted a city constitution and elected officials, with Moore staying in office until he joined the Confederate army a year later.⁴² Auraria then was referred to as "West Denver." The area north of the South Platte River attracted little settlement at first, and Ute people continued to hold their annual encampments at the head of today's 15th Street in North Denver.⁴³

Characteristics of Denver in 1860

The first mining boom provided a foundation for Denver's economy and supported a populace with varied skills, origins, and social status.⁴⁴ The population reached 4,749 people at the time of the community's first U.S. Census in June 1860. The document recorded residents from thirty-four states and territories, about one-quarter foreign born, and only 12.8 percent women. African Americans were among the pioneers, a few who had arrived as slaves. Thomas J. Riley was cited as the first permanent black settler; his residence began in 1860.⁴⁵ The census reported only twenty-three "free colored" in the town. The early population was very transitory, as new mineral discoveries constantly lured wealth seekers away.⁴⁶ Despite this, important institutions and enterprises were established, including the first bank, a daily newspaper (the *Daily Herald and Rocky Mountain Advertiser*), regular mail service, and religious congregations.⁴⁷

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Town leaders felt development of the surrounding agricultural areas would provide a stable base of settlement that would supply the city with foodstuffs and provide urban businesses with a market for supplies. Byers and Larimer began a major campaign to promote farming and ranching, organizing an agricultural society, sponsoring fairs, and distributing information.⁴⁸ Historian David T. Brundage found 1860 Denver's business community included twelve wholesale houses, twenty-four attorneys and physicians, twenty-seven retail businesses, and thirty-five saloons.⁴⁹ Pioneer industries and warehouses arrived soon after the city's first residents. In 1860 newspapers advertised wholesalers in goods like groceries, hardware, and miners' provisions, as well as a flour mill, brewery, vinegar factory, cabinet and coffin makers, an ice company, lumber and brick yards, and foundries. In the summer the *News* contained advertisements for pioneer businesses such as the Hawkens and Wicks St. Louis Restaurant and Bakery, McGavran and Walley's Cabinet Factory (producing cabinets, chairs, and coffins and arranging "funerals eastern style"), and J.B. Dole and Company, with gold scales for sale.⁵⁰ The Denver City firm of J.B. Ashard and Company advertised their services as "architects and builders."⁵¹

Settlers discarded their wagons and canvas tents for hewn-log cabins as quickly as possible. The first businessmen erected one- to two-story log structures, adding frame false fronts when they could afford them, as was typical of western boom towns. Some log houses also received false fronts. The growing population provided an increasing demand for carpenters, bricklayers, and contractors, who Smiley reported "commanded fabulous wages."⁵² Sawmills sold much of their lumber for early buildings erected along Cherry Creek.⁵³ Brick made from local clay also became a popular building material for homes and businesses. A more permanent and fireproof building material, brick was utilized to duplicate the substantial business blocks found in established cities.

Historian Carl Abbott described 1860 Denver as a "walking city" with a populated area three-fourths of a mile in radius. The early settlement included little separation of buildings based on function, with "the heart of the business district lying within a block of the finest residences. Stores, workshops, and homes were jumbled together on every major street."⁵⁴ Developed areas lay basically between today's Curtis Street, 20th Street, and the South Platte River on the east side of Cherry Creek, and on the west side the area between Curtis and the river. What was then called West Denver was the site of the larger businesses and population, although by 1863 the area was already waning. Larimer Street served as an important commercial thoroughfare, as did Blake Street on the east side.⁵⁵ North Denver continued to be viewed as geographically isolated from the rest of the community for many years and saw little development. The topography of the area remained one of canyons and cliffs, which made building of streets a challenging problem.

"Softening the Rough Influences": Denver's Early Schools

The importance of education in Denver's history is evident in the fact that the first school opened within six months of the first significant gold discoveries in the area. The town companies demonstrated support for early educational efforts by offering free town lots for school sites. Jerome Smiley reported Irish immigrant Owen J. Goldrick arrived at the fledgling settlements in the summer of 1859 and announced plans to establish a private school for the small number of children present. His private Union School opened in a log cabin in Auraria in October with thirteen students, including two of Native American and two of Latino descent. Goldrick generally is cited as the first teacher to open a school and hold classes.⁵⁶ Smiley judged the teacher "participated in almost every other movement for softening the rough influences that surrounded the pioneer communities."⁵⁷ Goldrick reopened his school on May 7, 1860 and later led organization of the school district. Indiana Sopris received the distinction of being the first woman schoolteacher, also opening a school in Auraria on May 7, 1860.⁵⁸ At the end of the same month, Lydia Maria Ring established a school in a log cabin that was more permanent than the other early educational ventures, operating continuously for four years.

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In October 1860 the government of Denver proposed a study of the concept of creating free schools. However, no progress in establishing such facilities occurred until the first session of the Colorado Territorial Legislature in 1861, when an act provided for organization of public schools and division of counties into school districts.⁵⁹ In early Denver the principal districts were No. 1 (“East Denver”) and No. 2 (“West Denver”). District 2 opened the first free public school in Colorado, on December 1, 1862, in the upstairs of a rented building on Larimer Street. The first public school in East Denver held classes nine days later in a rented frame building. In 1865 West Denver became the first district to own a school building. In 1868 the schools became racially segregated, a policy continued until construction of Arapahoe School four years later.⁶⁰

Challenges and Changes during the Civil War and After

On February 28, 1861 Congress created Colorado Territory, named after one of its rivers, and William Gilpin became the first territorial governor. The outbreak of the Civil War six weeks later diverted attention from celebration of the new territory. In addition, a mining slump, combined with Denver’s isolation, Native Americans’ unrest over loss of their traditional lands and lifestyles, and a series of other challenges, stalled the town’s growth. In 1861 prices for town lots were low, even in sections already developed.⁶¹ Smiley reported “a great abundance of land around the town, and but few of the people then here cared to invest at any price in small patches of it which were still overgrown with wild herbage and in the possession of prairie dogs.”⁶² Although Denver remained the preeminent settlement in the territory, promising rivals Colorado City (1861) and Golden (1862-67) prevented it from being selected the territorial capital until December 1867.

Leonard and Noel indicated that during the war “the divided nation lacked the capital and the interest to finance mines, build smelters, establish farms, and develop cities in Colorado.”⁶³ Many people returned eastward, leaving those who remained feeling less certain of the town’s future. Some progress could be seen in 1861, including Denver’s incorporation, opening of the first session of the territorial legislature, and creation of the territorial county of Arapahoe with Denver as its county seat. The town could take pride in its achievements early in the decade, which ranged from construction of its first church building to establishment in 1863 of a U.S. Branch Mint, which functioned as an assay office in the Clark, Gruber and Company Bank Building.⁶⁴ Arrival of telegraph lines in 1863 provided quick communication with other parts of the country, lessening Denver’s sense of isolation. Yet the town’s architecture in the early 1860s conveyed its struggling frontier status, according to Jerome Smiley: “Its treeless, grassless, brushless condition gave it an exceedingly uninviting appearance; its motley, irregular, ugly structures of brick, frame, or log were calculated to cause nightmare in the brain of an unseasoned visitor.”⁶⁵ He found the majority of buildings were one-story, with only a few taller and opined, “The higher ones were worse than the lower, in that their loftiness made their frightful ugliness more conspicuous.”⁶⁶

Beginning in 1863 Denver experienced a series of events that encouraged more people to leave, but also influenced the appearance of today’s built environment and determined the location of early residential neighborhoods. A disastrous fire (known to pioneers as “the Great Fire”) burned a four-square-block area between today’s Market and Wazee streets from Cherry Creek to 16th Street, including much of the commercial district along Market and Blake Streets on April 19.⁶⁷ The conflagration, possibly the result of arson, started behind the Cherokee House, a saloon at 15th and Blake streets, very early one Sunday morning and spread quickly among the area’s wood buildings due to a combination wind, dry conditions, an unreliable source of water, and untrained and disorganized fire-fighting citizens, as detailed in journalist Dick Kreck’s 2000 book, *Denver in Flames*.⁶⁸ The disaster, which destroyed seventy structures in two hours, resulted in enormous losses for the mostly uninsured business owners and destruction of the town’s stores of foods and supplies; it was “a crushing blow to the young frontier town,” according to Kreck.⁶⁹ The next day the city council passed an ordinance requiring construction

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with outside walls of brick, stone, or other inflammable material for new buildings in a thirteen-block area known as the “fire district.”⁷⁰ As Kreck pointed out, the new rule “even today gives downtown Denver its historic look.”⁷¹

Business owners set about rebuilding with fireproof materials immediately, and by the end of the year a new commercial district lured consumers. Construction after the fire was, in most cases, more substantial, reflecting the desire for permanence, lessons learned from the fire, and the continuing maturation of the settlement. Brickmaking became a flourishing business, with red clay excavated from a site along the South Platte River near 15th Street.⁷² Business owners began to erect two- and three-story brick structures, and homeowners built more elaborate residences displaying architectural styles developed in the East. Tom Noel observed that the fire spared Larimer Street and confirmed its “main street status” within the city.⁷³ Former slave Barney Ford’s 1863 brick restaurant and saloon (1514 Blake Street, 5DV.47.66) replaced a burned structure; it is the oldest documented commercial building in the city.⁷⁴ In 1876 a city ordinance prohibited construction of frame buildings within the entire city limits.⁷⁵

Other trials followed for those residents determined to remain. In January 1864 harsh winter weather with heavy snows made freighting on the Plains difficult, killed many cattle, and raised the prices of food and other supplies in Denver.⁷⁶ Although Native Americans and mountain men had warned early settlers not to build homes in the flood plain of Cherry Creek, this advice was ignored and a number of pioneers established residences and businesses there. Following several days of rain Cherry Creek overran its banks on May 19, 1864 and swept away many of these early structures, including the offices of the *Rocky Mountain News* and the City Hall with its public documents. The flood caused extensive property damage and several deaths.⁷⁷ The waters also demolished the 11th and 15th Street bridges, the main structures connecting North Denver to the other side of the South Platte River.

After the disaster, growth of the city turned eastward, away from the river and creek. The creek flooded several more times before major improvements began in the Speer administration in the early twentieth century. Jerome Smiley believed “the new and uniformly good buildings that succeeded the destroyed ones had given the central portion of the east side what was thought to be a metropolitan appearance.”⁷⁸

In the summer of 1864 Native American unrest along stage routes made it difficult for mail and freight to reach the city, disrupted transportation along trails, and inflated prices. The Sand Creek Massacre in southeast Colorado in November increased tension between indigenous people and settlers. A further challenge tested the community’s resolve the following year, when grasshoppers infested the settlement, driving up the cost of wheat and flour and driving down real estate prices. To end the year Denver’s first major windstorm raged over Christmas, followed by heavy snowfall.⁷⁹

In the mid-1860s the mining boom, which had fueled Denver’s early growth, began to fade, as the rich, easily extracted placer gold was exhausted and miners left for other bonanzas. However, the worst blow to the city’s hopes came in 1866, when the Union Pacific Railroad (UP) announced it would bypass Denver and build through Cheyenne, Wyoming. Community leaders knew that without a rail connection the city would never become a regional center of business, industry, finance, and distribution. Without a railroad, people, capital, and manufactured goods would not flow into Denver and it would not produce and ship products to eastern markets. The hundreds of miles between Denver and communities in the Midwest made travel expensive for potential settlers as well as visitors. So critical was a railroad connection that Leonard and Noel judged: “Of all the challenges Denver was to face during the rest of the nineteenth century, none was more important to its emergence as a major Western metropolis than the building of railroads.”⁸⁰

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In the wake of UP's decision, many businessmen moved to Wyoming to exploit the opportunities brought by the railroad. The height of the recession in Denver came in 1866 and 1867, when the population dropped to less than that of 1860.⁸¹ Real estate values plunged precipitously, and many people who lost faith in the town's viability returned to the East. Some of the most hopeful, however, believed Denver's opportunity lay ahead and continued to plan for future growth.

A "Marked Change in Appearance": New Technologies, Railroad Plans, and a Water System

Just as the future seemed bleakest, new developments in mining, smelting, and other enterprises began to improve Denver's economy. Trained metallurgists discovered improvements in mining and ore processing that would revolutionize those industries in Colorado. As a result, new groups of people moved westward, bringing new skills, cultures, and traditions to the community. At the same time Denver's leadership proved capable of handling the challenge of ending its isolation; guiding its industrial, manufacturing, and supply sectors; and attracting new settlers who would provide steady demand for the city's products.

