A Place Set Apart: The History and Architecture of Pueblo's East Side Neighborhood

Prepared by:

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Prepared for:

City of Pueblo, Colorado

Certified Local Government Grant
Project CO-08-013

May 2009

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KANSAS RIVER

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Introduction

A Place Safe for Diversity

If we cannot end now our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity.

— President John F. Kennedy

The exact definition of what constitutes Pueblo's East Side neighborhood varies from resident to resident. But one feature is always the same: the East Side is a place set apart. It is a place set apart physically by Fountain Creek, which severs the neighborhood from the rest of the city. It is a place set apart by its erratic, undulating topography. It is a place set apart by varied architectural styles and building types. And it is a place set apart by its economic and cultural diversity.

The East Side, known historically as East Pueblo and Park Hill, is one of the very earliest areas in Colorado to be settled by Europeans, outside of the San Luis Valley. Its river confluence and mesa-top promontories may have attracted Native Americans even millennia before. Certainly the first American explorers encountered tribes at this place. Beyond the length of East Pueblo's history is the breadth of its legacy. It was a place of struggle and success, where the working and professional classes freely mixed for most of its history. In that, it was unlike any other place in Pueblo.

Dominating the story of Pueblo's East Side is its physical separation from the rest of the city. On the east bank of Fountain Creek, East Siders struggled to define themselves—to promote a cohesive and appealing identity in the face of geographic stigma. Yet perhaps no other neighborhood in Pueblo so strikingly defied definition. The neighborhood was historically home to a mix of classes and ethnicities that lived side by side. On the bluffs above the city were members of the wealthy professional class. In small adobe dwellings in the flood-prone river bottoms were working-class Mexicans, Italians, Germans, and even Orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe. The neighborhood retains its diversity and, therefore, much of its historic identity.

For the purposes of this context, the East Side constitutes all of that area of the City of Pueblo east of Fountain Creek, south and east of the U.S. Highway 50 Bypass, and north of the BNSF Railway (former Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad) right-of-way. It also includes the Eastwood neighborhood, which is northeast of the U.S. Highway 50 Bypass.

Section I

Historical Context

Chapter 1

Geography and Landscape

The geography and landscape of Pueblo's East Side is as diverse as the people who have called the neighborhood home. Rivers, bluffs, open prairie, and sudden elevation changes all contributed to the isolation of the East Side. Geographic isolation bolstered stigmas that were difficult and sometimes impossible to change. Unlike socioeconomic stigmas, which community and political leaders could address, geographic stigmas were literally built into an area or neighborhood. The geography of the East Side remains today as it was when the area was first subdivided in the early 1870s. Indeed geography more than anything else appears to have been the dominant factor influencing the development of the East Side from its early pioneer history to the present day.

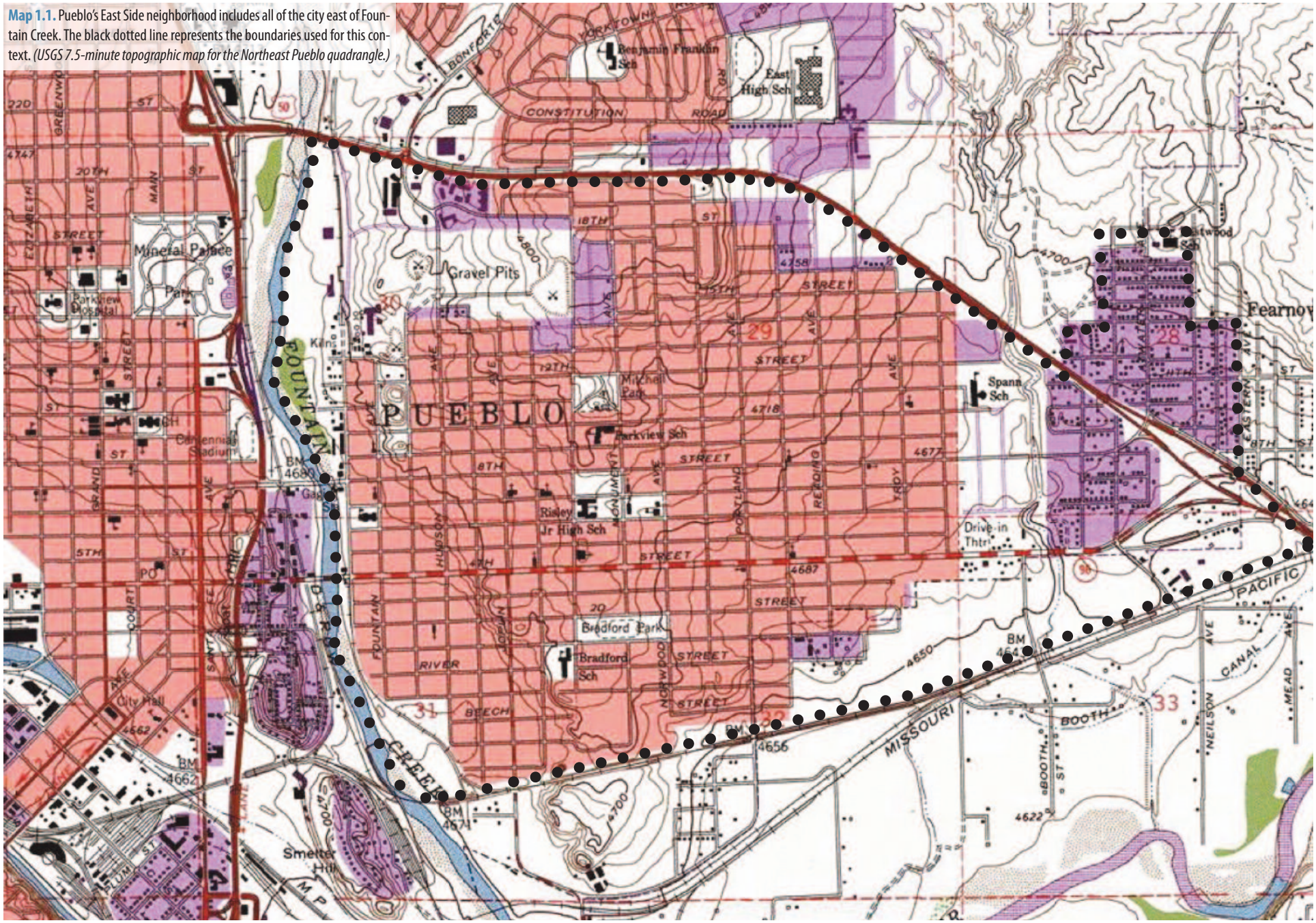
Topography

Elevation on the East Side varies greatly and can change in relatively short distances. While the lowest elevation in East Pueblo is about 4,650 feet above mean sea level, near where Walter's Brewery once stood and at the adjacent confluence of the Arkansas River and Fountain Creek, the highest elevation is over 4,800 feet near the present-day U.S. Highway 50 Bypass at LaCrosse Avenue. Traveling east on Fourth Street from Hudson to Iola avenues, the elevation gains twenty-five feet in one block, an example of how quickly the terrain can change in the neighborhood. But from the time of the earliest additions and subdivisions, developers applied an unrelenting grid of streets—aligned to the cardinal compass points—to this often rugged terrain. This has resulted in many unique landscape features on the East Side.[1]

The most notable of these are the neighborhood's retaining walls, which vary from high curbs to towering masses of masonry. The same portion of Fourth Street mentioned above also hosts houses that are situated well above the street level, in some instances more than 10 feet higher than the crown of the pavement. Builders compensated for this elevation change from lot to lot by building retaining walls, keeping erosion at bay. The older retaining walls in the neighborhood often consist of red sandstone or pink rhyolite, punctuated by staircases. Some of the most massive retaining walls are concrete, with projecting buttresses and towering, steel staircases, which were required to reach the lots high above. One such retaining wall that lines the east side of Joplin Avenue between Third and Fourth streets was transformed into a community art piece. In 1996, area schoolchildren painted a mural twenty-five years in the planning, "El Vaquero." The mural features silhouettes of horses, each painted a different color, and two silhouettes of Mexican cowboys, or "vaqueros."[2]

A second consequence of the East Side's sharply undulating terrain is that many houses that appear to be two or three stories on one elevation are one or two stories when viewed from the opposite side. Similarly, many houses include

Map 1.1. Pueblo's East Side neighborhood includes all of the city east of Fountain Creek. The black dotted line represents the boundaries used for this context. *(USGS 7.5-minute topographic map for the Northeast Pueblo quadrangle.)*



a garage built into the embankment or retaining wall at street level, with the house itself set back on the lot at a higher elevation.

The third characteristic of these elevation changes is that some lots were considerably more difficult to build on than others. In particular, the mesa tops remained relatively lightly built or unbuilt at all. These buttes often were rocky and lacked the lush grasses found covering properties closer to the river bottoms.

These elevation changes also affect the day-to-day lives of many East Siders. For instance, in some blocks homeowners cannot park their cars on the streets in front of their houses, which is standard practice elsewhere in the neighborhood and throughout the city. For instance, it is much too steep to safely park with driveway access from Fourth Street. In addition to vehicle traffic, pedestrian traffic is also affected by the elevation fluctuations. Walking east on Fourth Street between Hudson and Joplin avenues and north on Joplin between River and Fourth streets can be quite strenuous. Motorists are hard-pressed to find pedestrian traffic in these areas.

Rivers and Floods

The area's unique watershed is a major factor contributing to the East Side's history and sense of place. The Fountain River, or *Fontaine qui Bouille* ("boiling fountain" as nineteenth century French missionaries in the area now known as Manitou Springs called it), constitutes the westernmost boundary of the East Side.[3] Fountain Creek is the key factor in the geographic isolation of the East Side. When developers planned and subdivided this neighborhood, it naturally became known as "East Pueblo" because it was the easternmost part of town and was also east of Fountain Creek from downtown Pueblo, or "Pueblo proper." A tiny portion of what some would consider the East Side is situated on the west bank of Fountain Creek. The Goat Hill neighborhood runs south from Fourth Street to the BNSF Railway (formerly Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway) right-of-way, and east from Albany Avenue to Fountain Creek. Just north of Goat Hill, on the north side of Fourth Street, exists the remnants of a small commercial district anchored by the Sweeney Feed Mill. Although these business and residential districts occupy land west of the river, Interstate 25 flanks their western boundary and separates them from the downtown Pueblo commercial district. In addition to Fountain Creek, the Arkansas River flows just south of the East Side, where the Fountain's southward journey ends in the Arkansas's eastward flow.

The rivers have caused more than the mere geographic separation of the East Side from the rest of the city; they have caused destruction and utter catastrophe. Reports of flooding extend into the nineteenth century and may have been the reason settlers frequently abandoned the area. Flash flooding on Fountain Creek was a regular occurrence. On July 17, 1875, Dr. R.M. Stevenson, editor of the *Colorado Daily Chieftain,* left his office for dinner at his East Side home. On his way back to work, Stevenson was surprised to find both approaches to the East Pueblo bridge under water. Between 6:00 and 10:00 p.m., the river rose five feet. With its leader stranded across Fountain Creek, the newspaper glibly noted, "So we go to press without an editor."[4]

A similar flash flood happened on July 14, 1876. The *Chieftain* described the incident:

> The rain yesterday afternoon must have been

very heavy to the north of this city, on the Fontaine. That stream was almost dry, and in the course of about fifteen or twenty minutes became so full that the water ran around both ends of the East Pueblo bridge, and extended to the railroad on the western bank.

The train bound for the north on the Denver and Rio Grande railway left South Pueblo on time yesterday afternoon but returned and again started out at half past three, having a flat car loaded with ties in front of the engine. From this circumstance it would appear that one or more wash outs have occurred on the line.

During the storm one of the chimneys of the new school building was blown down, the bricks breaking through the roof and doing some damage.

A cow belonging to Judge Henry was washed away by the flood in the Fontaine and drowned.[5]

On May 30, 1894, rain began to fall in Pueblo. A two-day storm left the city with 3.02 inches of precipitation; this rain, combined with rainfall north along the Fountain watershed and west along the Arkansas watershed, caused severe flooding in East Pueblo. Floodwaters crippled the Eighth Street Bridge and completely swept away the Fourth Street Bridge, the East Side's only two tenuous connections to the rest of Pueblo. Between the two streets, the Fountain channel had moved two hundred yards east, now encroaching, ironically, on Water (now Erie) Avenue. The peak discharge of the Fountain was estimated to be 40,000 cubic feet per second (c.f.s.).[6]

In early June 1921, heavy rainfall again inundated the Pueblo area—for miles north and south of the city, and upstream on the Arkansas River—causing all of downtown Pueblo to flood. "Pueblo's greatest disaster," as the deluge came to be known, backed up water in both the Arkansas River and Fountain Creek.[7] The Fountain crested on June 4, at an estimated peak discharge of 34,000 c.f.s.[8] The swift-flowing water once again severely damaged the bridges at Fourth and Eighth streets, stranding East Pueblo residents and keeping them from critical services, including the hospital, for days. Bridge washouts forced desperate residents to either ford the river, where the current remained treacherous, or cross a dangerous, makeshift pedestrian bridge. Although the western span of the Fourth Street bridge had collapsed, the streetcar tracks remained precariously suspended above the creek. Desperate residents boarded over gaps in the tracks to reach the west bank. It was not until three weeks later that a temporary pile trestle at Fourth Street allowed pedestrians, automobiles, and streetcars to again cross the Fountain.[9]

About one week short of the fourteenth anniversary of the 1921 disaster, floodwaters raged again in Fountain Creek. On May 30, 1935, the river swelled to a rate of 35,000 c.f.s.[10] The Eighth and Fourth street bridges were spared, even though the river was flowing at a rate higher than it had in 1921; but the flood caused considerable damage to the Missouri Pacific Railroad bridge just south of the East Side neighborhood.[11] The neighborhood itself dodged the bullet; the damage estimate from the flood was $500,000 for the entire city, with most of the destruction occurring on the northern edge of town.[12]

As if the East Side had not suffered enough through several previous significant floods, the Fountain River again burst its banks in 1965, inundating the neighborhood with more water and mud than had ever been recorded. On June 14, heavy rainfall in the foothills north of the city brought a wall of

water down Fountain Creek. The peak flow, occurring on June 17 at 9:30 p.m., was estimated at 47,000 c.f.s. through Pueblo at the Eighth Street gauge station.[13] This peak flow remains the strongest current ever recorded in Fountain Creek through the city, and the deluge affected the East Side more than any other previous flood. The rushing water cracked a pier near the center of the always-vulnerable Eighth Street Bridge, causing authorities to close the viaduct. Metal buildings belonging to the Farmers Lumber Company, that had stood north of the Sweeney Feed Mill, were swept away and entangled in the Fourth Street Bridge, banging threateningly against its piers.[14] There were no reports of damage to the bridge or any related closure of it, though the floodwaters crested over the east end of the span. Water reached as far west as Chester Avenue and as far east as Hudson Avenue, covering both of these streets. The eastern boundary of Hudson Avenue was a point farther east than the floodwaters reached during the 1921 flood.[15] The flood forced over a thousand East Side residents to evacuate their homes and relocate temporarily to Risley Junior High School. Residents of all houses between Glendale Avenue and the river were under a mandatory evacuation order and the City advised residents who lived in low-lying areas south of Fourth Street to evacuate as well.[16] The flood covered approximately fifty-three city blocks with water up to eight feet deep; 370 residences and fifty-nine businesses were damaged, with most of the destruction concentrated on the East Side.[17]

Sadly, engineers had determined decades before that flood damage to the East Side neighborhood could be entirely prevented with the construction of a proper levee. In 1939, Colorado Governor Ralph L. Carr toured the Fountain Creek channel through Pueblo. Carr noted that although the channel had been moved after the 1935 flood, "only 14 feet of loose earth separate the Fountain's old channel from the new."[18] The Works Progress Administration straightened the channel and lined it with rip-rap a few years prior to 1939; the precautions proved for naught, however, as the river washed away the rip-rap and undermined the soil beneath it with only normal flow



Figure 1.1. The 1921 flood wiped out the First and Eighth street bridges and the westernmost span of the Fourth Street bridge, leaving only the decking suspended between the streetcar rails. For weeks, this was the only means by which residents of East Pueblo could directly reach the rest of the city. *(Pueblo City-County Library District)*

levels. Governor Carr also noted merely "two feet of water in the Fountain would undermine the thin barrier."[19] To alleviate future problems the Fountain might give Pueblo, Governor Carr suggested that the channel be straightened through its entire run through the city and that a concrete wall or heavy rock barrier be constructed to avert future floods.[20]

Nearly ten years after the flood of 1965, the Fountain River once again became a problem for East Side residents without rising an inch. The federal government wanted the City of Pueblo to designate portions of the East Side near the eastern bank of the Fountain as a floodplain, thus allowing residents there to access federal floodplain insurance, should another flood occur. To the federal government, the designation of a floodplain was a good idea since the insurance was low-cost. Residents felt differently, however, as area real estate agents told them that property values in the proposed floodplain could decrease between twenty and sixty percent.[21] Additionally, the designation would forbid rebuilding both damaged commercial and residential buildings if the cost of restoration was more than fifty percent of their value. As well, any new structures would have to be either flood-proofed or elevated above flood level; both restrictions were thought of as being too costly at the time and would have restricted development and revitalization efforts.[22] Residents previously had the option of purchasing the insurance without the floodplain designation on a year-to-year basis. By 1975, the federal government was demanding the designation, and in an effort to enforce it, notified the City "that after March 31 [1976], no federally subsidized flood insurance may be sold here [in Pueblo], unless the City before the March 31 deadline adopts a floodplain ordinance acceptable to the federal government."[23] About 400 families lived in the proposed floodplain area, but only 105 federally subsidized insurance policies had been purchased, including a few commercial properties, even though the policy cost was roughly ten percent of non-subsidized insurance.[24]

The Pueblo City Council refused to pass the floodplain ordinance after hearing the concerns of East Side neighborhood residents. At the same time, East Side residents and business owners petitioned the Council to take action to prevent further flooding on Fountain Creek. The 1976 petition called for immediate action to create a system of levees along the east bank of the river, to widen the river channel, and to clear man-made obstructions lingering in the river that often dammed the water.[25] In 1976, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers agreed that the construction of levees was crucial along the Fountain through the East Side to prevent further catastrophic flood damage.[26] The Corps developed a $7-million plan that included levees, floodways, channel improvements, bridge modifications, and the relocation of some existing flood control structures. About the same time, the engineering firm of Sellards & Grigg, of Denver, developed a similar plan that would have cost $5 million, but did not go to the lengths the Corps of Engineers specified. Both plans called for a maximum channel capacity of 85,000 c.f.s. At the time, engineers estimated that the Fountain Creek improvements would require six to seven years to complete.[28] By 1980 another study led to a $5 million, 72,000 c.f.s. capacity plan that the Pueblo City Council formally supported.[29] This proposed levee system would easily contain a flow equal to that of the 1965 flood and more, but was only about half of the 152,000 c.f.s. flow maximum that was standard for other similar urban flood control projects. But Council determined that the 152,000 c.f.s. flow protection was not economically feasible. Now, with local support, the last hurdle

was to secure funding from Congress, with construction expected to begin in 1983.[30] As with many federally funded projects, approval took longer than expected. A bill containing funding for the Fountain Creek flood control project was brought before the House of Representatives in 1985, but it was one of thirty-one projects stripped from the legislation.[31] In 1987, a full eleven years after the Corps of Engineers agreed to levee flood protection and twenty-two years after the last significant flood, construction finally began on a flood control project that would at last afford some protection for hundreds of residents living in the low-lying areas of the East Side neighborhood. The project cost well over $8 million, but the neighborhood no longer had to worry about regular flooding or the associated floodplain designation or recommended flood insurance. The East Side finally received the flood protection it needed and deserved.[32]

Chapter 2

Early Settlement

Pueblo began as one of the greatest crossroads in the American west. The high plains just east of the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains marked a natural course north and south. The Arkansas River pierced the Front Range, connecting the arid Great Plains to the east with lush mountain parks to the west. The Arkansas also served as a political and cultural boundary; it marked the northern extent of Spanish and, later, Mexican territory. To the north were French and American lands. Here, at the confluence of the Arkansas River and Fontaine Qui Bouille (Fountain Creek), was a gray area, where the American Indian, Spanish, Mexican, French, and American mingled freely.

Trappers and Traders

The northeast corner of the confluence, what is today Pueblo's Lower East Side, witnessed some the earliest exploration and permanent settlement in Colorado. It may have been the location of a French trading post built in 1763, although the exact location of that building is nearly impossible to determine. Nonetheless, the area proved popular among early trappers and traders. As Jerome C. Smiley notes in his 1913 *History of Colorado:*

> From [1821-22] until past the middle of the century the general vicinity of our city of Pueblo was almost continuously a resort for fur-gatherers and some other adventurers in the Pikes Peak country. The locality seems to have been exceptionally inviting to them.[1]

Early American trappers found the headwaters of the Arkansas to be rich in beavers. But extracting this wealth came at great peril. Those who had not forged mutually trusting relationships with the local Indian populations risked death. Spanish expeditionary forces often captured those Americans who survived and extradited them to Santa Fe, where they were sentenced. While these American trappers were generally released without incident, the Spanish Government would usually confiscate their pelts, which could be worth as much as $30,000 in some cases—an enormous fortune at that time—and sent them back into American territory penniless.[2]

But attitudes changed in Santa Fe when Mexico officially won its independence from Spain in 1821. Among the earliest to discover this was the Glenn-Fowler Company. In September 1821, "Colonel" Hugh Glenn and "Major" Jacob Fowler led an expedition of eighteen men from Fort Smith, Arkansas, up the Arkansas River to points west. They would have entered the present boundaries of the state around November 5. Two days after camping at the mouth of the St. Charles River, on December 31, the Americans ran into a caravan of Mexican and Indian traders returning to Santa Fe. Glenn and Fowler decided

to part ways at that time; Glenn would travel with the caravan to assess the situation in Santa Fe while Fowler would remain behind to build a more permanent camp and trading post at that location and await Glenn's return.

But as the days passed, Fowler became increasingly concerned about his situation. He was unaware of the improving Mexican-American relationship following the independence of Mexico and began to suspect that the Spanish were holding his partner captive in Santa Fe. At the same time, he realized that the Mexican caravan knew his location—which was on the south bank of the Arkansas—and could eventually return with Spanish soldiers. Meanwhile, the group had already passed massive Indian encampments and Fowler could not determine if they were friendly or hostile toward Americans. To make the situation even more untenable, his remaining men attempted a mutiny on January 3, 1822. Jacob Fowler and his brother, Robert, suppressed the mutiny and were able to construct some crude buildings before Jacob finally gave into his suspicions and decided to scout out a new site for their trading post. As Fowler writes in his journal (in his own unique spelling and punctuation):

> Tusday 15th Jany 1822…I then Went to look out a good Setuation for a new Settlement on the north Side of the River—Intending to move tomorrow Should no acoumpt Reach us from Conl glann—as We began to Sopose He Is now not at liverty to Send an Exspress—and We think that a party of Spanirds may be Sent to take us prisnors—for Which Reason Intend making a Strong Hous and Hors Pen on the Bank of the River Wheare it Will not be In the Powe [power] of an Enemy to aproch us from the River Side—and shold the Spaniers appeer In a Hostill manner We Will fight them on the Ameraken ground. the River Hear being the line by the last tretey.

That day, Fowler climbed a high promontory on the Lower East Side, immediately south of what is now the BNSF Railway (former Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway). From that location, now known as Fowler's Lookout, the group could survey the broad valley of the Arkansas River as it flowed from the foothills and disappeared beyond the snow-capped peaks. He quickly decided that this was the best place for his trading post:

> Wensday 16th Jany 1822 moved Camp Early up the River on the north Side to the Spot I looked out yesterday—We built a Stong Hors Peen and put up the Horses at night—no word from Conl glann—We begin to Conclue as Is not Well Him [that not all is well with him]
>
> Thorsday 17th Jany 1822…no World from Conl glann We Intend building a Hous tomorrow….
>
> Friday 18th Jany 1822…We built the Hous With three Rooms and but one out Side door and that Close to the Hors Pen So that the Horses Cold not be taken out at night Without our knowledge We got the Hous Seven logs High and Well Chinked the goods al stoed a Way before night…."[3]

Glenn's messengers finally arrived at Fowler's camp on January 28. They told the trader and his cohorts that follow-

ing the Mexican Revolution, attitudes in Santa Fe toward the Americans had greatly improved. Glenn instructed Fowler and his company to return with the couriers at once. They left the camp on January 30 and at last rejoined Glenn at Taos on February 8. Their venture "was terminated profitably" on June 1, 1822, when the company began its return trip to the east.

Sources vary when it comes to the disposition of Fowler's camp at the confluence of the Arkansas and Fountain. In his journal, Fowler seems to suggest that it was simply abandoned when they traveled to Taos. Other sources suggest that Glenn and Fowler favored the confluence location so much that the following year they built a more permanent log trading post there, serving as the headquarters for trapping and trading expeditions in the surrounding area and as far away as Santa Fe and Taos.[4]

In 1823, a trader named John McKnight may have built a small post near the Fowler camp or used its buildings. Little is known about his operation, and newspapers reported that Comanche Indians killed him shortly after he established his post.[5]

Around 1842, perhaps earlier, a group of traders and trappers established El Pueblo, also known as Fort Pueblo, north of the Arkansas River and west of Fountain Creek. It was an adobe structure described by historian Francis Parker on his 1846 western journey as "nothing more than a large square enclosure, surrounded by a wall of mud, miserably cracked and dilapidated."[6]

In 1853, across Fountain Creek from El Pueblo and north of the Arkansas River, Marcelino Baca became the first permanent (but short-lived) resident in what would become the East Side. Baca had amassed a fortune as a trader and trapper and decided to settle down with an extensive cattle- and horse-feeding operation. He built a log house for his family, approximately a dozen more for his peons (farm tenants who were usually Mexican), and corrals. However, like many pioneer enterprises in the West, success—and even mere survival—was fleeting. On Christmas Day 1854, a band of Ute Indians attacked Fort Pueblo and massacred its inhabitants. Fearing for the safety of his family and fortune, Baca fled to New Mexico. But the draw of commerce along this crossroads was ceaseless, and settlement continued despite the risks.[7]

Fountain City

Yet the future of Pueblo lay not in dusty trails and prairie outposts but in cold, hard metal. In July 1858, a group of prospectors, led by William Green Russell, discovered gold on Dry Creek, near present-day Denver, and ignited the Colorado Gold Rush. Pueblo's crossroads location made it an ideal place to profit from the great masses heading west, proclaiming "Pikes Peak or bust." And the East Side played a pivotal role in propelling Pueblo forward as one of the greatest outfitting and smelting centers in the territory.

