

3. The Fall & Rise of the Queen City of the Plains, 1893-1904

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3.1. Introduction

Throughout the boom times of the 1880s, silver was king in Colorado. Nearly all members of Denver's elite class had investments in Leadville and other silver mines, the city was a major supplier of machinery and other mining materials, and local railroad interests transported ore to smelters in the city. Silver wealth fueled the construction of grand mansions for the wealthy, middle-class Victorian homes in outlying residential subdivisions, new warehouses and businesses, and just about everything else. But, in June 1893, everything changed when President Grover Cleveland signed legislation that caused the bottom to fall out of the silver market. The Panic of 1893 and a long economic depression that followed devastated Denver. Reductions in the numbers of foreign investors and a pre-existing agricultural downturn due to several drought years coupled with silver-related troubles to negatively affect Denver's economy and development. As a result, in Denver the "public spirit was at an all-time low."¹

Nearby satellite communities, with relatively low populations but the costly requirement to provide a full range of municipal services (water, local government, transportation, and education), likely suffered even deeper downturns than Denver in response to the Panic of 1893. The independent communities of South Denver, Harman, Highlands, Barnum, and Colfax had little choice but to accept annexation into the City of Denver. Further annexations in 1902, this time thanks to a voter-approved constitutional amendment that created the City and County of Denver, added even more land to the city, increasing its overall size to 58.75 square miles. The second wave of annexations included the satellite towns of Argo, Berkeley, Elyria, Globeville, Montclair, and Valverde. The addition of all eleven former independent communities increased Denver's area by about twenty-five square miles and the municipal population by nearly thirteen thousand, allowing the recovering city to become more varied in terms of both its population and architectural character. Many of the outlying communities were ethnic or religious enclaves, and including those towns in the city instantly made it more diverse. The additional town halls, schools, churches, commercial buildings, and housing gave much larger Denver the feel of an established municipality with distinctive suburbs surrounding the central city.

Population trends over the 1893 to 1904 period supported this growth. Many citizens chose to leave Denver, a silver city, during the post-Panic economic downturn. Yet, somewhat surprisingly, the city actually experienced an overall growth rate of 25 percent between 1890 and 1900. Some of this expansion no doubt pre-dated the Panic because at least sixteen thousand individuals left between 1890 and 1895. But even in the midst of the economic upheaval there were newcomers, especially miners and others from mountain mining towns who came to Denver to seek work. The 1890s annexations also helped to boost the city's overall population. With the economic recovery and even more outlying satellite towns added to Denver in 1902, the city started to show the same kind of population gains it had experienced during the boom times. Denver's growth rate rose to 59 percent between 1900 and 1910, with the population increasing from 133,859 to 213,381.²

The post-Panic recovery ushered in changes to Denver's economy and architecture. City leaders recognized the need to diversify the economy to avoid a repeat of the boom and bust cycles associated with single-commodity economies, especially ones based upon an industry like mining. The Chamber of Commerce, in the midst of the economic depression, launched an aggressive campaign both to capitalize upon existing business opportunities and to attract new industry. Targets of these efforts included mining and smelting; agriculture; and manufacturing, specifically of durable goods that consumers needed to buy regardless of financial events.

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City boosters also promoted tourism to improve Denver's economy. Marketing to attract visitors emphasized two key themes, both based upon the city's location. Many tourists expected a very different experience than what they encountered; in 1899 inventor Alexander Graham Bell noted, "I have not, since I have been here, seen a single buffalo, a single cowboy, a single Indian, and I have been in Denver six hours and I have not been shot at."³ Visitors also were drawn to Denver for its proximity to the mountains, with the Chamber of Commerce referring to Colorado as "America's Switzerland."⁴ A very different kind of traveler, tuberculosis (TB) sufferers, came by the thousands to Denver in hopes the city's pure air and sunshine could cure their disease. In the early-1900s TB was the leading cause of death in the United States, and patients who moved to Denver helped to launch the city's healthcare industry, influenced suburban subdivision development, and, once healed, made major contributions to benefit the city. In response to economic changes, Denver's real estate market sought to provide options for those interested, after living through the economic downturn, in more modest housing. One solution, purpose-built apartment buildings, proved ideal for a wide variety of buyers and also profitable for local developers.

At the turn of the century, Denver started to experience the initial influences of the Progressive Movement. Interested in reform, this political and social movement was a response to the impacts of increasing industrialization, corporate expansion, political corruption, and other factors on cities and urban residents. Progressives emphasized efficiency, a concept embodied in the 1902 creation of the City and County of Denver. A voter-approved constitutional amendment allowed the city to manage its own affairs without interference from the governor, placing power in the hands of a strong mayor. During this period, citizens, especially members of the middle class who were most likely to espouse Progressive beliefs, supported an expanded role for government and believed in the ability of a well-managed municipality to solve local problems. Mayor Robert Speer, elected in 1904, had the support of a wide coalition and the experience, vision, and influence to address the issues facing Denver. His belief in "City Beautiful" philosophies led to improvement of the city's park and parkway system and other betterments of the built environment in Denver, ultimately transforming the "Queen City of the Plains" into a more elegant community.⁵

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 still known to be present but not surveyed are identified with the notation "(extant)." Resources without these notations are demolished or have unknown status.

3.2. Denver in a Depression, 1893-1897

The Panic of 1893

Periodic economic downturns are part of our country's history. Yet, the nationwide Panic of 1893 was the largest financial crisis to impact nineteenth-century Denver, and it significantly shaped the city's future. The Panic brought the boom times of the 1880s and early 1890s to an abrupt end. No sector of society was untouched by the depression, which affected Denver's economic, political, and physical development until the end of the decade.

The origins of the Panic actually occurred two decades earlier. Federal legislators, in passing the 1873 Gold Coinage Act, adopted a gold standard for American currency. This decision represented a shift away from the previous system of bimetallism, or creating both gold and silver coinage, and aligned the United States with other industrialized nations. However, both the Bland-Alison Act of 1878 and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 required the U.S. government to continue purchasing large quantities of silver. These two pieces of legislation were intended, but failed, to buoy the declining price of silver. President Grover Cleveland worried the silver purchase requirements were severely depleting

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the nation's gold reserves and causing widespread concern about the overall health of the economy. In addition, European investors began selling their holdings of American stocks due to financial uncertainty in their own countries. These silver-related events, as well as overexpansion of railroads, stock market speculation, and an on-going depression in agriculture contributed to the economic decline. In 1893 the Sherman Silver Purchase Act was repealed in order to shore up gold reserves, but the action created fears the country would abandon the gold standard. As a result, silver prices fell dramatically, the stock market crashed, and a panic ensued.

Denver in a Panic

Given the importance of silver production to the Colorado and Denver economies, the Panic of 1893 resulted in devastating effects for the city. July 18 brought runs on the banks. Ultimately, half of the city's financial institutions, a total of ten banks, failed. As a result of the bank closures, real estate values slumped, smelters and other industries ceased production, and Denver tramway ridership dwindled because customers could not pay fares. Panic was the perfect word to describe how uncertain and chaotic everything felt and, in turn, how the populace behaved.

Denver's economy took on additional burdens when unemployed miners and other workers from the Colorado mountains descended on the capital city to look for work at a time when there were no available jobs. Precious little help existed for the homeless and jobless, and charities were overwhelmed. The People's Tabernacle, an anti-poverty self-help organization affiliated with Reverend Thomas A. "Parson Tom" Uzzell's nondenominational Protestant church, predated the Panic and assisted by providing tents, food, free medicine, clothing, and other much-needed aid. The wives of some of Denver's most affluent businessmen participated in the Charity Organization Society, an offshoot of the Ladies Union Aid Society.⁶ A different kind of lady, well-known brothel operator Mattie Silks, contributed a large circus tent, pitched in South Denver's Overland Park, for use as both a shelter for the poor and a city soup kitchen.⁷

By September 1893, the Colorado Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that 377 businesses had failed, 435 mines had closed, and 45,000 people were out of work.⁸ In the fall of 1893 a tent city sprang up in River Front Park near the "Bottoms," an area that already was home to many members of Denver's poor Italian immigrant population.⁹ The Chamber of Commerce offered lumber and supplies, and these illegal campers were encouraged to build boats and float down the river; two unlikely sailors died on one of those deadly rafts.¹⁰ The tent camp likely was a recruiting ground for Coxey's Army, Ohio labor leader's Jacob Coxey's ragtag, populist movement that convinced some jobless to march on Washington to demand government assistance and a federal minimum wage.¹¹ After losing "troops" to legal challenges, police harassment, and other problems along the way, about 2,000 members of the "Army of the Unemployed" reached the nation's capital on March 26, 1894. Unfortunately, Coxey was arrested before he could make his speech to the assembled crowds at this first mass protest march on the U.S. capital. The jobless remained for nearly two months, making the economic realities of the Panic of 1893 achingly visible to national politicians.¹²

While the poor were living in open-air tents, many of Denver's wealthy lost their personal property, business interests, and social status. Individuals with tragic stories of loss included Henry C. Brown, who spent the last decade of his life fighting creditors and narrowly avoiding foreclosure of his Brown Palace Hotel; architect William Lang, who lost his practice, became an alcoholic, and was killed by a train; and eccentric developer Baron Walter von Richthofen, who launched a health spa to recoup his investments in the outlying satellite town of Montclair but died before it proved successful.¹³ Horace A.W. Tabor, perhaps Colorado's most famous mining investor and husband of the celebrated Baby Doe, fell the farthest. He was forced to trade his extravagant lifestyle for a modest livelihood and lost his downtown office block, opera house, and Capitol Hill mansion. Tabor moved back to the mountains and returned to