Town leaders, such as former territorial governor John Evans and newspaper publisher William Byers, realized the key to Denver's future lay in achieving their goal of securing a rail linkage. As Leonard and Noel characterized the dilemma: "If Rocky Mountain pay dirt were to pay off, Colorado needed cheap, fast, and efficient transportation."⁸² Evans and Byers organized a public meeting of local businessmen that founded a Board of Trade (forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce) to support their efforts to end the city's isolation. When the UP failed to provide a line to Denver and the Kansas Pacific faltered in its effort to build toward the city, Evans, Bela Hughes, Walter Cheesman, Luther Kountze, David Moffat, and others organized the Denver Pacific Railway and Telegraph Company in 1867 and raised capital for construction of a line between Cheyenne and Denver. On May 18, 1868 the city celebrated the groundbreaking for the railroad. In support of the effort the Denver Pacific received a generous land grant it could use to raise money and secure loans.⁸³

Pioneer John W. Smith began work on a thirty-mile irrigation ditch (5DV.1813) in 1865 and completed the project in May 1867, when it received priority right No. 1 on the South Platte River. The structure is one of Denver's oldest historic resources today. Construction of Smith's Ditch, Denver's first water supply, from the river through what is now Washington Park, the Denver Country Club, and around the ridges of Capitol Hill (where Smith owned substantial acreage), allowed residents to plant the first trees and lawns in their yards.⁸⁴ This vegetation produced a "marked change in the appearance of the town," according to Lyle Dorsett and Michael McCarthy.⁸⁵ The nearly one thousand miles of lateral ditches branching out of the structure meant that "streams of clear, cold water flowed at the sides of the streets to which it could descend from the hills, including the business streets," as described by Smiley.⁸⁶ Beginning in 1869 Denver purchased water from the ditch to irrigate lawns, trees, and gardens, and in 1875 it acquired the entire system, which then became known as the City Ditch.⁸⁷

Denver's Expansions and New Additions

Anticipated railroad connections, a resurgence in mining, and expansion of the city boundary stimulated creation of several residential additions in the late 1860s. Denver did not officially receive its land grant until May 28, 1864, under a special act of Congress. At that time, the town received 960 acres representing the amount of land commonly given to one townsite, rather than the total amount claimed by the two settlements before unification. The land outside of the official grant was then subject to pre-emption and homesteading. Apparently anticipating the situation, several individuals filed claims on land adjacent to town in 1864, including: Frederick J. Ebert, James McNassar, H.C. Brown, and L.B. France. Several other claims followed the official award of the townsite grant, and many of these formed the basis of suburban development in early Denver.⁸⁸ In 1864 the territorial legislature extended

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the corporate limits of Denver to 2,240 acres by adding much of the undeveloped prairie surrounding the townsite. The city limits then extended from today's West 32nd Avenue on the north to West 11th Avenue on the south, and from Zuni Street on the West to Broadway on the east. In 1868 another 1,600 acres were added to Denver, which began referring to itself as "the Queen City of the Prairie"; by the next decade it preferred to be known as the "Queen City of the Plains."⁸⁹

Henry Cordes Brown recognized the potential for developing subdivisions outside the confines of the original townsite, establishing a 160-acre homestead near today's 12th and Sherman in April 1864. The Denver Town Company had included the acreage of Brown's homestead in its original townsite, but did not vigorously protest when Brown occupied the land.⁹⁰ Smiley noted that in 1864, there was little or nothing between Curtis Street and Capitol Hill and "that section of the city seemed far less promising than the old Highland district" in North Denver.⁹¹ By the close of 1867, few improvements had been made between Stout and the brow of Capitol Hill, and beyond that almost nothing. The "hillside builders were regarded as rather singular men for choosing to go so far off in the country to build their houses; and the dwellings did look lonesome and forlorn standing away out there by themselves," according to Smiley.⁹²

On the bluff just east of Broadway, Brown laid out a residential subdivision on a portion of his homestead lands in 1868. His plat broke the diagonal street grid originally developed for Denver streets in favor of north-south blocks that took advantage of the scenic views from the bluff. The developer also donated part of his land for the site of a state capitol, believing construction of such an important edifice would lend value to his real estate development.⁹³ This action influenced growth of the business district eastward from its early center around Larimer Street.⁹⁴

Seven other residential additions were filed in 1868, including Case's, Case and Ebert's, Curtis and Clark's, Evans's, Horr's, J.W. Smith's, and Witter's First.⁹⁵ The following year, three more subdivisions were created: Downing's, H. Witter's, and Shaffenburg's.⁹⁶ Of these, Case and Ebert's Addition filed on April 7, 1868 was the earliest, occupying an immense area northeast of what was then the center of development. Francis M. Case and Frederick J. Ebert were among those most familiar with the terrain surrounding the city and with the plans of Denver's leaders for its future development. Their subdivision included an area adjacent to the South Platte River and encompassed what would become the yards of the Denver Pacific Railway, making it attractive to industry.⁹⁷ The developers also planned a fine residential development including the city's first public greenspace, Curtis Park (still extant), consisting of 2.44 acres of land at 31st and Curtis.⁹⁸ Parks were not considered vital components of the town during the early years as most people were too busy "to think seriously of play activities."⁹⁹ The addition became the first of Denver's streetcar suburb in the early 1870s.

1.3. Developing the "Great Braggart City": Railroads and Streetcars Generate Tremendous Growth in the 1870s

The impact of Denver's 1860s trials became vividly clear when the 1870 census revealed the town's population stood at 4,759, only ten residents more than a decade earlier.¹⁰⁰ Of the persons enumerated, 5.1 percent were minorities, including 237 African Americans and only 4 Chinese residents. As in 1860, close to a quarter (23.9 percent) of the population was foreign-born.

Jerome Smiley described Denver's building stock in mid-1871 as consisting of "1,128 buildings of all kinds, one-half of them less than two stories high, and but few of them three. Generally, those more recently built were of brick, but a large proportion of the dwellings were frame, and there were still many log structures surviving from the pioneer era."¹⁰¹ The character of the city's architecture would start to change as the arrival of railroads and mining wealth brought new groups of people, transported manufactured building supplies from the East, and carried in construction materials extracted around

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the state. Businesses received vast iron fronts and metal cornices. Gothic Revival, Second Empire, Italianate, Queen Anne, and other architectural styles appeared. Architects drawn to Denver in the 1870s, including Emmet Anthony (1871), William H.J. Nichols (1872), Leonard Cutshaw (1873), Robert S. Roeschlaub (1873), Frederick C. Eberley (1879), and John G. Weller (pre-1875), began designing buildings in styles popular in the rest of the country.¹⁰²

Arrival of the Iron Horse Leads to Remarkable Growth

In the early 1870s the difficult work of the post-Civil War period began to reap rewards. On June 22, 1870 Denver's grandest wish came true when the Denver Pacific Railway steamed into town from Cheyenne, establishing the long-awaited transcontinental connection. Two months later the Kansas Pacific Railway, building westward from the Colorado-Kansas border, met a crew laying track eastward from a junction with the Denver Pacific tracks at Comanche Crossing near today's Strasburg.¹⁰³ In September, the Colorado Central Railroad connected Denver and Golden, from which track-laying would penetrate the Front Range.¹⁰⁴ Confidence in Denver's future increased dramatically among its residents, and the city began to grow at a remarkable rate.¹⁰⁵

After Denver replaced its dreams of mining gold with the goal of becoming Colorado's marketplace, the railroads, more than any other industry, quickly helped it become the leader of the region.¹⁰⁶ They not only carried new residents and visitors to the city, but also employed thousands of people in laying track, operating and maintaining trains, and a multitude of associated jobs. New groups of people arrived seeking employment with the railroads, including African Americans who worked in large numbers as porters and laborers. The trains also brought raw materials from across the region for processing and manufacturing in Denver and very significantly enabled the town to reap the riches of the mountain mining districts on a large scale.¹⁰⁷ With railroad shipment of ores speedier and less expensive than by wagon, capitalists realized they could profitably operate smelters in Denver, creating a major late nineteenth century industry. The railroads also promoted agricultural settlement, with much farm and ranch production carried on the rails to Denver for sale or processing by its plants and distributed throughout the territory and other parts of the country.

In addition to the railroads entering the city in 1870, other lines extended tracks throughout the territory and accessed its abundant resources. In 1872 a narrow gauge railroad, the Denver, South Park & Pacific Railway (DSP&P), founded by Evans, Moffat, and Cheesman, tapped the mountain mining camps in Park and Summit counties and achieved its biggest prize with completion of its line to Leadville. Another narrow gauge, the Denver & Rio Grande Railway (D&RG) organized by Gen. William Jackson Palmer and associates in 1870, boosted Denver to a position of regional dominance in accessing the wealth of the mountains. The D&RG built from Denver south to Colorado Springs and Pueblo, with branches extending into Leadville, the San Juans, and Durango and Silverton in southwestern Colorado. Both narrow gauge lines transported the agricultural bounty of the farming and ranching areas and valuable raw materials found along its route back to Denver for processing, manufacturing, or shipment to eastern markets.¹⁰⁸

"Second Only to the Railroads": Emergence of Public Transit Systems

Historian Jerome Smiley saw the emergence of the street railway system in the 1870s as second only to the railroads in influencing the development of Denver.¹⁰⁹ Streetcar systems in the United States dated to the early nineteenth century, with the first being a New York horsecar line. The horse-drawn streetcar proved to be an improved method of transportation within urban areas, embodying low cost, flexibility, and safety.¹¹⁰ As the systems expanded and technology improved, streetcars became a means of liberating middle class homeowners from specific neighborhoods near their work in the inner city by allowing them to live farther away from the noise and pollution of the urban core. Citizens also began to

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ride the street railways for pleasure and recreational trips, in the process becoming familiar with areas outside their own neighborhoods.¹¹¹ Real estate developers understood the value of outlying residential additions would be realized only if adequate transportation systems connected their residents with places of employment. As transportation planner King Cushman observed, “Interurban electric railway promoters and land developers had mutual economic interests and began to join forces, hustling a competitive market for riders and real estate sales.”¹¹²

Denver’s first public transit system, the Denver Horse Railroad Company (later Denver City Railway Company), organized in 1867 and received a liberal charter from the territorial legislature for the sole right to build and operate a horse railroad in Denver and any later additions. The company waited for arrival of the steam railroads before beginning work in 1871, when Chicago investors headed by Lewis C. Ellsworth purchased the system and completed the first line. The original streetcar route traveled from 7th Street and Larimer in West Denver to 16th Street, turning on Champa, and heading out to 27th Street, where it terminated at a site in Five Points then known as Shaffenburg Park.¹¹³ After acquiring convenient transportation access to downtown, the neighborhood steadily developed as a fine residential area and attracted some of Denver’s most successful residents. Subsequent extensions of the line beginning in 1873 provided access to North Denver, Capitol Hill, and Park Avenue. Please see “The Connected City” historic context for a complete discussion of Denver’s streetcar history during the 1870s.