As Colorado gold fever spread quickly, Pueblo's ideal location did not go unnoticed by those planning to get rich without the burden of mining. In the summer of 1858, a party of men from St. Louis left for the Colorado gold fields. Following the Santa Fe Trail into present-day eastern Colorado, the party then followed the Arkansas River to its confluence with Fountain Creek, arriving there in September. The group initially planned to stay at the confluence for only a short respite, but another party of prospectors brought news that reports from the gold producing areas had been grossly inflated. Finding plentiful resources at the Arkansas-Fountain confluence, the

two groups decided to over-winter at that location. In November 1858 the settlers established a colony at the confluence. Fountain City, as it came to be called, included an area that would later become the Lower East Side. The settlers had plenty of wood to survive the winter and even traded with nearby Arapahos for other necessities.[8]

Those first pioneers were Josiah F. Smith, Otto Winneka, Frank Dorris, and George Lebaum. They were soon joined by the Robert Middleton family, George Peck, and members of the Lawrence prospecting party that had separated from that group. By the end of 1858, the settlement consisted of several log and adobe cabins. The main street of the town was oriented east-west, near present-day Damson Street. This reflected the reality of Front Range trade during the gold rush, when prospectors came from the east to settle in the gold camps to the west. The principal thoroughfares of Pueblo would later be oriented north and south, indicating the city's role as a Front-Range transportation and industrial hub rather than a mining supply camp. And settlers kept arriving: William H. Green, of Wisconsin; William Kroenig, from New Mexico; Anthony Thomas; Aaron Sims; and George McDougall, who had been a member of the original Russell party. A little later, Henry Brown and J.M Shafer arrived, as well as agents for the Wing & Cooper Company, of St. Louis. That firm opened a store in Fountain City and constructed a large corral for its livestock trading operations.

Other men in the group recognized the land was well-suited for agricultural purposes, repairing a ditch used by settlers in 1854 (most likely the Bacas). The ditch adjoined Fountain Creek near present-day Twelfth Street. Plots of vegetables were planted, with the men leaving plenty of room for money-commanding corn. During the summer and early fall of 1859, the vegetables from the settlement were transported to the Denver area. The vegetables would arrive before the crops in the Denver area ripened, giving the Fountain City growers a tidy profit. As Smiley notes, "As a whole, the assemblage near the mouth of the Fontaine developed a greater preference for engaging in trade and speculation than for hunting for gold in its wild form."[9]

The little settlement continued to grow and, before the end of the winter of 1859, the settlers had formally established a town company. J.M. Shafer and Henry Brown then platted the townsite, which now included over thirty buildings, most of which were still either log or adobe. According to local tradition, the Fountain City settlers acquired the latter building material from the ruins of the El Pueblo fortifications. This seems highly unlikely since the settlers could have dug and formed adobe bricks on site easier than trekking across Fountain Creek bringing back the very same materials from the ill-fated fort, which at that time would have largely returned to the earth without maintenance. Moreover, early settlers in what would become Pueblo were familiar with the existing ruins of the fort site, suggesting that it had not been entirely dismantled. Thus, Fountain City settlers must not have raided much from El Pueblo.

As Smiley notes, commerce in Fountain City was a bit different than some of its Front Range brethren:

> The people of this primitive town, which was less promising than the double-barreled community at the mouth of Cherry Creek [Denver], and which subsequently was swallowed up by the city of Pueblo, were disposed to depend more on resources of the country other than mining, and which has been, as it

> continues to be, rather characteristic of the city that now stands in that locality. . . .[C]onsiderable areas of land in the vicinity of the Fontaine's mouth were under cultivation during the fur-trading period, which circumstance suggested to some of the citizens of Fountain City that this land afforded a sure and ready-at-hand source of profit. Early in the spring of 1859 they planted a large acreage to vegetables and Indian corn, the produce of which they sold at hair-raising prices to passing parties of the army of fortune seekers that entered the "Pikes Peak Gold-fields" before midsummer of that year, the spring season having been exceptionally favorable for such crops.[9]

As gold camps moved further into the interior of the Rocky Mountains, particularly with news of the rich Leadville-area strikes in the spring and summer of 1859, many of Fountain City's sister boomtowns dwindled. Places like Colona (near Laporte, Larimer County) and Colorado City and El Dorado City (near Colorado Springs, El Paso County) nearly vanished. While the population did decrease slightly in Fountain City, it remained relatively stable "owing to the agricultural and commercial tendencies of a majority of dwellers there."[11]

Yet across the creek something quite different from gold diggings in the mountains was about to dim Fountain City's prospects as southeastern Colorado's great metropolis. Sometime between the early winter of 1859 and the spring of 1860, a group of settlers incorporated the town of Pueblo, situated on the north bank of the Arkansas River and the west bank of Fountain Creek, including the site of the old El Pueblo fortifications. Among the city's founders were many of the pioneers of Fountain City, including Colonel William H. Green and Albert F. Bercaw. In the summer of 1860, George B. Buell and E.D. Boyd, of Denver, platted the City of Pueblo. Their map showed a metropolis larger and more beautiful than any other in Colorado and rivaling any other city in the American West at that time. It included plans for a magnificent park, meant to be planted with exotic foliage and cooled by dozens of fountains. It was never built. By February 1861, a visitor described Pueblo as "a small town lying just under some bluffs by the bank of the river; there is a store there and a bridge across the river." By the summer of that year most of the inhabitants of Fountain City had relocated to Pueblo and the former town "was practically abandoned," except for those settlers who cultivated large landholdings east of Fountain Creek. The river bottoms remained extremely productive farmland and Pueblo was just as easy a market to reach as Fountain City. These two settlements acted as funnels, receiving and processing the products of a great agricultural hinterland to the north, east, and south and transporting them to the hungry mountain mining camps to the west.[12]

But why early settlers chose the upstart Pueblo over the more established Fountain City remains a bit of a mystery. Part of the answer may lie in what made the area around Fountain City such productive farmland: seasonal flooding. The Arkansas River tended to overrun its banks each spring as mountain runoff transformed it from a braiding stream within a wide channel into a raging torrent breaking free of its banks. Fountain Creek was prone to flash floods from summer thunderstorms. The location of most of Fountain City, at the confluence, was particularly low-lying. Most of the site of Pueblo was considerably higher and more removed from the rivers. Whatever the reason, Fountain City soon lost its identity, and

as Smiley notes: "Its site is now included in the part of the present city of Pueblo that is called 'East Pueblo.'"[13]

Despite absorbing Fountain City, the development of Pueblo through the 1860s was slow, due to the failure of goldfields near the Arkansas River headwaters and the lack of adequate transportation, the town being connected by unreliable stage routes north to Denver and east to Bent's Fort. But as railroads inched their way into the Colorado Territory in the late 1860s, Pueblo's prospects brightened. In 1869, the town lacked a single brick building, with all existing houses and businesses constructed of adobe, logs, or boards. That year, however, a group of investors established the first brickyard in the town. Also that year pioneer builder Lewis Conley, who would become known as the "Father of East Pueblo," constructed the first real theater in the embryonic city. The two-story adobe building was first known as Conley Hall and later as the Thespian Theater and Montgomery's Opera House.[14]

Another event marking the maturation of Pueblo occurred on April 24, 1869, when the first public sale of town lots occurred in what was known as the County Addition. Lots sold for $125 each and the buyers were some of the most prominent pioneer citizens of the town, including Henry C. and Mahlon D. Thatcher, who would become some of the wealthiest men in all of Colorado; G.A. Hinsdale; Judge William F. Stone; G. Bartles; O.H.P. Baxter; and Lewis Conley. They proved to be brilliant investors: in two decades those same lots were worth $15,000 a piece.[15]

With the pending arrival of General William Jackson Palmer's Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, building south from Denver in 1871, the growth of Pueblo exploded. Homestead claims around the settlement accelerated so quickly that the federal government had to open a new land office in Pueblo, with Judge Wheeler serving as registrar and Mark G. Bradford as receiver. The railroad reached Pueblo in 1872 and in 1874, the Government Land Office in Pueblo entered homestead claims accounting for 34,227 acres with an additional 59,730 acres preempted by private entry.[16]

The railroad made it even easier for Pueblo area merchants to obtain supplies for mining camps. Between that time and 1888, four more railroads arrived in Pueblo, forging in iron the burgeoning city's role as an economic, cultural, and political crossroads. The city became the state's principal railroad hub. It was the only Colorado city and one of the few in the intermountain west to have the mainlines of Class I railroads extending in all for cardinal directions. For decades, Pueblo was the gateway to the state's only mainline railroad route to Salt Lake City and all points west.

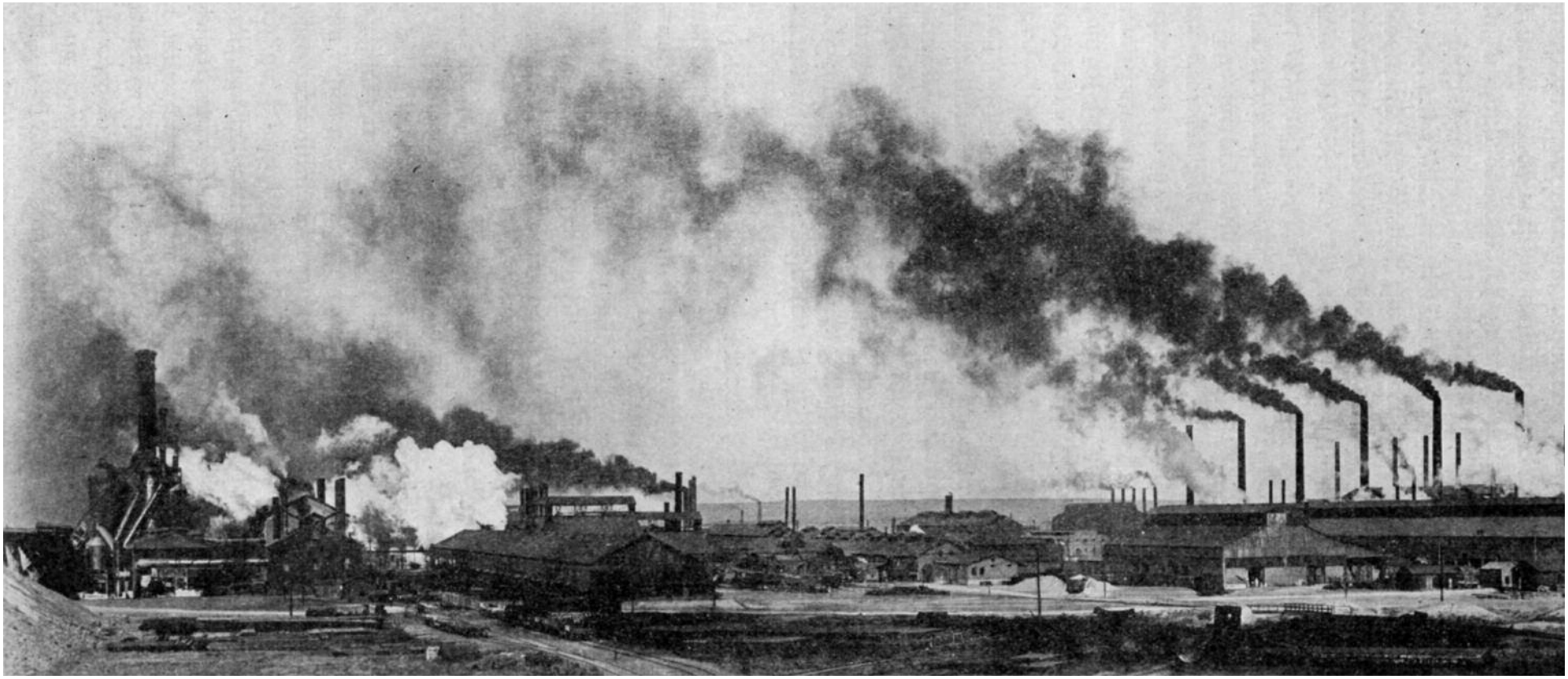
The railroads also made the settlements at Fountain Creek and the Arkansas River the logical place to establish large-scale ore-processing facilities. Gold, silver, and other ore traveled out of the mountains to the west and arrived in Pueblo, where smelters refined them into bullion and pure metals. The railroads then shipped the metals to the rest of the nation. By the 1880s, Pueblo had become a leader in metal refining and acquired a smoky mantle of industrial progress, which it would proudly wear for decades.[17]

The greatest of Pueblo's metal refining enterprises was the vision of General Palmer. Part of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad's early success was due to Palmer's creation of sister industries, which supplied business to his railroad. These included coal mining and smelting companies. At the same time, Palmer saw the eastern monopoly of rolled iron and steel rail as an impediment to the future growth of his railroad. Thus in 1880, he merged three of his smaller companies to create the

Colorado Coal & Iron Company and capitalized the new organization at $10 million, the equivalent of $200 million today. The company would supply business and rails to his railroad. The first blast furnace was fired in 1881 and the following year the mill rolled its first rails. Reorganized as the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company in 1892 and eventually evolving into the CF&I Steel Corporation, Pueblo's steel mill, known as the Minnequa Works, eventually became Colorado's single largest employer, the biggest steel mill west of the Mississippi River, and one of the greatest industrial complexes in the world.[18]

Despite the area's unparalleled economic success, the city remained politically divided. It was, in fact, three contiguous but independently governed towns: Pueblo, South Pueblo, and Central Pueblo. From the very beginning, East Pueblo had been considered a part of the original City of Pueblo. The towns formally merged in 1886, the same year the town of Bessemer was incorporated adjacent to the CF&I mill. The City of Pueblo annexed Bessemer in 1894 and became, at last, a united community.[19]

Figure 2.1. The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company's Minnequa Works, circa 1918. *(Stone,* History of Colorado*)*



Chapter 3

The Homestead Era

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine if any of the East Side's existing houses and structures date to Fountain City or to the early homesteads. However, local legend maintains that the "oldest house in Pueblo" was a story-and-a-half adobe building on Joplin Street in the Lower East Side. A 1938 photograph shows a relatively large, side-gabled, adobe dwelling, with double-hung sash windows and decorative vergeboards. According to legend, it was built in the late 1850s, sometime after the Christmas 1854 massacre at Fort Pueblo. More likely, it dated to the establishment of Fountain City in late 1858. However, it was nearly identical to existing adobe houses in the East Side that date to between 1872 and 1900. The house has been attributed to prominent southeastern Colorado pioneer trapper and trader Charles Autobees, although this seems unlikely since Autobees would have been at his own settlement further east at the confluence of the Huerfano River with the Arkansas. The house remained intact until the Colorado Deperatment of Transportation demolished it for the widening of Joplin Street (Colorado Highway 227) and the concurrent construction of an adjacent railroad underpass.

Many of the earlier settlers on the East Side were less concerned about acquiring land for real estate speculation than for farming, ranching, and, for those along Fountain Creek, perhaps some placer mining.

The first land patent to include a portion of what is now the East Side Neighborhood was issued to Josiah F. Smith, one of the founders of Fountain City, in 1866. It consisted of the southwest quarter of section thirty, 160 acres straddling Fountain Creek from what would become Fifteenth Street south to Seventh Street. Smith was born in Ohio (some sources say Maine) around 1830. His wife, Anna, was also born in Ohio in 1838. They had five children, Hattie, Louisa (or Lois), Josiah Jr.,

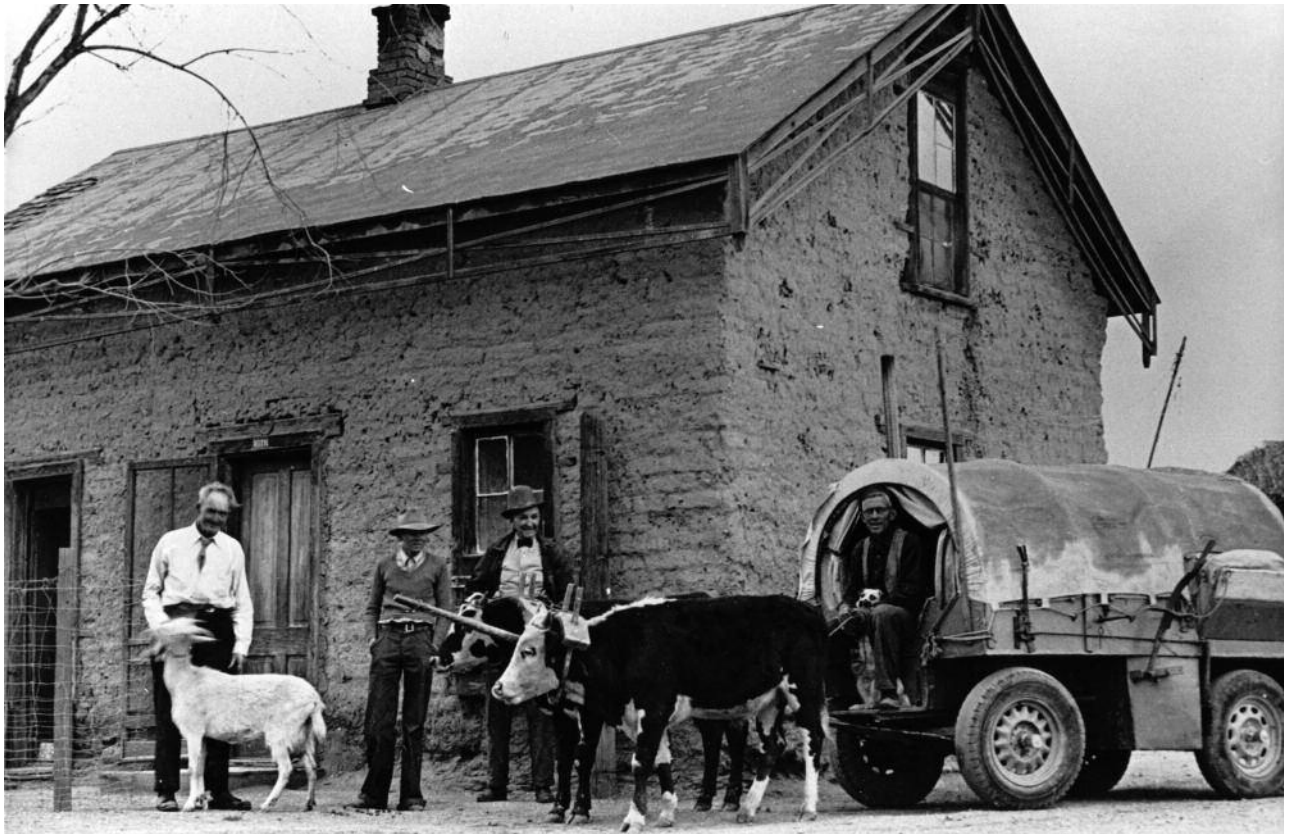


Figure 3.1. "The Oldest House in Pueblo" as seen in 1938. Local legend maintained that this adobe house dated to the late 1850s. Given its location, it could have been part of Fountain City, circa 1858-59. However, it resembles other extant East Side adobe houses dating to between 1872 and 1900. This house was demolished for the widening of Joplin Avenue. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*

Franklin, and Prentiss. In addition to founding Fountain City, Smith was involved in the creation of Cañon City. While living in Pueblo, Josiah identified himself as a "landowner" and later "miner." Interestingly, boarding with the Smiths in the 1870s was architect John Woodworth. Josiah Smith would go on to become one of the wealthiest residents of East Pueblo and was a key player in its early real estate and political evolution.[1]

The federal government issued a flurry of land patents in the East Side in 1867. On April 5, 1867, John S. Kearns acquired the southeast quarter of section thirty-one, 160 acres that would include the southwestern-most corner of the East Side Neighborhood and low-lying fields near the historic confluence of Fountain Creek with the Arkansas River.[2]

Fountain City pioneer and prominent Pueblo and Denver developer Henry C. Brown acquired two forty-acre plots in the far northwest corner of the East Side. These holdings were more part of his development plans in the North Side, consisting of much of the area around what is now Mineral Palace Park. Like Brown, Edward Cozzens obtained a forty-acre plot that was more part of the North Side than the East Side. He received his land patent on December 12, 1867.[3]

On December 10, 1867, brothers Henry and Abraham Goldsmith acquired patents to over 355 acres in what is now the southeastern portion of the East Side. This included most of the southern half of section thirty-two as well as the eastern portion of that section. They also constructed irrigation ditches to improve the productivity of their landholdings. (These ditches later played an important role in the development of the Walter's Brewery.) The 1870 federal census indicates that the Goldsmiths were quite prosperous with fairly enormous farming and ranching operations. Each of them listed their combined real estate and personal property wealth at $7,300, exponentially more wealth than any of their other neighbors. The Goldsmith brothers were born in Bavaria, Germany, Henry in 1823 and Abraham in 1825. Henry's wife Eve was born in Bavaria in 1825, and they had at least two children, both of whom were born in the Colorado Territory: Clara and Samuel. Like Henry, Abraham's wife, Rose, was also born in Bavaria, in 1841. They had at least four children, all of whom were also born in Colorado: Samuel; Emma; and twin girls Bettie and Nettie. Like the earlier Baca Ranch, the Goldsmiths employed a number of Hispanic-surnamed stockmen and farm laborers, most of whom identified themselves as coming from New Mexico. They included Jesus Grenga, Jose Incarnation, Francisco Benevedue, and Juan Martinez.[4]

Nathan Morris received a land patent for an oddly shaped 160-acre parcel near the middle of the East Side Neighborhood on July 10, 1872. Morris was born in Indiana in October 1832 and came to Colorado via Minnesota. His wife, Sophia, was born in Sweden around 1837. They had nine children: George, Ollis, Bell, Louisa, Harry, Grant, twins Dot and Nat, and Freddie. Morris was a pioneer miller in Pueblo and later operated a drug store. He was another early settler who became influential in the development of East Pueblo and became one of the neighborhood's wealthiest residents.[5]

Perhaps the best known early East Side landowners and developers were brothers Allen A. and Mark G. Bradford, both prominent pioneers in Colorado's early legal and legislative history. They were born in Friendship, Maine, Allen on July 23, 1815, and Mark around 1826. Direct descendants of William Bradford, the second governor of the Plymouth Colony, the brothers were related to some of the most powerful families in colonial New England.[6]

Judge Mark Bradford served as a Pueblo town clerk and as

justice of the peace. He also was the Pueblo County probate judge and clerk to the U.S. District Court in Pueblo. Mark's wife, Harriet Bradford, was born around 1827, also in Maine. They had three children: Ambrose, Bertha, and Hattie. Mark received his land patent on August 5, 1869, for the western half of the northwest quarter of section thirty-one, a parcel lying largely west of Fountain Creek and comprising much of the downtown portion of the Santa Fe Avenue business district.

Judge Allen Bradford achieved even more prominence than his brother. He received his early education at private academies in Maine. At the age of 18, he became associated with the Honorable Jonathan Cilley and his legal practice at Thomaston, Maine. After Cilley's death, Bradford moved to Missouri, where he worked as a schoolteacher while continuing his study of the law. He was admitted to the Missouri bar in 1843. Bradford was named clerk of the circuit court of Atchison County, Missouri, in 1845. In 1850, gold strikes in California lured Bradford westward, but he quickly returned to Missouri and ultimately settled in Iowa in 1851. It was there that Iowa Governor Hempstead appointed Bradford to fill a vacancy as a district court judge. He left the position in 1855 to enter private practice in Nebraska City and, in 1860, Central City, Colorado.