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prospecting, living in a humble house he purchased for \$10. In 1898 he was fortunate to receive an appointment as Denver's postmaster and earned an annual salary of \$3,700, a figure more appropriate for a middle class professional than a Silver King.¹⁴

As if widespread economic uncertainty were not enough to place Denver residents on edge, in the midst of this financial crisis Populist Colorado Governor Davis H. Waite decided to attempt to reform city politics. Waite's goal was to lessen corruption and vice within Denver. Instead, his efforts ended in a violent standoff, known as the "City Hall War" of 1894, which made the general public in the capital city even more anxious. The governor sought to remove Denver's police and fire commissioners because he believed these officials were too tolerant of gambling and prostitution. The two commissioners disagreed with Waite's actions and barricaded themselves, along with many of their supporters, in the City Hall. The governor escalated the situation, calling for the state militia to remove the recalcitrant municipal employees.¹⁵ The city workers' contingent had homemade bombs at their disposal to use against the artillery of the militiamen. Curious citizens gathered to watch the tense display. A combination of federal troops and a Colorado court decision diffused the situation, with the police and fire commissioners leaving peacefully after it was determined "the governor *did* have the right to replace commissioners, but *did not* have the authority to use the Colorado Infantry to do it for him."¹⁶ This incident led some Denverites to initiate a debate on how the city government might increase its independence from the state. Such discussions ultimately led to a 1902 voter-approved change to the state constitution.

During the depression Denver took on a shabby appearance, a far cry from *Harper's* journalist Julian Banks' description of the city, early in 1893, as "a beautiful city—a parlor city with cabinet finish... [that] is so new that it looks as if it had been made to order, and was ready for delivery."¹⁷ Bank closures negatively impacted the Denver real estate market, and newspapers devoted multiple column inches to lists of tax sales and foreclosures. There was a dramatic decrease in the number of building permits, from 2,338 in 1890 to only 124 in 1894. In Montclair, as elsewhere throughout the city, "abandoned basement excavations pock-marked" the landscape, and in this particular satellite town the former prairie again became home to wildflowers, cactus, and prairie dogs.¹⁸ The only construction project that continued after the Panic was building of the Colorado State Capitol, providing much-needed jobs both to tradespeople and those responsible for excavating building materials like the fine Colorado marble used for all of the floors in the statehouse.

Financially-Motivated Annexations, 1893-1897

Some citizens, in response to the Panic and the resulting depression, left Denver to seek their livelihoods in cities that did not rely so heavily on silver for their prosperity.¹⁹ Between 1890 and 1895 Denver's population dropped from 106,000 to 90,000. The city coffers, already suffering from lack of consumer spending, could not afford the loss of tax income associated with a decrease in citizens. Denver needed a solution to its financial woes, and it looked outward toward both the open land and various satellite towns ringing the larger city.

Most historians, when explaining post-Panic annexations into the City of Denver, focus on the overwhelming financial motivations for the smaller, outlying communities to accept inclusion in the City of Denver. Clearly, the larger city could better afford to pay for the infrastructure, facilities, maintenance, and employees necessary to provide municipal services. However, it is important to remember that Denver also needed these communities to improve its own municipal finances. The June 18, 1893 issue of the *Denver Republican* relied on a variety of approaches, from bullying to bragging to belittling, all within a single short passage, when it encouraged outlying satellite towns to join the city. The newspaper reminded these residents they already owed their existence to the larger city, and it was their duty to join the city in order to bring Denver the prestige to which it was entitled. It also claimed

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the towns, if they refused annexation, “would exhibit anything but a patriotic and enterprising spirit.”²⁰ Between 1893 and 1897, Denver annexed three large tracts of land: east of Colorado Boulevard between East 48th and East Alameda Avenues, in north Denver between the towns of Berkeley and Argo, and a tract between the Town of Barnum and the South Platte River from West Alameda Avenue to West 9th Avenue. During the depression the city also annexed five surrounding independent towns: South Denver, Harman, Highlands, Barnum, and Colfax.

South Denver

This former satellite town had roots in the gold rush. In 1858 the Lawrence Party founded Montana City near the current location of West Evans Avenue in South Denver. However, the moniker South Denver was not used for the region until the early-1880s, and the town was not incorporated until 1886. The present-day boundaries are East Alameda Avenue to the north, South Colorado Boulevard to the east, East Yale Avenue to the south, and the South Platte River to the west. Voters begrudgingly approved annexation into Denver in 1894.

James Fleming, a young entrepreneur fresh from striking it rich in Pennsylvania’s oil fields, established South Denver in 1881 as an elite, “dry” suburb. Fleming sold large parcels of his land for transportation development and residential subdivisions. At the center of the remaining land he built a mansion that cost \$30,000. This 1882 Queen Anne-style stone home with distinctive two-story turrets, located at 1501 South Logan Street (5DV.8176), became South Denver’s first town hall, library, and jail when the community incorporated four years later. South Denver was only an independent town for eight years, and Fleming served as the community’s first and only mayor.

South Denver had “its own railway and its own university but almost no saloons.”²¹ The steam-powered Denver Circle Railroad was South Denver’s first link to the larger metropolitan area. The region’s first overhead electric line for a streetcar was located on South Broadway and opened on Christmas Day in 1889. Electric trolleys, introduced in 1900, became the major form of public transportation in Denver for over four decades. These transportation improvements allowed South Denver to develop as a typical streetcar suburb, with commercial enterprises located at the major stops along South Broadway. Middle class workers rode the streetcar between jobs in the city and new homes in South Denver’s numerous subdivisions. By the mid-1890s University Park, adjacent to the relocated Colorado Seminary (now the University of Denver), boasted telephone service, a post office, graded roads, and well water.

At the time of annexation large parts of South Denver were still quite rural, devoted to raising alfalfa, corn, beets, potatoes, apples, and cherries. South Denver voters reluctantly approved annexation for financial reasons after real estate values plummeted in the post-Panic period. Among the city’s post-Panic annexations, South Denver was second only to Highlands in numbers of residents. Its streetcar access and university, Overland Park and the Chamberlain Observatory, and its staunch anti-saloon policy continued to attract new residents for decades to come.

Harman

The former satellite town of Harman is located in the Cherry Creek neighborhood. The present-day boundaries are East 6th Avenue to the north, Colorado Boulevard to the east, East Alameda Avenue to the south, and University Boulevard to the west. Before Harman could come into its own, the crash of 1893 hit, effectively bankrupting the town. Voters, hoping for lower taxes after joining Denver, narrowly approved annexation in 1895.

Mississippi judge Edwin P. Harman and his wife Lou purchased the 320 acres of land for the agricultural town of Harman between 1869 and 1872. Located along the floodplain of Cherry Creek, native chokecherry trees, wildflowers, and buffalo grass suggested the rich soil was suitable for farming and

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ranching. It is ironic, given the ultimate annexation of the town into Denver, that on 2 March 1882, the Harmans filed, and then withdrew the next day, a map and subdivision plat for their community to become part of the larger city to the northwest. By 1885 the entire half-section was divided into lots and approximately 140 people already had purchased land in Harman. In 1886 concerns about rough, ungraded streets inspired public discussions about the merits of annexation into Denver versus incorporating as an independent town. Based upon the results of a popular vote of all residents, Harman incorporated in November 1886. A few months later the *Denver Evening Times* attributed the incorporation victory to a shared desire for security, “for protection against tramps, bums, bummers (gangs of rough hoodlums and swindlers), and the liquor traffic.”²²

In 1895 Denver inherited Harman’s small concentration of buildings and existing infrastructure. The City of Denver used the 1891 Town Hall, located at 400 St. Paul Street (5DV.754), as a fire and police substation until 1934, when it deeded the property to the Masons for use as a lodge. Harman’s small business district was near the intersection of Third Avenue and Detroit Street. Two houses of worship included the 1891 brick and stone Fourth Avenue Congregational Church that featured “cathedral leaded windows, a fine bell . . . and a seating capacity of 800” and the 1892 frame Roman Catholic edifice for the St. John the Evangelist parish. In 1903 the Catholics built a new church with a Gothic altar and golden oak pews at Fifth Avenue and Josephine Street.²³ Within the incorporated boundaries of Harman a few houses, some small farms, several greenhouses, an infrastructure of curbs, gutters, and sidewalks, plus a system of canals, ditches, and irrigation pipes were present. In 1892 the town had subsidized a streetcar line that connected it to nearby Denver.

Highlands²⁴

This former satellite town, located on the high ground northwest of downtown, resembled South Denver in several ways: it had a large population, pioneer era origins, development as a typical streetcar suburb, and an anti-liquor stance. The present-day boundaries are West 38th Avenue to the north, Zuni Street to the east, West Colfax Avenue to the south, and Sheridan Boulevard to the west.

General William Larimer, Jr., founder of Denver City, laid out a townsite called Highland in December 1858 across the South Platte from Denver City and Auraria. Owen LeFevre and other developers established the 1875 town of Highlands, which distinguished itself from Denver by promoting both its pure artesian water and westerly breezes that alleviated pollution from the city’s industries. In 1885, after annexing the Potter Highlands and Highland Park additions, Highlands gained city status. By 1890 the town included 5,161 residents, making it one of the most populous of the satellite towns ringing the capital city (thanks in no small part to the seven streetcar lines offering residents convenient access to Denver).²⁵ It was the sixth largest town in the state. Faced with no industrial tax base, financial troubles, and the need to maintain and expand municipal services, independent Highlands residents voted to allow annexation into Denver in 1896.