Isabella Bird Describes Denver

Between the beginning of 1871 and the end of 1873, two thousand new buildings graced Denver’s streets, many of brick construction.¹¹⁴ The town grew so quickly that when the famous British traveler Isabella Bird visited in October 1873 she called it “the great braggart city.” Bird aptly summarized Denver’s growing commercial character: “It is a busy place, the *entrepôt* and distributing point for an immense district, with good shops, some factories, fair hotels, and the usual deformities and refinements of civilization. Peltry shops abound, and sportsmen, hunter, miner, teamster, emigrant, can be completely rigged out at fifty different stores.”¹¹⁵ She noted the large numbers of asthmatics and other invalids who came hoping the fresh air and sunshine would cure their diseases. Bird described a Denver with many saloons, men spending their hard-earned wages in “maddest dissipation,” characters such as Buffalo Bill, large numbers of Native Americans, and very few women.¹¹⁶ Her account of the diverse population is a compelling reminder of the extremely colorful population of Denver as it rapidly emerged from rugged frontier town to a more sophisticated small city:

There were men in every rig: hunters and trappers in buckskin clothing; men of the Plains with belts and revolvers, in great blue cloaks, relics of the war; teamsters in leathern suits; horsemen in fur coats and caps and buffalo-hide boots with the hair outside, and camping blankets behind their huge Mexican saddles; Broadway dandies in light kid gloves; rich English sporting tourists, clean, comely, and supercilious looking; and hundreds of Indians on their small ponies, the men wearing buckskin suits sewn with beads, and red blankets, with faces painted vermilion and hair hanging lank and straight, and squaws much bundled up, riding astride with furs over their saddles.¹¹⁷

Growth in Commerce, Manufacturing, and Industry

Although Denver, now tied to larger markets, could not escape the effects of the Panic of 1873, it recovered relatively quickly and resumed its upward progress within three years.¹¹⁸ A city census in January 1874 recorded 14,197 people, enough to move Denver into the category of small city.¹¹⁹ Rich silver discoveries in mining towns such as Leadville in the later 1870s stimulated continued population growth, made Colorado the country’s leading metal producer, and supported the prosperity of the

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Queen City. Leadville turned to Denver “unceasingly” for supplies as the mining camp mushroomed into a booming city. Edward Roberts later wrote that “in meeting all demands the commerce of the city was greatly increased, and the merchants enriched. More than all other towns, Denver profited by Leadville’s wealth. Fortunes made in one place were spent in the other.”¹²⁰ Thousands of people passed through Denver on their way to Leadville, and many of those made rich by the mines subsequently moved to the capital to conduct further business, erect large residences, and spend their wealth. Commerce emerged as the city’s most significant economic activity, with wholesale and retail activities, banking, and railroads dominating the local economy.¹²¹

Although Denver’s leaders initially envisioned it as the capital of a mercantile empire, industries also contributed to the city’s economy.¹²² A variety of these operations located along the north-south railroad corridor and South Platte River through the city. Manufacturing firms included beer breweries and pickle factories; flour, pottery, paper, and woolen mills; and ice houses and machine works. Among the larger manufacturers of the mid-1870s were those producing beer, clothing, flour and feed, and window sash, doors, and blinds.¹²³ David Brundage discovered small-scale manufacturing was the rule until Leadville’s silver boom of the late 1870s and early 1880s, which “triggered immediate growth.”¹²⁴

Smelting and Equipment Manufacturing Bring New Populations

As railroads tapped rich mining areas such as Leadville, they enabled Denver to take advantage of its centralized location and resources to develop its most important nineteenth century industry: smelting. City boosters hoped to attract a smelter facility that could process ores utilizing methods developed by Colorado’s first successful operation, Nathaniel P. Hill’s Argo at Black Hawk. Construction of these industrial facilities led to creation of some of the city’s most important ethnic neighborhoods, as immigrant workers attracted by the industry changed the demographic face of the city. They came in three waves of immigration: Welsh, Cornish, and Scandinavian; Irish and Italian; and later, Austrian, Polish, and Germans from Russia.¹²⁵

In the early 1870s the first smelting effort in Denver began with the purchase of a tract of land near the junction of the Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific railroads to erect the Swansea Smelting Works. In association with its smelter operation the enterprise laid out the town of Swansea to house the industry’s workers. The smelter failed, but the community of Swansea continued to attract industrial and railroad workers.¹²⁶ In 1878 Nathaniel P. Hill’s Boston and Colorado Smelting Company built the city’s first profitable smelter, the Argo, in a complex bordered by the Colorado Central Railroad about two miles northwest of downtown Denver. Noted Denver architect Robert Roeschlaub designed the plant and a company town of the same name that included a hotel, workers’ tenements and houses, a school, and a church, according to historian James E. Fell, Jr. The smelter, which began operating in 1879, attracted American, British, and Scandinavian workers and tried to maintain a diverse workforce. Colorado voters elected Nathaniel P. Hill to the U.S. Senate during the same year.¹²⁷ Success of the Argo led to several other attempts at smelting in Denver in the 1880s.

The manufacture of mining machinery became Denver’s second most valuable industry, including five enterprises by the end of the decade. The industry employed hundreds of workers producing products vital to the state’s mining sector, including stamp mills, concentrators, crushers, and other items. In the process, Denver developed a reputation for turning out the world’s best mining machinery and shipped it around the world.¹²⁸ The railroads’ machine and car shops, producing essential equipment for their networks, became a third major component of the city’s industrial operations.

New Government Facilities, Infrastructure, and Amenities

In the 1870s Arapahoe County played a more active role in its citizens’ lives, and Denver benefited from its position as county seat. In 1873 Arapahoe County erected its first public building in the capital, a

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facility to house the poor, which later evolved into the county hospital. Two years later the location selected for the Arapahoe County Courthouse on the block bounded by today's Court Place, 15th and 16th streets, and Tremont Place aroused great controversy among real estate developers, each of whom wanted to boost their own property values by securing the structure for their area. A group of about thirty property owners convinced the county commissioners to select the final site by adding the incentive of a \$2,000 donation toward the cost of the land.¹²⁹ Many residents felt the location was too far from the business district then centered along Larimer, Market, and Blake, although the decision influenced the course of downtown growth.

In the decades after the railroads arrived, Denver's increasing maturity also was reflected in the growth of its infrastructure and extension of municipal services and amenities. The city's water, sewer, and telephone systems began operating in the 1870s. The Denver City Water Company became the first enterprise to pipe water into private homes. James Archer headed the company, and its board included other illustrious businessmen, such as Walter Cheesman, Jerome Chaffee, and David Moffat.¹³⁰ The system obtained its water from a large well and pumping station on the banks of the South Platte River near the downtown and expanded rapidly.¹³¹ This represented the first of eleven efforts in the 1870s and 1880s by private companies to bring water to the city, culminating in the incorporation of the Denver Union Water Company.¹³²

Parks

By the beginning of the decade Curtis Park remained the only public greenspace in Denver. Mayor Joseph E. Bates recommended the city establish a system of parks in 1872. In the same year, Territorial Representative Jerome B. Chaffee convinced Congress to cede 160 acres of land which would one day become Congress Park but initially served as a cemetery.¹³³ Real estate development also motivated creation of the city's first planned parkway, Park Avenue, bordered by small triangular lots of park land in 1874.¹³⁴ Two years later Denver State Representative Henry Lee and real estate developer Jacob Downing sponsored a bill to permit municipalities to procure land for park uses. They hoped Denver would obtain acreage to create two parks of 640 acres, one on the west side of town and one on the east, linked by a diagonal boulevard. Eventually the city council limited the land acquisition to 320 acres in east Denver (City Park, 5DV.50) and eliminated the other components.¹³⁵ In the 1870s the city began planting trees along its major thoroughfares, resulting in a transformation from the brown prairie as seen by Isabella Bird into a community shaded by many trees. Another special purpose greenspace, Riverside Cemetery (5DV.11277), opened in 1876.

Buildings for Religion, Culture, and Education

Denver's 1870s population included people of all backgrounds, economic classes, and interests who occupied a city where rough-hewn miners rubbed elbows with the British aristocracy's second sons. Although making money was uppermost in the minds of many early residents, a desire to experience the higher realms of culture, religion, and education were also priorities. The number of ecclesiastical buildings serving the community's spiritual life grew during the decade, serving the religious needs of much of the developed city. For example, in Highland in 1874 Bishop John Franklin Spalding organized the All Saints Episcopal congregation consisting principally of working-class Welsh, Cornish, Scottish, English, and German immigrants, who worshipped in a mission church at 15th and Central streets.¹³⁶ In 1878 John Evans commissioned the design of a small stone church (5DV.174) as a memorial to his daughter, Josephine, for the Colorado Seminary (now on the University of Denver campus, it is considered the oldest Protestant Church still in use in the city).¹³⁷ Emmanuel Episcopal Church (5DV.120), a Denver Landmark at 1201 10th Street on the Auraria campus, is a fine rusticated stone building with Gothic Revival details built in 1876. The 1879 Sacred Heart Church (5DV.5993) at 2760 Larimer Street, a notable remaining example of the Catholic community's spiritual aspirations, was

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designed in Gothic Revival style by early Denver architect Emmet Anthony for upper-class Irish and Italian residents, including the famous Baby Doe Tabor.¹³⁸

Churches became important facilitators of social interaction by sponsoring both religious and secular activities among their congregants. They provided a place for early residents to enjoy music as participants and listeners during services, concerts, and recitals. Many Denverites played instruments and loved to sing, as noted in Henry Miles's 2006 history of music in the city.¹³⁹ He judged churches were the most significant influence in the Queen City's early musical development.¹⁴⁰ Choral organizations, often associated with churches, also contributed to the musical advancement of the city. Local saloons served an important role in the musical realm, frequently providing such entertainment along with drinks. The large halls of the city, such as Apollo Hall (5DV.104.5), provided a venue for organized musical events, as did facilities such as the Denver Theatre and Forrester Opera House, forerunners of the 1881 Tabor Opera House and the 1908 Municipal Auditorium (5DV.521).¹⁴¹

As Jerome Smiley reported, "Until 1870 comparatively little progress was made by the public schools of Denver," a fact he attributed to the large number of fortune-hunting men without families occupying the area and the lack of local agreement as to what public education should include.¹⁴² In 1870 the Territorial Legislature approved an act giving local school boards greater authority in the control and management of schools and providing for the allocation of public revenues to support and build them. Smiley judged that "from the new legislation Districts Numbers 1 and 2 received new vigor, and from one point of view their vital history may be said to have then begun."¹⁴³

The school districts in the county strained to keep pace with the growth of population through the erection of new schools, which were built at the rate of about one per year until the end of the century. The first school owned by District 1 ("East Denver") did not open until 1873; until then the district rented classroom space in locations such as the half-completed church known as "the Baptist dugout." The 1873 Arapahoe School, located on the north side of Arapahoe Street between 17th and 18th streets, represented the first architecturally distinguished school in Denver, and received acclaim as "the pride of the city" and "our magnificent temple of learning."¹⁴⁴ The building included space for the first high school in Denver. Stout Street (1874), Broadway (1875), and 24th Street (1879) schools followed; none of the public schools from this period survives.

Neighborhoods and Satellite Towns of the 1870s

In Denver's early years, little distinction existed between residential and commercial areas. The city's 1870s additions sought to provide more separation between new housing sites and the noise and congestion of the city center; these developments were made possible by the growth of public transportation. A significant national movement of the growing middle class to subdivisions outside the city's core began during this period. Growth of the streetcar system provided convenient transportation, spurring many middle-class people to move out of the older, more congested areas of the city to new middle-class subdivisions and emerging suburbs such as Baker, Berkeley, Highland, and Washington Park. However, many of these middle-class Denver neighborhoods continued to display some economic diversity, with larger and smaller homes scattered within them. Although some terraces and double houses were built in these neighborhoods, typically there were fewer large multi-family buildings in the new middle-class subdivisions and suburbs than in the older parts of the city. In addition, some neighborhoods were platted as industrial areas to support smelters, railroads, and other industries of the era. Others evolved as ethnic, class, or racial enclaves as a result of de facto segregation and residential covenants. The growth of the city outward often displaced agricultural use of the land, which then was pushed farther to the outskirts of the city.

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The favorite residential section of Denver in the 1870s continued to be in the area of today's central business district, between Lawrence and Broadway from 14th to 18th streets. Fourteenth Street was considered the epicenter of the finest residential section of the city, where many of Denver's most prominent early residents built large brick and stone homes. Here such moguls as David H. Moffat, John L. Routt, Nathaniel Hill, John Evans, and William B. Daniels lived in substantial residences.¹⁴⁵ The houses constructed were in many cases the first development on those lots and most were later replaced by commercial structures which followed the growth of the business district. The 1883 Byers-Evans house (5DV.163) at 1310 Bannock Street, operated as a house museum by History Colorado today, is the best remaining example of early Denver's elite dwellings in the center of the city.