On June 6, 1862, President Abraham Lincoln appointed Allen Bradford as one of the justices of the newly formed Colorado Territorial Supreme Court. Immediately after this he was assigned to the third judicial district in the Colorado Territory and moved to Pueblo. He resigned the position on March 3, 1865, because the people of the Colorado overwhelmingly elected him to represent the territory in the U.S. House of Representatives. He ultimately served two, non-concurrent terms in Congress.[7]

Allen Bradford married the former Emaline C. Cowles, of Ohio, in 1851. They had one son, Thomas A. Bradford, who eventually went on to become a partner in his father's prominent, Pueblo-based law firm. Allen Bradford's landholdings on the East Side were much more extensive than his brother's. On May 10, 1870, he received a patent for a parcel consisting of the eastern half of the northwest quarter of section 31 as well as portions of the northeast quarter, some of the earliest and densest populated areas of what would become the East Side.[8]

Judge Bradford's landholdings represent the beginning of a transition in the value of East Side real estate from agricultural productivity to speculative investment. Indeed, on June 5, 1868, the *Rocky Mountain News* published a letter from an individual identified only as "W.R.T." praising the farms in the "Fontaine qui Bouille" valley. "Flowing in a southeasterly direction for a distance of forty miles it empties into the Arkansas river one mile below Pueblo," describes the writer, "and makes one of the largest and most productive of our agricultural valleys." The writer then lists the amount of acreage each of the valley's farms had under cultivation that season. Among them was Judge Allen Bradford, who would have been "proving up" on his homestead claim at that time. The letter lists that the judge had under cultivation "corn, 17 acres; oats, 7 acres; wheat, 6 acres; potatoes, beans, and garden, 3 acres." The writer lists the crops of other East Side landholders had planted, but noted that "the last twelve miles of the valley is but little farmed, and the land invites the settler to come in and take possession." The reasons for this may have been the fertile bottomlands in this stretch of the river, flanked by arid mesas, were narrow and ill-suited for intensive cultivation, particularly on the east bank near the confluence with the Arkansas. But as Pueblo rose in importance as a mining supply and processing



Figure 3.2. Beyond being one of East Pueblo's earliest and most prominent residents, Allen A. Bradford was also a pioneer in Colorado jurisprudence and lawmaking. *(author's collection)*

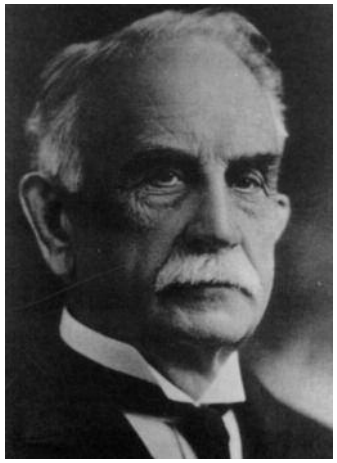


Figure 3.3. Mahlon D. Thatcher was one of the most prominent men in the development of Pueblo and became one of the wealthiest people in Colorado. His investments in the East Side were only a small part of his massive empire. *(Pueblo City-County Library District)*

hub—and particularly after the arrival of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad in 1872—this land would become much more important for its development potential.[9]

Perhaps the single largest landowner in the homestead period of the East Side's development was pioneer attorney Major William F. (also recorded as H. or M.) Townsend, who owned much of what would become the central portion of the neighborhood. He was born around 1843 in New York State. His wife, Ella Townsend, was born in Canada around 1849. They had a daughter, V.E. Townsend.[10] Although he actually lived in South Pueblo, Townsend received his first East Side land patent on July 1, 1870, and another on November 10, 1870, but obtained most of his holdings from the federal government on June 5, 1871. Townsend was among the earliest real estate speculators in Pueblo, quickly recognizing that the city's role as a railroad and manufacturing hub would lure thousands of new residents. The December 21, 1880, *Rocky Mountain News* used Townsend as an example in an article about Pueblo's skyrocketing real estate market:

> As an evidence of the rapid advances made in the price of Pueblo city property in the past few months, it is recorded that a building lot on Fourth street, opposite the Victoria hotel, was sold three months ago yesterday for $300. Major W.M. Townsend purchased it three weeks ago for $400, sold it a week later for $680 to Thompson & McCarty…."[11]

Owning an 80-acre parcel consisting of the south-central portion of the East Side, extending southward to just north of the stockyards, was Arzelda M. Lachner, who received her land patent on July 10, 1872. Little else is know about this homesteader.[12]

By 1873, with the arrival and expansion of railroads in Pueblo, financiers claimed East Side homesteads solely as investments for development rather than for agricultural use. On July 25, 1873, wealthy financiers and Pueblo promoters O.H.P. Baxter and Mahlon D. Thatcher received a land patent for 200 acres near the north central portion of the East Side. On the same date, developers Henry C. Brown and John D. Miller acquired eighty acres just west of the Baxter-Thatcher property.[13]

Perhaps the most intriguing East Pueblo real estate speculator was Wall Street tycoon Colonel Josiah C. Reiff. He owned a number of separate parcels spread throughout the East Side, including the southern half of what would become Eastwood, with most land patents dating to November 30, 1873. Reiff was born near Norristown, Pennsylvania, on October 9, 1838, and enlisted in the Union Army during the Civil War, where he rose to the rank of colonel. After the war, Reiff became the finance agent for the Kansas Pacific Railroad, which connected Denver directly with the East. It was while he was working with the railroad that Colonel Reiff first met General William Jackson Palmer. His interest in Pueblo property probably stemmed from his long association with Palmer. Reiff is often credited with "discovering" Thomas Edison by funding his early experiments in electricity and introducing him to a powerful syndicate working on improving telegraphic communications. Reiff later became associated with the firm of Charles F. Woerishoffer & Co. and engaged in many headline-grabbing lawsuits against railroad and telegraph mogul Jay Gould. Reiff was also president of the American Copper Company, a director of the British Columbia Copper Company, and was president of the J. Hood Wright Memorial Hospital in New York. He died suddenly in New York City on February 28, 1911.[14]

On February 15, 1875, Israel P. Mersereau received a land patent for an 80-acre parcel consisting of the southern half of the northwest quarter of section twenty eight. Mersereau appears to have been a prominent Denver merchant.[15]

Husband and wife, Napoleon and Nellie Guyot acquired adjacent forty-acre parcels in the northern portion of what is now Eastwood on April 28, 1888. Napoleon Guyot was born around 1861 in Jamestown, New York, and arrived in Pueblo prior to 1885, initially working at a smelter. He rose to become a prominent mining engineer, locating one of the largest silver-producing mines ever worked in Colorado. He married Nellie Smith, a fellow New York-native, on August 22, 1885, in Arapahoe County, and had at least two children: Josephine and Jeanne. By 1895, they resided in a large house at 708 West Eighteenth Street. In 1898, Napoleon left Pueblo to fight in the Spanish-American War, serving as a commander of the Colorado volunteers. He later remarried; with his second wife, Lillian Toniotti Guyot, Napoleon Guyot had three more children: Charlotte, Aida and Morel. He died around 1929 in California.[16]

Chapter 4

Neighborhood Development

Additions and Subdivisions

The East Side's earliest and most prominent developer was undoubtedly Lewis (sometimes spelled Louis) Conley, commonly referred to as "the father of East Pueblo." Born in New York around 1824, he settled near Beaver Creek, Colorado, in the late 1850s. Conley moved to Pueblo in the early 1860s and started a contracting business. By 1869, he was still one of only three builders in the city and appears to have been the most notable among them. Conley became a major player in both Pueblo's political and business realms. He was elected the chairman of the first Pueblo Board of Town Trustees in 1870 and later served as a Pueblo County Commissioner. But his real achievements were in construction and real estate development. Conley was the builder responsible for the first large business blocks that would come to define downtown Pueblo. These included Conley Hall, Pueblo's first real theater; a large hotel building on Fifth Street; and many of the buildings along Santa Fe Avenue, then the principal north-south thoroughfare through the city. Conley was one of the original investors in North Side's County Addition and Craig's Addition, where a street is named in his honor. But his most extensive landholdings were on the East Side, were he bought out many of the homestead claims existing between the 1860s and 1873 and platted relatively enormous swaths of that neighborhood. As well, he constructed numerous houses in East Pueblo, many of them on the bluffs overlooking the city. By 1870, Conley was the single largest landowner in Pueblo, with real estate holdings valued between $200,000 and $250,000. But when the United States government stopped backing its currency with silver in 1873, the ensuing economic recession depleted all of Conley's wealth. As his obituary noted, "…[H]e was not in a position to weather the panic…and when this was past his property was practically all gone." Nearly penniless, Conley left Pueblo for Alamosa in the late 1870s. He returned to Pueblo in the early to mid 1890s, but perhaps haunted by his losses, did not return to the East Side. Instead, he and his wife resided in a house on Fifteenth Street in the North Side. Lewis Conley died on October 6, 1905. His grief-stricken wife died the following day, leaving their only child, Frank Conley, to endure a double funeral.[1]

Civil engineer Henry Fosdick surveyed the first addition to the City of Pueblo east of Fountain Creek, the East Pueblo Addition, which the Pueblo County Clerk recorded on April 27, 1872. It included that portion of the neighborhood east from Fountain Creek to Prospect (now Iola) Avenue and north from Third Street to Seventh Street. The developers were, of course, Lewis Conley, joined by Allen A. Bradford and Fosdick. Born in Massachusetts in 1830, Fosdick was a surveyor, civil engineer, and became a successful Pueblo-area farmer. His landholdings and professional experience eventually led him into real estate development, from which he became quite successful. His

wife, Lucy, was also born in Massachusetts in 1830. They had many children, including Henry, Lucy, Susan, Samantha, Mary, Frank, and William.[2]

On April 27, 1872, the date Pueblo County officially recorded the East Side Addition, members of the *Colorado Daily Chieftain* newspaper staff made a sojourn across Fountain Creek to inspect the city's newest neighborhood:

> Sunday last, we had the pleasure of indulging in a hurried trip to East Pueblo, and found matters over in that newborn, and enterprising burg, flourishing in a remarkable degree. The proprietor of the new addition, Mr. Lewis Conley, is determined to make a success of the thing, and with him to determine, is to succeed. The greater portion is already laid out in residence lots, broad streets, avenues and parks, and a number of splendid private residences will be constructed [during] the present season. Mr. Conley, Judge Bradford, Judge Henry, and many other prominent citizens, intend to build in that quarter, and the indications are that it will soon become the fashionable resort of Puebloites. Among the most important improvements which Mr. Conley has now got under way, is the construction of a large ditch over two miles in length, which is supplied by the Fountain, and will carry a volume of water sufficient to irrigate the entire tract. The enterprising proprietor is also causing a fine park to be fenced off, which will be planted with a variety of shade trees, and made attractive in other ways, as a summer resort. At this point Mr. Conley intends to sink an artesian well, and in the center of the park an artificial fountain will be constructed, of elaborate design and finish, for the delight and admiration of pleasure seekers. A short distance north of this the seminary grounds have been laid out, occupying an entire block and commanding a beautiful and romantic view of the town and the distant mountains. The natural location of East Pueblo, its proximity to the railroad, and the splendid water that can be obtained at comparatively little expense anywhere, give it a great attraction in the eyes of real estate dealers, and we should not be at all surprised, if fifty buildings were put up there the present season. To all who wish to procure good lots and cheap, we say, strike at once for East Pueblo.[3]

A few months later, Conley platted another East Side subdivision, this time known as Conley's Addition to the City of Pueblo. Fosdick completed his survey and platted the subdivision on May 25, 1872; it was recorded on June 8, 1872. Joining Conley for this filing were Fountain City pioneers and original East Side homesteaders Josiah F. and Anna Smith. The western edge of the addition was essentially Fountain Creek. From there, the additon ran east to just east of Fountain Avenue. The subdivision included the area between Seventh Street, on the south, and Twelfth Street, on the north. On July 31, 1872, Conley opened a bridge over Fountain Creek, physically connecting his additions to downtown Pueblo and providing yet another occasion for the *Chieftain* to wax eloquently about the city's newest neighborhood:[4]

> We are pleased to see that East Pueblo is improving rapidly. Riding across the bridge and through the

beautiful belt of timber that fringes the Fontaine, to the broad level plateau beyond, the observer will behold a number of tasty frame and brick residences going up in all directions, some halfway up and others already occupied. Judge George Hepburn is hauling out the material for a fine residence next to the bluffs. …Judge Henry is at the same business. Jim Gemmill has commenced the foundation for a neat residence. Mr. Dyer, a newcomer, is also digging the cellar; while Messrs. Edwards, Price, and a few of other families whose names we failed to catch, are already snugly fixed in new houses. Lots still continue to sell rapidly at $75 and $100 each, and the demand is undiminished. The natural surroundings of East Pueblo, its convenience to the railroad depot and business portions of the city, the beauty and healthfulness of its locality, the splendid view obtained of the mountain scenery with the noble Spanish Peaks looming up in the distance, the width of the streets and vistas of avenues with their rows of shade trees, the excellent water and richness of the soil, all conspire to render it an attractive resort for residence purposes, and we shall not be surprised to see the bulk of our suburban population over there in the course of a few months. Mr. Conley has laid out this addition for the accommodation of rich and poor alike and every man wishing a lot for building purposes can obtain it at reasonable figures. In many cases nothing more than the actual expense of platting and surveying the lot are demanded of parties of small means who wish to build at once. Under this liberal system East Pueblo is improving rapidly and will soon be a very important member to the body of her western rival.[5]

The editors and reports of the *Chieftain* had predicted during their April 1872 inspection of East Pueblo that "we should not be at all surprised, if fifty buildings were put up there the present season." While this was a bit optimistic, a flurry of building activity did transform East Pueblo during 1872. As the newspaper noted, "On the first day of January, 1872, East Pueblo contained but two or three straggling buildings." The same article then goes on to describe all of the building activity that had occurred in East Pueblo during 1872:

> … [No]w the eye is delighted at the prospect of broad streets and avenues, well arranged, comfortable brick and frame residences, a new bridge connecting the two towns constructed over the Fontaine at a cost of $3,000, and other improvements, a full description of which will be found below. The founder of the addition, Lewis Conley, Esq., notwithstanding his many other duties in all parts of the town, has found time to lay off a spacious and beautiful park, and ornament the same with a fence, trees, and shrubbery, at a cost of $1,000; Judge Bradford has enclosed his block with a neat fence, and planted trees at an outlay of $500. J.F. Smith, Esq., has enclosed 20 acres of ground adjoining his residence at a cost of $600. A brick kiln of 300,000 brick has been put up the past season by Lewis Conley, cost $3,600; D. Tom Smith has established a depot and office amounting in the aggregate to $1,200, while the East Pueblo ditch, to be four

East Pueblo.

You knew just what you were about
When East Pueblo you brought out
In flying colors! Must be confess'd,
I hardly thought 't was for the best.
The city seemed in no condition
To bear another large "addition."
To spread out more it would have been
To make a Pueblo look "too thin."
Not so! Pueblo on the East
Affords the eye a perfect feast!
Fine dwelling houses, built of brick,
Are standing 'round there pretty thick,
And as for those built up frame,
They are too numerous to name.
Ask Conley why those East lots sell,
He'll say, "Each lot can have a well
Of water pure as mountain snow,
By sinking down ten feet below."
"The scenery, too," he'll say, "is fine;
The title also genuine.
In no addition, sir, but this,
Can human beings live in bliss!"

— A. Bach

From "Address to the Old Year!" *Colorado Daily Chieftain,* 1 January 1873, 4.

and a half miles in length, and with capacity sufficient to supply almost the entire town with water, is now well underway, and will be completed next spring, at a cost of $1,200. A perusal of the following list will let the general public know what East Pueblo has been doing in the building line:

Lewis Conley, two story brick residence, main part 18x40, L 29x32, cost $6,000.

J.W. Henry, two story brick dwelling, 24x24, cost $4,500.

Lewis Conley, brick stable, 30x34, cost $1,500, and brick carriage house 16x24, cost $900.

Ludlow & Rankin, one story brick dwelling, 20x30, Fourth street, cost $1,200.

E.C. Smith, one story brick dwelling, 18x24, Fourth street, cost $1,000.

John Webster, one story brick dwelling, 10x30, Fifth street, cost $1,200

G.W, Hepburn, one story brick dwelling, 20x30, Ninth street, cost $1,200.

A.C. Jones, one story brick residence, 16x24, Third street, cost $700.

P. Arragon, one story adobe dwelling, 14x20, Centre street, cost $400.

Albert Lee, one story adobe dwelling, 16x20, cost $400.

J.J. Harrup, one story adobe dwelling, 16x20, Fifth Street, cost $500.

J.U. Hughes, one story frame dwelling, 16x20, cost $550.

J.A. Dyer, one story frame dwelling, 16x20, Water street, cost $500.

Jim Gemmill, one story brick residence, 16x28, Eighth and Water streets, cost $1,100.

Mart. Heusi, one story frame, 16x30, Fourth street, cost $500.

Mr. McCormick, one story frame, 16x30, Sixth street, cost $500.

C.M. Noble, two story frame, 20x30, and addition 16x20, Sixth street, cost $1,800.

James Farmer, two story frame, 16x30, Third street, cost $500.

George Ulmer, one story frame, 16x28, and addition 12x16, Fifth street, cost $1,300.

R.L. Smith, one story frame, 15x20, Centre street, cost $500.

Mr. Benton, one story frame, 16x30, Eighth street, cost $500.

James Williams, one story frame, 20x80, and addition 16x20, Eighth street, cost $1,500.

Josiah F. Smith, brick stable, 20x20, Eleventh street, cost $500.

Josiah F. Smith, brick carriage house, 20x30, and wing 16x16, Eleventh street, cost $3,500.

Glancing through East Pueblo for other improvements we find that J. Bennett is putting up a corral and stable, to cost no less than $500, while Hendricks & Bro., have the foundation laid for a double brick house.[6]

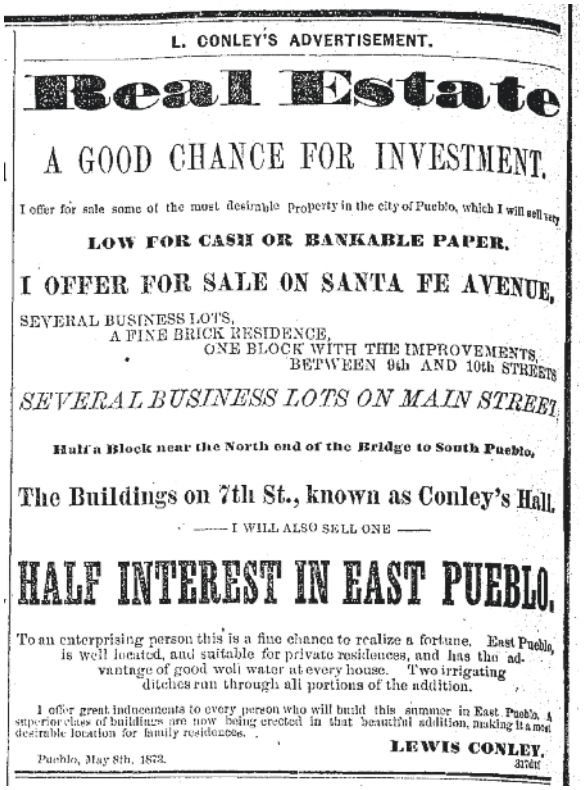
Thus, the total construction investments made in East Pueblo during 1872 amounted to $52,750, over ten percent of all the construction costs for the entire city, including the downtown and city's burgeoning industries. An indication of

Lewis Conley's wealth and commitment to the East Side was that his own residence, with its associated stables and outbuildings, cost $8,400, or nearly sixteen percent of all the construction costs in East Pueblo. Prominent pioneer settler Josiah F. Smith's carriage house alone cost $3,500, more than all but two of all the East Pueblo houses built in 1872. Those two houses belonged, of course, to Conley and Judge J.W. Henry. Also notable is the number of adobe dwellings constructed at this time, suggesting that much of the remaining adobe houses in the East Side do not date to pioneer settlement, but are still among the oldest in the city.

Though East Pueblo would become a predominately working-class neighborhood, many of the original residents were quite wealthy and members of the city's influential professional class. One of those residents was Benjamin Mattice, who built his family's house at 625 East Eighth Street between 1873 and 1875. Located in Conley's Addition to the City of Pueblo, the modest house included a small ranch. The building was razed in the 1960s to make way for a service station.

Born on April 8, 1830, in Schoharie, New York, Benjamin Mattice attended the Schoharie Academy. He accepted a teaching position at the school upon graduation and later attended and graduated from Amherst College. Mattice entered the teaching profession once more at a school in Gallipolis, Ohio, a position he held for six years. A desire to practice law led Mattice to leave his teaching post and serve as clerk to the Honorable A.G. Chatafield, chief justice of the Ohio Supreme Court. Mattice learned the practice of law on his own terms, first under Chatafield then privately while teaching at the Wainwright Institute in Middleburg, New York. Mattice's law background quickly led him into the world of politics; in 1860 he stumped for Abraham Lincoln in New York. When Lincoln became president in 1861, he appointed Mattice to a position in the United States Department of Treasury. During the Civil War, Mattice assisted in raising two companies of soldiers and was offered the captaincy of one of them, a position he refused due to health reasons. Mattice stayed in the Treasury Department for four years, earning several promotions. He returned to his hometown in 1864 to once again stump for Lincoln. Mattice was admitted to the New York Bar Association that same year, and he moved to St. Clair County, Illinois, in 1866. He practiced law in Illinois for six years, eventually serving as a bankruptcy registrar for six counties. In 1872, Mattice moved to the Colorado Territory and established a cattle ranch with his nephew in Otero County, east of Pueblo. The pair was largely responsible for the construction of the Catlin Ditch in that county. Yearning to practice law again, Mattice turned over management of the ranch to his nephew and opened an office in Pueblo. In 1884, at the age of fifty-four, Mattice retired from the practice of law but not from work entirely. He sold his interests in the ranch to his nephew and continued to be an important figure in Pueblo's business world. In August 1888, he filed Mattice's Addition to the City of Pueblo, an area that makes up most of the present-day Lower East Side. After the flood of silver into the United States market and the ensuing economic recession in 1893, Mattice contributed to a book authored by the World's Congress of Bankers and Financiers to address the economic crisis, prepared for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Mattice was no doubt asked to contribute due to his previous work in the Treasury Department.[7]

The Mattice estate on East Eighth Street did not bring waves of Pueblo's wealthy to East Pueblo as the Thatcher mansions—Hillcrest and Rosemount—did for the North Side



L. CONLEY'S ADVERTISEMENT.

Real Estate

A GOOD CHANCE FOR INVESTMENT.

I offer for sale some of the most desirable Property in the city of Pueblo, which I will sell very

LOW FOR CASH OR BANKABLE PAPER.

I OFFER FOR SALE ON SANTA FE AVENUE,

SEVERAL BUSINESS LOTS,
A FINE BRICK RESIDENCE,
ONE BLOCK WITH THE IMPROVEMENTS,
BETWEEN 9th AND 10th STREETS

SEVERAL BUSINESS LOTS ON MAIN STREET

Half a Block near the North end of the Bridge to South Pueblo,

The Buildings on 7th St., known as Conley's Hall.

—— I WILL ALSO SELL ONE ——

HALF INTEREST IN EAST PUEBLO,

To an enterprising person this is a fine chance to realize a fortune. East Pueblo, is well located, and suitable for private residences, and has the advantage of good well water at every house. Two irrigating ditches run through all portions of the addition.

I offer great inducements to every person who will build this summer in East Pueblo. A superior class of buildings are now being erected in that beautiful addition, making it a most desirable location for family residences.

Pueblo, May 8th, 1873. LEWIS CONLEY. 3m6t

Figure 4.1 As the financial panic of 1873 depleted Lewis Conley's wealth, he began to run increasingly desperate ads to liquidate his Pueblo real estate, including East Pueblo. (Colorado Daily Chieftain, *20 May 1873, p. 4)*

neighborhood. East Pueblo was still "on the other side of the river;" by 1893, Mattice only had two neighbors on the north side of the street in the 600 block of East Eighth Street and four neighbors across the street. These modest dwellings were approximately 700 square feet, far smaller than the stately houses and mansions in Pueblo's North Side and South Side neighborhoods. Despite their size, these East Side houses included many of the features and ornamentation of the late Victorian era, including steeply pitched, gable-on-hip roofs with flared eaves; and turned wood porch supports with graceful balustrades and friezes. Some of the houses included finished upper half-stories or attics.

The *Colorado Daily Chieftain* posted an update to East Pueblo developments on March 20, 1873, again noting that the houses of Lewis Conley, Judge Henry, and Josiah Smith "rank among the best in the city." It also noted an effort to plant shade trees lining the principal streets. But the article lacks the enthusiasm paid to East Pueblo in 1872; there are no accounts of any more large houses constructed or a flurry of construction activity. Indeed, after the filing of the Conley Addition in 1872, development of the East Side stalled for nearly a decade. Perhaps this was because during this time, the neighborhood's largest landowner and most important developer and promoter, Lewis Conley, lost his fortune in the financial panic of 1873. This could explain why Conley began running advertisements in the *Chieftain* begging someone to buy his real estate holdings. Conley offered up lots and buildings, including his large business blocks on Santa Fe Avenue and the Conley Hall theater. Then Conley made a spectacular and desperate offer:

> I will also sell one half interest in East Pueblo.
>
> To an enterprising person this is a fine chance to realize a fortune. East Pueblo, is well located, and suitable for private residences, and has the advantage of good well water at every house. Two irrigating ditches run through all portions of the addition.
>
> I offer great inducements to every person who will build this summer in East Pueblo. A superior class of buildings are [sic] now being erected in that beautiful addition, making it a most desirable location for family residences.[8]

Despite this downturn, the number of residents remaining in East Pueblo altered the composition of the Pueblo City Council in 1875. Prior to March of that year, ward boundaries simply extended eastward across Fountain Creek from downtown, perhaps the only time in the city's history that political and cultural boundaries ignored the waterway. Thus, the First Ward included all of East Pueblo south of Sixth Street. Everything north of Sixth Street was part of the Fourth Ward. But at its March 8, 1875, meeting, the Pueblo City Council decided to create the Fifth Ward, consisting of that portion of the city east of Fountain Creek. As the *Chieftain* noted, "The proposed new ward…would have at least fifty voters, with a prospect of a great many more during the coming summer." While East Pueblo gained its own representative on the council, certainly a positive development for the neighborhood, the reason for creating the new ward would only further the East Side's isolation and later stigmatization. "Being divided from the city proper by the Fontaine, the interests of East Pueblo differ to some extent from those of the main portion of the city," writes the *Chieftain*.[9] Thus, the East Side was a place set apart from the rest of the city in a way other Pueblo neighborhoods were not. After this time, articles would often refer to East Pueblo

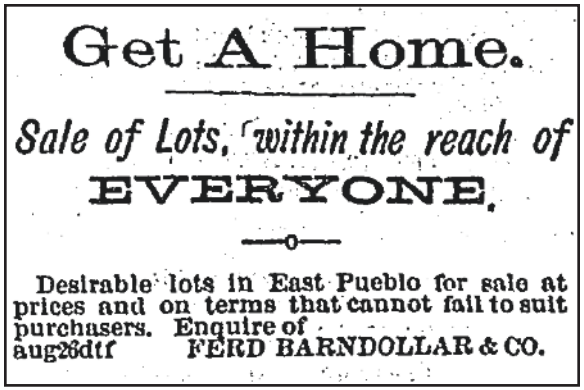
and "Pueblo proper" as if they were two entirely different places, even though East Pueblo was indeed all part of the same City of Pueblo and even had its own representative on the city council.[10]

The panic of 1873 curtailed development and building across Colorado, but by 1880, the state's economy, particularly in Pueblo, recovered with a vengeance. This also marked a transition in the market for East Pueblo real estate. Lewis Conley had taken a much more democratic approach to development based on his own concept of laissez-faire capitalism; he simply desired to sell real estate, regardless of the buyer's socioeconomic status. But in the 1880s, the developers north of Third Street tried to lure more middle- and upper-class residents. Even later developers south of Third Street appealed to the working class.

The first East Side filling to occur in the 1880s was on January 3, 1881, by the Pueblo Building & Improvement Company. The Pueblo Building & Improvement Company's Addition to the City of Pueblo included a narrow swath of land east of Fountain Avenue extending east to Seminary (now Hudson Avenue). The southern boundary was Seventh Street, and the addition extended northward to nearly Eleventh Street. The Pueblo Building & Improvement Company represented a collection of local financiers and boosters led by Colonel M.H. Fitch and Ferd Barndollar.

Michael Hendrick Fitch was born in Lexington, Kentucky, on March 12, 1837. His family moved in 1846 to Cincinnati, where Fitch received his formal education. He then attended the Farmers' College, in College Hill, a Cincinnati suburb, and continued the study of law in his home city, where he was admitted to the bar in 1860. Fitch then moved to Prescott, Wisconsin, where he practiced law for a year before joining the Union Army during the Civil War. He was a highly decorated soldier and rose to the rank of colonel by war's end. He then continued to practice law in Wisconsin, this time in Milwaukee, were he remained for five years. In 1870, Fitch's physician recommended that the colonel and his wife relocate to a more arid climate for health reasons. Thus, that year Fitch settled on a ranch near Pueblo where he embarked upon a large-scale sheep- and horse-feeding operation. He later moved into the city, where he successfully launched a number of business and real estate ventures. In 1874, Colorado Territorial Governor Samuel H. Elbert appointed Colonel Fitch as major-general for all of the state militia in southern Colorado. From January 1876 to August 1885, he was the receiver of public monies for United States Government Land Office at Pueblo. In November 1876, the directors of the Stockgrowers' National Bank in Pueblo elected Fitch as president. He held the position for twelve years, during which time he became the bank's principal stockholder. In 1864, Fitch married the former Alice Rhodes, of Waterville, Maine. They had two children: Frederick and Florence. Michael Fitch was the author of two books, *Echoes of the Civil War as I Hear Them* (1905) and *The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals,* described as "a work treating of biological evolution, especially as it applies to psychical phenomena."[11]

Ferd Barndollar was born on December 8, 1847, in Everett, Pennsylvania, and received an unusually advanced education for his time, attending both Franklin and Dickson seminaries. Barndollar left Pennsylvania in 1867 and traveled with a cattle train across the Great Plains. He arrived in Pueblo on October 18 of that year. Realizing the unusual confluence of needs at Pueblo, where feverish city building intertwined with numerous prospectors seeking supplies, Barndollar immediately es-



Get A Home.