Highlands exhibited several hallmarks of a streetcar suburb. The community included a total of thirty-five residential subdivisions, areas marketed to new residents who worked in Denver but wanted to live further away. These houses represented an architectural cross-section of popular Late Victorian styles and expressions. Highlands also possessed distinct commercial zones, with general stores and other commercial enterprises (but not saloons) operating out of two- to three-story brick buildings, like those on Zuni Street between West 30th and West 32nd Avenues, West 32nd Avenue and Lowell Boulevard, and West 25th Avenue east of Federal Boulevard; these shopping areas were near streetcar stops. In part thanks to the streetcar, Highlands became more diverse over time. The first wave of settlers and residents were predominantly Scottish, German, Welsh, Cornish, and English.²⁶

Barnum

This former satellite town named for and associated with famous circus man Colonel Phineas T. Barnum is located in west Denver. The present-day boundaries are West 6th Avenue to the north, Federal Boulevard to the east, Alameda Avenue to the south, and Sheridan Boulevard to the west. Barnum residents approved annexation into Denver in 1896.

Earliest development interest dated back to 1865, but nothing had yet been constructed when Barnum purchased 860 acres for \$11,000 on March 21, 1878.²⁷ The showman envisioned an exclusive hilltop subdivision with mountain views, winding boulevards, and an artificial lake. He even offered a parcel to the Colorado Seminary when it considered new campus locations outside downtown. In 1884 Barnum sold his land to his daughter Helen and her husband, Dr. William Buchtel, a tuberculosis sufferer drawn to Colorado's dry air. It was the Buchtels, who ultimately developed Barnum with 5,102 lots initially selling at prices ranging from \$15 to \$112 each. Despite a number of promotions, including raffles for cash or furnished homes valued at \$2,500 to \$7,000, there were few buyers. Historian Robert Autobee claimed Helen "should be viewed as the town's benefactor" and noted she "maintained a high profile in the area" for several years. She changed the residential focus to houses for the middle and working classes, inviting locals into her twenty-one room summer home, Villa Park Hotel, for dances and helping to finance gravel roads and an irrigation system for the local park.²⁸ Most of the individuals who moved to Barnum, like suburban residents generally, wanted to "be free from the contaminating influence of downtown city streets."²⁹

When incorporated in 1887, the Town of Barnum faced two issues that plagued its development until the 1920s: lack of water and geographic isolation. Between 1890 and 1893 town leaders authorized repairs to two existing artesian wells located near present-day West 1st Avenue and Hazel Court and West 7th Avenue and West Knox Court. And, by the mid-1890s, the town finally had water mains. The problem of the two-mile trip to Denver was not solved until 1893 when the Denver, Lakewood, and Golden Railroad started offering service between downtown and a stop at West 8th Avenue and Grove Street. Even this solution was costly and cumbersome, necessitating a transfer between two rival services and over an hour to complete the trip.

The first post-annexation census counted Barnum's population as approximately 1,229 residents. The community had a mix of American and foreign-born inhabitants, with Germans making up the majority of immigrant residents. Until the 1940s most of Barnum, and adjacent Barnum West, remained undeveloped and ringed by alfalfa fields.

Colfax

The Town of Colfax, incorporated in 1891, consisted of a narrow strip of land lying south of West Colfax Avenue that was two to seven blocks wide between Broadway and Sheridan Boulevard. Part of the town was mostly residential and more populated, with wealthier residents living in developer Ralph Voorhees' subdivision of large Victorian homes that today includes the Stuart Street historic district. An area along the western portion of the avenue was known as "No Man's Land" or "Jim's Town" until Jewish immigrants arrived. Like Denver's pioneer argonauts, they came seeking new opportunities or, in Yiddish, the *Goldineh Medinah* or "Golden Land."³⁰ Colfax became part of Denver in 1897.

West Colfax Avenue, originally known as Golden Road, acted as the commercial spine of its namesake community. The western portion of the avenue included a nine-and-one-half block by two-and-one-half block area originally known as "Brooklyn," which featured one- and two-story brick buildings including saloons, stores, a hotel, and a restaurant. Both hay wagons traveling from the agricultural communities of Golden and Morrison and peddlers used this thoroughfare.

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Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, most drawn to Colorado seeking a cure for cases of tuberculosis contracted in East Coast sweatshops and tenement housing soon after they arrived in this country, developed an ethnic enclave in West Colfax. These newly arrived Jews, whom author Ida L. Uchill referred to as “penniless” and “threadbare,” differed from the mostly middle- and upper-class German Jews who established Colorado’s first Jewish settlement in Curtis Park.³¹ The older ethnic and religious community erected Temple Emanuel at 16th Avenue and Pearl Street (5DV.715) in 1899 and increasingly moved into middle-class homes in the Capitol Hill neighborhood.³² Despite these differences, many established Denver Jews helped to ease the transition of the new arrivals, funding, commissioning, and volunteering within settlement houses and a West Colfax free kindergarten or reaching out to B’nai B’rith lodges throughout the state to seek jobs for the immigrants.

A wave of new Jewish immigrants arrived in Denver in the late 1880s in response to growing anti-Semitism in their home countries. Along West Colfax they sought to recreate closed settlements like those in their original homelands and their first American communities. Dr. Maurice Fishberg, in a 1904 health study, called this part of Denver a “most curious ‘ghetto’” and remarked on the tidy and clean brick homes located on the blocks adjacent to West Colfax Avenue. He stated “the environment here looks more like that of the average small western town than like a Jewish district of Europe or America.”³³ Many of these Jewish residents of West Colfax worked as peddlers, originally with pushcarts, then with horse and buggy, and later established small shops.

The newly arrived Jews also organized aid and religious organizations, including the Jewish Ladies’ Hebrew Relief Society (1895), the Jewish Ladies’ Aid Society (1896), and the Modern Orthodox congregation of Beth Ha Medrosh Hagodol (1897). West Colfax Jews built their own synagogue, Congregation Zera Abraham at 2056 West Colfax Avenue, and were instrumental in the construction of the Jewish Consumptives’ Relief Society (now the campus for Rocky Mountain College of Art and Design), in adjacent Lakewood, to care for poor Jewish immigrants with tuberculosis. By the end of World War I, Denver’s Jewish population reached 11,000, with over half of these individuals living in this west side area. Uchill claims “it is likely that half of the Jews of Colorado lived there (West Colfax) until World War I.”³⁴

3.3. Denver Recovers and Expands, 1898-1904

Reflecting on the Panic of 1893, Denver University’s Chancellor William F. McDowell remarked, “The depression was not a swift and sudden storm that came and went, leaving devastation in its wake. It was sudden enough in its coming, but showed no haste in its departing.”³⁵ In Denver and much of the country the effects of the depression, including high rates of unemployment and low rates of new construction, lasted until the end of the century. Thanks to a wave of annexations, Denver emerged from the economic downturn as a much larger city, both geographically and in population. Business interests, boosters, and everyone else were ready for Denver to resume its upward trajectory. However, having suffered through the Panic, there was a concerted effort to avoid the mistakes of the past. Instead of rebuilding a single-industry economy, the Chamber of Commerce encouraged more diverse business interests. New or expanded endeavors of the post-Panic period included mining and smelting, tourism, healthcare (especially treatment of tuberculosis patients), manufacturing, and agriculture. Jobs returned slowly to the capital city and real estate prices continued to stagnate until 1900. But once this market rebounded, the city grew dramatically and added over 8,300 single-family residences from 1900 to 1910.³⁶ However, not everyone lived in such accommodations, and the number of apartment buildings in Denver also increased. The combination of the completed, now far-reaching, streetcar network with annexation of more satellite towns in 1902, facilitated further outward expansion.

The Panic was a turning point, a milestone in Denver’s development. The crisis marked the official end to pioneer and boom times characterized by expedience and rapid growth. Having survived the early

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challenges of establishing and expanding Denver, it was time to focus on planning for the future and determining, based upon the lessons learned during the city's first forty years, what should come next and how it should be achieved. It was during this recovery period that Colorado voters approved the City and County of Denver as a new governmental entity. This new municipal structure provided independence from state government and forced the city to tackle issues that politicians and business interests, up until that point, had been unable, unwilling, or unmotivated to correct. It was during this period that Denver, influenced by the beginnings of the Progressive Movement, reformed its municipal government and reevaluated its built environment. These activities formed the underpinnings for Denver's "City Beautiful" movement that Mayor Robert W. Speer, elected in 1904, introduced as his urban vision.

Lessons Learned

Economic Diversification

The discovery of gold in Cripple Creek caused a new mining boom, and ore was shipped to Denver for processing. Between 1891 and 1916 the mines in this south-central Colorado boomtown accounted for \$340 million in gold.³⁷ Denver laborers built new mining machinery, expanding an important sector of its economy. In addition, in 1899 smelters once again became the city's largest industrial employers, providing 1,800 jobs.³⁸ While pleased with the mineral wealth and the impact of gold on Denver's economy, business interests recognized it was neither prudent nor desirable for the city to return to the same practices that contributed to its largest financial crisis. Starting during the Panic-induced depression and continuing into the recovery, Denver sought a steady, rather than speculative, economic base. Members of the business community capitalized on their personal and professional networks to convince new manufacturing firms to relocate to Denver. Their recruitment efforts targeted textile mills, stocking and shoe factories, potteries, and glue manufacturers.³⁹ All of these industries made necessities, products the public required as a matter of routine, thus representing a steadier stream of revenue than silver or gold.