The decade's growth stimulated creation of two satellite towns: Highlands (1875), northwest of downtown, and Argo (1879), a community associated with the smelter to the north. By the end of the 1870s, development in West Denver (formerly known as Auraria) was expanding toward Broadway, but much vacant land remained in the area between Cherry Creek, the South Platte River, and 8th Avenue. Broadway still lay outside the built-up area eastward and 23rd Street marked the limit of development on the northwest.¹⁴⁶ William Byers, his relatives, and business associates platted several subdivisions in the Baker Neighborhood during the 1870s, beginning with Sumner's Addition in 1872. Without public transportation to the area until the Denver Circle Railroad was built nine years later, development proceeded slowly. Industrial growth brought new families to West Denver, facilitated by the laying of Rio Grande railroad tracks along the west bank of the South Platte River. Among the early industries that located near 8th Avenue were the Davis and Mullen flour mills. During the following decades, the area attracted a pottery works, paper mill, woolen mill, brewery, ice houses, and a chemical factory.¹⁴⁷ The workers in these industries built homes conveniently located in nearby residential areas.

In North Denver developers laid out several subdivisions in the 1870s, including the Potter-Highlands Addition, a 320-acre tract owned by the American Baptist Missionary Union of Boston, Massachusetts. Reverend Walter M. Potter, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Denver obtained the land for the group, which offered lots for sale in 1873. Daniel T. Casement, whose land was advertised as "beautifully located" with "an elegant view of the city," also platted an addition. Railroad builders William J. Palmer and William A. Bell established the unusual Highland Park Addition (5DV.2101) in 1875, creating a subdivision with narrow curving streets and landscaping based on the design of a Scottish village. The Highland Park Addition is cited as one of the few examples of nineteenth century picturesque community planning in the region.¹⁴⁸

Capitol Hill continued to be mostly undeveloped prairie, without improved streets. Smiley observed that everything east of Broadway in 1879 was considered "out in the country" and the only significant building in that direction was the 1876 residence Henry C. Brown had erected on land bordered by 17th, Broadway, Lincoln, and 18th. Brown hoped the mansion would attract settlement in his subdivision.¹⁴⁹ In 1879 he sold his home, reportedly the finest in the city, to Horace Tabor for what was considered an extravagant price.¹⁵⁰ Tabor's purchase of the residence drove up property values in Brown's addition, and others began to view the area with higher esteem.

1.4. "Real Estate Mania" and Denver's First Great Growth, 1880-92

Denver comprised 18 percent of the state's 1880 population with 35,629 people—more than a seven-fold increase over the 1870 Census tally. John W. Reps, historian of frontier urban planning, concludes that "in a scant quarter of a century, the crude and disorderly camps at the mouth of Cherry Creek had become a city of impressive size and appearance."¹⁵¹ Over thirteen thousand inhabitants (38.1 percent) lived in two wards at the city's core, in an area extending from Cherry Creek northeast to 21st Street and from Wynkoop Street southeast to Welton Street.¹⁵² Historian Gunther Barth found that during the 1880s an average of five hundred persons arrived daily in Colorado, with 90 percent passing through its

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capital city.¹⁵³ David Brundage found that 8,700 manual workers lived in the city by 1880, constituting 66 percent of the workforce; that number rose to 33,000 people (68 percent of those employed) by 1890. He described Denver in the nineteenth century “a working-class city.”¹⁵⁴ The area reportedly included a large “floating population,” particularly during the summer months, which enhanced its lodging business.¹⁵⁵

Census data for 1880 paints a picture of a mostly white city. Minority groups comprised 3.6 percent of the total population, including 1,046 African Americans, 1 Native American, and 238 Chinese persons, nearly all of whom worked in hand laundries.¹⁵⁶ Almost a quarter of the city’s residents were foreign born.¹⁵⁷ Lionel D. Lyles, who studied black residential mobility in Denver, found the African American population fairly dispersed in the 1870s and 1880s.¹⁵⁸ During the late nineteenth century, the residential sector for African American residents of the city began to expand into the Five Points area, northeast of downtown, and the adjacent neighborhoods of Whittier and Cole, which were also near rail facilities providing employment.

Chinese people in the West became particular targets of prejudice during the early 1880s. On October 22, 1880 the *Rocky Mountain News* ran a lengthy article offering its perspective on Denver’s Chinatown on Wazee Street and stirring already volatile anti-Chinese sentiments: “Here are the opium houses and gambling halls, and worse places still, which make the lowest and meanest places to be found in the city.”¹⁵⁹ The article asserted the “wily heathen” were putting unskilled laborers out of work and driving women into prostitution. Nine days later a poolroom dispute resulted in an anti-Chinese riot by thousands of Denverites, who ransacked and destroyed dwellings, laundries, and other businesses and inflicted numerous beatings and one death. About 185 Chinese were taken to the county jail for their own protection. The following day the *News* crowed: “Washee, washee is all cleaned out in Denver.”¹⁶⁰ Despite this incident, the Chinese population increased during the decade.

Rapid growth in the 1880s lifted Denver from the fiftieth most populous municipality in the nation to the twenty-sixth largest by 1890. Incredibly, a population of 106,713 in that year made it the West’s second largest city after San Francisco. Foreign-born residents accounted for 23.9 percent of the inhabitants, while the gender ratio continued to show an imbalance with 1.3 males for each female. The city’s statewide dominance increased, as it rose to encompass 26 percent of the state’s total population. The satellite town of Highlands to the west became the sixth largest community in the state. By 1890 Denver covered more than sixteen square miles, extending from Zuni Street and the South Platte River on the west to Colorado Boulevard on the east and from Alameda Avenue on the south to 44th and 46th avenues on the north. Many citizens lived in new subdivisions in the City Park, Park Hill, and Whittier neighborhoods by 1890, giving east-central Denver a total population of 11,362.¹⁶¹ The most populous ward was the Eighth, embracing the older Curtis Park area, with a total of 21,000 persons.

Historian Jerome B. Smiley found that “by 1890, the speculative fever had become a mania. The open prairie for miles had been platted in city lots and thrown upon the market.”¹⁶² He called 1890 the year of greatest development for Denver, and Assessor data bolsters the argument: nearly 2,500 parcels were built on that year.¹⁶³ In some respects growth created problems the city’s infrastructure could not handle. Observing that “coal smoke ruined the view and fouled the air” in winter and noting problems with overcrowding and sanitation, Leonard and Noel deemed 1890 Denver “a city overwhelmed by growth.”¹⁶⁴

The City Gains New Territory and Satellite Towns Emerge

Historian Frank Fossett described the maturing city in 1880: “The streets are broad, solid, and cleanly, and are lined in all directions with massive blocks, or elegant residences and pretty cottages in the midst of running waters, handsome shade trees, green lawns, and pleasant groves.”¹⁶⁵ Smiley judged that

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between 1880 and 1885 “the building of the modern city was fairly inaugurated.”¹⁶⁶ Bolstered by wealth flowing from Leadville, the era saw substantial dwellings built, public facilities completed, and significant commercial buildings erected. In 1883 the state legislature approved the annexation of 7.6 square miles of territory abutting the city on the north, east, and south. Two years later the state census reported Denver’s population stood at 54,308, a 52 percent increase from 1880. An additional 3.8 square miles were annexed to Denver in 1889, including land between its eastern edge and Colorado Boulevard and what is now the Country Club area.

Although construction experienced small declines during the early 1890s, subdivision platting activity dropped sharply from more than one hundred plats filed each year between 1888-90 to twenty-seven in 1891 and thirty-four in 1892. The 1891 subdivisions were scattered widely on the edges of the city, with a number of small plats filed in northwest Denver. Some of the larger subdivisions of the period included an amended plat for University Park (near the University of Denver), Manchester Heights (on the west side of the South Platte River south of W. Mississippi Avenue), and the Malone and DuBois Subdivision and Porter and Raymond’s Second Addition to Montclair (both south of Montclair). Developers platted Park Hill east of Colorado Boulevard in 1887, but it did not gain significant development until the steam Denver and Park Hill Railway Company completed a line to the area about 1890. Railroad historian Morris Cafky wrote that at the time of the railway’s construction Park Hill was “nothing but jack-rabbit country.”¹⁶⁷ Establishment of educational institutions also spurred development in more distant areas of the city.

Satellite Towns Offer an Alternative to City Living

While Denver proper expanded its territory during the 1880s, additional satellite towns rose on its periphery: Harman (1882) to the southeast; South Denver (1886); Barnum (1887) and Valverde (1888) to the southwest; and Montclair (1888) to the east-southeast. The new satellite communities sought to attract residents by drawing a contrast with what they viewed as the central city’s crowding, pollution, questionable morals, saloons, and crime. For example, Baron Walter von Richthofen’s promotional brochure for Montclair pictured “a pure moral atmosphere” in “a pleasant suburban town combining the advantages of country and city, where both health seekers and pleasure lovers might at leisure enjoy surroundings at once tasteful and convenient to Denver.”¹⁶⁸ Montclair represented a wealthier suburb; its lots were larger than typical, with houses required to be three stories and cost at least \$10,000. Building plans were subject to approval by the board of trustees. Richthofen’s 1887 Montclair home (5DV.158) was an immense stone castle.

Edwin and Louise Harman established a town on their farm, occupying the northern part of today’s Cherry Creek neighborhood. A town hall and school were constructed, but little residential development occurred during the 1880s.¹⁶⁹ South Denver embraced 9.1 square miles extending from Alameda Avenue on the north to Yale Avenue on the south and from the South Platte River east to Colorado Boulevard. The 1881 Denver Circle Railroad and the street railway line down Broadway drew new residents to the area. Its incorporators formed the town to get rid of saloons attracted to the area as a consequence of the National Mining and Industrial Exhibition of 1882. In 1878 circus promoter Phineas T. Barnum acquired the land comprising Barnum on the west side of the South Platte about three miles from downtown, believing the location’s fine views and climate beneficial to health-seekers would lure elite residents.¹⁷⁰ Settlement in Valverde, west of the South Platte River between West Alameda and West Mississippi avenues, preceded its formal incorporation. The community included a residential area, a small commercial strip along West Alameda Avenue, and farming tracts.¹⁷¹

Four new satellite towns formed around the city of Denver in the early 1890s: Elyria (1890) and Globeville (1891) to the north; Colfax (1891) to the west; and Berkeley (1892) to the northwest. Elyria and Globeville included smelting plants, other industries, and housing for workers, many of whom came

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from Central and Eastern Europe. Colfax, a ribbon of land a few blocks wide, extended from Broadway west to Sheridan Boulevard and encompassed a large Jewish population with attendant businesses and institutions. Berkeley, covering 1.5-square miles including Berkeley Lake, emerged on the former alfalfa farm of John Brisben Walker. In 1888 he had sold most of his farm at enormous profit to a Kansas City syndicate that developed a suburban town.¹⁷²

Silver Wealth Brings New Mansions and Commercial Development

Denver's commercial and industrial sectors benefitted greatly from the city's emergence as a transportation, service, and financial hub. The Leadville silver bonanza served as an additional stimulus to the capital city's economy, and many of the newly-minted "Cloud City" millionaires built lavish residences replacing pioneer era structures and occupying previously undeveloped lands. Louisa Ward Arps noted the erection of large residences brought greater social pretense, stimulating the growth of groups such as the Denver Club, the University Club, and the Sacred Thirty-six.¹⁷³ By 1890, Denver was home to thirty-one millionaires, and each attempted to commission a more elaborate mansion than his neighbors.¹⁷⁴

Growing firms engaged in the retail trade, business and professional services, lodging and entertainment, finance, insurance, and real estate required new buildings. Horace A. W. Tabor, who acquired millions mining Leadville silver, came to Denver in 1879 and is credited with shifting the focus of business development from its older core at 15th and Larimer streets to the east and south, where he owned considerable property. In 1880 Tabor erected the city's first significant office building, the Tabor Block at 16th and Larimer streets, and one of its finest hostelrys, the Windsor Hotel at 18th and Larimer streets. These were followed in 1881 by the most important cultural and entertainment venue of the era, the Tabor Grand Opera House at 16th and Curtis streets. The five-story masonry buildings set a new standard for architectural sophistication in the city. The Tabor Block and the Opera House represented the work of Chicago architect Willoughby J. Edbrooke, whose brother Frank E. Edbrooke came to the city to oversee construction and became Denver's leading nineteenth century architect.¹⁷⁵