Sale of Lots, within the reach of EVERYONE.

Desirable lots in East Pueblo for sale at prices and on terms that cannot fail to suit purchasers. Enquire of
aug26dtf FERD BARNDOLLAR & CO.

Figure 4.2 Ferd Barndollar's democratic sales pitch for his East Pueblo real estate stood in stark contrast to his North Side developments, particularly Dundee Place, which maintained property covenants and required a minimum building cost. *(*Colorado Daily Chieftain, *2 September 1876, p. 1)*

tablished a general mercantile and commissary, Ferd Barndollar & Company, which proved instantly and amazingly successful. His prosperity was a direct result of his business acumen. For example, builders up to that time had to use wood or adobe for construction. Barndollar expanded his business to include Pueblo's first brickyard, allowing masons to erect much larger and more permanent businesses and dwellings. He was also responsible for opening the Grand Hotel, the city's first formal, high-end hostelry. He married the former Catherine A. Morgen, of Harmony, Indiana, on December 21, 1875. They had three daughters: Anna, Catherine, and Josephine.[12]

In 1869, Barndollar turned his attention to his true calling, real estate development. He joined with Denver real estate speculators Henry C. Brown and David H. Moffat, and his local partner, John R. Lowther, in acquiring land north of the County Addition. In early 1871, surveyors platted two subdivisions for Barndollar. Ferd Barndollar & Company's First Addition to the City of Pueblo extended from Twenty-First Street, on the north, to around Nineteenth Street, on the south, between Santa Fe Avenue and High Street (now Grand Avenue).[13]

To make his North Side subdivisions more attractive, despite their then inconvenient distances from downtown, Barndollar fully graded streets, planted trees, and constructed model homes, including his own residence on the northwest corner of Court and West Nineteenth streets. In the years before the Thatchers' Hillcrest and Rosemount mansions, the Barndollar House was among the most gracious homes in southeastern Colorado.[14]

Ferd Barndollar's development efforts became even more grandiose when, in 1888, he platted the North Side's Dundee Place subdivision, one of the most innovative planned neighborhoods in Colorado. The project was financed through Barndollar's Dundee Home and Investment Company, which also included John D. Miller, and J.E.K. Henrick (or Herrick). Dundee Place spanned from West Nineteenth through West Twenty-Fourth streets, between High Street (Grand Avenue) and West Street. As with his previous development, Barndollar constructed unusual model homes to generate news and attract the curious, who would hopefully become buyers. One of these model homes was a striking octagonal house at 2201 Grand Avenue. Dundee Place was also the first subdivision in Pueblo—and one of the first in Colorado—to institute protective covenants. These included restrictions on planting cottonwood trees, "which turn the ladys' [sic] black dresses white."[15]

Yet the most influential of these rules may have been a minimum building cost. Barndollar wanted to create the most exclusive neighborhood in Pueblo and successfully petitioned the City to change the name of High Street to Grand Avenue; he envisioned the thoroughfare eventually rivaling Denver's Broadway. It is unclear, however, if Barndollar instituted any of these innovations in his East Side developments. What evidence exists suggests that he was much more laissez-faire about East Pueblo than the North Side.[16]

Another subdivision followed the Pueblo Building & Improvement Company in 1881. Patton & Smith's Addition to the City of Pueblo was platted April 13, 1881, and recorded May 26, 1881. It continued to push the neighborhood northward along Fountain Creek. It extended eastward from the river to Fountain Avenue and northward from Twelfth Street to the then city limits north of Fourteenth Street. The "Patton" half of this relationship appears to have been Robert Patton, a successful farmer and landowner. He was born around 1844 in

Kentucky. His wife, Mary M. Patton, was born in Iowa around 1851. They had at least two children, Joseph and Francis. Most likely the "Smith" half referred to East Side pioneer Josiah Smith, who was involved in many East Pueblo developments.[17]

Filings of subdivision plats in the East Side again paused during much of the rest of the 1880s, but the period from 1887 to 1890 was a golden era for East Side developers. Vast swaths of the neighborhood as it now exists were platted and added to the city. By this time Pueblo was the state's foremost railroad hub and undisputedly one of the greatest industrial centers in the west. By 1890, even the streetcar had reached East Pueblo.

The Pueblo County clerk recorded the Wiley & Chamberlain Subdivision on June 9, 1887. It was platted in May of that year. The subdivision included most of the Lower East Side south of Beech Street and east of Stout (Norwood Avenue). In general, it was never developed as proposed, mainly because much of the subdivision included the Arkansas River floodplain.[18]

The subdivision was a first-time investment for O.J. Wiley. He was born in Albion, New York, on August 22, 1859. At a young age he moved with his parents to Bellevue, Nebraska, where he remained for four years. The family then relocated to Paw-Paw, Michigan, where O.J. remained through high school. Wiley then worked with his father in the wholesale and retail boot and shoe business before moving to Denver in 1881. He initially worked as a passenger agent in that city for the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad. Two and a half years later he was transferred to Pueblo Union Depot, where he was the assistant ticket agent. He remained there until 1887, when he launched his own real estate business and invested in the Ease Side.[19]

Lurking behind the neophyte real estate broker was one of the greatest capitalists in Denver, Humphrey B. Chamberlin. He was born in Manchester, England, on February 7, 1847. In 1852 his family immigrated to the United States, settling in Oswego, New York. He completed his schooling at age fifteen and began working in the office of the New York, Albany & Buffalo Telegraph Company, where he became an experienced telegrapher. In 1863, General Thomas T. Eckert appointed Chamberlin to the military telegraph corps for the Union Army. It was in this capacity that he worked for General William Jackson Palmer. Chamberlin returned to Oswego, where he clerked at a drug store. He became a partner in the business and then opened his own store in the much larger city of Syracuse. Chamberlin remained there until 1876, when he was appointed general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association's (YMCA) headquarters in Brooklyn, New York. A tireless worker to a fault, Chamberlin suffered a nervous breakdown in 1880. His physician recommended spending a season in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado. The following year, Chamberlin decided to settle permanently in Denver.

His first job in Colorado was as president of the Tuggy Boot & Shoe Company, which quickly went bankrupt. He then formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, D.C. Packard, to open an insurance and real estate company. After struggling for a few years, Chamberlin and Packard dissolved their partnership, with Chamberlin keeping the real estate business and Packard retaining the insurance brokerage. In 1886, Alfred W. and F.J. Chamberlin joined their brother's real estate business just as the market in Denver boomed. On May 1, 1887, their business became the Chamberlin Investment Company, one of the foremost real estate investment and brokerage companies in Colorado. The firm's operations spread across the Front Range, particularly to Pueblo and Trinidad. They then reached

into Texas, where the firm's investments were so massive that they had to open a Fort Worth office. Meanwhile, Humphrey Chamberlin accepted the presidency of numerous corporations, including the Beaver Brook Water Company; the Denver, Colorado Cañon & Pacific Railroad Company; and the Denver Savings Bank. He was also president of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and the Denver Board of Trade. His wealth grew exponentially and Chamberlin became one of the leading philanthropists in Denver, donating over $40,000 to the construction of the hulking Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, on Broadway. He also donated an astrological observatory to what is now the University of Denver. At that time, it was the largest and most modern observatory between Washington, D.C. and San Francisco and one of the largest buildings in Denver.[20]

One of the quaintest-named East Side subdivisions was Dr. Owen's Heights, recorded on November 9, 1887. It consisted of a relatively tiny, four-block area stretching eastward from Prospect (Iola Avenue) to just east of Capitol (Kingston Avenue) and from Seventh Street north to Ninth Street. William R. Owen was born in Indianapolis, the son of a Quaker minister. His wife, the former Martha Andrews, was born in Ohio. They moved to Pueblo prior to 1870, where Dr. Owen practiced as one of the first physicians in the city and one of the foremost medical professionals in pioneer Colorado. He was for many years president of the Colorado Board of Medical Examiners. Their son, the Honorable James Owen, was an accomplished attorney, judge, and lawmaker, serving as a Colorado state senator.[21]

On April 25, 1888, the Pueblo Land & Improvement Company platted the massive East Pueblo Heights subdivision, which the Pueblo County Clerk recorded on May 23, 1888. The clerk recorded a second filing on June 4, 1890, which further expanded the largest of East Pueblo's subdivisions. In general, the combined East Pueblo Heights subdivisions extended north from Beech Street to just south of Twenty-Second Street, over twenty-four blocks. From Beech Street to Eighteenth Avenue, the subdivision extended eastward in a narrow band from Stout (Norwood Avenue) to Curtis (Queens Avenue). Between Eighteen Street and Twenty-Second Avenue, the subdivision covered the area between Mesa (LaCrosse Avenue) to Curtis (Queens Avenue). Because of its location on the higher ground east of Fountain Creek and north of the Arkansas River, it contained some the best building lots in East Pueblo and the city in general.

Like the Pueblo Building & Improvement Company a decade before, the Pueblo Land & Improvement Company represented a conglomeration of real estate speculators and financiers. But unlike the previous company, Denver real estate investors dominated the minority of local speculators, indicating that Denver capitalists realized the investment potential of Pueblo during its golden era. At this time Denver financier and merchant Philip Feldhausen was president of the company and Donald Fletcher was the secretary. Philip Feldhausen was born into a German family in St. Paul, Minnesota, on November 4, 1857. His wife, Katherine, was born on July 1, 1859, in Paris, Kentucky. They had at least one child, Mabel.[22]

The biggest stakeholder and visionary of the East Pueblo Heights subdivision was Donald Fletcher, who based on sheer acreage alone easily eclipsed all of Conley's development efforts in the neighborhood. He was born in Coburg, Canada, on September 29, 1849. At age seventeen, Fletcher moved with his family to Chicago, where he was enrolled in private schools. He attended New York University and graduated with honors.

Though intellectually brilliant, Fletcher had always been a sickly young man, and as his health continued to fail, he decided to move to Colorado in 1879. Nearly penniless, Fletcher took a job as a clerk for the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad. He held the position until 1881, when Fletcher realized the astounding real estate opportunities in the booming city. With what money he had earned and saved, Fletcher opened a real estate office in Denver and purchased a vast parcel of vacant land on which he platted the Capitol Hill subdivision. It was a risky gamble: the area laid outside of the city limits, was entirely uninhabited save for grazing cattle, and not a single transportation corridor—the lifeblood of early subdivisions—traversed its vastness. Yet in a few years, Fletcher, with Henry C. Brown and Humphrey B. Chamberlin, had developed Capitol Hill into one of Denver's most desirable neighborhoods for the wealthy professional class or, as an 1895 biography put it, the "somewhat aristocratic." As his first investment began to pay off, Fletcher immediately plowed his proceeds into new Denver real estate developments. He soon became a very rich man. In January 1888, he was elected as a director of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and later chosen as its president.[23] According to his biography, once Fletcher had conquered Colorado's capital real estate market, he turned his prospects south:

> Having amassed large sums from sales of Denver property, in 1889—90, he, with others, invested heavily in Pueblo realty, purchasing large tracts adjoining that city, laying out subdivisions and uniting with local capitalists and public spirited men upon a system of permanent and far-reaching improvements. Much of the subsequent growth of Pueblo was due to the introduction at the proper time of these new influences.[24]

Among the most prominent of those "far-reaching improvements" was the Colorado Mineral Palace, completed in 1891. Fletcher served as president of the company building the palace. Pueblo developers and real estate speculators promoted and even heavily funded the construction of the grand exhibition hall and gardens for two major reasons. First, it would lure newcomers to Pueblo or those who lived elsewhere in the city to wide open developments around the exhibition hall, perhaps tempting them to buy a lot or two, particularly in the North Side. Second, the Colorado Mineral Palace shined a positive light on Pueblo's industrial grittiness, showing that industrial capitalism could in fact be beautiful—even glam-



Figure 4.3. The Colorado Mineral Palace and Gardens in 1907. While the palace itself has been demolished, its lasting legacy has been its grounds, which now constitute Mineral Palace Park. *(Pueblo City-County Library District)*

orous.[25]

Fletcher became a rich man because he understood the local and even neighborhood real estate markets wherever he invested. Thus, he designed the Pueblo Heights subdivision with small and affordable lots for the working class. But to offset the neighborhood's notable inconvenience—its distance from the city's major employers—he promoted his developments as a pastoral sanctuary removed from the dirt and din of the steel mill and smelters. Thus, East Side residents could live smoke-free like the wealthy professionals of the North Side, yet acquire affordable lots. Fletcher then set aside his much smaller Fletcher Hill Addition and Fletcher Hill Subdivision on the East Side (recorded January 29, 1889, and October 31, 1890, respectively) for members of the professional class who might desire an East Side residence. Most of these lots were located on the bluff tops, which would have made a great location for those professionals given to bragging about their houses.[26]

Despite his investments and quick rise to prosperity, Fletcher, like Conley before him, was not isolated from national and even international economic crises. As the last sentence of his 1895 biography tried to note with a positive spin: "In the tremendous financial disasters of 1893 Mr. Fletcher suffered great losses, but being young, robust and hopeful, expects to retrieve himself in good time."[27] It is unclear what happened to Fletcher, but he disappears from the East Side. Additional filings of his Fletcher Hill Subdivision were recorded in 1902 and 1904, but Donald Fletcher's name appears nowhere on those records.[28]

The largest subdivisions to extend the neighborhood south rather than north were the efforts of one of the East Side's earliest and most prominent residents, Benjamin Mattice. The county clerk recorded Mattice's Addition to the City of Pueblo on August 8, 1888, and the Mattice and Gibson Addition on November 10, 1889. These additions were radically different than their predecessors and would set in motion the evolution of East Pueblo into a majority blue-collar neighborhood.

Most of the remaining East Side subdivisions were relatively small, filling in the unplatted portions of the neighborhood. The Pueblo County Clerk recorded the Farris and Gartley's Addition on February 4, 1889. It consisted of a six-block area bounded by Eleventh Street on the north, Mesa (LaCrosse Avenue) to the east, Ninth Street to the South, and Prospect (Iola Avenue) to the west. Winter's Addition consisted of twelve blocks, bounded by Seventh Street on the north, Mesa (LaCrosse) on the east, Third Street on the south, and Prospect (Iola Avenue) on the west. It was recorded on September 24, 1889.[29]

The fancifully named Newport Addition was doubtless meant to evoke the summer playground of Gilded-Age aristocrats in Rhode Island. It generally consisted of a four-block area extending northward from just south of Eleventh Avenue to Thirteenth Avenue and from Prospect (Iola Avenue) east to Capitol (Kingston Avenue). Filing the plat with Pueblo County were G.A. Blackmon, H.D. Selleck, and William H. Morrison. It was recorded on December 27, 1890.[30]

Settlement Patterns

With the additional filings of the Pueblo Heights subdivision, completed in 1904, the East Side largely took on its present form, with the exception of small subdivisions to the north and east, some of which were not platted until after World War

II. One of the most striking settlement patterns in East Pueblo was the rigidity of lots oriented toward the east-west streets. Throughout Pueblo, the orientation of lots varied from subdivision to subdivision, even within one neighborhood. Moreover, natural features, particularly topography, also tended to influence building orientation. For instance, the North Side's County Addition oriented houses on the east-west streets. Later subdivisions changed the orientation of lots to the north-south streets, yet two blocks of West Eighteenth Street, one of those later North Side subdivisions, returned the orientation of its large houses to the east-west street. On the East Side, however, the orientation of lots rarely varied from the east-west streets, particularly in the pre-World War II subdivisions, regardless of topography. Reinforcing this, while blocks of Mattice's Addition were actually platted with some lots facing the north-south streets, contractors generally ignored this, continuing to build toward the east-west streets, despite the resulting convoluted legal descriptions and vacated alleys. Moreover, the blocks in almost all of the subdivisions were longer along the east-west axis than the north-south . This reinforced that the historical pattern of movement in the neighborhood was into and out of downtown Pueblo, not south or north to other destinations. Indeed, the evolution of north-south corridors in the neighborhood was a post World-War II development. Those corridors, like Hudson and Joplin avenues, had to be forced with expansion through the neighborhood and still seem out of place.[31]

Most early maps and bird's-eye views of Pueblo simply ignore the East Side or include just a small portion of the neighborhood along the east bank of Fountain Creek. The most notable exception is George A. Crofutt's "Bird's Eye View of Pueblo, and South and East Pueblo," from his 1881 *Crofutt's Grip-Sack Guide of Colorado*. Unlike the typical views of Pueblo, which are drawn from the north looking south, Crofutt's bird's-eye view spans the city from northeast to southwest, placing East Pueblo in the foreground. The accuracy of these maps is generally poor at best, often containing exaggeration and artistic license. However, they can be important in determining the artist's or public's perception of a place. This map depicts the original East Side Addition and Conley's Addition, generally extending from Third Street north to Tenth Street. The largest building on the East Side was the East Pueblo School. In general the houses and perhaps a few commercial buildings were spread apart, with some denser development along Fourth Street. Most of the houses were quite small, with the exception of a few larger dwellings, particularly those in Conley's Addition, which had ranchettes associated with them, much as the Mattice property was described. The engraving showa tree-lined streets in the East Side, but because it shows trees lining every street in Pueblo, this may have simply been the artist's oversimplification. Crofutt depicts the east side as pastoral and quiet, a place set apart from the smokestacks and dense building near the center of the image.[32]

In 1885, historian Jerome C. Smiley provided this description of Pueblo and the East Side:

> North of the river the land rises gradually, interrupted by the Fountain, running due south. On the higher grounds on either side of this river are situated many handsome residences. Beautiful suburban additions have been laid out, extending northward, and to the east over an area of about three miles square, have been planted without the city on every side.[33]

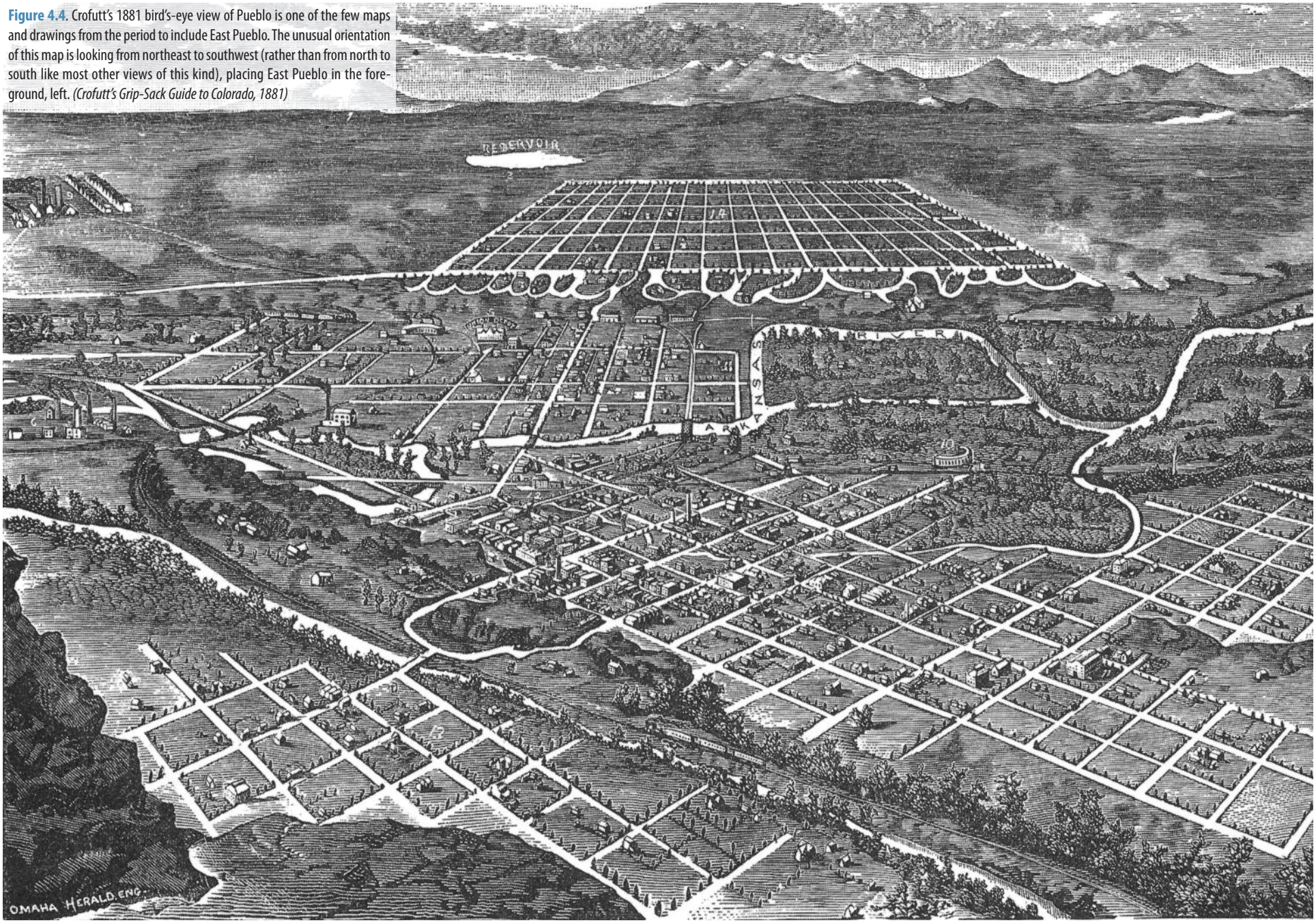


Figure 4.4. Crofutt's 1881 bird's-eye view of Pueblo is one of the few maps and drawings from the period to include East Pueblo. The unusual orientation of this map is looking from northeast to southwest (rather than from north to south like most other views of this kind), placing East Pueblo in the foreground, left. *(Crofutt's Grip-Sack Guide to Colorado, 1881)*

The next notable map to depict any of the East Side was the 1893 Sanborn map, which detailed about a 35-square block area, including all of the original East Pueblo Addition. It also depicts much of the northern portion of Mattice's Addition and Mattice's Subdivision, the western edge of Sinter's addition, a fraction of Dr. Owen's Heights. And the southernmost half block of Conley 's Addition and Pueblo Building & Investment Company's Addition. A separate map shows the Bradford School in Mattice's Addition.

The most striking feature of the 1893 Sanborn Map was the clear dividing line represented by Third Street between larger lots sizes and more sparsely settled blocks to the north and smaller lot sizes and densely settled blocks to the south. This is the line that also separated the original East Pueblo Addition to the north from the later Mattice's additions to the south. The blocks in Mattice's additions host nearly double the number of lots as East Pueblo, even though they are the same size. Typically an East Pueblo Addition block had 16 lots, eight lots per street side. In Mattice's addition, each block hosts 28 lots, or 14 lots per street side.[34]

North of Third Street the houses were typically larger and in many cases occupy two to three lots. For instance, a house at 825 Fourth Street was built with a semicircular porch and foyer facing Seminary (Hudson Avenue), even though it was one lot removed from the corner, indicating that this property owner actually owned both lots. Some blocks contained only a few houses or no houses at all, even though this was the oldest subdivision east of Fountain Creek. The only exception to this sparse density was a row of six shotgun houses, two per lot, at the northeast corner of Fifth Street and Centre (Glendale Avenue).[35]

In Mattice's Addition, houses rarely occupy more than one of the narrow lots. In some cases, builders constructed the same house on nearly every lot in a particular block, such as the south side of the 600 block of East Second Street and the north side of the 700 block of East First Street. Houses in these blocks were one-and-one-half story boxes with semicircular arches above the windows on the front façades and canted doors. The house design was mirrored throughout the block to give the illusion of dissimilar designs. The houses were of wood-frame construction with an exterior brick veneer. The dwellings were so close together that it seemed as if neighbors could open their windows and share a cup of sugar without leaving their kitchens.