Denver business leaders demonstrated resilience: setting out for a new-to-them frontier, overcoming a myriad of challenges to establish a city, retaining faith they would gain a transcontinental railroad connection, and profiting from their perseverance during the 1880s boom. Even during the depths of the depression, the Denver Chamber of Commerce and its members never stopped working to attract more dollars to the city's economy. They promoted Denver's proximity to the mountains, encouraging healthy tourists to rest and relax in scenery that rivaled European vistas in Switzerland or Austria and urging the unwell, not just TB sufferers but anyone with a lung-related ailment, to heal themselves with pure mountain air and sunshine. The Chamber marketed Denver as an excellent spot for working vacations as well, offering free meeting and exhibit space for conventions. Fraternal orders, professional societies, trade groups, and political organizations all held large gatherings in Denver; efforts to attract convention business led to Denver playing host to the 1908 Democratic National Convention.

Another Chamber of Commerce event not only encouraged tourism but also improved the mood of Denver residents during the economic depression. In 1895 this group launched the Festival of Mountain and Plain, a multi-day event compared to the New Orleans Mardi Gras. Key festival events included rodeos, trade exhibitions, an outdoor masquerade ball on Broadway, and themed sales in downtown department stores. Denver booster and founder of the *Rocky Mountain News* William Byers was an early festival director. He organized four festival parades, based on themes like western history, masked revelry, and the military (this final procession ended with a battle reenactment). Stories about the Festival appeared in newspapers nationwide, with an article in the *Kansas City Journal* describing the festivities: "Business was generally suspended, and the downtown streets were given up entirely to the throngs of merry-makers, bent upon making all the noise they knew how and having all the fun

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possible.”⁴⁰ The festival was an annual event for its first four years, and then revived periodically, first in 1901 and later in 1912.⁴¹

Denver’s promotion of Colorado’s rural agricultural economy improved its urban business climate. Farming and ranching represented a reliable and relatively stable industry during the depression. It depended upon established irrigation systems and increasing variety in crops, providing stockyard, cannery, flour milling and other processing jobs to Denver. The National Western Stock Show, first held in 1906, continues to honor the crucial link between the capital city and its agricultural economy and heritage. Wealthy investor Charles Boettcher launched a new late-life career for himself and a major industry in the state when, on a 1900 vacation in his native Germany, he became enthralled with the humble sugar beet. This fascination led him to introduce this crop to the state. His Great Western Sugar Company, with corporate offices in Denver at the northeast corner of 16th and California Streets (5DV.47.65), had many manufacturing firms up and down Colorado’s eastern plains. He, and then his son, Claude Kenzie, also launched other enterprises tangentially related to sugar beets, investing their profits in a wide variety of Boettcher-held and other Colorado and Denver firms.⁴² The Boettchers embodied the spirit and practice of Denver’s post-Panic business diversification.

Apartments

As a result of lessons learned and changing tastes, post-Panic Denver witnessed a rise in the number of purpose-built apartment buildings. Residents of the Queen City who had lived through the depression emerged with less extravagant tastes and a desire to live within their means. Apartments provided options for those who did not want the responsibilities of a house or were seeking shorter-term accommodations. In addition, apartments were affordable for the middle class and were located in areas with convenient transportation. Developers discovered apartment building construction was profitable, “the best class of investments to be made in western cities.”⁴³

Despite such support for apartment living and building, Denver’s newspapers were conflicted about this housing type. The *Denver Times* was “dubious about [the] popularity of apartment houses in Denver” but they admitted the “first ones are successful.”⁴⁴ However, as more and more apartments were constructed, concern arose over the impact of cheap construction and a lower class of residents on tony Capitol Hill. Less than two years later the *Times* cautioned about the “invasion of tenements” and claimed “tenement property, even of the best sort, will detract from value of residence property.” The newspaper urged “citizens should fight their erection.”⁴⁵

The journalistic hype did not seem to match reality, with not only middle class but also elite residents opting for apartment living. The well-constructed, attractive buildings were hardly tenements. Some early apartments were called “apartment hotels” to indicate they offered the same services as tourist accommodations. To further this connection many new apartment buildings, like the prestigious Perrenoud (5DV.2849) and Cornwall (5DV.183), chose grand names similar to those given to hotels. Both of these buildings for wealthy residents included ballrooms, with the Cornwall featuring a rooftop garden and the Perrenoud providing a basement level dining room and servant quarters. The individuals responsible for financing the construction of these two apartment hotels in Denver also lived in the buildings, indicating the suitability of these apartment houses for elite residents.

Both upscale apartment hotels and more modest apartment buildings of the post-Panic period mimicked residential styles of the surrounding neighborhoods, and many sought to resemble the large mansions that once dominated Capitol Hill. Like apartment hotels, apartments constructed over commercial establishments provided residents with a wide variety of services. The Austin Building (5DV.4688), at the corner of East Colfax Avenue and York Street, originally featured a pharmacy,

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delicatessen, florist, and an adjacent taxi cab company on the ground floor to meet the needs of the residents of the eleven luxury apartment units.

Origins of the Progressive Movement in Denver

The Progressive Movement in the U.S. emerged in direct response to the excesses of the previous era, especially the negative effects of modernization and rapid growth in American cities. The hallmarks of this period included reform, efficiency, increased professionalism, and a desire to tackle difficult social issues. Key Progressive leaders Jane Addams, Robert La Follette, John Dewey, and others served as role models for reformers across the country.⁴⁶

In Denver, the Progressive era did not come into full flower until Mayor Robert W. Speer took office on June 1, 1904. Speer became the leader of a city that already had demonstrated it was receptive to the progressive message thanks, in part, to the influence he exerted prior to entering the mayor's office. He assumed control of the city and was able to take advantage of new provisions in a voter-approved constitutional amendment that resulted in the 1902 formation of the City and County of Denver. In addition, he had been interested in real estate since the 1880s. Over time, influenced by his work as the President of the Denver Board of Public Works, he became increasingly involved in how the city's parks and parkways could be developed as an asset, a way to not only improve the appearance but also the use and enjoyment of the city.

These feelings were at the heart of Speer's support for the City Beautiful movement. Based on the aesthetics of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, this design philosophy emphasized the use of Neoclassical and Beaux Arts public buildings within orderly, well-proportioned landscapes with wide streets that take advantage of views toward scenic surroundings, like the mountains in Denver. Speer summarized his belief in and his vision for the scope of the City Beautiful movement, stating "ugly things do not please. It is much easier to love a thing of beauty—and this applies to cities as well as to persons and things. Fountains, statues, artistic lights, music, playgrounds, parks, etc. make people love the place in which they live."⁴⁷

City and County of Denver, 1902

The "City Hall War" of 1894, which pitted city officials against Governor Waite and required federal troops to end the stand-off, was a disturbing and embarrassing incident that demonstrated how broken Denver's government was. However, in the midst of the prolonged economic downturn, there were much larger issues to tackle. In 1902 many of the underlying causes for this systemic breakdown were finally addressed when voters statewide approved a constitutional amendment that provided more independence for Denver. It replaced the 1893 system that had decentralized Denver's mayoral powers into six different administrative departments headed by two voter-elected, two mayor-appointed, and two governor-chosen leaders. This system concentrated control with political parties, usually the one in charge of the statehouse, and gave the governor financial authority over the city's police, fire, and taxation. Not surprisingly, this arrangement raised arguments about state interference in Denver's affairs.

The 1902 amendment removed Denver from the sprawling Arapahoe County, which extended all the way to the state's boundary with Kansas, and created a new governmental entity: the City and County of Denver. In contrast to previous state micromanaging, Denver was granted home rule status and the freedom to craft a new charter to detail a city-specific approach to local government. The amendment also merged the satellite towns of Argo, Berkeley, Elyria, Globeville, Montclair, and Valverde into Denver, creating a geographically unified city intended to be easier to administer and govern. Under this new system, the mayor and City Council gained a great deal of power over municipal functions and decisions.

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Mayor Speer, elected in 1904, was one of the first city leaders to operate under the new city-county government model and its new charter. He did so with a great deal of insider knowledge from both Denver's boom times and the previous decentralized system of city management. In the 1880s and 1890s Speer managed Horace Tabor's real estate interests and started his own firm to develop residential subdivisions, eventually being elected as president of the Denver Real Estate Exchange and director of the Manufacturers (Builders) Bureau. He also served as a governor appointee on the city's fire and police board. Having proven himself a capable political organizer, in 1901 the governor chose Speer as President of the Denver Board of Public Works, one of the six decentralized administrative departments. All of this practical experience served him well in making his City Beautiful vision a reality.

Denver's Park and Parkways System

In the pioneer and boom times little thought was paid to the concept of setting aside parts of Denver for open space or enjoyment of the outdoors. Speculators were too busy building the homes and businesses the growing city needed. The city's major roads were established based upon the desires of the local business community, where they made the most sense in terms of the transportation of goods to and from the Denver market. In the city's new suburbs, many of the main thoroughfares were unpaved, only sprinkled with water to keep down dust.

In 1879 the city had only one block of official park space on donated land in the Curtis Park neighborhood. By 1900 that figure had risen to twelve public parks, some of them inherited from the satellite towns annexed into Denver during the 1890s, with a total of 436 acres of park land. Mayor Speer, based upon his personal experience with parks during his term as leader of the city's public works department, divided the city parks into four geographic divisions: South Denver, East Denver, Highland, and Montclair. Each park district had its own budget and plan. Districts also could acquire land and issue bonds to pay for park improvements. The division of park management was beneficial to the mayor in achieving his City Beautiful vision.