The Central Business District experienced great building activity in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Some of the city's most significant nineteenth century commercial buildings date to this period—including the Boston Building (1889, 5DV.108) designed by the noted Boston firm of Andrews, Jacques, and Rantoul; Denver Dry Goods (1889, 5DV.136), a department store planned by architect Frank E. Edbrooke; the downtown Masonic Temple (1890, 5DV.136), also by Edbrooke; Kittredge Building (1891, 5DV.139), the work of architect A. Morris Stuckert; Oxford Hotel (1891, 5DV.47.62), another Edbrooke creation; Equitable Building (1892, 5DV.121), a second office building representing the skills of Andrews, Jacques, and Rantoul; and the renowned Brown Palace Hotel (1892, 5DV.110) by Edbrooke. Urban planner David R. Hill contrasts the construction of this time with what occurred earlier:

Most of the retail, office, hotel and warehousing structures were non-contiguous four- to eight-story elevator "blocks," as opposed to the earlier two- or three-store "contiguous shotgun" commercial structures. The blocks usually covered from one-fourth to one-sixteenth of a (surveyed) block. Often they were placed on corners, and regularly they used the ground floor next to the street for small shops and window displays. This added to the already bustling sidewalk life of the streetcar/pedestrian CBD era.¹⁷⁶

The surge in building activity drew talented architects who left a great legacy to the Queen City. In addition to the much-in-demand Frank Edbrooke, a number of other skilled building designers began practicing in Denver during this period. Among them were: Fred Hale (1880), William Quayle (1880), Ernest P. Varian (1880), Willis A. Marean (1881), Eugene R. Rice (1881), Harold W. and Viggio Baerresen

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(1884), Henry Dozier (1884), Frederick J. Sterner (1884), David W. Dryden (1886), Robert G. Balcomb (1886), Montana S. Fallis (1886), Aaron Grove (1887), John James Huddart (1887), William Lang (1887), John J. Humphreys (1888), James Murdock (1888), Glen W. Huntington (1888), Franklin E. Kidder (1888), Alexander Cazin (1888), Walter L. Rice (1888), Albert J. Norton (1890), George Williamson (ca. 1890), and Robert Willison (1890).¹⁷⁷

Booms in Smelting, Agriculture, and Other Industries Change the City

Smelting in Denver surged in the 1880s, becoming the city's most valuable industry. Although little remains today of two great smelter operations established during the decade, the worker's communities associated with the industry are significant representatives of this history. When fire destroyed James B. Grant's smelter in Leadville in 1882, he and associates Edward Eddy and William H. James became the first of that city's industrialists to relocate their headquarters to Denver. Construction on a brick and stone complex to house the Grant Smelter, Denver's second great smelter and the largest producer in the state, began in the same year. The plant occupied fifty acres about two miles northeast of downtown Denver, across the South Platte River from Argo, with the finest and most up-to-date facilities and technology available. The complex, with eight blast furnaces, blew in on October 7, 1882, and Grant was elected governor of Colorado the following month. Construction of the smelter initiated a real estate boom in its vicinity.¹⁷⁸ In 1883 the firm merged with a Nebraska producer to form Omaha and Grant Smelting and Refining, which continued to expand its operations and profits.¹⁷⁹

Edward R. Holden, Richard Cline, Malvern W. Iles, and Arthur Chanute organized the Holden Smelting Company in 1886 and purchased land near the Omaha and Grant plant, where they constructed a new facility. The firm completed its first smelting unit in September and expanded its land and operations the following year. To fund its improvements the company received loans from Colorado National Bank, whose officers Dennis Sheedy and Charles B. Kountze acquired large stock holdings in the industry. When Holden's management of the smelter led to its bankruptcy, the bankers decided only Sheedy's management could save it and he became president of the Holden's board of directors. In 1889 the operation reorganized as Globe Smelter and Refining Company. Under Sheedy's leadership it established a company town known as "Globeville" south of the plant, which increasingly became home to immigrant workers from eastern Europe and "one of the most famous ethnic neighborhoods in the city" in historian James Fell's estimation.¹⁸⁰

During the 1880s, Colorado experienced a cattle boom and an expansion in irrigated agriculture, resulting in development of associated facilities within the city. In 1881 the Denver Union Stock Yard, an organization importantly connected with Colorado's livestock industry, was established by prominent members of the Colorado Cattle Growers Association.¹⁸¹ Stockyards consisted of facilities for buying, selling, and shipping of livestock and were a location where a farmer or rancher met a purchaser (often a slaughter house or meat-packing company) to sell their animals. In 1886 the Denver Union Stock Yard Company, created by Kansas City interests, took over the older enterprise and created an operation with rail access in the northern part of Denver near the Grant Smelter.¹⁸² Animals such as cattle, hogs, sheep, horses, and mules could be transported directly to the stockyards by rail, driven into wood pens for inspection by buyers, and sold to local processors or shipped via train to eastern markets.¹⁸³ An exchange building containing offices of livestock traders and other facilities was built.¹⁸⁴ From these beginnings the Denver stockyard expanded in size and operations until it became the third largest American stockyard enterprise during the twentieth century.

Other food-related industries located adjacent to the railroad spine and the South Platte River. Flourishing businesses shipped prepared items across the state and beyond. David Brundage identified 259 manufacturing companies located in Denver in 1880, with most employing less than one hundred workers. Brick, flour, and beer producers were among the leading manufacturers. By 1887 the city

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included four flour mills/elevators: Star, Excelsior, Hungarian, and Crescent. Among the facilities associated with food products were the Denver Packing Company, Smith Brothers packing house, Kuner Pickle Company, Maaz and Company pickle and vinegar factory, Marquis Canning Works, Westman and Company grain warehouse, Capelli and Mazza macaroni factory, the Crocker (5DV.2100) and Rhoads cracker factories, and Kinsey Agricultural Implements.¹⁸⁵ Other important industries included the Overland Cotton Mill (5DV.2458), with its associated worker's village of Manchester; Denver Paper Mill; Colorado Iron Works (5DV.4788); Colorado Milling and Elevator; and brewing companies. Factories began to locate on the edge of the developed city on less expensive land, serve larger markets, and attract more immigrant workers.

Denver's prosperity up to the 1893 Silver Panic resulted in a number of substantial masonry warehouses and industrial buildings. Wholesale warehouses included buildings that could encompass more than one function—such as storage, manufacturing, office, and retail activities—and provided goods and supplies for people and enterprises in the city and across the state and region. Warehouses held every conceivable manufactured item for sale, including groceries, clothing, hardware, furniture, and mining supplies. Larger wholesaling companies erected finely crafted multistory buildings for these purposes, and some industries developed large sites with multiple buildings and structures.

Denver Secures its Position as State Capital and Adds New Architecture, Services, and Amenities

After serving as the temporary territorial and state capital for nineteen years, Denver received voter approval as the permanent seat of state government in 1881. Construction on the State Capitol, designed by Detroit architect Elijah E. Myers, began on a two-block site in Brown's Addition in 1886, but the building was not occupied until 1894-95. The location of the capitol drew commercial development southeastward and enhanced the appeal of the surrounding residential area, just as Henry C. Brown envisioned when he donated the land to the state in 1867.

Denver's triple status as state capital, county seat of Arapahoe County, and Colorado's largest city boosted its economy. The strong growth of the 1880s prompted construction of a number of new governmental facilities. The Arapahoe County Courthouse, also designed by Elijah E. Myers, opened in 1883 at 16th and Tremont Streets and provided an activity center southeast of much of the business district. Municipal government functions expanded in the 1880s, when the city established a paid fire department (1881) and added police patrol wagons and telephone call boxes (1886). In 1887 only forty-three policemen patrolled the city's streets, a low ratio of protection compared to eastern cities. A three-story stone city hall with a tall clock tower and basement jail opened in 1884 at Larimer and 14th streets.¹⁸⁶ The city also received its first military facility in 1887, when construction began on Fort Sheridan (later Fort Logan, 5DV.694), seven miles southwest of downtown. Local citizens donated land for the post.¹⁸⁷ Other governmental buildings of the 1880s included a U.S. Post Office and Federal Building at 16th and Arapahoe streets (1885-92), a new county jail (1891) at West 14th Avenue and Kalamath Street, and additions to the Arapahoe County Hospital in 1889 and 1892 at West 6th Avenue and Bannock Street.¹⁸⁸

Schools and Colleges

School District Number 1, lying east of the South Platte River and north of Cherry Creek, gained a number of school buildings to meet its growing student enrollment. Superintendent Aaron Gove engaged Denver architect Robert S. Roeschlaub to design the district's first high school, East Denver, built during 1881-90. Elementary schools were added to serve the city's neighborhoods, including Ebert (1880), Gilpin (1881), Longfellow (1882), Columbine (1882), Whittier (1883), Emerson (1884, 5DV.1465), Hyde Park/Wyman (1887), Wyatt (1887, 5DV.2066), and Corona/Dora Moore (1889, 5DV.185).¹⁸⁹ In

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addition, Catholics erected Sacred Heart School (5DV.997) in association with their church in 1890. Montclair School (5DV.9942), designed by architect John J. Huddart, opened in 1891.

Higher education also contributed lasting buildings to the city. In downtown Denver, the Brinker Collegiate Institute (5DV.124) opened in an 1880 Italianate-style building designed by Frank Edbrooke. Sacred Heart College (later Regis College, 5DV.4188) moved to a site at West 50th Avenue and Lowell Boulevard in 1887. Other institutions of higher learning initiated construction in distant areas of the city in the 1890s. The Sisters of Loretto erected a \$300,000 building in southwest Denver to house their Loretto Academy (5DV.162), a Catholic girls' school in 1891. The University of Denver, organized by the Methodist Episcopal Church and originally located in downtown Denver, completed two sizable buildings, including Iliff Hall (5DV.9219), on donated land in distant University Park in 1891-92.¹⁹⁰ To the east in Montclair construction began in 1889 on a Romanesque Revival-style building to house Colorado Woman's College (5DV.159), a Baptist-affiliated institution. Funding problems and the Panic of 1893 prevented its completion until 1909.¹⁹¹

Cultural, Recreational, and Devotional Resources

Denver residents could choose from a wide variety of venues for cultural and leisure activities. At one end of the cultural spectrum the 1881 Tabor Grand Opera House provided a venue with 1,500 seats for opera and theatrical entertainment. The *St. Louis Republican* hailed it as "a magnificent building, beautiful in architectural design, and perfect in all its appointments."¹⁹² Second Empire-style Lincoln Hall (5DV.104.4) on Larimer Street offered a location for conventions and meetings, parties, concerts, bazars, dinners, and other gatherings. A special feature of the building was "one of the finest rooms for dancing purposes," where many groups held balls and other dancing events.¹⁹³ Some pursued another form of relaxation at the 1886 Italianate-style brothel (5DV.515) run by Mattie Silks on Market Street.

Outdoor recreation included baseball, which was played in the city as early as 1862. A baseball field on the west side of Broadway opposite the National Mining and Industrial Exposition grounds was erected in the early 1880s. The first professional team in the city dated to 1885, and amateur and professional games took place on vacant lots throughout the city.¹⁹⁴ In addition, families could enjoy the fresh air at three amusement parks established in the early 1890s. The small Arlington Park (1892) opened on the site of today's Alamo Placita Park. John and Mary Elitch's facility at West 38th Avenue and Tennyson Street included a zoo, gardens, games, and an 1890 octagonal theater (5DV.143), where vaudeville and light opera were offered.¹⁹⁵ Manhattan Beach (1891), at the northwest corner of Sloan's Lake, featured a summer hotel, stage, and zoo, and held swimming races and mock naval battles in the lake.¹⁹⁶

The city's religious needs were met by a growing list of churches. New religious edifices included Gothic Revival-style Smith's Chapel (5DV.27) on Galapago Street in 1882 and Willoughby Edbrooke's design for Temple Emmanuel (5DV.144) at 2400 Curtis Street in the same year. Some ecclesiastical denominations followed the rapid course of population growth to the new subdivisions and satellite towns. Those remaining in the central city experienced dwindling attendance and financial struggles. Despite these challenges, one of the city's congregations with roots dating to its mining camp days determined to erect a magnificent new building at 18th and Broadway and commissioned Robert Roeschlaub to design it. The Gothic Revival-style building with an exterior face of Castle Rock rhyolite, Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church (5DV.115), opened on 23 December 1888, with two thousand people filling the sanctuary.¹⁹⁷ The following year St. Joseph's Church (5DV.25) became the seventh Catholic sanctuary in the city, completing a brick and stone Gothic Revival-style building on Galapago Street to serve its middle-class German and Irish population.¹⁹⁸

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“A Spiderweb of Steel”: Railroad and Street Railway Systems Spread to New Areas of the State and City¹⁹⁹

Denver grew more connected with additional eastern railroads entering the city, further growth of intrastate routes, and expansion of the intracity street railway. Historians Leonard and Noel asserted that “more than any other factor, this spiderweb of steel explains Denver’s nineteenth century transformation from a mining camp to a regional metropolis.”²⁰⁰ During the decade the city gained four new inter-city railroad connections: Denver & New Orleans (1881); Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy (1882); Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe (1887); and Chicago, Rock Island, & Pacific (1888).²⁰¹ By the mid-1880s more than one hundred trains a week passed through the capital. The heavy railroad presence bolstered the city’s role as a business and hotel hub, smelting center, and warehouse and distribution point, while transporting the output of Denver’s factories, smelters, and food processing plants to eastern markets and throughout the state.