The Third Street divide was a symbol of the East Side's struggle for identity and its slow evolution from the middle- and upper-class pastoral ideal of Crofutt's 1881 engraving into a solidly working-class neighborhood. Clearly those East Pueblo developers north of Third Street saw the neighborhood as middle class, with a spattering of working class and even some upper class. But Mattice's neighborhood to the south was entirely working class. Mattice's Addition and Mattice's Subdivision were geographically closer to the smelter and railroads than any other part of the East Side, which influenced the prospective inhabitants in the years before regular transit service reached east of Fountain Creek. A major smelter was only a few blocks southwest of the subdivision, on the west side of Fountain Creek, and the rail yards were just west of the smelter. In 1893, approximately half of the residents in Mattice's Addition were employees of either the Pueblo Smelting & Refining Company or one of the railroads that had made its way into town. Of those inhabitants listed as either smelter or railway employees, about half worked for the smelter or the Union Pacific Railroad. The other half consisted of employees

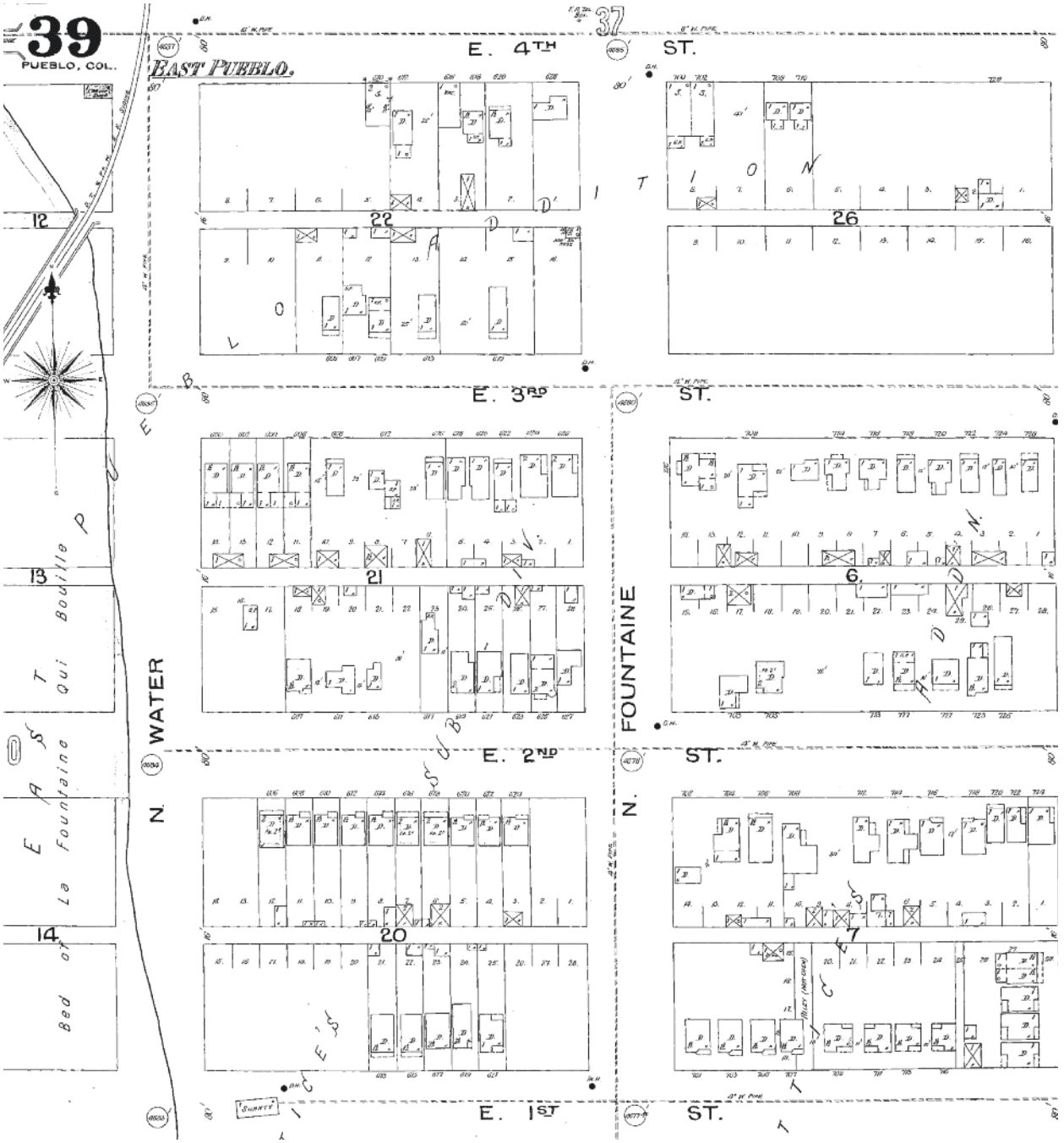


Figure 4.5. A segment of the 1889 Sanborn map for Pueblo showing the difference in building densities north and south of East Third Street.

of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, the Missouri Pacific Railway, or the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway. An examination of census records reveals that none of the blue-collar workers were immigrants, only a few were the children of immigrants, and that not one single ethnicity dominated the smelter or railroad payrolls. The East Side would remain Pueblo's most mixed-ethnicity, mixed-class neighborhood for most of its history.[36]

In understanding Pueblo's housing market before the turn of the twentieth century, Mattice knew what he was doing. The middle and upper classes had numerous real estate options to the north, west, and south of downtown. But at a time when the Bessemer neighborhood was in its infancy, it was the working class, upon which the middle and upper classes in Pueblo depended, that required affordable housing. Moreover, Mattice's economic writings suggest that he may have been politically motivated in his East Side enterprises; the developer appears not to have been a free-market capitalist like his Pueblo peers, but an early populist progressive, verging on socialist. The proof of Mattice's success was in the proverbial pudding: in the twenty-one years between the platting of the original East Side Addition and the 1893 Sanborn Map, the East Side Addition, Conley's Addition, and other subdivisions north of Third Street were still only sparsely settled. Conversely, in the five years between the platting of Mattice's subdivisions and the same Sanborn map, Mattice's Addition was densely packed. Moreover, Mattice's Addition developed services, such as corner grocery stores, barbershops, and churches, that were still decades away in some cases north of Third Street. Indeed, Mattice's Addition and Mattice Subdivision were the first identifiably, truly cohesive neighborhood in East Pueblo.[37]

In both the Dr. Owen's Heights and Fletcher Hill additions recorded in the late 1880s, East Eighth Street had become the place to live for East Pueblo's small professional class by the early 1890s. Throughout Pueblo, the most desirable lots in each residential subdivision were located along streetcar lines. In East Pueblo, Eighth Street became desirable not only because there was a streetcar line, but also because the subdivisions were far removed from the Pueblo Smelting & Refining Company and CF&I. The ideal location for these professionals in the neighborhood was on Fletcher Hill overlooking downtown and the rest of Pueblo. Some of the largest homes in the neighborhood were built in the 900 to 1300 blocks of East Eighth Street. The larger homes on Fletcher Hill were generally built shortly after the turn of the twentieth century. Many are one-and-one-half stories and approaching 1,500 square feet on the main level. It is important to keep in mind, however, that homes of this size do not populate entire blocks such as those in the North Side neighborhood; they are mixed in with other homes sometimes half their size built two decades later. A noticeable trend among the larger homes on East Eighth Street is that some of the Pueblo Smelting & Refining executives lived on Fletcher Hill. Just as executives from CF&I congregated on the North Side, Pueblo S&R executives tended to do the same on Eighth Street. Notably, the placement of the smelter's superintendent's house could be viewed on a psychological level; the superintendent's home overlooked the smaller dwellings of the smelter's physical laborers just as he watched over the employees at the smelter. Martin Walter, majority owner of Walter's Brewery, built his residence at 1300 East Eighth in the waning years of the nineteenth century; his home also overlooked the beer operation located just to the south. The Walter's home was razed when the Safeway grocery market located in the East Side prior to 1980.[38]



Figure 4.6. The Charles Monroe House, later the Martin Walter House, at 1300 East Eighth Street, was perhaps the grandest home in the Fletcher Hill Addition. It was razed to make way for the Safeway grocery store now located on the lot. *(Pueblo City-County Library District)*

Eastwood

The Eastwood Heights subdivision within the East Side developed much later than other parts of the neighborhood. There were a few housing starts in Eastwood as early as the late 1940s, but most of the development occurred during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. The neighborhood's geographic location at the extreme eastern edge of the East Side impeded its development. Post World War II prosperity spurred residential growth in Eastwood, even bringing a Catholic church with it.

In 1953, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Pueblo created mission chapels in outlying areas of the city. Being about as "outlying" as any neighborhood could be in Pueblo in the 1950s, the Eastwood community was chosen as one of two areas to receive a chapel. The Diocese of Pueblo purchased an entire city block in Eastwood in 1955, and in January 1956 the community had a church. The building was purchased from the United States Army, which used it as barracks, and moved it from the Pueblo Air Base to the corner of East Twelfth Street and Beaumont Avenue. The move took almost two weeks because the moving contractor had to grade the road ahead of him. The move was completed on January 3, 1956, and the new church congregation was established as a mission of the East Side's St. Leander's Church. Originally to be named St. Frances Cabrini, the parish was eventually named St. Anne's by an anonymous Chicago-based donor who provided a $10,000 grant to establish the congregation. St. Anne's dropped the mission title in 1961, becoming its own parish.[39]

The Eastwood Heights community within the East Side epitomizes the stigmatizing sentiments toward the neighborhood. Probably no other term exemplifies the sentiment toward Eastwood by residents in other parts of Pueblo than the nickname 'Dogpatch'. The name, originally attributed to a geographic area in Al Capp's *Lil' Abner* comic strip, came to personify Eastwood because the community was for decades devoid of city services and affluence. Eastwood lacked paved streets and city sewer services until the mid 1970s, leaving area residents to travel streets in disrepair and some still resorting to outhouses. Many Puebloans still refer to this neighborhood as Dogpatch today; old habits are hard to break.[40]

In June 1968, residents of Eastwood met with various local, state, and federal officials to discuss the need for a community center and park in their neighborhood. Residents in attendance desired a building that "adequately meets the needs

of the poor and disadvantaged in terms of…health clinics, adult education classes, Head Start classes, programs for the elderly, and a complete…recreation and community meeting facility."[41] The proposed site was to include a ten- to forty-acre park, and would have been located at the western edge of Eastwood. The building and park were never constructed as planned; however, the land adjacent to St. Anne's Church was leased to the City of Pueblo for $1 per year for use as a park. This arrangement continues today, and the City provides maintenance for the park.[42]

The negative sentiment toward Eastwood from other Pueblo neighborhoods continued throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. In 1995, the Pueblo Housing Authority planned to build a new subdivision at East Thirteenth Street and Amarillo Avenue to consist of four duplexes. The decision to locate the housing project in Eastwood stemmed from the availability of inexpensive land in the area. Ultimately, the Housing Authority planned to build twelve more duplexes at East Tenth Street and Neilson Avenue and East Twelfth and Neilson. And it proposed building three more duplexes at another undetermined location within the Eastwood neighborhood; thus there were to be thirty-eight total housing units. The authority meant the duplexes to house farm workers who were employed east of the city. The planned housing developments sparked outrage among the community's residents. Concerns included overcrowding in the community's Eva Baca Elementary School, increased crime, lower property values, and a general feeling of "why us, why here?" Residents stated that the neighborhood was already saturated with over fifty government-subsidized homes, and should not be subjected to any more such housing. At the time subsidized housing accounted for over thirty percent of all households in Eastwood and the planned development would have pushed the figure close to fifty percent. At a public hearing addressing the proposed housing project, held February 7, 1995, residents affirmed their opposition while becoming increasingly angry. At one point during the hearing, some members of Pueblo City Council voiced concern that some of the opposition stemmed from discrimination. Since the proposed developments were to house farm workers, most of whom were immigrants, the city council members discerned that Eastwood residents just did not want immigrants in their community. Eastwood residents countered the suggestion of discrimination by noting that the community had historical ties to migrant farm labor and that it was Council that was making race an issue. One resident stated that the community's objectives "are not about dismissing the concerns of migrant families. We know the concerns of our people. We know them better than anyone." The Pueblo Housing Authority planned to scale back the number of duplexes from sixteen to twelve at the February 13, 1995, City Council meeting, but reaction from Eastwood residents was only tepid. Residents declared that though they realized that compromise with the Housing Authority was necessary, they by no means accepted that the authority had gone far enough. Many residents at the meeting affirmed that there was no initial public input in regards to the developments, and that planned developments were poorly publicized within the city at large. In addition to dropping the number of planned housing duplexes, the Housing Authority also agreed to ask the Neighborhood Housing Service nonprofit agency to build at least six single-family homes for low-income buyers where the scrapped duplexes were to be constructed.[43]

Chapter 5

Transportation

Bridges

Bridges were, quite simply, East Pueblo's lifelines to the rest of the city. They not only crossed Fountain Creek, but provided the only tenuous means for spanning the even wider economic, political, and cultural gulf that existed between this neighborhood and the rest of the city. For East Pueblo, the bridges represented opportunity, connecting the majority of residents with their places of work. For those who chose to disparage East Pueblo, to keep its residents on the east bank, the bridges were a disturbing way for perceived foreign and criminal elements to pollute the downtown. With its rigid grid of streets, wagon and later automobile travel within the East Side was never much of a problem, but moving outside the neighborhood, particularly to downtown Pueblo, could be much more challenging, even life-threatening.

Except for those rare times of the year Fountain Creek flooded, it was generally a shallow, slow-flowing stream. The traders, trappers, and even the first permanent settlers probably forded the stream on foot, on horse, or in a wagon with little effort. But as the population increased on either side of the creek, fording the stream would have become more treacherous. The clays and sands that made the East Side so attractive to brick manufacturers would have created an impossible mire on the river banks and bed, and unseen muskrat holes could cripple horses and humans alike.

The first known bridge to cross the Fountain was built in 1860 by Fountain City pioneer Albert Bercaw. The design and weight capacity of this bridge is unknown. As with many of the early bridges in Pueblo, carriages were probably better off risking the mud and fording the usually shallow creek than to pass over it on an uncertain bridge. As with all of the bridges in Pueblo County at this time, the Bercaw Bridge required a toll. But the 1860 span soon proved insufficient to carry the needs of the growing community east of the river and most residents simply took again to fording the creek. By 1870, it appears that Fountain Creek lacked any kind of bridge and the crossing remained perilous. "The treacherous quicksands and dangerous rat holes of the Fountain," notes the *Chieftain*, "…have been so long a terror to the traveling public."[1]

Lewis Conley understood that the lack of a bridge over Fountain Creek was the single biggest impediment to developing his massive landholdings east of the river. Thus Conley proposed the construction of a bridge at Fourth Street. He was able to raise $1,600 from private investors while providing the rest of the $3,000 total construction cost himself. The bridge opened on July 31, 1872, to great fanfare, not only because it linked East Pueblo to the rest of the city, but also because it was the first free (non-toll) bridge in all of Pueblo County. The *Colorado Daily Chieftain* described the structure:

> The bridge proper is two hundred and eighty feet

> long and twenty five feet wide, allowing the teams to pass each other with the greatest of ease. Forty-four piles were used in the construction of the bridge, supporting 11 bents, four piles to each bent. These are driven down into the river bottom, a distance of from eight to ten feet, each pile being sent home by an eighteen hundred pound hammer until it struck the bedrock. To ensure still greater strength and safety, each span of the bridge is trussed up with an iron bolt and crosspiece sufficient to support almost any weight. Over forty thousand feet of lumber has been used in the construction of the bridge, the roadbed alone requiring 18,000 feet of plank.[2]

As the first manmade obstruction to the flow of Fountain Creek, the East Pueblo Bridge, as it was then called, soon took on a bit of a sinister reputation. It became a convenient spot to dispose of "evidence" as a result of the general lawlessness dominating the cities of the nineteenth-century American west. It was often the location where such evidence, dumped upstream, often came ashore and was associated with more salacious activity, ranging from illicit affairs to prostitution and, perhaps, murder. The *Colorado Daily Chieftain's* office was only a short distance from the bridge's western approach and often reported finding evidence of this activity:

> More Remains—A spring bustle was left at our office on Friday last. It was found under the cottonwood tree at the west end of the East Pueblo bridge. The ground is a good deal torn up in the neighborhood, and from the evidence of a struggle having taken place, foul play is feared. We have now the false teeth, wig and bustle and expect somebody will bring the rest of the woman soon.[3]

It may have been reports like this, surrounding the sole gateway to East Pueblo, that began to taint the neighborhood's image, even though the crimes committed were most likely perpetrated on the west bank of Fountain Creek.

Adding to this mystique of criminality were the bands of migrants who often took refuge on the east bank of Fountain Creek, near the bridge, as they paused on their journeys west. The area offered lush forage for their livestock while the cottonwoods and brush provided some shelter and anonymity. This area later became notorious for squatters' camps and hobo shantytowns, considered public nuisances best left on the east bank of the river. The area remains largely undeveloped and retains a seedy reputation, despite the City's efforts to build a riverside park and make other improvements.

As for the East Pueblo Bridge, the novelty quickly wore off; by 1876, residents of East Pueblo were already complaining about the deplorable condition of the span. By 1889, the City of Pueblo replaced the Fourth Street bridge and constructed new bridges at First and Eighth streets. The First and Eighth street bridges were nearly identical; they were iron spans, with wood-plank decks. The Fourth Street Bridge was similarly constructed, but also included a viaduct over the always busy Denver & Rio Grande Railroad mainline. This meant that traffic could travel unobstructed to and from the heart of downtown Pueblo. This bridge and viaduct was largely responsible for the development of East Pueblo's Fourth Street commercial district and made the thoroughfare the principal east-west corridor through the neighborhood. It certainly was the logical place for the streetcar line to enter East Pueblo,

since crossing a steam railroad at grade was nearly an impossible proposition for electric railroads.[4]

Had it not been for flooding and the later construction of the Pueblo Freeway, the East Side's bridges may have seen little improvement. But the Fourth and Eighth street bridges were continually improved and upgraded through the years. The First Street Bridge, however, fell victim to the 1921 flood and was never rebuilt. Why it was never rebuilt is a bit of a mystery. It could have been that the realignment of Fountain Creek's channel following the flood made the construction of a new bridge impracticable. For the more jaded observer, the First Street bridge may not have been rebuilt because it directly connected the downtown to the Lower East Side and some of city's poorest and most ethnically diverse residents. Thus, some Puebloans west of Fountain Creek may have seen the loss of the First Street bridge as a convenient solution to what was an unsettling problem for them.[5]

Moreover, one of the most stunning aspects of the East Side's isolation is that for most of its history, only two bridges connected it to the rest of the city. East Pueblo consisted of more than 325 city blocks, hundreds of homes, and thousands of residents. Yet all of these residents had to funnel onto one of two bridges to work and shop.

And in 1990, those East Side residents were left with only one bridge. That year, the Eighth Street Bridge was replaced as part of improvements along Interstate 25. The bridge spanned both the Fountain River and the freeway. Beginning in July , East Side residents were forced to use the Fourth Street Bridge to get to other parts of the city, clogging that bridge with automobile traffic. Construction lasted until the end of the year, when the new Eighth Street Bridge finally reopened. The completed bridge consisted of wider lanes for both automobiles and pedestrians crossing into and out of the East Side. This project was funded by sources outside of the City, like similar, earlier improvements to the Fourth Street Bridge.[6]

Railroads

Railroads made Pueblo the state's major industrial center. But their routes also contributed to the geographic isolation of the East Side neighborhood. Transportation between cities and towns was essential for growth and continued livelihood, and Pueblo was not to be left out. Railroads became the preferred means to transport everything from produce to coal to people; the evolution of the automobile was still many years away. Pueblo eventually received rail service from all four cardinal directions, with some of the tracks affecting the East Side neighborhood.

The Denver & Rio Grande Railroad (D&RG) brought the first trains to Pueblo from Denver in 1872.[7] In Pueblo, the tracks followed within one block of the west bank of the Fountain River until they reached about to Beech Street; the tracks then turned west toward Pueblo's Union Depot. Not coincidentally, concurrent with the pending completion of the D&RG, the first subdivisions of East Side were also platted; these were the first subdivisions east of the railroad tracks, and also the Fountain River, in incorporated Pueblo[8]. The East Pueblo Addition was recorded on April 27, 1872, while Conley's Addition was recorded June 8, 1872. The D&RG reached Pueblo exactly one week after Conley's Addition was recorded, on June 15, 1872.[9] Thus, the East Side neighborhood as it is platted now had always been cut off from the rest of Pueblo by both water and rail, developing a pattern that still exists today.

To establish regular passenger and freight service with

points east of Pueblo, local boosters convinced the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railroad (AT&SF) to spike rails along the extreme southern border of the neighborhood that was then called East Pueblo in 1876. This leg of the route ran from Second and Court Streets in Pueblo east to La Junta, where it connected to the railroad's Chicago-Los Angeles mainline. In Pueblo, there was also a connection from Second and Court to the Union Depot. The track arrived at the Second and Court Street junction on February 26, 1876, and completed to the Union Depot on February 29.[10] All eastern traffic could now be routed directly to Pueblo, instead of passing north through Denver, via the D&RG, then eastward on the Kansas Pacific. The direct route meant a twenty-four hour time savings for mail and passengers coming to Pueblo by way of Kansas. The celebration that occurred once the trains arrived was enormous; even though the tracks ran at the extreme southern boundary of East Pueblo, they also guaranteed limited access to the neighborhood from the south.[11]

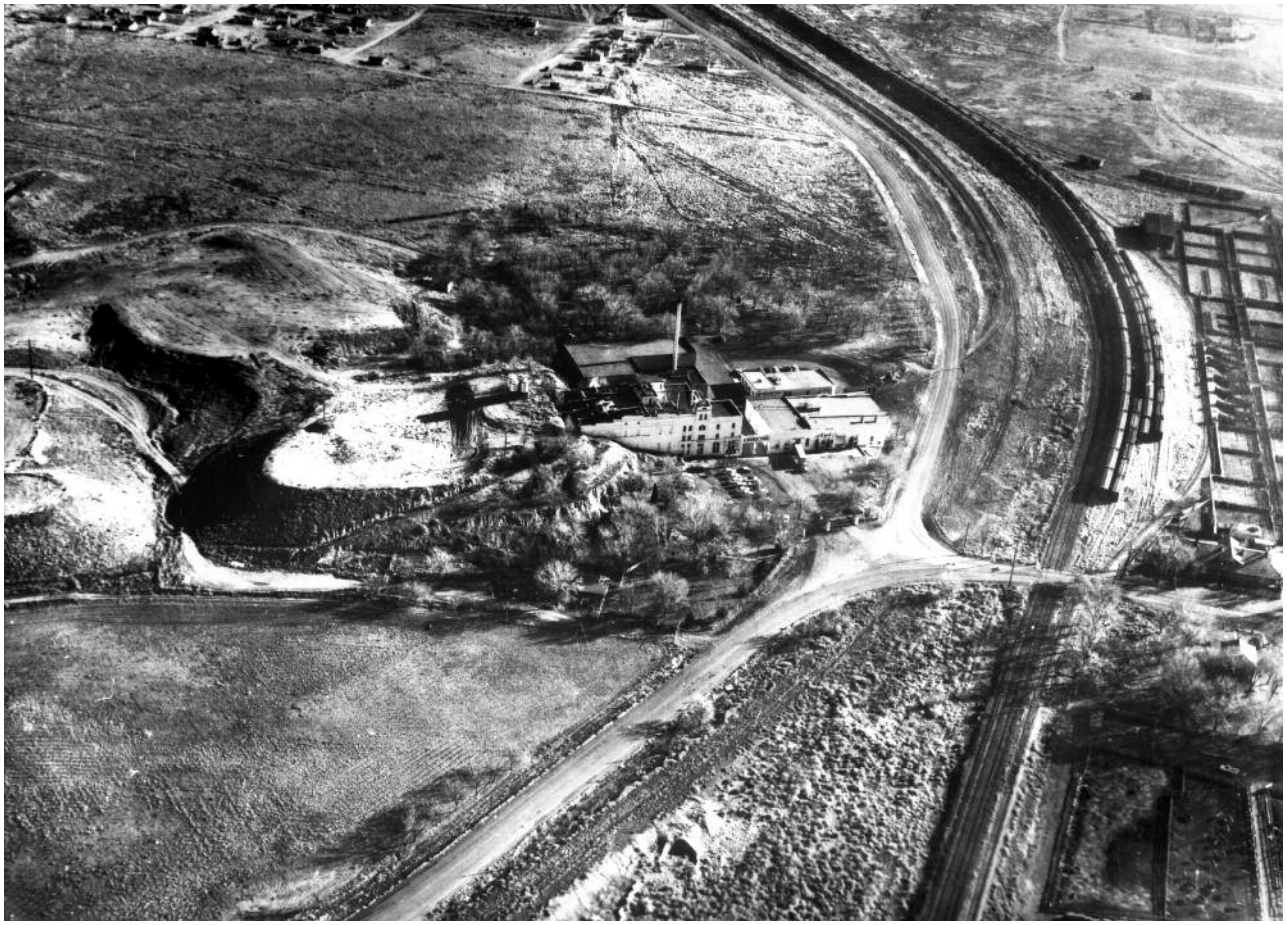


Figure 5.1. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway skirted the southern edge of East Side and served the neighborhood's local industries such as the Walter's Brewery (at center), the Doyle Stockyards (at right) and the Rocky Mountain Dairy (top left). This view is looking generally west to east. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*

To add to the East Side's isolation, a third railroad thundered into Pueblo. On April 29, 1882, the tracks of the Denver & New Orleans Railroad (D&NO) crossed the city limits on Pueblo's north end, and on May 2, 1882, the tracks reached a junction just above the confluence of the Arkansas and Fountain rivers. The D&NO connected Pueblo to Denver just as the D&RG had done; however, the D&NO tracks ran east of the Fountain. Once inside Pueblo's city limits, the tracks rumbled directly south down the middle of Water Street (present-day Erie Avenue), crossing the Fountain between First and Third Streets. The grand opening of the D&NO through Pueblo occurred on May 3, 1882, and regular service began on May 7.[12] Floods damaged the D&NO lines a few times and the company went through a few reorganizations to eventually become part of the Colorado & Southern Railway, which later rerouted its trains through Pueblo, turning its Erie Avenue rails into a branch line to serve local industries. Nonetheless, the tracks received occasional use until the mid 1980s.[13] Until the end of the line's service, residents near the tracks had grown accustomed to an engineer jumping off a train to halt automobile traffic; they also had grown accustomed to middle-of-the-night whistles.[14] The railroad spur had been all but forgotten to most city residents as only East Side residents and motorists through the neighborhood were affected by it. Freight trains

were not known to frequent residential areas, and most of those that had traveled through them were moved or abandoned. The East Side was probably not a reluctant holdout.

Streetcars

There was nothing more important to the development of an early suburban neighborhood than reliable mass transit service connecting it to the downtown and the largest employers. This was especially true for Pueblo's geographically isolated East Side. Yet a reliable transit route was unusually late to develop in the neighborhood. When the citizens of Pueblo called for a public transportation in 1874 and were finally awarded a streetcar system in 1878, East Pueblo was ignored entirely, even though the City Council had granted rights of way on all bridges and many of East Pueblo's streets. No horse-drawn streetcars ever ran through the neighborhood. Instead, residents were forced to ride horse-drawn omnibuses, operated by an independent local company, along Fourth Street, over Fountain Creek, to Santa Fe Avenue, the location of the nearest streetcar terminal. This created an unfair financial burden for East Pueblo's residents: they were charged to ride the omnibus, and then charged again to ride the streetcar; no transfers between the two transportation companies were ever issued.[15] Moreover, East Pueblo residents had to invest considerably more time reaching the city's major employer, CF&I's Minnequa Works, because transfers between the omnibus and streetcar were not timed to coincide.

Nonetheless, the East Side continued to grow. Since the first two subdivisions in East Pueblo were platted in 1872, twelve more followed them by the end of 1890. The area was growing with or without transit service. Donald Fletcher advertised in May of 1890 that his East Pueblo Heights subdivision had sold 220 lots, no small task since the subdivision made up the easternmost portion of East Pueblo.[16] The subdivision extended east from Stout Street (present-day Norwood Avenue) to the city limits, and from Beech Street north to 21st Street. Even though East Pueblo was growing, it grew in a way that starkly contrasted with other Pueblo neighborhoods such as the North Side. For example, the workforce of the Colorado State Hospital required the Pueblo Street Railway to lay streetcar tracks to the corner of Thirteenth and Francisco Streets, the entrance to the hospital.[17] East Pueblo, only a residential neighborhood, lacked such an enormous employer, and therefore provided little incentive for expanding the streetcar system eastward. The neighborhood also lacked the financially and politically powerful families that held sway over the streetcar's future. It has also been noted that "Since this new [North Side] growth included the building of some substantial homes for local nobility and gentry, the street railway's managers decided they had better say yes to requests for car service."[18] Though how 'substantial' a home is and how 'noble' a neighborhood's residents might be is purely relative and speculative, East Pueblo did not gain streetcar service until 1890, when the system converted from horse-drawn to electric streetcars.[19]

Interestingly, the cross-town streetcar route that ultimately developed connected the East Side to the city's other predominately working-class neighborhood, Bessemer, which was far south of downtown and immediately adjacent to the Minnequa Works. Along with the cross-town Lake Minnequa-Grand Avenue-Fairmount Park route, which connected Bessemer to the North Side, the Bessemer-East Pueblo route (later known as the Bessemer-Park Hill route) was the busiest streetcar line in the city. The route began at a loop just outside of



Figure 5.2. Birney streetcar 120 at the intersection of Eighth Street and LaCrosse Avenue. The trolley is beginning its return trip from the East Side, through downtown, to Bessemer. *(Wilbur C. Whittaker Collection, in Cafky and Haney)*

the Indiana Street gate of the Minnequa Works. The line then traveled a short distance west on Indiana before curving north onto Evans Avenue. It eventually connected to Abriendo Avenue, running northwesterly to Mesa Junction, where streetcars turned northeasterly and plunge down the mesa to the Union Avenue viaduct. The route followed Union Avenue to First Street, where it turned east for one block and continued north on Santa Fe Avenue. At Fourth Street, East Side streetcars turned east and crossed the D&RG Railroad and Fountain Creek on the Fourth Street viaduct. Now officially on the East Side, streetcars continued a few blocks on Fourth Street before turning north on Glendale Avenue (formerly Center Avenue). Four blocks later the route turned westward again on East Eighth Street. It terminated at a reversing wye at East Eighth Street and Stout (Norwood Avenue).[20]

The East Side line existed for a slightly different reason than the streetcar routes through other Pueblo neighborhoods. The Lake Minnequa-Fairmount Park line through Pueblo's North Side neighborhood carried families from all over town on Sunday and holiday recreational excursions. In contrast, the East Side only had Mitchell Park. Located two blocks north of the trolley line, Mitchell Park was never a destination for families outside of the East Side; the families who recreated in the park were East Side residents. The Irving Place-Orman Avenue line not only took North Side residents to jobs outside of their neighborhood, but also brought workers into the neighborhood to work at the Colorado State Hospital. The influx of workers into a neighborhood also existed in Bessemer and South Pueblo, as many blue-collar workers traversed Pueblo to arrive at their jobs at CF&I. The daily migration of workers into the East Side never occurred since there were no large employers in the neighborhood.