Denver's first planned parkway was Park Avenue, a diagonal thoroughfare developed on twenty-four acres former governor Evans and his real estate partners donated to the city in 1874. Setting a pattern that ultimately was realized much later, the roadway was constructed with seven small triangular parks along its length. Evans advocated for an even larger parkway program. In 1894 he proposed the city "buy land for a string of parks about the city, and connect them with boulevards."⁴⁸ This plan was labeled too expensive, an accurate statement during the economic depression, and was not executed until Mayor Speer took office. He successfully convinced "landowners, businessmen, and citizens that parks and parkways would enhance property value and strengthen the city."⁴⁹ However, in 1904 Speer's priority was making the city's streets more functional and easier for citizens to travel. During his three terms he oversaw the grading and paving of over 300 miles of Denver streets. He also improved the pedestrian experience with distinctive red sandstone sidewalks and granite curbs throughout the city. In order to better see on the improved roadways and sidewalks, decorative streetlights replaced the seven floodlight towers that had illuminated the city since 1883. The city's park and parkway system evolved over time and received its first master plan, written by Charles M. Robinson and George Kessler, in 1907. The majority of the system was constructed between 1909 and 1913.

Politically-Motivated Annexations, 1902

The 1902 constitutional amendment creating the City and County of Denver annexed six satellite towns as well as giving the city more independence to manage its municipal governmental affairs. Although added for a different reason than the 1893 through 1897 annexations, the net result was the same: more land area, now a total of 58.75 square miles, for Denver. The city also grew in population and tax revenue while assuming greater responsibility for expanded services. Over half of the outlying

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communities added to Denver in 1902 had large industrial operations within their borders. Thus, annexation represented another way for Denver to obtain a more diversified economy for the larger city. The politically-motivated annexations still possessed economic considerations and implications.

Argo

The former satellite Town of Argo was established originally as a company town for the Boston and Colorado Smelter Company in 1878. The town incorporated just two years later. The current boundaries are West 48th Avenue to the north, Broadway to the east, West 44th Avenue to the south, and Pecos Street to the west.

Noted Colorado architect Robert S. Roeschlaub, better known for his academic and ecclesiastical commissions, designed the community's ore processing facility. The complex included an ore house, smelting plant, coal house, refinery, administration building with an octagonal tower, and various workshops and sheds. This operation was located at the junction of the Colorado Central and Denver Pacific railroads, convenient for ore shipments from mountain mining towns. Once established, the Boston and Colorado Smelter, along with the nearby Omaha and Grant and Globe smelters, increased its productivity every year except 1893 and 1894. The facility benefitted from a shift back to gold mining and processing during the economic downturn and the associated closing of nearly all of Colorado's silver mines.

Adjacent to the industrial complex Roeschlaub also designed housing for the smelter laborers, a hotel, and a church. None of these stone and brick buildings are extant; most of them were demolished in 1952 for the construction of a large public housing project. In the 1880s most of the smelter workers were either American or British. But, just ten years later, the company employed a majority Scandinavian, mainly Swedish immigrant, workforce. Worried about higher taxes, Argo residents originally resisted annexation into Denver. However, by 1902, this outcome was inevitable. At that time the community was quite small, with a population of less than 500.

Berkeley

The satellite town of Berkeley, originally known as North Denver but later changed to avoid confusion with the Denver neighborhood east of Zuni Street, was established in 1892. The present-day boundaries are Interstate-70 to the north, Federal Boulevard to the east, West 38th Avenue to the south, and Sheridan Boulevard to the west.

Before the town existed the site was John Brisben Walker's Berkeley Farm. This businessman and developer grew hardy, drought-tolerant alfalfa in the 1880s on a spread that eventually encompassed 1,500 acres. In 1885 Walker and another developer, Dr. William A. Bell who platted the Highland Park suburb in Highlands, established the Berkeley Farm and Cattle Company to manage agricultural operations at the farm. Three years later, a group of Kansas City investors purchased the farm for over \$300,000.⁵⁰ Developers John W. McDonough and Henry Wimbush envisioned the new satellite town as an "exclusive, healthful suburb."⁵¹ Located on high land, far from the noise and dirt of downtown, but still accessible by streetcar, Berkeley was one of the new developments, along with Highlands and Barnum, where "real estate developers cashed in on the desperate and gullible sick by selling them homes in 'healthy' suburbs."⁵²

However, both McDonough and Wimbush found Berkeley pleasant enough to live there themselves. McDonough lived in a grand mansion called Inter-Laken Farm, located at West 46th Avenue and Perry Street (extant). In 1890 Wimbush commissioned prominent Denver architect William Lang, who had designed several other houses in the Berkeley area in the 1880s, to design him a house at 4907 Stuart

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Street (extant). Berkeley was mainly a residential development, although there was at least one municipal building, the Town Hall, at West 45th Avenue and Yates Street (demolished in 2010).

Berkeley was home to cultural, entertainment, and natural amenities that made it a desirable place to live or visit. The Jesuits established Sacred Heart College, later Regis University, on a fifty-acre parcel Walker donated to the Brothers in 1887. Elitch's Gardens amusement park, across the south border, was popular with pleasure-seekers across the Denver area. The Rocky Mountain Ditch Company developed a reservoir on the northern portion of the original Berkeley Farm, and Berkeley Lake was used for hunting tournaments starting in 1891. By 1902 the property was renamed Berkeley Family Resort and was the ideal site for illegal "beer picnics" within the dry town.⁵³ In 1903 Walker purchased the site with hopes of developing a country club, although he never followed through on this plan. In 1906, after annexation, the City of Denver purchased the Berkeley Lake property as a new city park.

Elyria

Local historian Elizabeth Macmillan referred to Elyria as Denver's forgotten suburb due to the area's geographic isolation amid smelters, stockyards, packing plants, gravel pits, extensive railroad tracks, and the South Platte River.⁵⁴ The current boundaries of this former satellite town are the Adams County line to the north, Colorado Boulevard to the east, 38th Street and 40th Avenue to the south, and the South Platte River to the west.

A.C. Fisk, president of the Denver Land and Improvement Company, platted Elyria in March, 1881. Fisk, a New York native and Union army veteran who lived in Elyria, Ohio, moved to Denver in 1873. The development company sought to "buy large tracts adjoining the city, plot it into city lots and garden patches, grade the streets, put out shade trees and otherwise improve and beautify the property."⁵⁵ Fisk envisioned Elyria as a community of affordable homes for working class immigrant laborers. He offered 1,500 lots for sale for either \$20 or \$40 each that could be financed in monthly installments of \$5.⁵⁶ Elyria incorporated officially in August 1890 and enjoyed steady growth during the next ten years.

This satellite town contained a small commercial district, mostly along East 47th Avenue, with numerous saloons and gambling halls. There also were several home-based businesses, like blacksmiths and repair shops, in the houses on both East 46th and 48th avenues. The two-story town hall, located at East 47th Avenue and Brighton Boulevard and described as being "of Romanesque design (and) built of pressed brick with sandstone trimmings," was converted to a fire station once Elyria became part of Denver.⁵⁷ The brick smokestacks of three smelters—the Boston and Colorado, the Omaha and Grant, and the Globe—dominated the skyline. Operating twenty-four hours a day, these facilities provided employment but also belched smoke and were surrounded by enormous slag heaps. In the post-Panic period Denver diversified its economy to include more non-mining opportunities. The Denver Union Stockyards, and the associated slaughter houses or packing plants, especially the Western Packing Plant constructed in 1902, became major employers of Elyria residents.⁵⁸

When annexed, Elyria had Denver Water Company service, Denver Consolidated Electric Company lights on the major streets, and a volunteer fire department established in 1891.⁵⁹ Streets were unpaved, but regularly sprinkled to control dust. Metropolitan Railroad Company trolley tracks ran down the main thoroughfare and connected Elyria to Denver. While Elyria, over time, increasingly became an ethnic enclave of Slavic immigrants, the 1900 Census indicated Germans were the most prevalent nationality and the greatest number of residents worked at either the stockyards or in packinghouses. Even post-annexation, Elyria remained isolated. There were few bridges across the South Platte, although a small wooden structure allowed travel to adjacent Globeville. Despite repeated requests for a viaduct to provide safe passage amid the "dangerous maze of railroad tracks," one was never constructed.⁶⁰

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Railroad crossings, at 38th Avenue and Wazee Street and 46th Avenue and York Street, were dangerous, especially for children walking to school.⁶¹

Globeville

The company town of Globeville was established in 1889 to serve Polish, German-Russian, and Slovenian immigrants who worked at the Globe Smelting and Refining Company. The current boundaries of this former satellite town are 52nd Avenue to the north, the South Platte River to the east and south, and Inca Street to the west.

Globeville, established near the Holden smelter in 1886, was sold to bankers Dennis Sheedy and Charles Kountze in 1889. Families lived in small frame houses on Sheedy Row between Washington Street and the smelter. Single male laborers resided in hotels and boarding houses.⁶² Globeville officially incorporated on July 9, 1891; at the time, it had a population of 2,192. The new town erected municipal buildings, all on Washington Street: a town hall at 53rd Avenue, a jail at 47th Avenue, and a brick post office between 45th and 46th Avenues.⁶³ The Globeville Electric Company installed lighting on all major streets in 1893 and the town had a total of thirty water hydrants. By the early 1900s there was a commercial corridor along 45th Avenue. The town reused smelter slag to surface roads and sidewalks.