The city’s radial street railway system grew, opening up more distant areas of the city to residential settlement.²⁰² Historian Jerome Smiley reported that as the lines were completed Denver experienced “an unprecedented era of activity in real estate, and in building operations all over the districts they were to serve.”²⁰³ Street railway mileage expanded from about ten miles in 1880 to ninety-six miles by 1892. By 1890 the most densely served area was the central core and immediately adjacent neighborhoods, where multiple lines crisscrossed the Central Business District, Union Station, and Five Points areas with extensions into the Cole and Whittier neighborhoods to the east. Evidence of the system remains throughout neighborhoods it served, including the 1882 Denver City Railway Company Car Barn (5DV.8214) at 1025 33rd Street, the 1883 Denver City Railway Company (5DV.882) building at 1635 17th Street, and the 1889 Denver City Cable Railway Building (5DV.117) at 1901 Lawrence Street.

Landowners with property near the carlines saw the value of being on a street railway system and offered the companies cash bonuses to build routes along Broadway and East Colfax. The Broadway line extended south to Yale Avenue with multiple parallel routes built through the Lincoln Park and Baker neighborhoods on the west and the Capitol Hill, Speer, Washington Park West, and Platt Park neighborhoods on the east. The East Colfax Avenue line was built to Yosemite Street, flanked by multiple lines through North Capitol Hill, City Park West, and City Park on the north and Capitol Hill, Cheesman Park, and Congress Park on the south. A less dense network of lines accessed northwest Denver, with the Highland and West Highland neighborhoods best served. Save for a line to Barnum, the southwest area was devoid of routes south of Alameda Avenue and west of the South Platte River. The southeast area (east of University Boulevard and south of 1st Avenue) and the far northeast section also remained unserved.

“Real Estate Fever”: Changes to Older Neighborhoods and Growth of New Residential Subdivisions

As the city matured, many of its earliest residential areas grew less desirable due to the growth of commercial and industrial uses. As commerce expanded in downtown, single-family dwellings within the Central Business District began to disappear. A proliferation of business establishments displaced the elite homes that once lined 14th Street. The commercial area also expanded across Cherry Creek into the Auraria neighborhood, where single-family houses were converted to business uses or boarding and rooming houses. The population there increasingly consisted of working class residents employed by railroads, breweries, mills, and factories occupying parts of the neighborhood.²⁰⁴ Curtis Park remained a popular high-end residential area in the 1880s, but some of the well-to-do moved into more distant subdivisions to the southeast or northwest linked to downtown by street railways.²⁰⁵

Expanding street railway systems and real estate interests operated hand-in-hand to spur housing development outside the core area. The investors of the 1881 Denver Circle Railroad, for example,

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incorporated the Denver Circle Real Estate Company the following year. In some cases developers established independent street railways to enhance the marketability of subdivisions not served by the principal transportation companies. Street railway construction generally proceeded quickly given the flatness of the terrain and lack of geographic obstacles. Historians Leonard and Noel observed: "As most Denverites could not afford a horse and buggy, public transit was essential to many moving out of the core city."²⁰⁶

Most residential growth of the 1880s focused on areas northeast and south of downtown Denver, where dense street railway lines provided good service. Some of the development occurred in older subdivisions that continued to receive construction during the 1880s. The large Case and Ebert Addition in Five Points dated to 1868 but received 378 properties in the 1880s. The Hyde Park, Ford, and Downing additions northeast of downtown also experienced much construction. To the east the 1870s additions of Stile's, San Rafael, and Park Avenue saw large numbers of parcels developed in the 1880s.

The 1881 Denver Circle Railroad provided comfortable, fast, five-cent-fare access to new residential developments in the area south of downtown, including the Baker and La Alma neighborhoods of West Denver. Other street railway lines also constructed lines through the area. With railroads and manufacturing along the South Platte River, the western edge of the neighborhoods attracted workers from those industries. Middle and upper middle class residents located farther to the east near Broadway, a grand boulevard adorned with spacious homes, large green lawns, and substantial business enterprises.²⁰⁷ Area subdivisions with high numbers of developed parcels dating to the 1880s included Hunt's Addition, Elmwood, Fairmont, and Broadway Terrace.

Residential development accelerated in 1885 and 1886, focusing on the unimproved areas farther from the city center, and, by 1887, Denver was in the midst of a real estate boom. Jerome Smiley recalled the period: "Additions by the score were platted, and lots sold at fabulous prices; nearly everybody had the real estate fever, and was loaded up to the limit of his resources."²⁰⁸ Historian Kenneth T. Jackson noted this was part of a national trend, as "urban real estate was the single most important source of leisured wealth in the nineteenth century."²⁰⁹ The years between 1880 and 1889 saw 527 subdivisions platted, with 75 percent dating to 1887-89.²¹⁰ Despite the boom in subdivision platting and dwelling construction, the pace of population growth still resulted in housing shortages.

Capitol Hill to the southeast developed slowly as an elite residential neighborhood, luring more wealthy homeowners with the start of state capitol construction in 1886. The well-to-do erected large, architect-designed brick and stone dwellings. The first substantial mansion in the area was a three-story stone residence erected on Grant Street in 1882 by pioneer Charles B. Kountze, a founder of Colorado National Bank.²¹¹ Real estate developer Donald Fletcher built a splendid house nearby that encompassed a bowling alley and swimming pool in the basement and a third-floor ballroom and theater stage. He platted Fletcher's Addition east of Brown's Addition and suffered when the real estate market crashed.²¹² Local historian Edith Kohl asserted Fletcher turned the tide of settlement to East Denver.²¹³ Other early upper-class residents of Capitol Hill included Denver & Rio Grande's Chief Engineer John A. McMurtrie, with an 1890 mansion on Pennsylvania Street; real estate developer Horace A. Bennett's red sandstone mansion at 13th and Logan streets; and mercantile entrepreneur John Sydney Brown, who lived in a three-story brick abode on Grant Street. Cattleman, mining executive, and smelter operator Dennis Sheedy constructed a grand 1892 Queen Anne-style house at 1115 Grant (5DV.740), today one of the few largely intact survivors of the era.

North Denver's geographic separation from the rest of the city due to its position on the west side of the South Platte River began to diminish. In 1887 smelter operator Nathaniel P. Hill completed the 23rd Street Viaduct across the railroad tracks and river. Denver City Cable Railway Company built the 16th Street and Larimer Street viaducts in 1889.²¹⁴ Real estate developers had organized the Denver and

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Berkeley Park Rapid Transit Company and the Highlands Street Railroad Company in 1888. Passengers rode along lines from the North Denver terminus of the Denver Tramway Company line to Elitch Gardens, Berkeley, and Rocky Mountain Lakes. The routes were successful in carrying normal passenger traffic to quickly developing residential areas in northwest Denver and received heavy usage on weekends and holidays by passengers going to the amusement parks and lakes. In 1890 Denver Tramway Company bought these lines and converted them to electric. Connection to downtown Denver stimulated residential development of such subdivisions as Wolff Place, Kountze Heights, and Packard Hill in today's West Highland neighborhood.²¹⁵

Racial and Ethnic Communities

The 1890 U.S. Census found racial minorities within Denver constituted 3.8 percent of the total population, a figure essentially unchanged from ten years earlier. African Americans (3,045 persons) were the largest minority group, followed by Chinese (971), "civilized Indians" (46), and Japanese (9). Nearly 29 percent of the city's minorities resided in Ward 8, located northeast of 21st Street between Blake and California streets. Most African American householders, identified as "colored" in city directories, lived in what is now the Five Points neighborhood. Today's Union Station neighborhood contained the second largest number of blacks; the remainder were scattered throughout other parts of the city. During the early 1890s nearly three-quarters of Denver's African Americans worked as porters, laborers, waiters, and janitors.²¹⁶ Over half of the city's Chinese residents lived in Ward 4, between 16th and 21st streets and Welton and Wazee Streets. Leonard and Noel described a "densely packed Chinese section" of the city at 16th and Wazee Streets.²¹⁷

The 1890 Census found thirty-eight different ethnic groups within Denver, with the greatest numbers being natives of Ireland, Germany, Britain, and Scandinavian countries.²¹⁸ The high point of Italian immigration to Colorado came between 1880 and 1895, with many people settling in an area known as the South Platte River bottoms, where they built shacks and tents and used the river to water their produce gardens.²¹⁹ Railroad construction drew many Italian workers, mostly from southern Italy, to Denver, while Northern Italians with industrial backgrounds found employment in mining and smelting.²²⁰ In the 1880s Italians worshipped at Sacred Heart Church and attended an associated school at 28th and Lawrence Streets. The Catholic Church encouraged Italians to move to the west side of the South Platte, and a "Little Italy" community emerged, where "Italian was spoken as often as English."²²¹ Life in the area (including parts of today's Highland and Sunnyside neighborhoods) incorporated many old country traditions and practices. Italian residents established large gardens and truck farms, as well as planting productive flower and vegetable gardens in their backyards. Women baked bread in outdoor ovens. Many of the dwellings were "small, inexpensive, one-room brick cottages," according to Christine A. DeRose.²²² As the area grew more populous, businesses catering to its Italian residents opened, such as the American Beauty Macaroni Factory, the Queen City Manufacturing Company, and the North Denver Grocery.²²³

Denver's Jewish population became more concentrated in the early 1890s, as influxes of Orthodox Russian and Eastern European Jews, who worked in occupations such as peddler, junk dealer, rag picker, and laborer, led to increasing residential segregation. Many Jews (including members of the unsuccessful Cotopaxi Colony) located within the Town of Colfax, especially in the area from the South Platte River to Federal Boulevard.²²⁴ One history of the area indicated that "for at least thirty-five years, half of the Jews of Denver lived in West Colfax."²²⁵ The community members built houses, started businesses, erected synagogues, and opened private schools to serve the neighborhood.²²⁶

1.5. Summary

Between 1858 and 1892 Denver emerged from a tiny frontier settlement of log cabins and tents into the second largest city in the western United States, a place with 106,713 people and a correspondingly impressive collection of buildings. After experiencing slow growth during its first decade, the Queen City received railroad connections in the 1870s and 1880s that insured its survival and catalyzed its development. Denver became a regional center for smelting, warehousing, meatpacking and food processing, commerce, and financial services. Voters tapped the city as the permanent seat of state government in 1881 and it received a splendid capitol symbolizing its important status. New residential construction strongly correlated with the presence of street railway lines. An expanding street railway system extended the city's reach beyond its central core and supported hundreds of residential subdivisions, as well as eleven satellite towns springing up on its periphery. More than seven thousand parcels of land were developed during 1871-92, and a flurry of annexations brought the city's total area to 16.3 square miles. The "real estate mania" reached its height in 1890, as everyone who had the financial means invested in property. Although the interdependence of Denver and the national economy was well established, few citizens noticed "the cloud rising above the horizon before the close of 1892" and "the majority of the people hoped, and believed, too, that the threatened storm would 'blow over,'" according to early historian Jerome Smiley.²²⁷

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Endnotes

¹ Sarah M. Nelson, K. Lynn Berry, Richard F. Carrillo, Bonnie L. Clark, Lori E. Rhodes, and Dean Saita, *Denver: An Archaeological History* (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2008).

² In 1860 Highland was still mostly undeveloped.