The Bessemer-Park Hill route was one of the few to operate additional streetcars during rush hour and even boasted powered units pulling non-powered trailers, doubling the seating capacity. This indicates that many East Side residents commuted daily into the downtown or to the Minnequa Works and, after the turn of the twentieth century, more often worked outside of the neighborhood than within it.[21]

In general, the physical layout of the streetcar systems across the United States directly affected the organizational and developmental pattern of suburban housing. Whereas older railroad suburbs had developed circularly around train stations, those served by streetcars grew in a rectilinear pattern along streetcar lines, forming a suburban housing corridor. The size and mobility of streetcars allowed motormen more flexibility in making frequent stops, sometimes at every

block. Consequently, homes at any point along the streetcar line were essentially their own stations, providing convenience for just about every resident. The "suburban ring" expanded and led to lower density housing. Freestanding, single-family, suburban homes, built using balloon-frame construction, a mass-production-era innovation, sat on relatively large lots that increased in size as one moved further from the city center.[22]

Installation of streetcar systems also triggered changes in the demography of suburban neighborhoods. Since streetcar lines ran through crowded urban city centers just as they did in tranquil and spacious suburbs, virtually all people used the streetcar to get to work, regardless of their socio-economic status; all could enjoy mobility. As a result, as one group moved out of a neighborhood to the countryside, another group, usually lower on the economic ladder, was able to take its place. In general, suburbs began to develop into overwhelmingly white, middle-class neighborhoods, a characterization that continued through the rest of the twentieth century.

The development of suburbs along streetcar lines also spurred commercial growth, once confined to urban city centers, into suburban areas. Entrepreneurs recognized the changing dynamics of life in the city and began building grocery stores, bakeries, and drug stores at the intersections of major streetcar lines.[23]

In most ways, the East Side defied these streetcar-related patterns of development, largely because the neighborhood grew without the benefit of mass transit. Lots miles east of downtown were developed at the same time as those closer to the city. Most of the large, ornate houses were not located on corner lots near the streetcar but were, instead, spread haphazardly across the high bluffs of East Pueblo. As previously noted, Mattice's Additions and the lower East Side generally were the earliest and most populated areas of the neighborhood. But the streetcar line only skirted the northern boundary of this area. On East Eighth Street along the streetcar line, there were four entire blocks that did not have any houses as late as 1904. One of the four blocks, the even numbered addresses in the 1500 block of East Eighth Street between Stout Street (Norwood Avenue) and Champa Street (Ogden Avenue), was only one block from the eastern terminus of the streetcar line; the three other blocks were located between Seminary (Hudson) and Park streets (Joplin).

Not one block on East Eighth Street had been completely filled in with houses along the streetcar line by 1904, but some

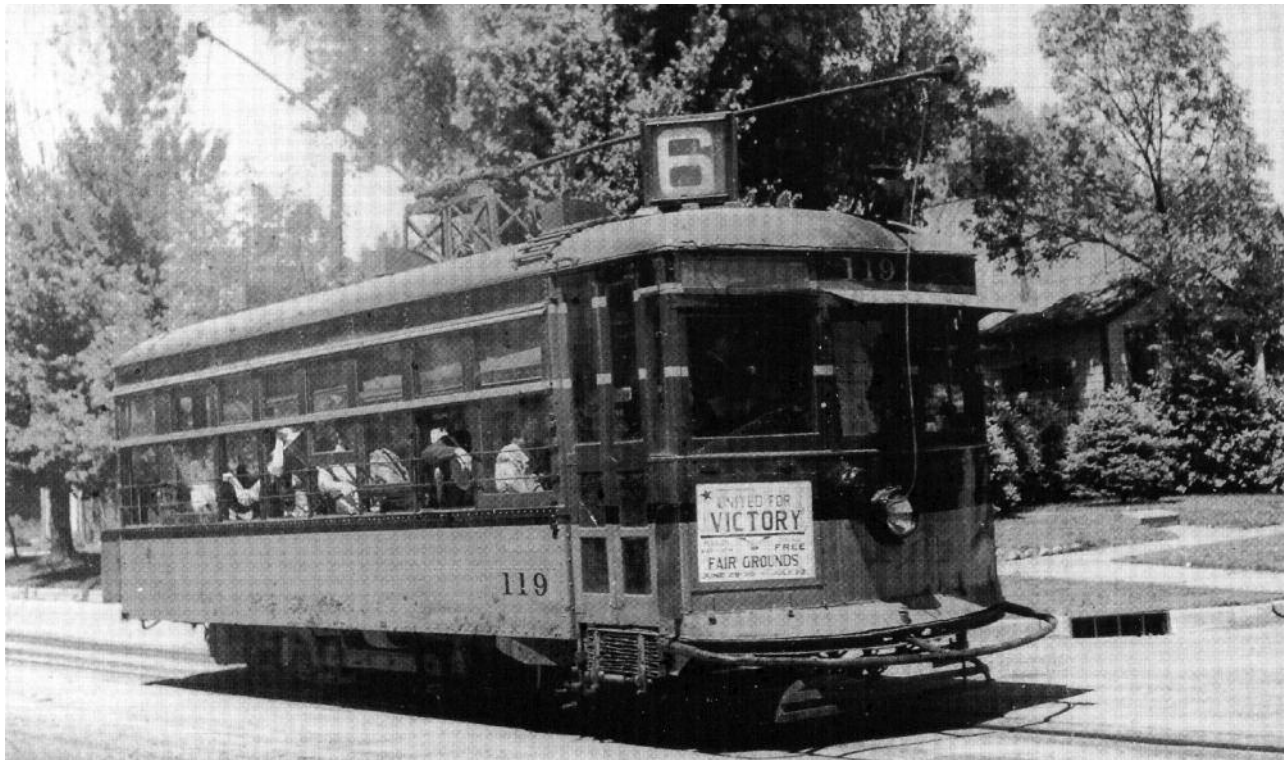


Figure 5.3. Birney streetcar 119 travelling southbound on Glendale Avenue in the East Side. *(Wilbur C. Whittaker Collection, in Cafky and Haney)*

of the houses that were built along the streetcar line on that street were among the largest and most stately in the neighborhood. The streetcar line traveled uphill as it headed east on Eighth Street, adding to the desirability of the lots at this point on the line. Fletcher Hill, for which the 1889 subdivision is named, overlooked Pueblo and had a streetcar line, two of the most desirable features a subdivision could have. The small group of professionals who could afford to make this area their home, included a real estate agent, a purchasing agent and a superintendent for the Pueblo Smelting & Refining Company, an attorney, and a jeweler. The professional class of East Pueblo was nevertheless small, the large influx of professionals was reserved for the North Side neighborhood. To accommodate the larger houses of a professional class, developers appear to have made lots sizes slightly larger, and they sold the would-be homeowners two lots. In the present-day lower East Side, lots were generally 2,640 square feet; along the streetcar line on East Eight Street lots were generally 5,640 square feet when doubled.

Moreover, because the East Side streetcar line terminated at Norwood Avenue, near the center of the developed portion of the East Side, it was not necessarily pushing any specific class or ethnicity further eastward, away from the city center. Thus, not only did the Park Hill streetcar line have little effect on the historic mixed socioeconomic status of the neighborhood, but it appears to have reinforced it.

One of the typical streetcar patterns does somewhat apply to the East Side, however, and that is the development of small commercial areas at prominent points on the line. The most evident of these is the Fourth Street commercial district, extending from the eastern approach to the Fourth Street viaduct at Erie Avenue (formerly Water Street) eastward to just beyond Glendale Avenue (formerly Center Avenue), where the streetcar line turned northward. A few stores and businesses existed here before the rumble of trolleys in front of them, but the growth of this commercial district boomed after the arrival of the streetcar. The streetcar was probably also responsible for beginning the development of the neighborhood's other historic commercial district, extending east and west along Eighth Street around Monument Avenue and what would have been the terminus of the Bessemer-Park Hill streetcar route. However, this area largely developed after the end of the streetcar era.

As the automobile grew increasingly more affordable, and therefore more popular, throughout the 1920s, streetcar operators were forced to recognize that public transportation would fall further and further from favor. Population expansion meant city expansion, and Pueblo likewise grew outward from downtown. New developments in the East Side were focused north and east of the original neighborhood, and streetcar lines could not match the flexibility that automobiles provided for those who lived increasingly farther from their places of work. Streetcar lines were difficult to maintain as mileage increased, and the amount of time a rider would be on the streetcar would rise to intolerable levels. In Pueblo, smaller streetcars replaced larger ones due to waning ridership, and the lines were eventually abandoned in the late 1940s.

Automobiles and Highways

The flow of automobile traffic through the East Side was always very straightforward: east-west streets were numbered as they progressed northward and north-south avenues follow an alphabetical pattern as they progressed eastward.

South of First Street the street names return to an alphabetical pattern, based on tree names: Ash, Beech, Catalpa, etc. With the exception of the "tree streets," the alphabetical streets run almost perfectly north and south, making it all but impossible for motorists to become lost in the neighborhood. Though the streets are alphabetical today, that was not always the case. The exact history of the evolution of East Pueblo's north-south street names is difficult to trace. One problem appears to have been that while the earliest developers borrowed the numbered east-west street system from the west side of the creek, they had no existing precedent for the north-south streets. Thus, each subdivision included its own name for the north-south streets, regardless of what previous additions immediately north or south called them. For example, one travelling north on Mesa Avenue through Mattice's Addition would find himself on LaCrosse Avenue in Fletcher Hill without ever making a turn. Interestingly, page two of the original 1888 plat for the East Pueblo Heights Subdivision includes two names for each north-south street, indicating that those developers were pushing for adopting a single, alphabetized system of street names. Yet the old names persisted on the 1893 and 1905 Sanborn maps. The north-south streets finally underwent a permanent name change shortly after 1925, with the exception of Fountain Avenue. This may have been an extension of the East Side Improvement Association's efforts to remake the neighborhood's image.

The evolution of the automobile improved transportation for East Siders while the subsequent development of freeways only increased the neighborhood's isolation. Early Pueblo motorists received a treat when the westernmost portion of East Fourth Street was paved in early 1906. On March 12 of that year, Pueblo City Council created an authority to finance the paving of Santa Fe Avenue, First through Eighth streets, as well as East Fourth Street. It is unclear how many residents of the East Side owned automobiles at that time, but a demand for paved streets in the neighborhood certainly existed. But most of the streets in the East Side remained unpaved for decades. For example, city efforts to pave Fourth Street ended at Albany Avenue, just west of the Fourth Street Bridge, as early as 1907. But the rest of Fourth Street eastward was not paved until 1923. Streets in Eastwood, at the extreme eastern end of the East Side, were not paved until the 1970s.[22]

The automobile and improved streets must have been a blessing to many East Side residents who previously only had access to very limited mass transit. It certainly was a boon to developers, who constructed rows of modest, Craftsman-style bungalows, each with its own garage, extending northward and eastward from the earlier-developed portions of the neighborhood. As one travels east and north, these bungalows become Minimal Traditional cottages and even ranch houses, with large attached garages.

State highways eventually segregated the East Side into quarters and pushed four-lane highways through the residential area. Colorado Highway 96 occupied the entire length of Fourth Street across the east side. Meanwhile, Colorado Highway 227 resulted in the widening of Joplin Street. The street now connected Highway 96 south through the Lower East Side to Santa Fe Drive, which at that time hosted U.S. Highway 50.

As the East Side aged, many of the streets received minimal maintenance until 1988. That year, East Fourth Street contained two sections of road that were listed on the State of Colorado's street hazard index; the sections ranked fifth and sixth in most need of redesign. Since Fourth Street is also Col-

orado State Highway 96, the state paid $370,000 to upgrade the roadway. Improvements included wider lanes and a left turn lane in the center of the street. These changes eliminated parking on the south side of the street and resulted in the removal of a median. This median previously offered pedestrians safe respite when crossing the roadway, but its removal meant that those on foot would need to walk to a nearby marked crossing in order to traverse the street safely. Reviews of the improvements were mixed among Fourth Street's residents. Some argued that it was too much of an inconvenience to park on the north side of Fourth Street if they did not have off-street parking of their own, and that pedestrian accidents could increase. Others said that with ever-increasing automobile traffic, improving the street's safety could not be ignored, and that any improvement would help to decrease the number of parked cars that were struck by east-bound traffic.[23]

Perhaps the biggest impact on the neighborhood in the twentieth century was the construction of the Pueblo Freeway. Colorado State Route 1 was the first "road" to connect Pueblo to Denver, although it was largely unpaved. But it certainly was an improvement over the rudimentary wagon roads and trails, some of which dated to the mid-nineteenth century, that had previously linked the cities. But even with the improved road spanning the 130 miles between Colorado's then principal cities, the trip still required eight hours in the best conditions. Even the journey to Colorado Springs was typically a two-and-a-half hour adventure. In 1930, the first paved road reached Pueblo from Colorado Springs. The concrete road was eighteen feet wide and eventually became U.S. Highways 85 and 87. It cut travel time to Colorado Springs to one hour.

In 1949, the Colorado Department of Transportation, backed with federal funds, began the construction of the Pueblo Freeway, which pushed a four-lane, limited access highway right through the heart of the city, generally running parallel to and just west of Fountain Creek. The massive, $10.6 million project was 9.2 miles long and required the construction of 35 bridges, including a .6-mile, $1.77-million viaduct over the Arkansas River and adjacent railroad yards. The freeway required a decade to complete, formally opening on July 1, 1959, as the official route of U.S. Highways 85 and 87. A decade later, the Pueblo Freeway became part of Interstate 25, which formally opened from Wyoming to New Mexico on September 21, 1969.[24]

The Pueblo Freeway only further severed the East Side from downtown Pueblo and reinforced the neighborhood's sense of isolation. Surmounted only by the Fourth and Eighth Street bridges, a broad swath of uninterrupted linear features brutally disconnected the neighborhood from the rest of the city: Interstate 25, the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, and Fountain Creek as well as its associated flood control structures.

Linear obstacles to the west and south had defined and isolated the East Side for decades. But until the 1960s, the neighborhood faced no such obstacles to growth to the north and west. But the construction of the U.S. Highway 50 Bypass ultimately defined the northern and eastern edges of the neighborhood and completed the circle of isolation. When the bypass was constructed about 1960, what was once a neighborhood street became a bustling, four-lane, limited-access highway. The bypass divided the first and second filings of the Belmont subdivision, effectively disengaging the southern portion (first filing) from the developing neighborhood on the north side of the bypass, which was the city's preeminent postwar subdivision. Augmenting the already noticeable stigma to living in the East Side, residents of Ruppel and Maudslay

Streets still claim today that they live in Belmont, though both streets are south of the bypass. This contrasts with residents in other portions of the East Side who consider those same streets to be just another part of their neighborhood.

The construction of the U.S. Highway 50 Bypass more starkly isolated the Eastwood Heights subdivision of the East Side, like a surgeon removing the appendix from the rest of the intestines. Before the bypass residents of Portland Avenue eastward considered themselves part of the Eastwood Subdivision. Today, that same area has no specific identity apart from the East Side and appears to share nothing in common with the rest of Eastwood. Some residents still use the name Eastwood for the area east of Portland and south of the bypass, and others use the more generic term East Side. The portion of Eastwood isolated north of the bypass continues to use the term Eastwood for its portion of the East Side, though the small area south of the bypass and east of the arroyo near York Street also uses the term Eastwood locally. Eastwood is now the only portion of the East Side situated north of the bypass.

When the bypass first tore through the center of Eastwood, traffic sped on by unimpeded. Prior to 1974, only flashing yellow caution lights stood between speeding motorists and the Eastwood pedestrians wanting to visit friends and neighbors living on the other side of the bypass. This predicament finally led to a public demonstration against the bypass's design at the easternmost end of Eighth Street on August 22, 1974. Eastwood residents demanded that a traffic signal be installed at the intersection of the U.S. 50 Bypass and East Eighth Street and that a pedestrian bridge be constructed over the bypass. Approximately a hundred area residents halted motorists for half an hour to bring attention to their slighted community. Their actions were justified: the group stated that fourteen residents of the Eastwood community had lost their lives at the intersection during the previous decade. The Pueblo police chief arrived at the intersection, and the demonstrators peacefully disbanded. The group arranged a meeting with the police chief the next evening in Eastwood to discuss the residents' concerns. In true stigmatizing fashion not uncommon to East Side residents, the director of the Pueblo Transportation Department stated that any improvements at the intersection would have to be conducted by the State of Colorado, not the City. The City Engineer agreed that the intersection was under the state's jurisdiction, but that there was indeed overwhelming justification for the residents' demands. The City Engineer committed himself to take residents' concerns to the State Highway Department, but cautioned that both the city and the state would need two weeks to resolve the issue. On September 18, 1974, less than one month after East Side and Eastwood residents demonstrated in the highway, construction began on the installation of traffic signals to make the intersection safer; sources do not indicate when the pedestrian overpass was constructed, but it was certainly before 1979.[25]

But the traffic signals at the intersection of the U.S. 50 Bypass and East Eighth Street remained in place for only five years. In the spring of 1979, the Colorado State Highway Department constructed an interchange in which the U.S. 50 Bypass, University Boulevard (Colorado 47), and East Fourth Street converged. The construction of the interchange meant the closing of the U.S. 50 Bypass and East Eighth Street intersection. Traffic once again sped along through Eastwood, this time even faster since the new interchange did not require a signal. The interchange and the pedestrian overpass remain today, however the overpass was reconstructed around 2002

after it was struck by a high semi trailer and collapsed.[26]

Though the interchange made life easier for motorists driving the bypass, it brought more headaches to the overslighted Eastwood community. No longer could residents drive to the larger portion of the East Side via Eighth Street; they had to take much longer routes either along University Boulevard and Fourth Street to the east or the western route out of the community via Oakshire Lane and Troy Avenue. The community was effectively cut off from the rest of the East Side except for the pedestrian bridge. What used to be a short trip across the street had now become a nearly mile-long journey.

At the time the interchange was constructed, Oakshire Lane was not even a city street; for another decade and a half, it was classified as only a service road. This meant that Eastwood residents could not get into their community on any city street, the only other option was University Boulevard (Colorado Highway 47). Oakshire Lane was a narrow strip of asphalt with no sidewalks or lighting. Students who walked to East High School traveled through dirt to get there until 1996. That year, the city constructed a street with sidewalks, curbs, gutters, and lights. That it took so long for Pueblo to connect Eastwood to the rest of the city is unsettling. Granted, Eighth Street connected Eastwood to the rest of the East Side prior to 1979, but fifteen years is a long time for a neighborhood to be completely severed from any other part of its city.[27]

Chapter 6

East Side Businesses and Industries

While Fountain Creek may have isolated the rest of Pueblo from the East Side, the East Side relied on the rest of Pueblo for employment and services. The vast majority of residents worked someplace other than in the neighborhood itself, particularly at the Minnequa Works, the smelters, the railroads, and downtown businesses. This was a long tradition in the largely residential neighborhood. For example, at 1:30 p.m., on Sunday, November 19, 1876, a fire broke out in the kitchen of Captain J.S. Thompson's East Side home. Neighbors were quickly on hand to extinguish the flames, limiting damage to the kitchen and part of the dining room. But the *Colorado Daily Chieftain* made an interesting observation: "It is a fortunate thing that the fire happened to occur on Sunday, for had it been on any other day of the week not a man could have been found in East Pueblo at that hour."[1] Despite the pull of other businesses and industries away from the East Side, however, the neighborhood did develop limited commercial districts and industries.

Commercial Districts

The earliest commercial district in East Pueblo developed at the intersection of East Fourth Street and Fountain Avenue. The area was an extension of the Fourth Street business corridor. Early in Pueblo's history, Fourth Street and Santa Fe Avenue marked the center of the downtown, which later moved one block west, to Main and Fourth streets. Nevertheless, businesses developed along the Fourth Street corridor and naturally extended across the Fourth Street viaduct, which was the principal connection between downtown and the East Side. By 1893, the northwest and southeast corners of Fourth and Fountain hosted double-storefronts, with the northwest building actually consisting of two stories. A small cabinet shop stood at the southwest corner of Fourth and Water (Erie); diagonally across the intersection, on the northeast corner, was a small flour and feed mill. Just east of the mill was a cobbler shop. Two other storefronts were located on the south side of the 600 block of Fourth Avenue, at 610 and 616.[2]

By 1904-05, the commercial district gained a coal yard, just east of the bridge, on the south side of the street. The commercial district then extended into the 700 block of Fourth Street, which hosted, in addition to the previously mentioned double storefront, an office (704), an extract factory with a second-story meeting hall (716), and two more storefronts (718 and 720), a bakery (722), and another store (726). Another two-story storefront, hosting a bakery, was located on the northwest corner of Fourth and Center (Glendale Avenue), at 731 Fourth Street. The southeast corner of Fourth and Center (Glendale) hosted a storefront, cold storage and butcher shop, and a feed store. By 1952, the Fourth Street corridor was a mixture of retail businesses and small factories. The 600 block hosted a filling station (601), a restaurant and storefront (602-

Figure 6.1. The East Side's Fourth Street commercial district in the 1950s. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*



604), a chicken hatchery (611), a pickle factory (608-610); a storefront (612), another storefront (616), a food products factory (619), a storefront (618), the double storefront (625-627), and a filling station at the southwest corner of Fourth Street and Fountain Avenue. The 700 block was even more densely developed with commercial buildings, including stores at 700, 701, and 704; a large dry cleaning operation (709); a large dairy (713-717A), more storefronts (712-730). Restaurants were located at 720 and 731 Fourth Street. The 800 block of Fourth Street hosted a number of automobile-related businesses, including filling and service stations, a used car dealership, and a large automobile repair shop. As Fourth Avenue developed into one of the major east-west corridors in Pueblo, more and more automobile-related businesses flanked the road and continue to dominate the thoroughfare to the present.[3]

The other notable commercial district in the East Side developed along Eighth Street from Mesa (LaCrosse Avenue) to Monument Avenue. In 1905, only a single, small storefront was located in the district, on the southwest corner of Eighth Street and Mesa (LaCrosse Avenue). By 1952, however, that same corner hosted three storefronts. Across the street was another storefront and a filling station. A drug store was located on the northwest corner of Fourth and Monument. But the largest retail building in the district was a Safeway grocery store, which, with its parking lots, occupied 15 lots on the south side of the 1300 block. While the market was conveniently located for East Side residents, in unfortunately resulted in the demolition of some of the neighborhood's most important and impressive residences.[4]

Industries

Although the East Side did not develop around a single major industry or business, such as the Bessemer Neighborhood around CF&I's Minnequa Works, the neighborhood did not completely lack commercial and industrial ventures. Many were small operations that did not last long into the twentieth century. Others, like the Walter's Brewery and Summit Brick & Tile, became Pueblo industrial giants.