Like adjacent Elyria, Globeville was geographically isolated. It lacked bridges, and both the South Platte River and railroads formed physical barriers. The closest streetcar access was at 38th Avenue and Larimer Street, still quite distant from the town itself. Globeville also exhibited patterns of ethnic segregation within the town. Longtime resident Anna Reisbick attributes this pattern to “perhaps in the earlier years, the suspect and critical attitudes between Catholics and Protestants in their native countries.” She claims, however, despite this lack of socializing, the various ethnic groups “respected one another and got along remarkably well, which created a good community spirit.”⁶⁴ Residents relied upon their ethnic churches for spiritual support. The Holy Transfiguration of Christ Orthodox Cathedral, constructed in 1898 at 4711 Logan Street (5DV.771), was the first Slovak church built in Colorado. There were two German congregations, the German Seventh Day Adventist Church at 4602 Logan Street (5DV.1691.21) and St. Paul’s German Church at 4438 Sherman Street (5DV.1690.9), both with their buildings constructed in 1900. Two years later, the Poles gained a fine place of worship: St. Joseph’s Polish Roman Catholic Church at 517 East 46th Avenue (5DV.782). Ultimately, there were a total of eight ethnic churches in Globeville, and residents fondly recall the chorus of church bells that marked the beginning and end of each work day.

Although Globeville started as a company town not all residents were employed at the smelter. Starting in 1893 numerous residents, especially members of the large Germans from Russia population, worked seasonally in the sugar beet fields. Entire families would leave their homes in Globeville in the early spring, decamping to shacks beside the beet fields, and then return in the fall after the harvest. These agricultural opportunities provided much-needed supplementary incomes. The Chopyak family worked twelve hours per day, six days a week to earn \$20 per acre tended, and, “in a good season they could make up to \$1,000.”⁶⁵ The availability of sugar beet work also boosted Globeville’s population, with the area growing to approximately 4,000 residents by 1907. However, such seasonal fieldwork had a detrimental effect upon children’s education, especially when the students missed several months of school for multiple years in a row.

Montclair

Montclair was always much more spectacular in dreams than reality. Eccentric and energetic German entrepreneur Baron Walter von Richthofen, the uncle of World War I flying ace Baron Manfred von Richthofen, dabbled in a wide variety of schemes in Denver.⁶⁶ He joined the Montclair Town and

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Improvement Company and, in 1885, platted the satellite town of Montclair on prairie land four miles east of downtown. The current boundaries of this former satellite town are East Colfax Avenue to the north, Quebec Street to the east, East 6th Avenue to the south, and Holly Street to the west. Richthofen constructed a grey stone castle (5DV.158) for himself and to attract other elites to this suburb far from the pollution, crime, and vice of Denver. He sold larger (and more expensive lots) than elsewhere in the city for \$150, and required all houses built in Montclair be at least three stories and cost \$10,000 or more. All new homeowners were expected to construct high-quality flagstone or granite sidewalks and retain space for a tree lawn adjacent to the street. The town of Montclair incorporated in 1888.

Richthofen built it—establishing a town hall, police and fire department, a weekly newspaper, both private and public schools, a deer park at his estate, and an art gallery—but Denver’s privileged classes did not come, because there was no way to get to Montclair.⁶⁷ The area remained isolated until the 1889 arrival of a horse railway along East Colfax Avenue; this service was upgraded, first to steam and then an electric streetcar line, in 1890. The Panic of 1893 dashed all hopes for Montclair’s speedy development. The economic downturn forced foreclosure of lots for back taxes and halted all home construction. Instead of giving up, however, Richthofen simply shifted his focus to another development scheme for Montclair. He proposed an elaborate health spa with a hotel, casino, bath house, and four-acre park and got some of Denver’s most wealthy residents to serve on the Board of Directors for this unrealized venture.

The Baron passed away after an appendectomy in May 1898, at the age of 49. In Montclair he left behind “his castle, his trees, his fanciful plans for parks and parkways, and enough dreams to last another century,” according to historian Tom Noel.⁶⁸ Post-Panic Denver required more practical development schemes and the vision for an elite suburb was abandoned. By 1900 Montclair was home to eighty-eight families from a wide swath of the upper and lower middle classes. Despite vehement opposition to annexation, the 415 residents of Montclair became Denver citizens in 1902.⁶⁹ It was future Mayor Robert Speer, when he served in Denver’s Public Works department, who announced plans to make Richthofen’s vision for spacious boulevards and tree-lined boulevards a reality in Montclair as part of the City Beautiful parks and parkway improvements.

Valverde

Valverde was located along the Denver and South Park Railway at the southeastern corner of Denver on the west side of the South Platte River. The current boundaries of this former satellite town are West Alameda Avenue to the north, Platte River Drive to the east, West Mississippi Avenue to the south, and Federal Boulevard to the west.

Valverde, meaning “avenue lined with trees” in Spanish, had its start in 1873 when the Valverde Town and Improvement Company platted the development. The town incorporated in 1888 and quickly constructed municipal buildings including a town hall, jail, and school. A modest business district formed along West Alameda Avenue east of Tejon Street. The eastern part of town was reserved for industrial uses. Key companies included pottery and brick producer Denver Fire Clay Company, the Kuner Pickle Company, Western Glass Manufacturing (located at present-day South Pecos Street and West Bayaud Avenue, but no longer extant), and Western Chemical Company. The town boasted the revenues from such manufactures benefited the local economy and assured residents. It had the lowest taxes of any town in the region.⁷⁰ Valverde’s residential area, consisting mostly of single-family homes, was located on the bluffs above, where houses were less likely to encounter the frequent flooding of the South Platte River. In 1892 the town annexed Richthofen’s Addition north of West Alameda Avenue; at the

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opposite end of the financial scale from Montclair, here the eccentric baron sold lots for \$25 to \$75, welcoming installment payments.

In addition to manufacturing, in the late 1880s and early 1900s Valverde was known for agriculture, especially commercial celery growing. The wet, fertile land near the South Platte River proved ideal for this cash crop. At its height the town's twenty-five to thirty local growers produced nearly 2.9 million bunches of celery annually on a sixty-acre plot near West Nevada Place and South Raritan Street. These vegetables were sold not only in Denver but also as far away as Chicago and St. Louis, shipped straight from the field thanks to easy railroad access. Valverde became synonymous with "all that is excellent in celery . . . the topnotch in crispness, in color, and flavor."⁷¹

Tuberculars Seek the Cure in Denver

Tuberculosis (also known as consumption or TB) was the leading cause of death in the United States during much of the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. During that period, Colorado's rate of mortality from the disease ranked at or near the top among all the states, due principally to the number of sufferers who arrived in search of a cure.⁷² Colorado settlers may have come for the gold, but many stayed for the climate. The region's fresh mountain air and healing sunshine became part of the standard treatment regimen for those suffering from TB, a bacterial infection that attacks primarily the lungs, causing patients to cough up blood, complain of chest pain, lose weight, and experience fatigue. The connection between Denver and TB greatly impacted the city, with sanitariums and other facilities to aid consumptives appearing in several parts of the city. Although doctors had established fledgling hospitals as early as 1859, philanthropists, religious groups, and healthcare professionals pursuing a cure for the "white plague" also contributed to the development of the city's healthcare industry. The arrival of thousands of TB sufferers also influenced suburban construction and settlement, with many subdivisions promoting their health-related advantages to potential residents. Finally, many of the "lungers" who originally came as patients, once healthy, remained here and made contributions that benefitted their adopted city.

By the 1880s some Denver residents wished the healing effects of their hometown climate had remained a secret. They worried the image of Denver "might become a city of invalids hobbling about with canes and sputum cups," but, it was too late to stop the multitude of TB sufferers from seeking the cure in Denver.⁷³ By 1893 an estimated 30,000 consumptives had arrived in Denver, and more were on the way. "Consumptives were to the Denver economy (then) what tourists are today," wrote historian Louisa Ward Arps.⁷⁴

New Healthcare Facilities

The TB experience tended to be easier for the wealthy, as those with financial means found a few small, private sanatoria that were more akin to luxury hotels or European spas.⁷⁵ Consumptives without resources sometimes slept in public parks and, in the worst cases, died before receiving any medical attention. Frances Wisebart Jacobs, a philanthropic member of Denver's established Jewish community, made it her mission to assist these impoverished patients.⁷⁶ In 1889 she raised funds and encouraged her fellow Jews to establish a hospital committed to TB care for the poor. In 1893, just one year after Jacobs passed away, this new healthcare facility was finally complete. Unfortunately, the economic downturn that year stalled all fundraising and prevented the new hospital from immediately serving patients.

The facility finally opened its doors in 1899, after Denver Rabbi William Friedman and businessman-philanthropist-politician Louis Anfenger convinced the national B'nai B'rith organization to operate and maintain the new National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives (NJHC, 5DV.1632). The hospital never intended to be restrictive based on religion or financial resources. The first patient treated was a

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Protestant Swedish woman from Minnesota. The facility's focus was on the poor; doctors and nurses followed the institutions official motto: "None may enter who can pay—none can pay who enter." The original capacity at NJHC was sixty patients, with an initial, but later discarded, six-month limit on patient stays. Jews by no means had a monopoly on TB care in the Denver-area. Examples of TB facilities operated by other groups include: the 1894 Oakes Home in North Denver (5DV.129) affiliated with Episcopalians; Englewood's 1905 Swedish Consumptive Sanatorium, now known as Swedish Hospital; Wheat Ridge's 1905 Evangelical Lutheran Sanatorium; and Dutch-affiliated 1913 Bethesda Tuberculosis Sanatorium in south Denver.