³ Quoted in Louisa Ward Arps, *Denver in Slices* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1959), 15. Capt. John Bell, member of the 1829 Long Expedition, provided this description of the site where the party camped on the South Platte River near Cherry Creek.

⁴ Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 6.

⁵ Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 100.

⁶ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 6.

⁷ Jerome C. Smiley, *History of Denver* (Denver: Old Americana Publishing Co., 1901; reprint 1978), 203; Clyde L. King, *The History of the Government of Denver* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: New Era Printing Company, 1911), 7. The first townsite, Montana City, located about four miles south of today's Civic Center, was quickly abandoned. Smiley remarked that the members of the Lawrence Party which created Montana City "were more disposed to employ their time and talents in enterprises involving the manipulation of real estate than to engage in the drudgery of prospecting and of placer-mining."

⁸ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 7; Don Griswold and Jean Griswold, *Colorado's Century of Cities* (N.p.: Griswold and Mazzula, 1958), 2.

⁹ Auraria was christened after Russell's hometown in Georgia.

¹⁰ Denver Planning Commission, *Denver Planning Primer*, vol. 6, rev. ed. (Denver: Denver Planning Commission, 1940), 6.

¹¹ The Larimer party was not aware that Denver left office a few weeks earlier.

¹² John Alton Templin, "A History of Methodism in Denver, 1876-1912," PhD diss., Iliff School of Theology, 1956, 14; Smiley, *History of Denver*, 715.

¹³ Denver Lodge No. 5 A.F. & A.M., "Freemasonry in Colorado," accessed 9 May 2015, www.denver5.org/freemasonry-in-colorado/.

¹⁴ Denver Planning Commission, *Denver Planning Primer*, vol. 6, 7. Their wagons followed a route that traveled along Cherry Creek, crossed the hill where the state capitol now stands, and entered the fledgling towns via the path of today's 15th Street.

¹⁵ *Rocky Mountain News*, 23 April 1859, 2.

¹⁶ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 234.

¹⁷ King, *The History of the Government of Denver*, 9-10.

¹⁸ Doris Monahan, *Destination: Denver City, The South Platte Trail* (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press, 1985), 29-30.

¹⁹ King, *The History of the Government of Denver*, 11.

²⁰ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 232. The first family arriving in the settlements was reported to be that of Mr. and Mrs. M. Rooker, who brought a son and daughter.

²¹ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 246; William G.M. Stone, *The Colorado Handbook: Denver and Its Outings* (Denver: Borkhausen and Lester printers, 1892), 143; Barbara Gibson, *The Lower Downtown Historic District* (Denver: Historic Denver and Denver Museum of Natural History, 1995), 38. The Elephant Corral, located at today's 1444 Wazee St., fell in Denver's 1863 fire and was rebuilt more than once.

²² Thomas J. Noel, *The City and the Saloon: Denver 1858-1916* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 20.

²³ Stone, *The Colorado Hand-book*, 145.

²⁴ Henry Miles, *Orpheus in the Wilderness: A History of Music in Denver, 1860-1925* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 2006), 7.

²⁵ Stone, *The Colorado Hand-book*, 145.

²⁶ *Rocky Mountain News Weekly*, 21 December 1859, 3.

²⁷ Nelson, et al, *Denver*.

²⁸ Carl Abbott, "Boom State and Boom City: Stages in Denver's Growth," *Colorado Magazine* (Summer 1973): 210-211.

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- ²⁹ *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 August 1860, 1. By 1860 Tremont House boasted of being “renovated and refitted in modern style” and featuring “all the comforts of a first class hotel.” Its site (5DV.2954) was the subject of several historical archaeological investigations and reports in the late 1980s and 1990s.
- ³⁰ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 9.
- ³¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, 23 April 1859, 2.
- ³² Lyle W. Dorsett and Michael McCarthy, *The Queen City: A History of Denver*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing, 1986), 3-4; and Smiley, *History of Denver*, 653-656.
- ³³ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 9.
- ³⁴ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 245-246.
- ³⁵ *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 and 29 August 1860.
- ³⁶ Katherine Kenehan, *Colorado: The Land and the People* (Denver: Denver Public Schools, 1957), 41.
- ³⁷ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 257, 258, 301.
- ³⁸ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 375.
- ³⁹ *Denver Municipal Facts*, 12 June 1909; Arps, *Denver in Slices*, 65. Stockholders in the company included such pioneers as Thomas Pollock, Richard Sopris, Amos Steck, and William Byers. The following year the Platte Water Company led by A.C. Hunt organized to provide water and received Right No. 1 in District 8 of Division 1, drawing from the South Platte River in present-day Littleton. Surveying miscalculations led to eventual abandonment of the project, later successfully revived by John W. Smith.
- ⁴⁰ Clyde L. King, “The History of the Government of Denver with Special Reference to Its Relations with Public Service Corporations,” Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1911, 15-23.
- ⁴¹ Dorsett and McCarthy, *Denver*, 6. The name Denver City was chosen to insure the support of General Larimer for the unification. The Colorado Territorial Assembly validated the merger a year later.
- ⁴² King, “The History of the Government of Denver,” 23 and 25.
- ⁴³ Noel, *The City and the Saloon; Colorado Old Times*, June 1976.
- ⁴⁴ Barth, *Instant Cities*, 6.
- ⁴⁵ Works Progress Administration, “Racial Groups in Denver: The Negro Population,” Manuscript, Box 5, File 9, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.
- ⁴⁶ Leonard and Noel call early Denver “a revolving door” due to its high rate of mobility.
- ⁴⁷ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 720; David J. Wishart, *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 502. Smiley reported the Methodist Episcopal, Episcopal, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian churches had organized by the end of 1860 and met in a variety of locations, including vacant storerooms, halls, theaters, and rented quarters. Wishart indicated Thomas Gibson started Denver’s first daily newspaper, the *Daily Herald and Rocky Mountain Advertiser*, on 1 May 1860.
- ⁴⁸ Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 10.
- ⁴⁹ David T. Brundage, *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism: Denver’s Organized Workers, 1878-1905* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 9.
- ⁵⁰ *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 August 1860, 2.
- ⁵¹ *Rocky Mountain News Weekly*, 28 March 1860, 3.
- ⁵² Smiley, *History of Denver*, 336.
- ⁵³ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 366.
- ⁵⁴ Abbott, “Boom State and Boom City,” 210.
- ⁵⁵ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 370.
- ⁵⁶ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 732; Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 27; Louisa Ward Arps, *Denver In Slices* (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press, 1959), 12. Smiley noted that F.M. Steinberger claimed he opened a school in a log cabin in September 1859, but the historian could find no documentation of the facility existing at that date.
- ⁵⁷ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 732-733. Goldrick’s school operated until 1862.
- ⁵⁸ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 733. Another woman, a “Miss Miller,” served as Goldrick’s teaching assistant in 1860.
- ⁵⁹ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 734-735.
- ⁶⁰ Denver Public Schools, “History,” accessed 17 May 2015, communications.dpsk12.org/history.html.
- ⁶¹ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 336.
- ⁶² Smiley, *History of Denver*, 366.

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⁶³ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 25.

⁶⁴ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 720. Under the leadership of Rev. W.M. Bradford in the summer of 1860 the Methodist Episcopal congregation erected the first church building, a brick structure at 14th and Arapahoe streets. When the Civil War started Bradford and others left Denver and the church stood vacant. Later it served the Episcopal St. John's in the Wilderness congregation.

⁶⁵ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 369.

⁶⁶ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 369.

⁶⁷ Dick Kreck, *Denver in Flames: Forging a New Mile High City* (Golden: Fulcrum Publishing, 2000), 11.

⁶⁸ Kreck, *Denver in Flames*, 10.

⁶⁹ Kreck, *Denver in Flames*, 29.

⁷⁰ Kreck, *Denver in Flames*, 32.

⁷¹ Kreck, *Denver in Flames*, 11.

⁷² Kreck, *Denver In Flames*, 34.

⁷³ Thomas J. Noel, *Denver's Larimer Street* (Denver, Historic Denver, Inc.: 1987), 1.

⁷⁴ Only a portion of the 1863 building survives.

⁷⁵ Louisa Ward Arps, *Denver in Slices* (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press, 1959), 17. Arps, writing in 1959, remarked: "Today, by observing wooden houses, one can tell which parts of town were built outside the city limits and annexed later."

⁷⁶ Stone, *The Colorado Hand-book*, 157.

⁷⁷ Arps, *Denver in Slices*, 17; Smiley, 372; Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 37; Bill Brenneman, *Miracle on Cherry Creek*, (Denver: World Press, Inc., 1973); Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 28.

⁷⁸ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 375.

⁷⁹ Arps, *Denver in Slices*, 17.

⁸⁰ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 31.

⁸¹ Abbott, "Boom State and Boom City," 213.

⁸² Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 32.

⁸³ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 35.

⁸⁴ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 375.

⁸⁵ Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 43.

⁸⁶ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 375.

⁸⁷ Bette D. Peters, *Denver's City Park* (Denver: University of Colorado at Denver, 1986), 5.

⁸⁸ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 443-444.

⁸⁹ Kenahan, *Colorado*, 167; Denver Planning Commission, *Denver Planning Primer*, 9; *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 March 1868, 1 and 11 August 1870, 4. In the nineteenth century the term "Queen City" commonly referred to a prosperous regional hub. For example, Cincinnati, Ohio, was nicknamed "the Queen City of the West." Sedalia, Missouri, and Fort Worth, Texas, both claimed to be "Queen City of the Prairie." Denver did not have sole claim to "Queen City of the Plains," as cities such as Hastings, Nebraska, and Springfield, Missouri, among others, also selected the title for themselves.

⁹⁰ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 373.

⁹¹ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 374.

⁹² Smiley, *History of Denver*, 430.

⁹³ Although several early developers attempted to secure the capitol for their subdivisions, Brown ultimately won the prize. However, the state legislature took so long to begin construction that Brown attempted to have his donation revoked.

⁹⁴ Denver Planning Commission, *Denver Planning Primer*, 13.

⁹⁵ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 441 and 635.

⁹⁶ City and County of Denver City Engineer's Office, Computer File, "Subdivision Titles," 1994.

⁹⁷ Tivis E. Wilkins, *Colorado Railroads* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1974), 5.

⁹⁸ William C. Jones and Kenton Forrest, *Denver: A Pictorial History from Frontier Camp to Queen City of the Plains*, 3rd ed. (Golden, Colorado: Colorado Railroad Museum, 1993), 296; and Peters, 2.

⁹⁹ Denver Planning Commission, *Denver Planning Primer*, 14.

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- ¹⁰⁰ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 30.
- ¹⁰¹ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 480.
- ¹⁰² Thomas J. Noel and Barbara S. Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects, 1893-1941* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1987), architects' biographies.
- ¹⁰³ Wilkins, *Colorado Railroads*, 4.
- ¹⁰⁴ Kenton Forrest and Charles Albi, *Denver's Railroads* (Golden, Colorado: Colorado Railroad Museum, 1986), 2.
- ¹⁰⁵ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 454.
- ¹⁰⁶ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 42.
- ¹⁰⁷ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 39.
- ¹⁰⁸ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 37.
- ¹⁰⁹ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 870.
- ¹¹⁰ King Cushman, "Exploring the Land Development and Transit Connection," in Wayne Attoe, ed., *Transit, Land Use & Urban Form* (Austin, Texas: Center for the Study of American Architecture, 1988), 12.
- ¹¹¹ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 112.
- ¹¹² Cushman, "Exploring the Land Development," 15.
- ¹¹³ William Allen West, *Curtis Park: A Denver Neighborhood* (Denver: Historic Denver, 1980), 6; and Smiley, *History of Denver*, 854.
- ¹¹⁴ Brundage, *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism*, 11.
- ¹¹⁵ Isabella Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), 138.
- ¹¹⁶ Bird, *A Lady's Life*, 139.
- ¹¹⁷ Bird, *A Lady's Life*, 140.
- ¹¹⁸ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 44.
- ¹¹⁹ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 459.
- ¹²⁰ Edward Roberts, *The City of Denver, 1888* (N.P.: Outbooks, 1976), 19.
- ¹²¹ Brundage, *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism*, 11-12.
- ¹²² Abbott, "Boom State and Boom City," 216.
- ¹²³ *Colorado State Business Directory*, "Denver," 1878.
- ¹²⁴ Brundage, *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism*, 13.
- ¹²⁵ William C. Jones and Kenton Forrest, *Denver: A Pictorial History from Frontier Camp to Queen City of the Plains*. 3rd ed. (Golden, Colorado: Colorado Railroad Museum, 1993), 254.
- ¹²⁶ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 551, 744-745.
- ¹²⁷ James E. Fell, Jr., *Ores to Metals: The Rocky Mountain Smelting Industry* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 134-139.
- ¹²⁸ Brundage, *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism*, 16.
- ¹²⁹ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 542-543.
- ¹³⁰ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 455. William Byers and David Moffat also formed the unsuccessful Denver Artesian Water Company in 1870.
- ¹³¹ David F. Halaas, *Fairmount and Historic Colorado* (Denver: Fairmount Cemetery Association, 1976), 68.
- ¹³² *Denver Post*, 21 November 1993; and Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 79.
- ¹³³ Jones and Forrest, *Denver*, 296.
- ¹³⁴ Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects*, 18.
- ¹³⁵ Peters, *Denver's City Park*, 3-4; "Denver Plan," 14. Denver took over operation of its 320 acres of land in 1882, but actual development of City Park did not begin for another five years, after a charter amendment required the city council to collect a property tax for improvement of parks.
- ¹³⁶ Mark A. Barnhouse, *Northwest Denver*, Images of America (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Books, 2012), 85; Michelle Pearson, *Historic Sacred Places of Denver* (Denver: Historic Denver, In., 2004), 28. In 1890 the congregation built a small still-standing church (5DV.132) at 2222 West 32nd Avenue designed by James Murdoch.
- ¹³⁷ Michelle Pearson, *Historic Sacred Places of Denver*, 56.
- ¹³⁸ Pearson, *Historic Sacred Places*, 12.