Agricultural Industries

Even during its population boom, large portions of the East Side remained quite pastoral. As a result, the neighborhood became home to a number of agricultural processing businesses, particularly dairy farms and a stockyard. The Robinson Brothers Dairy dominated most of block two in Patton & Smith's Addition, a property that included rich pastures along the east bank of Fountain Creek between East Twelfth and Thirteenth streets. By 1905, the complex consisted of a large dwelling, at 507 East Twelfth Street, with a number of barns, processing buildings, outbuildings, and a corral extending to the north and west. By 1952, most of the complex was still intact, but it was no longer a dairy.[5] Two other dairies were located in the southeast corner of the East Side, where the Arkansas River floodplain provided superb grazing land. The adjacent dairy farms were situated east of Lawrence (Reading Avenue) and south of West First Street. To the north was Walt Coleman's Coleman Dairy and to the south the Rocky Mountain Dairy. The latter dairy was an enterprise of the Chastain family, which had immigrated to the East Side from France. Buildings from both dairies still exist.[6]

Besides the dairies, the East Side also hosted a large stockyard. The Doyle Meat & Live Stock Company was situated at nearly the same location as the Iron City Brick Company (see below), but it is unclear whether the stockyard reused any of the buildings from the former occupant. By 1905, Doyle was an extensive operation, with its own siding off the Santa Fe Railway. The multi-acre complex consisted of large cattle and hog corrals. It included the usual barns, pens, and scales. Livestock entered the main building via a driveway along the south side. From there, the cattle and hogs entered the killing floor and slaughter house. Dressed meat could then be moved into a cooling room and then into cold storage. Adjacent to these rooms was a large scale and weighing room. The building also contained a steam-powered plant and an office. Adjacent buildings included a smokehouse and tallow house.[7]

Located just east of the stockyards was the A.E. Leonard Soap Works. This location would have been perfect for gathering from the adjacent stockyard the tallow and other fatty renderings necessary for making soap. The complex consisted of several buildings, including a dwelling, a dugout tallow room, and a pump house. The main plant included a rendering tank, large water tank, soap mixer, and packaging room. The Leonard Soap Works was never a large operation, however, and probably employed very few people. As the 1905 Sanborn map notes, "does not run regularly."[8]

Another agriculture related industry on the East Side was the C.H. Wallace Greenhouse, at the southwest corner of East Tenth Street and Curtis (Queens Avenue). In 1905, the operation consisted of two large greenhouses.[9]

Heavy Industries

By 1893, the Pueblo Wagon & Carriage Company had opened in the 400 block of North Fountain Avenue. It consisted of a wood shop, blacksmith shop, and painting shop in a collection of small buildings. By 1905, the factory had grown substantially. It was now housed in a large, 7,600-square foot, two-story factory, at the same location. The first floor was divided into the woodworking and blacksmith shops. Workers would then move the completed wagons to the second story for painting, varnishing and, in the case of commercial wagons, lettering. It is unclear how long the Pueblo Wagon & Carriage Company remained at this location, but given that the dawn of the automotive age was only a decade or so away, its life must have been brief.[10]

Earliest among East Pueblo's nearby industries was a brewery located at the extreme southeast corner of the East Side; it became the first large employer east of Fountain Creek. In 1881, the Pueblo Brewery built a factory on the north side of what would become the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Railway right-of-way, near the present-day intersection of Joplin and Portland avenues (This was, however, a few years before the Santa Fe Railway reached Pueblo from the east). O. Elias Mertz was the first owner of the brewery in its East Pueblo location. But competition for the thirst of Pueblo's many drinkers was fierce, forcing Mertz to borrow $7,000 from a private investor, Fred Rohrer, to keep the business afloat in 1883. Mertz defaulted on the ninety-day note, leading August Dreesz to lease the brewery in January 1884; the Dreesz-led operation lasted only a short time. Charles Kretchmer purchased the brewery at a trustee's sale in December 1886 and successfully operated it until a fire destroyed most of the factory in 1890, leaving only the cellars and vats intact. Rebuilding the facility was costly and Kretchmer could not lead the brewery back into financial stability. Thus, the property reverted to the mortgage holder,

A. Magnus. In 1892, Magnus sold the operation to Louis Frisch. But Frisch could do no better than Kretchmer, leading Magnus to once again take over the brewery in 1895. More interested in real estate development than the brewing business, Magnus found another buyer, William Wilhelm, that same year. Wilhelm leased the brewery and operated it under his name until the Walter family, of Wisconsin, purchased the company and brewery on July 29, 1898. Under the Walters experience leadership, the brewery not only achieved self-sufficiency but also became one of the most prosperous businesses in Pueblo.[11]

Martin and Christian Walter, along with one other brother, were German immigrants who successfully operated breweries in Wisconsin. Looking to expand their operations, the brothers sent Martin west to find an ideal location for a new brewery. Martin first traveled to San Diego and then Pueblo, where he found the right fit for the brothers' operations and purchased the existing brewery in East Pueblo for $7,000. The Walters changed the company's name to Walter's Brewery, and the first officers of the company were Martin Walter, Christian Walter, and John Hrubesky; Martin Walter reserved fifty-one percent of the stock for himself. Walter's Brewery's first beer was sold on October 15, 1898, with only "Pueblo Beer" lettered on the bottle; there was no label.[12]

Martin Walter appears to have been the only one of the brothers to live in Pueblo, and as such, oversaw the operations of the brewery. His first order of business was to find an improved way of supplying the brewery with ice. Prior to Walter taking over the brewery, water supplied two large ponds on the grounds via the Goldsmith Ditch. Wagons hauled ice from the ponds to the hill behind the brewery in the winter, where it was shoveled onto the floor of the top cellar. This process stopped a few years prior to the Walters' takeover. A previous operator purchased an ice machine that cooled by using brine coils, but the mechanism proved unreliable, leading the Walters to buy an ammonia-based ice machine. The ice was used during the brewing process and also sold and delivered along with the beer.

The brewery expanded almost immediately after Martin Walter took possession of the factory. Walter constructed a bottlehouse and purchased a labeling machine to market the company's new Mountain Dew brand of beer. The Mountain Dew brand was later renamed to the locally well-known Gold Label brand in 1906. Mountain Dew sold well within the local market, prompting even greater expansion in 1902. Walter found that the brewery's equipment was rapidly deteriorating, prompting the company to invest $35,000 in new construction and improvements on the factory grounds. With the construction of a replacement brewhouse, washing room, malt storage facility, two boilers, and a new, larger ice machine, production increased to over 150 barrels a day. The company also added a saloon and beer garden. The improvements boosted the value of the Walter's Brewery Corporation to over $150,000. The new equipment demanded a skilled workforce of over twenty-five men, which unionized in 1903.[13]

By 1909, the brewhouse built in 1902 was already insufficient. The company constructed a three-story addition to the brewhouse, with the bottom story housing two steam engines that supplied the brewery's electricity. The two engines produced about twice the amount of electricity the brewery required, leading the company to operate them at half output to decrease the engines' regular maintenance. Walter's decided that there was no room or need for the on-site saloon and beer garden, and closed both on December 31, 1909. The company remodeled the saloon and converted it into keg storage, then

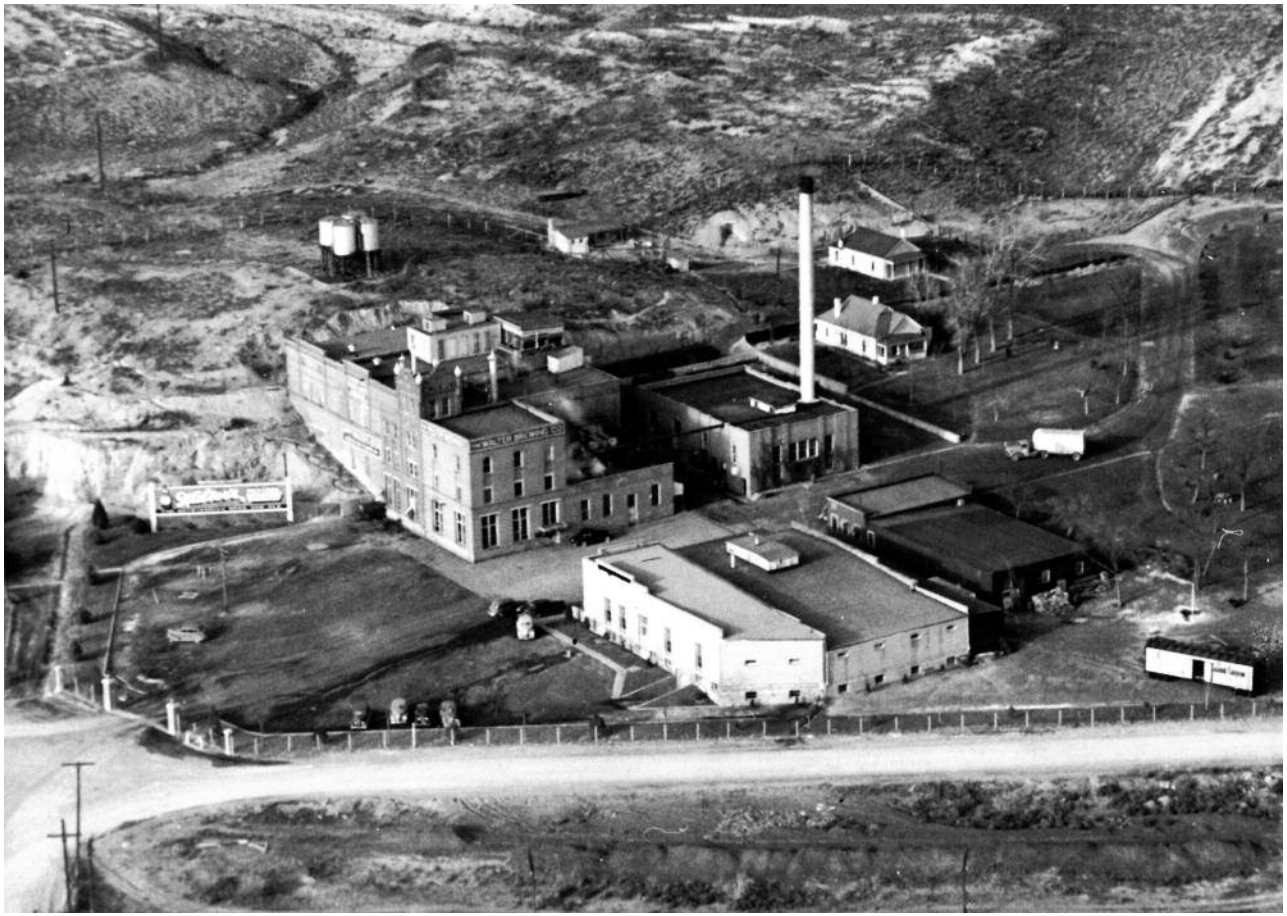


Figure 6.2. Aerial view of the Walter's Brewery in the 1950s. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*

later into a garage to house the company's fleet of delivery trucks purchased in 1911. About this same time, production capacity had climbed to 250 barrels a day.[14]

Expansion stopped prior to World War I, as supply met demand. The fate of the brewery changed from Martin Walter to the hands of Colorado voters in 1915, when the citizens of the state voted to outlaw the sale of alcohol. Walter's Brewery closed on December 15, 1915, in anticipation of the state's prohibition law, which took effect on January 1, 1916; the national prohibition law, established under the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, took effect four years later. The brewery property was relegated to salvage and vandalism for the next decade and a half.[15]

The repeal of prohibition laws in the United States in 1933 allowed Martin Walter, Jr., to reopen the brewery in March of that year. Despite the poor condition of the brewing equipment, Walter managed to produce and sell beer in only four months. Neither the buildings nor the equipment could withstand even the slightest increase in production. Toward the end of 1936, during height of the Great Depression, the company had no choice other than to expand and improve its buildings again. Several buildings were constructed to house new equipment that included pumps and bottle capping machines. Construction and equipment expenditures reached nearly half a million dollars.[16]

In the late 1940s, following World War II, the plant modernized once again to meet the needs and tastes of its drinkers. Walter's beer was now not only sold in Pueblo; advances in cold storage and transportation allowed the company to penetrate the regional, as well as local, markets. The most prominent feature added to production during this period was a canning machine that could produce cans with a snap top; gone were the days of having to use a "church key" to puncture two holes in the can's top. Walter's Brewery employed more than seventy-five people in 1950, with an annual payroll of approximately $250,000. By 1961, the payroll encroached on $500,000 with the same number of employees.[17]

In 1961 and 1967, the company added twenty tanks to tremendously increase production; four tanks had a capacity of 750 barrels and sixteen tanks had a capacity of 635 barrels. The company also added tanks for future use. Walter's Brewery peaked in 1962, with sales that year at an all-time high. Major-

ity control in Walter's Brewery passed to John and Andy Sackman shortly after this peak in sales, and Paul Kalmanovitz purchased another large block of Walter's stock. Kalmanovitz and his company, General Brewing Corporation, subsequently purchased more and more shares until GBC owned eighty percent of Walter's by the late 1960s. In 1966, the brewery embarked on a $250,000 modernization plan, its last expansion. By 1974, the brewery had increased the number of brands it was bottling, but production had slipped to 60,000 barrels per year. The workforce had fallen to twenty-six employees. On January 3, 1975, Walter's Brewery closed amidst price cutting by major beer bottlers as they claimed a larger market share.[18]

The buildings and equipment at the Walter's Brewery were silent for over a year when the Lemel Corporation of Salt Lake City purchased the property to part it out to other breweries or salvage companies. Some equipment and supplies were sold, but most were not; Lemel did not last long at the site as the corporation tried to find new uses for the brewing equipment. A fire gutted the main brewery building on July 30, 1976, leaving the plant vulnerable to vandals and looters. By the summer of 1977, the plant had become a public hazard and was razed. For about twenty-five years, only remnants of the foundations remained at the site. A few years into the twenty-first century, a residential development company purchased the old Walter's Brewery property and land adjacent to it, subdividing it into for lots for new homes. Only a few lots and houses were ever sold; the development company went defunct, leaving paved streets, streetlights, utility hookups, and barren ground, often covered with shards of green, brown, blue, cobalt, and purple glass—a reminder of the site's past use.[19]

The East Side also had a long history hosting the brick industry, probably because of the geology of the Arkansas-Fountain confluence, which provided an array of rich clays, sands, and shales. The earliest of these was probably the Iron City Fire Clay Company, which dates to the early 1890s, if not earlier. It was located just south of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, between Prospect and Park (Iola and Joplin avenues). By 1893, Iron City was a large operation. A tramway connected the plant to the railroad and led directly to the two-story clay mill and brick press. From there the bricks entered the furnaces and then the drying floor, which consisted of 15 flues. Accompanying the plant were two large kilns. But by 1905, the site had become the Doyle Stock Yard.[20]

As large as operations were at Iron City, they were greatly eclipsed by the East Side neighborhood's enormous Summit Brick & Tile Company. Joseph C. Welte founded the company in 1902, making the East Side its home from that time until the present. Welte was born in Iowa in 1866 and worked on both farms and a brickyard in his home state. The urge to strike it rich brought Welte to stake mining claims near Cripple Creek, Colorado, then later in Alaska along the Yukon River; neither venture proved successful. Welte then moved to Phoenix, Arizona, entering the brick business again as a manager at a brick manufacturing plant. The mild climate of Pueblo brought Welte to the city, where he started his own company, Summit Brick & Tile.[21]

In its first year of operation, Summit changed its manufacturing process from hand molding soft mud into bricks to a dry-press method. The dry press was a more expensive process of producing brick, but the end product was considerably superior. Summit's local business greatly expanded in 1908, when the company purchased a competitor, the Acme Brick Company. Acme was located about where University

Boulevard intersects the Fountain River, a few miles north of Summit's operation. Summit manufactured brick at the Acme site until 1915, when the company consolidated its operations at its original plant at the corner of East Thirteenth Street and Erie Avenue. Summit expanded again when it purchased the National Clay Products Company of Colorado Springs in 1916.[22]

Summit changed its manufacturing process again in 1922 to the stiff mud process. Four years later, in 1926, Summit constructed an office building and showroom, built to look like a house; the exterior walls, of course, were of red brick. By 1930, the Summit plant became the second industrial facility in Colorado to use natural gas as its primary fuel. Expansion plans continued in 1931, when Summit purchased the Lakewood Brick & Tile Company. Lakewood Brick & Tile is still operating under its original name today, but is owned and operated by Summit. The next expansion of the brick works occurred in 1941, when the company built an entirely new plant to replace the now almost 40-year-old one and updated their manufacturing equipment. The year 1971 saw Summit purchase the Trinidad Brick Company of Trinidad, Colorado. Operation of the Trinidad Brick Company ceased in 1978. Summit once again expanded its hometown operations in 1974, constructing three new buildings to house a grinding plant, manufacturing plant, and maintenance shop; this expansion also brought new machinery throughout the factory.[23]

Summit Brick & Tile installed totally automated handling machinery in 1979 that automatically stacked and sorted its brick products. The company built a new office and showroom in 1983, supplanting the almost sixty-year old building. In 1997 and 2003, Summit expanded its product line to include manufactured and natural stone veneer, respectively. Summit Brick & Tile has had its office and manufacturing plant in the same location in the East Side now for over one hundred years, and it remains one of the city's major manufacturers, exporting its products to both Canada and Japan, making the company possibly the only international firm ever located in the East Side.

Other businesses and industries in the East Side in 1905 included a cigar factory on Fountain Avenue, on the northwest corner of the alley between First and Second streets. The J.D. Andrus Planing Mill was located on Capitol (Kingston Avenue) between Fourth and Fifth streets. Located on the northwest corner of Fifth Street and Water (Erie Avenue), was the Pueblo Ice & Coal Company. It was an L-shaped factory, with the east-west portion of the building hosting the coal house and the larger north-south wing housing the ammonia ice plant and ice storage house.[24]

Chapter 7

East Side Neighborhood Institutions

In its first detailed description of Lewis Conley's East Pueblo Addition, the *Chieftain* mentioned that "the seminary grounds have been laid out, occupying an entire block and commanding a beautiful and romantic view of the town and the distant mountains."[1] As well, what is today Hudson Avenue was originally called Seminary Street. What this seminary was supposed to be is a bit of a mystery. The only "seminary" in Pueblo in 1872-73, was the Colorado Seminary, established in the spring of 1872 by Ellen J. Merritt. It was a boarding and day school principally intended for girls, although some boys were also enrolled. The curriculum emphasized classical and foreign languages and the arts. But as the *Chieftain* notes, "The proprietress of this institution has under her control some eight lots, in a desirable location, on the mesa, in South Pueblo, in which we understand she has already commenced to erect a large two story seminary building." Thus the location for the Colorado Seminary was clearly South Pueblo and not East Pueblo. More likely Conley's "seminary" was more a plan to attract buyers to his subdivision than an actual institution. While the seminary appears to have never materialized, public institutions arrived early in East Pueblo.[2]

Public Schools

Once the Conley Addition to the City of Pueblo was platted and recorded, the population of East Pueblo appears to have risen dramatically. The Pueblo County Clerk recorded the addition June 8, 1872, and by January 1, 1873, East Pueblo had become a "settlement with broad streets and avenues and well arranged brick and frame buildings."[3] Families with young children occupied the new houses in the neighborhood, and community leaders quickly recognized the need for an East Pueblo public school. At its April 1873 meeting, the Pueblo District No. 1 school board authorized the residents of East Pueblo to organize and establish their own school district. The first meeting to organize District No. 19 was held one month later, on May 27, 1873, at the residence of Nathan Morris. He lived at the southeast corner of East Fifth Street and Hudson Avenue, presumably 902 East Fifth Street; this house has since been razed and the adjacent lot contains apartments. Residents at the meeting immediately elected a school board, with Josiah F. Smith as president, William H. Wetmore as secretary, and Nathan Morris as treasurer. Throughout the history of District No. 19, the school board presidency alternated between the neighborhood's leading residents, Josiah Smith and Lewis Conley. The first classes in East Pueblo were held the following fall in a storeroom erected by Judge Mark G. Bradford. The first teacher was J.W. Bigney. Demand for the school appears justified; initial enrollment at the East Pueblo School was 120 students, with an average daily attendance of eighty-six. By January 1874, Lewis Conley began construction of a brick building on land donated by Bradford. Funding the construc-



Figure 7.1. The Fountain School as it appeared circa 1890. The later four-room addition can be seen behind Francis W. Cooper's original four-room schoolhouse. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*

tion of a school made great business sense for Conley; he could easily attract more families to buy lots and houses if a school existed adjacent to his namesake addition.[4]

By 1879, enrollment at East Pueblo School had dropped to an average of 60 students daily. The school was still in its own district, but declining enrollment forced a change in the autonomy. In 1880, District No. 1 absorbed District No. 19. The change to a single district within the city was good for the children of East Pueblo. At the July 11, 1880, District No. 1 board meeting, the board voted to build a new school to serve the neighborhood. The school board purchased a block between East Sixth and East Seventh Streets, fronted on Water (Erie Avenue) and commissioned Pueblo architect Francis W. Cooper to draw up plans for a two-story, four room building. Initial cost of the building, named Fountain School, was $12,000. It was the second school in District No. 1. Construction of this initial incarnation of the Fountain School was completed in 1882, and officially named by the school board on July 1. Fountain School contained four equal-sized classrooms and three janitor's closets in the basement.[5]

The Wiley & Chamberlin Subdivision to East Pueblo, recorded June 9, 1887, brought another population increase to the neighborhood. By 1889, a new school began classes in a rented room within the subdivision, but this arrangement rapidly proved inadequate. O.J. Wiley and Humphrey B. Chamberlin repeated the savvy business tactic of Lewis Conley and donated land for a school within their subdivision. Construction of the two-room school began in 1889, and by autumn of that year neighborhood students attended the new Wiley School. The building was located about one-half mile southeast of the present-day Bradford School. The Wiley School became overcrowded within only a few short years. In 1892, a new school had been erected at the corner of present-day East First Street and LaCrosse Avenue. The school was initially named Capitol School, presumably because it was located near Capitol Avenue (now Kingston Avenue).[6] Capitol School was renamed Bradford School, in honor of early Board of Education member Judge W.G. Bradford; the year of this name change is unknown.[7]

Overcrowding was a problem district-wide, and the

schools of East Pueblo were no exception. Reacting to the crammed schools that plagued Pueblo School District No. 1, the Board of Education authorized an $18,920 addition to the Fountain School that doubled the building's size; the school now consisted of eight classrooms. But the respite from overcrowding was short lived at the East Pueblo school; students overflowed it once again by the end of the 1891-92 school year. The school board again contracted for an addition to Fountain School in April 1903 at a cost of $30,665. This addition formed the central part of the school. Another East Pueblo school, Bradford, grew during the 1906-07 school year. No building additions or renovation occurred, but a half-block of ground was added to the property.[8]

Enrollment at the schools of East Pueblo stabilized by the turn of the twentieth century, and a change in superintendents brought a district-wide experiment in segregating boys and girls above the fifth grade. Entire schools were not segregated, but classes were. Boys' studies now included more handiwork and girls' classes put more emphasis on domesticity. At Fountain School, the board added a print shop during the 1914-15 school year to introduce boys to the trade. Prior to the opening of the print shop, the elder boys at Fountain received manual training at Hinsdale School in downtown Pueblo. However, the benefit of receiving manual training in their own neighborhood school was short-lived for East Pueblo boys; the printing program moved to Centennial High School a few years after it was established at Fountain.[9]

By the end of the 1916-17 school year, the construction of another East Pueblo School had been completed. Park View School, named so because it is situated across the street from the south end of Mitchell Park, now served the neighborhood. The school board commissioned architect George Roe to design the school in units; theoretically additionally units could be installed easily as the neighborhood grew or pedagogy changed. Contractor Harry Angel built the first unit of the school at a cost of $16,127. Classes at Park View School began on January 22, 1917. But the school never developed as initially planned; heating, maintenance, and administration all proved too costly and difficult for separate building units. Succeeding additions to the school connected previous units.[10]



Figure 7.2. This is a very early view of the 1892 Bradford School. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*



Figure 7.3. Parkview School circa 1950. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*

East Pueblo Schools experienced somewhat of a transition during World War I as popular attitudes shifted from educating students to preparing soldiers. Overcrowding eased, at least temporarily, and construction and renovation slowed when the federal treasury had to fund the war effort instead of public school grants. On October 3, 1918, all District No. 1 schools closed due to the Spanish influenza epidemic. This strain of the flu caused one of the most deadly epidemics in American history because it spread easily and was particularly virulent among those with healthy immune systems. Classes did not resume until almost three months later, on December 30. Almost one year earlier, on January 9, 1918, a fire broke out in Fountain School. The building sustained both cosmetic and structural damage, and most of the building's contents were destroyed. Classes could not be conducted in the damaged school, forcing officials to use a temporary location. The insurance settlement for damages amounted to $6,904 for the building and $1,298 for the contents, for a total of $8,202; this was a paltry sum considering the last expansion of the school totaled almost four times that amount fifteen years earlier.[11]

East Pueblo was growing rapidly in both geographic size and population in the early 1920s. The school board recognized this growth and demonstrated foresight in purchasing land and planning future schools. The board approved the purchase of two parcels of land: one parcel was located north of present-day Park View Elementary School, and the other was situated at the extreme eastern edge of East Pueblo, in the 2000 block bordered by Fifth and Sixth streets. The school

board approved the purchase adjacent Park View parcel on October 17, 1924, and the parcel bounded by Reading and Troy avenues and East Fifth and Sixth streets on May 5, 1925. The school board spent $3,470 on the two parcels, but no schools were ever constructed at either site.[12]

In 1922, the school board adopted a long-range building plan that included the construction of two junior high schools. These schools were meant to host a three-year program, consisting of the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. The board sought this arrangement to once again relieve crowding in grade and high schools. The area of the city that demonstrated the greatest need for a junior high school was East Pueblo. On March 23, 1926, the school board closed a deal to purchase the vacated Benedictine College property (site of present-day Risley Middle School), contingent on the approval of a bond issue, which the citizens of Pueblo overwhelmingly passed. The property cost $55,000, and the board planned to use the existing building to temporarily host classes while a new building was concurrently constructed. Architect Walter DeMordaunt drew plans for the new school, and chose an H-shape. The western portion of the design would house an auditorium to the north and a gymnasium to the south. The school board realized, however, that the district could not afford to build the school as DeMordaunt had planned it. Thus, the board chose to build only the gymnasium, which would serve as the school's auditorium as well, at a cost of $49,650, and to renovate the former Benedictine College building as classrooms for $7,320. These construction projects still put the district $1,970 over their bond budget, but it nonetheless funded the projects. The former Benedictine College was renamed Park Hill Junior High School, most likely based on the efforts of the East Pueblo Improvement Association to change the neighborhood's name from East Pueblo to Park Hill. While its geographic location provided the name, it also added to confusion, since Park View Elementary School was only a few blocks away. Park Hill Junior High School served the needs of its student population well, but only two grades could fit into the allotted space. Grades seven and eight, which were formerly held at Fountain School, attended Park Hill beginning in the fall of 1927, and the ninth grade was left at Centennial High School.[13]



Figure 7.4. Fountain Elementary School in the 1950s. Only the gymnasium at far right still remains. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*

Though the district already had plans drawn for a new Park Hill Junior High School building, the American economy slid into the Great Depression before the school could be built.