In nearby Lakewood a second Jewish TB healthcare complex developed. The Jewish Consumptives Relief Society (JCRS, 5DV.178) was different from NJHC in three inter-related ways: the characteristics of the individuals who established the facility, the location of the complex, and the patients it sought to serve. The group involved in fundraising for and building JCRS, all members of or related to Jewish working class immigrants, included physicians Dr. Charles Spivak, JCRS executive secretary, and Dr. Philip Hillkowitz, JCRS president. Both doctors served from inception until their respective deaths in 1927 and 1948. Dr. Hillkowitz's father, Rabbi Elias Hillkowitz, known as the "dean" of the west side Orthodox Jewish rabbis in the early 1900s, also participated actively with JCRS.⁷⁷ Located near the West Colfax Jewish ethnic enclave, JCRS mostly served patients who lived in that neighborhood or were newly arrived Eastern European Jewish immigrants who traveled to Colorado specifically to seek a TB cure. At their hospital in east Denver, NJHS accepted only patients with recently-diagnosed TB. JCRS treated patients in all stages of the disease. Given the orthodox backgrounds of the founders and the clientele JCRS also committed to providing "a more Jewish environment," including kosher food and, by 1911, an on-site synagogue.⁷⁸ Reflecting some of the tensions between established Jews who arrived in the pioneer era and later arriving immigrant Jews, JCRS wanted to provide healthcare for those East European immigrant Jews who "felt their German co-religionists often acted in a condescending manner to the newcomers who brought with them their 'Old World' manners, language, religious customs, and dress."⁷⁹

In September 1904 JCRS welcomed its first seven patients. There were frame and canvas TB tents for the patients and a one-story administration building, named after Dr. Spivak, located on an isolated 148 acre site. JCRS adopted as its motto a passage from the Talmud meaning, "He who saves one life saves the world." As more buildings were added they were arranged facing inward along a central landscaped parkway, giving JCRS a campus-like appearance and feel intended to be soothing to the patients. An artesian well provided water and grains, poultry, and dairy products came from the on-site farm. The 1908 New York Ladies Auxiliary Pavilion, also known as the Rotunda, is the most architecturally and medically significant building at JCRS. The building features a large circular room at the rear featuring multiple wide exterior doorways through which the patients were pushed in their beds onto the large (no longer extant) wraparound porch for fresh air and sunshine. Over ten thousand patients received care at JCRS in its fifty year history.⁸⁰

Healthy Housing

As early as 1868, the Denver Board of Trade promoted the health benefits of pure mountain air and sunshine as a way to attract new residents and increase the city's population. Several of the satellite towns surrounding Denver—namely Barnum, Berkeley, Highlands, and Montclair—adopted similar marketing, mentioning their non-urban locations far from pollution and industry as being good for those with weak lungs. The effect of TB on the historic built environment is clearly evident in the former satellite town of Montclair, both in the Molkery civic building (5DV.848) and the numerous houses individual property owners constructed to serve tuberculars in this suburb.

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In 1888 Baron Walter von Richthofen built a specialized building, the Molkery, as a tuberculosis sanatorium and hotel. There is no evidence he had either medical training or any pre-construction advice from members of the profession. The eclectic two-story frame building with a rhyolite foundation, large wraparound porch, and Arts and Crafts influences features space for cattle to stable in the basement while TB patients lounged upstairs on sun porches, drank fresh milk, and breathed in the natural odors associated with cows. Exposure to sunshine and plentiful healthy food, especially large quantities of milk and eggs, were part of the accepted treatment for TB at NJHC, JCRS, and other sanatoria. However, these hospitals also recommended the breathing of fresh and pure, rather than bovine-befouled, air. The Molkery was not successful as a TB sanatorium; it seems likely Richthofen had challenges convincing TB sufferers to submit to the 'cow cure.' This Denver Landmark was converted to an insane asylum but has been used as a City of Denver community center since 1909.

Montclair also features some houses designed specifically for consumptives. These spacious single-family homes were built with dual unenclosed side or sleeping porches and open floor plans that were considered therapeutic for their access to fresh air and sunshine. Over time, many TB houses had their open-air porches enclosed for additional living area. For example, a 1902 TB house is located at 791 Newport Street (extant).

Famous Consumptives Make Their Mark

The history of Denver, and Colorado as a whole, is peopled with thousands of "lungers," individuals who came seeking a cure for TB. While many individuals died, a large percentage of the patients survived and went on to have long and productive lives. The following well-known former TB sufferers are just a few of the survivors who impacted Denver's history and development:

- Baron von Richthofen, founder of the Montclair neighborhood
- Robert Speer, former multi-term Denver Mayor and reformer, responsible for bringing the "City Beautiful" movement to the city
- Edwin "Big Ed" Johnson, a three-term Colorado governor and U.S. senator
- Temple Hoyne Buell, architect for the Paramount Theatre and developer of the first Cherry Creek Shopping Center

3.4. Conclusion

The Panic of 1893 and its ensuing depression represent a milestone in Denver's history. The financial crisis brought the boom period of preceding years to an abrupt end. During the resulting economic downturn the city witnessed bank runs, business failures, a real estate market collapse, and many other events that a few years earlier would have been unthinkable. Denver's citizens suffered through unemployment, and some members of the wealthy elite experienced complete reversals of fortune. As a direct result of the Panic, a total of five satellite towns—South Denver, Harman, Highlands, Barnum, and Colfax—joined Denver in order to avoid municipal debt while providing their citizens with necessary services.

At the end of the century the city's recovery began. Demonstrating they had learned the folly of having a single-commodity based economy, the Chamber of Commerce, both during and after the depression, attracted a wider variety of businesses and industry. Denver business leaders still emphasized the importance of mining, but complemented this field with manufacturing, agricultural processing and supply, and tourism-related services. Beyond their impacts on the local economy and the burgeoning healthcare industry, consumptives seeking and often finding a cure in Denver also affected the built environment and made major contributions to the city. In the 1900s, like the rest of the country, Denver experienced the beginnings of the Progressive Movement. With an emphasis on order and

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professionalism, this philosophy inspired governmental system improvement and the 1902 creation of the City and County of Denver. This constitutional change also led to annexation of six more outlying towns—Argo, Berkeley, Elyria, Globeville, Montclair, and Valverde. In 1904, with the election of Mayor Robert Speer, Denver found itself on the cusp of a new era, a period defined by his progressive belief in the principles and potential of the “City Beautiful” movement. Mayor Speer exerted tremendous influence over the city’s development during the three terms he served as the city’s leader.

Endnotes

¹ Lyle W. Dorsett and Michael McCarthy, *The Queen City: A History of Denver*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1986), 82.

² Ken Schoepel, "Denver's Single-Family Homes by Decade: 1900s," 4 March 2012, accessed 24 March 2015, <http://denverurbanism.com/2012/03/denvers-single-family-homes-by-decade-1900s.html>.

³ Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 123.

⁴ Dorsett and McCarthy, *Queen City*, 82.

⁵ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 142. In 1897 British visitor George W. Steevens, observing Denver's "fledgling parks and shabby attractions" quipped that "the Queen City of the Plains was 'more plain than queenly.'"

⁶ Dorsett and McCarthy, *Queen City*, 113. Dorsett questioned how much assistance these wealthy women actually dispensed. He stated their "narrow views of who deserved help ruled out many of the poor," noting how the "Ladies Relief Society refused to aid people who they did not find 'worthy.'"

⁷ Millie Van Wyke, *The Town of South Denver* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company), 1991.

⁸ Carl Ubbelohde, Maxine Benson, and Duane A. Smith, eds., *A Colorado History* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1982), 229.

⁹ The "Bottoms" were located between present-day Union Station and the South Platte River in lower downtown. River Front Park, according to a map in Louisa Ward Arps' *Denver in Slices*, was located further north, right on the banks of the river.

¹⁰ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 104.

¹¹ Coxeys presciently advocated for the kind of work relief programs the U.S. government adopted nearly forty years later, during the Great Depression. The first federal minimum wage was set at 25 cents in 1938.

¹² Robert B. Ridinger, "Coxey's Army," 1 December 2011, accessed 24 March 2015, <http://historybusiness.org/2410-coxeys-army.html?newsid=2410&seourl=coxeys-army>. Use of the U.S. Capitol steps as a venue for protest foreshadowed later labor and civil rights protests of the twentieth century.

¹³ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 103.

¹⁴ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 104.

¹⁵ Gayle Baker, *A Boomtown History: Denver* (Santa Barbara, California: HarborTown Histories, 2004), 58. Dr. Gayle Baker characterized Waite as "unprepared and incapable of dealing with crisis," referring to the events at City Hall as a "ridiculous military operation."

¹⁶ Stephen Grace, *It Happened in Denver* (Guilford, Connecticut: TwoDot, 2007), 52.

¹⁷ Dorsett, *Queen City*, 87.

¹⁸ Thomas J. Noel, *Richthofen's Montclair: A Pioneer Denver Suburb* (Denver, Colorado: Graphic Impressions, 1976), 13.

¹⁹ During the depression some train companies offered reduced or free fares for people, especially the jobless, to travel from Denver.

²⁰ Van Wyke, *South Denver*, 90. No doubt tensions were quite high; this article was written the same day there were runs on Denver banks.

²¹ Clark Secrest, *Colorado Heritage* article from 1992, quoted in Steve Fisher, *A Brief History of South Denver & University Park* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2012), 12.

²² Phil Goldstein, "The Cherry Creek Neighborhood, accessed 24 March 2015, <http://bromwell.dpsk12.org/about/history/the-town-of-harman/>.

²³ Article about Congregational Church: *Rocky Mountain News*, January 1, 1892; Article about Catholic Church: *Rocky Mountain News*, April 27, 1903. Both quoted in Goodstein, "Cherry Creek." None of these churches are still extant.