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- ¹³⁹ Henry Miles, *Orpheus in the Wilderness: A History of Music in Denver, 1860-1925* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 2006), 1.
- ¹⁴⁰ Miles, *Orpheus in the Wilderness*, 7.
- ¹⁴¹ Miles, *Orpheus in the Wilderness*, 62.
- ¹⁴² Smiley, *History of Denver*, 737.
- ¹⁴³ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 740.
- ¹⁴⁴ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 742-743.
- ¹⁴⁵ Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Rocky Mountain Gold* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Continental Heritage Press, Inc., 1980), 55.
- ¹⁴⁶ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 465.
- ¹⁴⁷ Kenehan, *Colorado*, 168.
- ¹⁴⁸ Barbara Norgren, "Potter-Highlands Historic District Survey of Potter-Highlands and Highland Park," 1981, 11; *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 June 1974; Ellen Micaud, "Highland Park (Scottish Village) Historic District," National Register of Historic Places nomination form, 1984.
- ¹⁴⁹ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 465.
- ¹⁵⁰ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 465.
- ¹⁵¹ John W. Reps, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), 489.
- ¹⁵² This area covers about half a square mile and reflects a density of more than 27,000 persons per square mile.
- ¹⁵³ Barth, *Instant Cities*, 131.
- ¹⁵⁴ Brundage, *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism*, 18.
- ¹⁵⁵ Frank Fossett, *Colorado* (New York: C.G. Crawford, 1880), 33.
- ¹⁵⁶ Xi Wang, "The Chinese in Colorado: A Demographic Perspective," *Essays and Monographs in Colorado History* (1991): 37-58.
- ¹⁵⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population, Social Statistics of Cities, 1880* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887).
- ¹⁵⁸ Lionel D. Lyles, "An Historical-Urban Geographical Analysis of Black Neighborhood Development in Denver, 1860-1970," MA thesis, University of Colorado, Boulder, 1977.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 October 1880, 18; Liping Zhu, *The Road to Chinese Exclusion: The Denver Riot, 1880 Election, and Rise of the West* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2013).
- ¹⁶⁰ *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 November 1880, 8.
- ¹⁶¹ Bette D. Peters, *Denver's City Park* (Denver: University of Colorado at Denver, 1986), 12.
- ¹⁶² Smiley, *History of Denver*, 486.
- ¹⁶³ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 483, 486, 636. Smaller numbers of parcels were developed in 1891 (949) and 1892 (404).
- ¹⁶⁴ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 65.
- ¹⁶⁵ Fossett, *Colorado*, 33.
- ¹⁶⁶ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 482.
- ¹⁶⁷ Morris Cafky, *Steam Tramways of Denver* (Denver: Rocky Mountain Railroad Club, June 1950), 17.
- ¹⁶⁸ Thomas J. Noel, *Richthofen's Montclair: A Pioneer Denver Suburb* (Denver: Graphic Impressions, 1976), 6.
- ¹⁶⁹ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 59-60.
- ¹⁷⁰ Robert Autobee, "If You Stick with Barnum," *Essays and Monographs in Colorado History* (1992): 6-7.
- ¹⁷¹ Sharon R. Catlett, *Farmlands, Forts, and Country Life: The Story of Southwest Denver* (Boulder: Westcliffe Publishers, 2007), 79.
- ¹⁷² Ruth E. Wiberg, *Rediscovering Northwest Denver: Its History, Its People, Its Landmarks* (Denver: Northwest Denver Books, 1976), 166.
- ¹⁷³ Arps, *Denver In Slices*, 22.
- ¹⁷⁴ Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects*, 8.
- ¹⁷⁵ "Frank E. Edbrooke," Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch (Denver: History Colorado, 10 October 2002; Richard R. Brettell, *Historic Denver: The Architects and the Architecture, 1858-1893* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1973), 33 and 37. All three buildings were demolished. Frank E. Edbrooke may have played a role in the design of the Tabor Block and Tabor Opera House. James Duff of Chicago reportedly designed the Windsor Hotel.

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- ¹⁷⁶ David R. Hill, *Colorado Urbanization and Planning Context* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1984), VI-180.
- ¹⁷⁷ Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects*, architects' biographies; History Colorado, "Architects of Colorado: Biographical Series," accessed 28 September 2015, www.historycolorado.org/oahp/architects. The year indicates when the architect started to practice in Denver.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Rocky Mountain News*, 8 July 18802.
- ¹⁷⁹ Fell, *Ores to Metals*, 143-145.
- ¹⁸⁰ Fell, *Ores to Metals*, 148-152.
- ¹⁸¹ Richard Goff and Robert H. McCaffree, *Century in the Saddle* (Denver: Colorado Cattlemen's Centennial Commission, 1967), 118.
- ¹⁸² Smiley, *History of Denver*, 888; Goff and McCaffree, *Century in the Saddle*, 118; *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 April 1887, 7.
- ¹⁸³ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 889.
- ¹⁸⁴ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 888; Dan Green, "I Am Angus: History of the Denver Union Stockyards," accessed 3 January 2013, <http://www.youtube.com>.
- ¹⁸⁵ Sanborn Map Company, Denver fire insurance map (Pelham, New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1887).
- ¹⁸⁶ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 65 and 67; Smiley, *History of Denver*, 543-45.
- ¹⁸⁷ Tolbert R. Ingram, comp. and ed., *Year Book of the State of Colorado, 1930* (Denver: State Board of Immigration, 1930), 240.
- ¹⁸⁸ The hospital is the site of today's Denver Health Medical Center.
- ¹⁸⁹ Francine Haber, Kenneth R. Fuller, and David N. Wetzel, *Robert S. Roeschlaub: Architect of the Emerging West, 1843-1923* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1988), 84-109.
- ¹⁹⁰ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 760-62.
- ¹⁹¹ Wallace B. Turner, *Colorado Women's College, 1888-1982: The Story of a Dream* (Marceline, Missouri: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1982), 14-15.
- ¹⁹² *St. Louis Republican*, quoted in *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 September 1881, 4; John B. Jeffery, *John B. Jeffery's Guide to the Opera Houses, Theatres, public halls, Bill Posters, Etc. of the Cities and Towns of America* (Chicago: John B. Jeffery, 1882-83), 11.
- ¹⁹³ *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 December 1884, 4.
- ¹⁹⁴ Millie Van Wyke, *The Town of South Denver* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing, 1991), 70; Mark S. Foster, *Denver Bears: From Sandlots to Sellouts* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing, 1983), 1.
- ¹⁹⁵ R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Elitch Gardens Historic Resources Survey, 1995" (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., September 1995), 6.
- ¹⁹⁶ Phil Goodstein, *North Denver Story* (Denver: New Social Publications, 2011), 340-41.
- ¹⁹⁷ Trinity United Methodist Church, "Who We Are—Our History," accessed 25 September 2015, www.trinityumc.org.
- ¹⁹⁸ Pearson, *Historic Sacred Places*, 60.
- ¹⁹⁹ An extended discussion of Denver's streetcars is found in "The Connected City, 1870-1892" context.
- ²⁰⁰ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 39.
- ²⁰¹ Wilkins, *Colorado Railroads*, 1880s entries.
- ²⁰² A radial or hub-and-spoke rail system features lines connecting outlying areas to the center city.
- ²⁰³ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 860.
- ²⁰⁴ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 58.
- ²⁰⁵ Arps, *Denver in Slices*, 21.
- ²⁰⁶ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 56.
- ²⁰⁷ Nancy L. Widmann, Thomas H. Simmons, and R. Laurie Simmons, "Baker Neighborhood," Denver Neighborhood History Project, 1993-94 (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., July 1994); Van Wyke, *The Town of South Denver*, 23.
- ²⁰⁸ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 483.
- ²⁰⁹ Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 134.
- ²¹⁰ City and County of Denver, Denver Maps, subdivisions, geographic information system layer, 6 January 2015.

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²¹¹ Edith Eudora Kohl, *Denver's Historic Mansions* (Denver: Sage Books, 1957), 17.

²¹² James Bretz, *The Mansions of Denver: The Vintage Years* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 2005).

²¹³ Kohl, *Denver's Historic Mansions*, 36.

²¹⁴ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 648.

²¹⁵ Don Robertson, Morris Cafky, and E.J. Haley, *Denver's Street Railways, 1871-1900*, vol. I (Denver: Sundance Publications Ltd., 1999), 169-72; Smiley, *History of Denver*, 863 and 954; See also, R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Wolff Place and Carter Addition, Historic Buildings Survey, 2009-10, Final Survey Report" (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., April 2006) and "Kountze Heights, Denver, Colorado, Historic Buildings Survey, 2009-10, Final Survey Report" (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., June 2010).

²¹⁶ City directories identified residents as "col'd" (colored) through the early 1920s. The Denver Neighborhood History Project for the Five Points neighborhood undertook an analysis of the computerized version of the 1893 *City Directory* created by Dr. Charles Brantigan. The geographic locations of 1893 addresses by current neighborhoods were determined by geocoding all "colored" records in the directory. Non-matches, due to such factors as street names no longer in existence, were assigned manually. R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Five Points Neighborhood," Denver Neighborhood History Project, 1993-94 (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., January 1995), 24-25.

²¹⁷ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 65.

²¹⁸ Brundage, *The Making of Western Labor Radicalism*, 21-22.

²¹⁹ Stephen J. Leonard, "Denver's Foreign Born Immigrants, 1859-1900," MA thesis, Claremont College, 1971, 188.

²²⁰ Giovanni Perilli, *Colorado and the Italians in Colorado* (Denver: Dr. G. Perilli, 1922), 27.

²²¹ Robert A. Goldberg, "Beneath the Hood and Robe: A Socioeconomic Analysis of Ku Klux Klan Membership in Denver, Colorado, 1921-1925," *Western Historical Quarterly* (April 1980), 24.

²²² Christine A. DeRose, "Inside 'Little Italy': Italian Immigrants in Denver," *Colorado Magazine* 54(Summer 1977): 278.

²²³ Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 174.

²²⁴ Noel, *The City and the Saloon*, 59; Phil Goodstein, *Exploring Jewish Colorado* (Denver: Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society, 1992), 10. Cotopaxi was an unsuccessful agricultural colony in the Wet Mountain Valley of Custer County, Colorado.

²²⁵ Michael Jay Zelinger and Ida Libert Uchill, *West Side Story Relived* (Denver: J. Wandell Press, Inc., 1987), 11.

²²⁶ Zelinger and Uchill, *West Side Story Relived*, 21; Denver Planning and Community Development, "West Colfax Neighborhood Plan," March 1987.

²²⁷ Smiley, *History of Denver*, 845-846.