²⁴ Ken Schoepel, "Highland or Highlands?" 21 September 2008, Accessed 24 March 2015, <http://denverinfill.com/blog/2008/09/highland-or-highlands.html>. A debate exists over whether "Highland" or "Highlands," with an "s," is more accurate. Ken Schroepel, in a 2008 blog post, based upon information from Ruth Eloise Wiberg's *Rediscovering Northwest Denver* and William C. Jones and Kenton Forrest's *Denver: A Pictorial History*, attempted to cut through the confusion. He noted when Larimer platted the town site, he used the singular moniker. By 1875, when the village government was established, the community had incorporated a wide range of individual subdivision plats with "Highland" in their name. So, the plural "Highlands" was used in official paperwork and

continued to be used from that point onward. Based upon this history, Schroepfel contends the singular should be used when “referring specifically to the oldest part of northwest Denver closest to Downtown...,” but if you want to identify the area west of Zuni Street, you should probably call it Highlands. This writer offered yet another possibility: calling “the whole thing” Highland but then referring to the portion closest to downtown and the Platte River as Lower Highland. He implores readers “please, please, whatever you do, just don’t call it ‘LoHi’!!” Ironically, it is this last name that appears to be the most popular currently, especially among realtors, marketers, and newcomers to the Denver area.

²⁵ In 1890 Highlands ranked as the sixth largest city in Colorado. Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 61.

²⁶ The 1875 upscale subdivision of Highland Park was modeled after a Scottish village and included curving streets with names like Argyle, Dunkeld, Caithness, Firth, and Fife.

²⁷ Robert Autobee, “If You Stick with Barnum,” *Essays and Monographs in Colorado History* (1992): 6. “A commentator wrote in 1949 that (at the time P.T.) Barnum ‘could have bought all of what is now Park Hill and most of Capitol Hill’” for the same price.

²⁸ Autobee, “Barnum,” 9.

²⁹ Early resident F.S. Kinder, quoted in Sharon R. Catlett, *Farmlands, Forts, and Country Life: The Story of Southwest Denver* (Boulder: Westcliffe Publishers, 2007), 64.

³⁰ Denver Public Library, Western History Department, “The Goldineh Medinah,” accessed 24 March 2015, <https://history.denverlibrary.org/west-colfax-neighborhood-history>.

³¹ Ida L. Uchill, *Pioneers, Peddlers & Tsadikim: The Story of Jews in Colorado*, 3rd ed. (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2000), 188.

³² The current Temple Events Center represents the third building for this congregation. The first, a simple wood frame building, was located at 19th and Curtis streets. In 1882 the congregation constructed its second and much grander stone building at 2400 Curtis.

³³ Uchill, *Pioneers*, 203.

³⁴ Uchill, *Pioneers*, 196.

³⁵ Van Wyke, *South Denver*, 93.

³⁶ Early in the recovery, construction mostly likely took place on empty parcels within Denver’s numerous existing subdivisions. In 1893 there were seventeen subdivision plats filed, the peak for the context period. The nadir occurred in 1897 when only four filings occurred. Annual filing rates remained low from 1894 through 1901. The seventeen filings in 1902 marked the return of local real estate activity to near pre-Panic levels.

³⁷ Baker, *Boomtown*, 63.

³⁸ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 117.

³⁹ Dorsett, *Queen City*, 84.

⁴⁰ “Denver Merry-Making: Mask Parade, Followed by Promiscuous Masking in the Streets, Yesterday,” 7 October 1897, *Kansas City Journal*.

⁴¹ In 1983 the Downtown Denver Partnership sought inspiration from the Festival. To celebrate the opening of the 16th Street Mall, they launched “A Taste of Colorado,” adding this new name to the older Festival of Mountain and Plain label.

⁴² Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 127. Other successful Boettcher companies included the Ideal Cement Company, the Western Packing Company, Denver National Bank, and a brokerage house. The wealthy family invested in the Capitol Life Insurance Company, the Public Service Company of Colorado, the National Fuse and Powder Company, the Bighorn Land and Cattle Company, and the Brown Palace Hotel.

⁴³ *Denver Times*, 24 December 1900, quoted in Thomas H. and R. Laurie Simmons, *Capitol Hill Neighborhood* (1994).

⁴⁴ *Denver Times*, 24 December 1900, 9.

⁴⁵ *Denver Times*, 18 February 1902, 3.

⁴⁶ Jane Addams developed settlement houses in Chicago’s immigrant neighborhoods, places for new arrivals to share their ethnic traditions and receive support during integration into an unfamiliar and overwhelming American society. Robert La Follette was a Wisconsin politician who opposed trusts and political bosses, championing direct democracy and reforms like primary elections, research-based legislation, women’s suffrage, and municipal home

rule. John Dewey was an educational reformer who believed in the power of pragmatism and participatory democracy, especially the powerful potential of cooperation among citizens, experts, and politicians.

⁴⁷ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 140.

⁴⁸ Thomas J. Noel and Barbara S. Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects, 1893-1941* (Denver, Colorado: Historic Denver, Inc., 1987), 18.

⁴⁹ The Cultural Landscape Foundation, "Denver Park and Parkway System," accessed 10 June 2015, <http://tclf.org/landscapes/denver-park-and-parkway-system>.

⁵⁰ Mark A. Barnhouse mentioned that Walker used some of the profits from his farm sale to purchase a magazine: *Cosmopolitan*. He later sold this publication to William Randolph Hearst. Mark A. Barnhouse, *Northwest Denver*, Images of America series (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Books, 2012), mentioned that Walker used some of the profits from his farm sale to purchase a magazine: *Cosmopolitan*. He later sold this publication to William Randolph Hearst.

⁵¹ Amy Zimmer, *Denver's Historic Homes* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2013), 117.

⁵² Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 122.

⁵³ Perhaps to curtail just such types of activities, in July 1902 the *Denver Times* reported the town appointed marshals to "keep Berkeley pure and sober."

⁵⁴ Elizabeth MacMillan, *Elyria: Denver's Forgotten Suburb, 1881-1941* (Denver, Colorado: N.p.: 2004), v.

⁵⁵ *Rocky Mountain News*, 28 December 1880, quoted in Simmons and Simmons, *Overview*.

⁵⁶ *Rocky Mountain News*, March 1881, quoted in MacMillan, *Elyria*, 1.

⁵⁷ *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 January 1895, quoted in MacMillan, *Elyria*, 30. The building is no longer extant.

⁵⁸ Other packing houses included the Coffin Plant, the Colorado Packing and Provision Company, and the Pepper Meat and Provision Company. Blaney-Murphy took over the Coffin operation, building a new packing plant on higher ground in 1923 after the original facility was destroyed in a flood. The building became Cudahy Packing and later Bar S and was the last packing plant in the area. It closed in 1999 and the site became a parking lot for the nearby National Western Stock Show.

⁵⁹ Most of Elyria's individual houses were without electricity.

⁶⁰ MacMillan, *Elyria*, 31.

⁶¹ The underpass at West 38th Avenue was not completed until the late-1920s.

⁶² Anna M. Reisbick's personal memoir, *Garden Place, Globeville, 1885-1950*, mentions four multi-family worker housing options in Globeville: the Globe Hotel at 5442 Washington Street, the Schmidt Hotel at 47th and Washington, the Priatt Boarding House and Saloon at 52nd and Washington Street, and an unnamed two-story boarding house at 45th Avenue near Broadway. None of these buildings are extant.

⁶³ All of these buildings are no longer extant.

⁶⁴ Reisbick, *Garden Place, Globeville*, 3.

⁶⁵ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 186.

⁶⁶ Some of his business interests included supporting the Denver Circle Railroad that Noel noted "never circled the city;" writing *Cattle-Raising on the Plains of North America* (1885) but failing in his aspirations as a cattle man; and opening a beer hall in South Denver that, when not successful with Denver's middle class visitors to the nearby Mining and Industrial exhibition, became a hub for the city's gamblers and prostitutes.

⁶⁷ The Baron originally solved his transportation problem by providing a coach service for prospective buyers and new residents between the Tabor Grand Opera House and the outlying suburb.

⁶⁸ Noel, *Richthofen's Montclair*, 18.

⁶⁹ Noel, *Richthofen's Montclair*, 19. Montclair Mayor Harlan Thomas declared "I would rather walk ten miles to hell than go to the city of Denver to pay my taxes," and the small town even pursued their case against annexation all the way to the Colorado Supreme Court.

⁷⁰ Simmons and Simmons, *Overview*, 44.

⁷¹ Catlett, *Farmlands*, 81.

⁷² Department of Labor, *Bureau of the Census, Mortality Statistics, 1907*, 8th Annual Report (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909).

⁷³ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 122.

⁷⁴ Louisa W. Arps, *Denver in Slices*, (Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press, 1959), 163.

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⁷⁵ Cragmor Sanatorium in Colorado Springs was the most well-known of this category of TB care facilities.

⁷⁶ Jacobs was known as the "mother of Jewish charity work," and her portrait is in a stained glass window gracing the Colorado Hall of Fame in the rotunda of the State Capitol.

⁷⁷ Denver Public Library, Western History Department "Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society (JCRS)," accessed 24 March 2015, <https://history.denverlibrary.org/west-colfax-neighborhood-history>.

⁷⁸ When it opened in 1899, NJHC did not have a kosher kitchen, but this feature was added at a later date. Isaac Solomon built the synagogue at JCRS in memory of his son, Jacob, who died of TB. The original synagogue was destroyed in a fire. The current building, with Moorish architectural elements, was constructed in 1926.

⁷⁹ Denver Public Library, "Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society (JCRS)."

⁸⁰ The JCRS closed in 1954. The AMC Cancer Research Center subsequently occupied the property. The former healthcare complex currently is home to the campus of Rocky Mountain College of Art and Design (RMCAD).