Figure 7.5. Park Hill Junior High School in the former Benedictine College building. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*

During the 1930s, the district tried in vain to obtain a Public Works Administration subsidy to finish the school as previously planned.[14] World War II furthered the construction delay; no classrooms were added anywhere within the district during the Great Depression and World War II. Finally, toward the end of 1944, as labor and material shortages improved, the district commissioned DeMordaunt to revise his plans from almost two decades earlier to meet the current needs of the neighborhood. Conditions at the current junior high school had deteriorated to the point where the district no longer felt it was safe to hold classes in the former Benedictine College and abandoned the building. During the Christmas break of 1944, the district removed all of the classroom supplies and furniture from the building. Park Hill's students now occupied the basement and third floor of Fountain School, and Bethel Methodist Church, one block west of Park Hill, hosted the library. The moved forced Fountain's kindergarten class to move to the church as well. The newer gymnasium at Park Hill saw continued use. Other grade schools in Pueblo's East Side neighborhood experience crowding never seen before as well. Fountain School had previously been used to relieve crowding at both the Bradford and Park View schools, but the abandonment of Park Hill Junior High prohibited Fountain from that use. At the January 27, 1945, school board meeting, merely one month after classes had moved from Park Hill, the board resolved to have DeMordaunt submit plans for a new primary unit to be added to the George Roe-designed Park View School. DeMordaunt was to use as much material as possible from the dismantled Park Hill Junior High School. The district also compelled DeMordaunt to submit his plans for the new junior high school as quickly as possible; he submitted his revised plans and specifications to the school board at its meeting on May 23, 1945. The board adopted the plans at the same meeting. To pay for construction at both the Park Hill and Park View schools, as well as other projects in the district, the District No. 1 Board of Education asked Pueblo voters to approve a $650,000 bond issue. A special election was held on October 15, 1945, and the bond easily passed.[15] On March 4, 1946, Pueblo School Districts No. 1 and No. 20 consolidated to form District No. 60, unifying schools in the east and north neighborhoods with their counterparts in the south neighborhoods.[16]

During that same month, the federal government recognized that schools nationwide were overcrowded following World War II and asked school districts to submit their building needs as part of a postwar public works project. The school district submitted a statement showing a need for $2,191,000 for projects at six schools. The East Side neighborhood had three schools in the proposal: a unit at Park View at a cost of $80,000; the new Park Hill Junior High School for $411,000; and a new Bradford School for $125,000. No one within the district expected much from the proposed federal program; it was just as well, as the program never developed.[17]

Overcrowding at schools in the East Side neighborhood could not wait for fleeting federal funding. The district had bond money available and decided to increase plans for the new Park View primary unit. The new plans called for a ten-room addition instead of the original four-room addition. Completed in time for the beginning of the 1948-49 school year, the primary unit at the school cost $176,430. This final cost was more than double what the district initially planned, but the Board of Education appears to have desired long-range solutions in light of so many building improvements in the East Side that only solved situations temporarily. With the post-war building boom, the costs of construction materials rose dramatically, so much so that the construction contract was awarded on a cost plus fixed-fee basis. Park View's student population when it first opened in 1917 was 179. By the time construction began on the addition thirty years later the school hosted 600 students. District officials realistically had no other option than to build the school big enough for any future increases in the student population. Yet faced with the Baby Boom, the board could not meet its own moratorium against new construction even after the costly 1948 addition; the student population had grown so quickly that the district completed another addition in 1953.[18]

The bond issue of 1945 also assured funding for Park Hill Junior High School. The district began razing the Benedictine College building in 1946, and due to the judicious dismantling, finished it in 1947. Colorado Springs contractor George Teats completed construction of the new Park Hill Junior High School in 1949 at a cost of $451,568. The separate auditorium building, originally planned in 1927, was never built, leaving the gymnasium to be used in a dual-purpose role. Students began classes in the new building in the fall of 1949, and the building was dedicated on November 30 of that year. A new school building brought a new name for Park Hill; students now attended James H. Risley Junior High School, in memory of the district superintendent who died before seeing the building's completion. Risley Junior High School was the first school in Pueblo to be named in honor of a person. Fountain School's enrollment stabilized once Risley opened, as the school now provided education for students up to the sixth grade.[19]

Though Park Hill Junior High School removed seventh and eighth grade students from the Fountain School, the elementary school still had a problem hosting its student population. Many students who lived near Bradford School attended Fountain due to overcrowding at Bradford. Fountain School had a large area from which to draw students, and the district decided to add more classroom space to Bradford to ease the overcrowding. With frugality in mind, the district purchased barracks no longer used by the Pueblo Ordnance Depot and moved them adjacent to Bradford School in time for the beginning of the 1948-49 school year.[20]

In the 1950s, student population overcrowding contin-

ued to plague District No. 60. Postwar prosperity swept the nation and the Baby Boom generation was growing and maturing. One of the first new schools of the decade was Spann Elementary, which opened in the East Side in 1952. Overcrowding at Park View Elementary in previous years led the school board to begin construction of this easternmost school in the city. Located at 2300 East Tenth Street, the school was named after a longtime custodian at Risley Junior High School, George "Pop" Spann. Parents of the students at Risley recognized that the junior high school was named after a person who positively affected the lives of many children and wanted the new elementary school to do the same; it made no difference to parents that Spann was not an educator. He was both well liked and respected in the neighborhood. Spann served the Pueblo public schools for thirty-four years, meeting generations of school students. Knowing most students on a first name basis, Spann never hesitated to spend his personal money on them or for supplies for the school. A forced retirement rule for employees over age sixty-five in District No. 60, effective September 1, 1952, brought an end to Spann's career, but he was still a fixture at the East Side schools until his death in 1954.[21]

During the 1960s, construction of new and existing schools in the East Side slowed with only one school constructed: Eastwood Elementary. The school was named for the East Side subdivision in which it was located and first held classes in the fall of 1962. Eastwood happened to be the only portion of the East Side that was north of the U.S. Highway 50 bypass, which isolated this area from the rest of the East Side. Dust kicked up by construction crews at East Side schools settled later in the 1960s, but that changed in the early 1970s when Fountain Elementary School moved to its current location at 925 Glendale Avenue. Construction of the new building surrounded by Glendale and Fountain avenues and East Ninth and Eleventh streets began in February 1971, and was to be completed within one calendar year. In order to accommodate the educational complex, the city vacated East Tenth Street between Glendale and Fountain. District No. 60 contracted H.E. Whitlock, Inc., to build the $880,000 building, with financing coming from a 1970 bond issue. The district donated the property that Fountain Elementary previously occupied to the City of Pueblo, with the City receiving a Housing and Urban Development grant to convert the old gymnasium at the east end of the property into a community recreation center. The City razed the remainder of the old Fountain School building in 1973, including a portion that dated to 1882, and replaced it with a park and basketball courts. The recreation center is now El Centro del Quinto Sol, managed by the Pueblo Parks & Recreation Department.[22]

Growth within the district slowed during the late 1970s and early 1980s, partially due to the recession that began in 1981 and the decline of the steel industry. Bradford Elementary School received an addition in 1987; this wing did not include classrooms, but rather consisted of a new media center, music room, administration office, and storage area. The two army barracks purchased in the 1940s were removed to make way for this improvement. District No. 60 once again contracted H.E. Whitlock, Inc., to do the work, at a cost of $480,900.[23]

Eastwood Elementary was the next East Side school to require a construction crew; arson at the school on the morning of July 19, 1988, claimed much of the building. The roughly 100 students who attended Eastwood Elementary were forced to begin the 1988-89 school year at the recently closed Baxter

Elementary School, owned by District No. 70. District No. 60 provided transportation for Eastwood students since the temporary location was over three miles away, but the students could remain with their assigned teachers. District No. 60 received an insurance payment of roughly $660,000 and was forced to come up with another $277,150 to refurbish the building. The renovated school retained only the gymnasium and cafeteria from the original building, as nearly eighty percent of the school had to be rebuilt. Classes resumed at Eastwood Elementary on January 23, 1989.[24]

Eastwood Elementary made newspaper headlines again in 1991 when a community group desired to change the school's name to Eva Baca Elementary. Eva Baca was a longtime principal at the school and a District No. 60 administrator. The debate was clearly a passionate one, as both supporters and opponents to the name change expressed their feelings at a District No. 60 Board of Education meeting held October 7, 1991. The board clearly did not want to offend either group, and held a closed-door meeting the next night to make a decision. The district conducted two polls: a door-to-door poll that indicated fifty-eight percent of responders favored a name change and a poll by mail that indicated sixty-nine percent favored the current name. Thus the polls only hindered any action by the board. At the October 8, 1991, meeting, the board approved a special election to decide the school's name. Held November 5, 1991, the election resulted in the approval of the name Eva Baca Elementary School.[25]

The population of East Pueblo remained stable in the early 1990s; thus the East Side did not receive any new schools due to overcrowding. Instead, the district chose to build a new Risley Middle School to replace the DeMordaunt-designed building initially occupied in 1949. On November 14, 1989, the board voted to spend approximately $7 million to acquire land and construct a new middle school. The new building was to be located near the existing building, and preliminary plans called for the district to purchase the Safeway grocery store property across the street. Negotiations with Safeway fell through, leaving the district to build immediately east of the current location and acquire more land to the south. A groundbreaking ceremony was held March 1, 1991, and classes were held in the new building beginning in the fall of 1992. The old school building and gymnasium were razed beginning in June 1992 to make way for a track, and football and soccer fields.[26]

During the early 1990s, District No. 60 experienced a new problem: declining enrollment. The district now had more schools than it could afford to keep open and planned to close one elementary school on the East Side. In early 1993, the superintendent and school board faced an enormous challenge choosing whether to close wither the Park View or Spann elementary schools. A decision never came and the 1993-94 school year started with the same schools as the previous year. In January 1994, with the district still struggling financially due to decreased enrollment, the superintendent pushed the board to make a decision about school closings quickly. He recommended closing Spann in the East Side and Hyde Park in the West Side neighborhood, and the board accepted his recommendation, ordering both schools shuttered at the end of the 1993-94 school year. Parents of Spann students had to choose whether to send their children to either the Eva Baca or Park View schools in order to keep their children enrolled as close to home as possible or have them bused to Bradford Elementary.[27]

The Spann Elementary building was operated as a preschool program for seven years until the school board voted

on April 24, 2002 to reopen the school. The reopening was part of a pilot program to include kindergarten through eighth grades, making enrollment drop at nearby Risley Middle School. Only minimal updating was needed at the building since it never totally ceased operation. Enrollment for the elementary grades at Spann was estimated at 264 students, which was about ten students fewer than when the school was closed; approximately forty middle school students were expected to increase the school's overall enrollment. A budget surplus for the district in 2003 led an advisory group to recommend constructing classrooms to serve Spann's middle school students, but the school has yet to receive funding for the expansion.[28]

The twenty-first century brought change to Park View Elementary as well. A district funding bond passed in November 2003, providing money for improvements district-wide. Expansion plans at Park View called for the district to purchase six houses just west of the school to accommodate a larger playground. An agreement could not be reached with the homeowners and the plan was ultimately scrapped. The school did receive money to construct a media center and 2,300 square feet of classroom space, among other items. In all, improvements at Park View amounted to approximately $3.4 million.[29]

With additions to current schools and the construction of new schools in the East Side, the question arises as to why there was never a public high school in the neighborhood. Since the first developments were tied to smelting, most of the early residents were men; very few women and children inhabited early East Pueblo and no more than one or two schoolhouses were needed. As the neighborhood grew, new developers became hesitant to forego profits and donate land for schools. Thus, school districts were relegated to purchasing land (usually a costly decision), adding square footage to current schools, or building new schools next to existing ones. Housing developments in the neighborhood filled in densely, leaving no large tracts of land that a high school requires. High schools demand more area due to the varied educational opportunities and athletic fields, and that large of an area was not readily available in the neighborhood. In 1959, District No. 60 added two new high schools in Pueblo, one of them East High School. Contrary to what the name suggests, the school is not located in the East Side neighborhood, but rather in the Belmont neighborhood. Prior to East High opening, East Side high school students attended Centennial High School in downtown Pueblo. For students living in the Lower East Side, mainly south of East Fourth Street, the distance to school increased; while for those students living in the easternmost sections of the East Side, the distance significantly decreased. The school-age population suggests that there was demand for a high school in the neighborhood prior to 1959. Development of the Belmont neighborhood began in the early 1950s, indicating most of East High's early students lived in the East Side.

Private Schools

Public schools were not the only type of educational institutions located in the East Side. In 1902, St. Leander's Priory was transferred from Cañon City to Pueblo due to booming industry in the city. Industry meant population growth, and Pueblo's population appeared large enough to support two catholic schools. The priory located in East Pueblo and immediately began construction of the Benedictine College at the southeastern corner of East Seventh Street and Capitol

(Kingston) Avenue. The priory was a college in name only; it was actually a catholic high school that would come to provide faculty for the Abbey School in Cañon City. Classes began in 1903, but it was not until 1905 that the school was completed. The building not only served as a school, but also as a church. St. Leander's parish was founded in 1903, and the congregation attended mass in the school until the present-day chapel was built about one block east. The Benedictine College operated continuously until 1918, when enrollment decreased due to World War I. The college resumed classes in 1922, but by this time East Pueblo had grown considerably in population and the college was near the center of this sprawling neighborhood. Monastic tradition called for priories to locate in relatively small towns and usually on the outskirts, so the priory moved back to Cañon City in 1925; it is highly ironic that the priory moved to and from Pueblo for the same reason. Even though the priory moved to Cañon City, St. Leander's parish remained in East Pueblo and the priory changed its name to Holy Cross. The aforementioned sale of the Benedictine College building became final in 1926, marking the end of the Catholic high school era on the East Side.[30]



Figure 7.6. Benedictine College. *(Pueblo County Historical Society)*

Churches

As settlers built the first houses east of Fountain Creek, the growing population began to desire its own places of worship. The earliest churches located in East Pueblo, appears to have been the East Pueblo Methodist Episcopal Church, also known as the East Side Methodist Episcopal Church, which met in the former East Pueblo school building as early as 1874. According to city directories, the East Side Methodist Episcopal Church was later located at the corner of East Seventh Street and Prospect (Iola) Avenue, and the Fountain Presbyterian Church at the corner of East Fourth Street and Fountain Avenue in 1894. The location of the Methodist Episcopal Church was not particularly well suited to gain a faithful congregation. At the time it was situated at the extreme northeast corner of the developing neighborhood. The majority of the neighborhood's population was south of Third Street and west of Centre (Glendale), making for a rather long Sunday stroll. The original church building no longer remains; only residential buildings occupy the corner of Seventh and Iola. The Presbyterian Church was in a much better situation, located only two blocks from the populous.[31]

The following year, East Side Methodist Episcopal Church moved to the southeast corner of East Fifth Street and Seminary (Hudson) Avenue, two blocks south and one block west of its previous location and much closer to East Pueblo residents. The first church to be located directly inside the established residential area of East Pueblo was the East Second Street Methodist Church, located on Second Street between Center (Glendale) and Seminary (Hudson) avenues. The church building was addressed as 812 East Second Street when constructed around 1899, but a larger building was constructed next door around 1920 and was addressed as 814 East Second Street; this simple one-story, rectangular box building, with a front-gabled roof, pointed arch windows and entryway, and a steeple towering over the west end of the north elevation, still stands today.



Figure 7.6. Bethel Methodist Church in 2008, now Solid Rock Full Gospel Ministries. *(Adam Thomas)*

Tradition maintains that a number of conservative and orthodox Jews resided in the lower East Side around the turn of the twentieth century, and historical evidence largely supports this assertion. In particular, some prominent members of the Jewish community acquired lots across from the old McClelland Library, at Mesa Junction, for the construction of a synagogue. But many of the city's Jews objected to the location because it would have been too far of walk from "The Grove" and east of Fountain Creek, where the majority of the prospective congregation resided. Thus, the Guggenheim family, major investors in the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, donated $1,000 for the construction of a synagogue on East Second Street, just off Santa Fe Avenue. This location was extremely close to the Lower East Side, requiring only a short stroll across the then-existent First Street bridge. Completed in 1907, the synagogue included a ritual bath and a balcony for women; at the time, Jewish tradition forbade men and women from sitting together in the temple. As the custom waned, the congregation demolished the balcony. Jews in Pueblo, particularly those residing in the eastern and southern neighborhoods, continued to worship in the East Second Street synagogue until 1947, when the congregation planned the construction of a new temple.[32]

Following the turn of the twentieth century, the population boom in East Pueblo brought an onslaught of new and expanded Christian churches to the neighborhood. Two of the largest congregations to establish themselves at this time were the Bethel Methodist Church and St. Leander's Catholic Church. Bethel Methodist began in the home of Rev. John Alderson at 1220 East Ninth Street on September 7, 1902. One-

and a half months later, the unnamed congregation formally gathered and established themselves as Bethel Methodist Episcopal Church. The congregation purchased lots at the northeast corner of East Seventh Street and Capitol (Kingston) Avenue, just two blocks south of the founding pastor's home. Construction began immediately on the church building and an adjacent parsonage, culminating at the dedication of the church building on February 8, 1903. Less than two years later, the population of East Pueblo and, as a result, of the church had risen to the point that attendance at the church's services was overflowing. A new church was constructed next to the previous one, opening for worship January 1, 1905. This building accommodated the parish for over ten years, but membership in the church was now twenty times larger than in 1903. The parish built a new church that still stands today at 1201 East Seventh Street in 1916.[33]

St. Leander's Parish established a Roman Catholic presence in East Pueblo. Originally founded as St. Leander's Priory in Cañon City, the Catholic Church moved the priory to East Pueblo in 1902, where it established the Benedictine College. St. Leander's Parish originally met in the Benedictine College building at the southeast corner of East Seventh Street and Mesa (LaCrosse) Avenue; Mesa Avenue was briefly locally known as College Avenue, presumably due to the Benedictine College. Like Bethel Methodist, this congregation grew quickly, demanding its own building within a few short years. St. Leander's Parish purchased property at the northeast corner of East Sixth Street and Monument Avenue, constructing a new building in the early 1920s. Though the building's main elevation fronts Sixth Street, it was addressed as 1402 East Seventh Street; with additional buildings and a parking lot, the St. Leander's Parish property occupies an entire East Side block.[34]

Membership at East Pueblo's two major churches, Bethel Methodist Church and St. Leander's Catholic Church, appears to have been approximately equal. This at least suggests that the population of the East Side was not as working-class and as foreign-born as outsiders often portrayed it. Neighborhoods of working-class immigrants, particularly in steel towns, generally contained an overwhelmingly Roman Catholic or Orthodox Christian population. Conversely, those neighborhoods comprised of native-born, white Americans in the middle and upper classes were generally more Protestant in their Christianity. Thus this evidence reinforces the concept that the development of subdivisions in the East Side were aimed at both the middle class and the working class.

Figure 7.7. St. Leander's Catholic Church in 2008. *(Adam Thomas)*



Similar membership, however, did not mean similar building circumstances. Since St. Leander's met in the Benedictine College, the parish had room to grow and did not require three buildings in less than fifteen years as Bethel Methodist faced. The current churches were built about five years apart during the same time as tremendous residential growth in the East Side neighborhood. Many other churches sprouted in the neighborhood at this time as well. The 1925 City Directory lists nine churches in the East Side, and, just as Eighth Street had become the popular street for the neighborhood's professional class, Seventh Street had become the "Bible Belt" for East Pueblo. Six of the neighborhood's nine churches were located on Seventh Street: Central Christian at 125, East Side Christian at 1401, Park Avenue Presbyterian at 1101, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at 623, in addition to Bethel Methodist and St. Leander's Catholic. By 1930, the church population in the East Side ballooned to fourteen. Seventh Street nearly slices the East Side into two halves, a northern half and a southern half. By building churches on this street, the respective congregations could draw more parishioners than they could if they had located at one of the extreme corners of the neighborhood. Bethel Methodist and St. Leander's Catholic benefited from positioning at roughly the center of the neighborhood. By hitting this bull's-eye, both parishes developed congregations the other churches in the neighborhood could not match.[35]

Parks

Unlike many other Pueblo subdivisions, those in the East Side were devoid of any space set aside for public parks, despite the neighborhood's promontories with their breathtaking views of the city and the Rocky Mountains beyond. Early descriptions of the original East Pueblo and Conley's additions note that Lewis Conley had built a park. But this does not appear as a dedicated parcel on the plat maps and its location today is unknown.

That all changed when Donald Fletcher platted his namesake subdivisions (Fletcher Hill) in 1889 and 1890. Fletcher's development efforts in Denver taught him that to attract middle- and upper-class families to his neighborhoods, he needed to sacrifice some of the land for parks. He desired that his Fletcher Hill neighborhood in Pueblo would be similarly developed, and thus, offered two large parcels for parks at the northern and southern extents of the subdivisions. The southern park was bordered by Second Street on the north, Stout (Norwood Avenue) to the east, First Street to the South, and Mesa (LaCrosse Avenue) to the west. The larger northern park extended north from Tenth Street to Twelfth Street, spanning Mesa (LaCrosse Avenue) east to Monument Avenue. Perhaps because of his failure in the economic panic of 1893, Fletcher never really developed the parks.

By 1896, nearly twenty-five years after the first subdivision in East Pueblo was plotted, local civic leaders identified a need and desire for a formal civic park system throughout the entire city. The awe-inspiring White City, the Beaux Arts centerpiece of Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, inspired Americans across the country to recreate its idyllic splendor in their own cities and towns. The resulting City Beautiful Movement led to the creation of spacious parks and boulevards. As well, Pueblo, like other cities nationwide, was recovering from the economic recession of a few years earlier. With disposable income, families began recreating more often, and the city's lack of public spaces was a noticeable incon-

venience in the quality of life of all Puebloans. At this time, East Pueblo boasted roughly 300 houses, easily enough families and children to justify a park of its own.

On June 3 of that year, Mrs. Charles Gast, Mrs. W.D. Latshaw, and Mrs. H.W. Mitchell met with city officials and representatives from the Pueblo Chamber of Commerce to discuss the need of a city parks system in Pueblo. The women were members of the Ladies Parks and Improvement Association, a group dedicated to finding children and families a place to recreate. The Improvement Association developed and presented a plan to establish four park districts within the city. In East Pueblo, the plan called for a park on the land that overlooked the entire city. At the time, the area that became Mitchell Park was the highest point in Pueblo, a contributing factor in the decision to locate a park there.[36] It appears the Improvement Association's determination paid off for the East Side prior 1902, the first year Mitchell Park is listed in the city directory.[37].

Covering nearly nine acres, Mitchell Park has provided a variety of recreational opportunities for residents of the East Side throughout the years. One early attraction at the park were deer. Pueblo residents did not have to travel out of town to view wildlife. However, before the creation of a centralized zoo, several city parks housed different species of exotic animals, meaning residents had to travel between parks to view the creatures. Summertime activities included dances after sundown, and the stone recreation building provided numerous memories for neighborhood residents. In the mid 1930s, the Works Progress Administration built a wading pool as well as tennis and basketball courts.[38]

As the city grew, so did services in the parks, particularly public pools. City Park received a swimming pool in 1957, Mineral Palace Park in 1963, and Minnequa Park in 1965. It was not until 1976, however, that Mitchell Park and the East Side received a public pool. Completed in the spring of 1976, the pool's cost was $213,000 and was paid for through the City's Parks and Recreation Department's budget. The other three pools were financed through voter bond issues.[39] For nearly forty years, the pool and bathhouse at Mitchell Park remained unchanged. Maintenance issues in the bathhouse forced an early closing of the pool in 2002, but repairs were completed in time for the seasonal opening in 2003.[40]

The park's namesake and distinguished East Pueblo advocate, Rose Belle Dotson Mitchell, was born on April 17, 1859, in St. Joseph, Missouri. She moved to Pueblo with her family and attended Pueblo schools as a child. Dotson enrolled in a finishing school in St. Louis, Missouri, and returned to Pueblo upon graduation. She married Harry W. Mitchell on October 21, 1886.[41] Mr. Mitchell was superintendent of the Madonna Mine near Monarch, Colorado, and later became the purchasing agent for the Colorado Smelting Company in Pueblo.[42] At the time of their marriage, the couple lived at 605 East Ninth Street; Mrs. Mitchell also lived at 124 East Fifth Street following her husband's death. She was remembered by the *Pueblo Chieftain* as "one of the most active members of the Southern Colorado Pioneers Association" and…

> beloved by everyone. Her friends were legion. Of a kind and generous nature, always alert to aid others, taking an active part in all things for the good she endeared herself to everyone. Few women in the city had the wide acquaintance or the hosts of friends of Mrs. Mitchell.[43]

Fletcher's other park became known as Bradford Park, in honor of the Bradford brothers, who were early East Side settlers and influential in the legal and legislative development of Pueblo and Colorado. While it lacks many of the accouterments of Mitchell Park, Bradford Park provides a green respite in a sea of houses.

Conclusion

What's in a Name? The Legacy of the East Side Neighborhood

Geographic isolation was the one problem that plagued the East Side even before the creation of its first subdivision and led to a history of neighborhood stigmatization that continues to affect the area. Early settlers dubbed the neighborhood "East Pueblo" shortly after the abandonment of Fountain City and the establishment of Pueblo in 1860-61. It was clearly an appropriate name given the neighborhood's location relative to the rest of the city. But throughout its history, the neighborhood was, at best, simply ignored, and at worst, downright disparaged. In 1927 a movement began to find a new, uplifting name for the East Side and, consequently, to improve the neighborhood's image. The East Pueblo Improvement Association—an ironic name for the group charged with eliminating the term "East Pueblo"—adopted the name "Park Hill" for the neighborhood. Alternative choices were "College Heights," "Newport," "Parkview," "Fletcher Hill," and "Mountain View." With the exception of Newport, all of the names highlighted the neighborhood's most unique geographic feature: some of Pueblo's highest bluffs, from which one could simultaneously view the entire city and the Rocky Mountains beyond. Although the East Pueblo Improvement Association and its selected name had no official standing, the term "Park Hill" would have allowed the neighborhood's residents to identify themselves by something other than their relationship to the rest of the city. The East Pueblo Improvement Association argued:

> We feel that the name of "East Pueblo" simply passes us off as most any part of the whole city. The psychological effect of a distinctive name is very great. A person coming here from a city in which the east side is a byword for a slum district or something of the kind, will naturally have some of the same feeling about the use of the word here.[1]

The association may have had a point. Some of the most notorious slums and ghettos in the United States were indeed "on the east side." For instance, the Lower East Side of Manhattan historically consisted of poor, immigrant neighborhoods and some of the city's most infamous tenements. Located across a river just like East Pueblo, East St. Louis was historically disparaged as poor and crime-ridden compared to the upstanding, modern metropolis across the Mississippi. While it lacked any power to turn East Pueblo or the East Side into Park Hill, the association campaigned to use "Park Hill" for the neighborhood's new junior high school and also to have it advertised on streetcar destination signs.[2] But these are the only two instances in which the name was used in any official capacity.[3] Although a great idea and both behind and ahead of its time, the unofficial name change never caught on; still today both residents and nonresidents of the neighborhood refer to the place as the East Side. The name "Park Hill" was relegated to only a small area inside the neighborhood, not to



Figure C.1. President John F. Kennedy's motorcade on Fourth Street through East Pueblo would have resembled this scene from San Diego, California, in 1963.

the entire East Pueblo area.

The East Pueblo Improvement Association may have also been responsible for renaming the neighborhood's north-south streets. The new names were alphabetical, from Albany to Utica. Inexplicably, most of the street names were places in New York, including Albany, Chester, Hudson, Erie, Kingston, Queens, Salem, Troy, and Utica. This may have been an homage to the neighborhood's founder, Lewis Conley, who hailed from the Empire State. In general, however, the sources or symbolism of the street names is unknown.

The East Side's struggle for identity and recognition against isolation and segregation continued because, paradoxically, the neighborhood defied definition. It was not politically, economically, or culturally homogeneous. The North Side was home to the city's professional and entrepreneurial middle- and upper-classes. Bessemer was home to a great army of steelworkers. But what was the East Side? Was it blue collar or middle class? Was it ethnically diverse or classically all-American? Was it a single neighborhood or a collection of communities? Was it an urban neighborhood with dense commercial and residential buildings, or a wide-open suburb on the edge of a great agricultural hinterland? Was it flood-prone river bottoms or wind-swept mesa tops? It was, in fact, all of these. Indeed, despite the East Pueblo Improvement Association's efforts, perhaps the best name for this neighborhood is still East Side. After all, the only sure definition of this remarkably complicated, diverse place is that it is the East Side of Pueblo, or that area east of Fountain Creek.

One of the highlights in the history of Pueblo's East Side occurred on Friday, August 17, 1962. President John F. Kennedy decided to embark on a "nonpolitical," "western conservation tour." It started with the dedication of the Oahe Dam near Pierre, South Dakota. At 12:50 p.m., the Air Force One arrived at Pueblo Municipal Airport. He then traveled to Pueblo Public School Stadium for the dedication of the Fryingpan-Arkansas Project, a reclamation venture that diverted western-slope water to the Arkansas River. After receiving an engraved frying pan from U.S. Senator John A. Carroll, President Kennedy gave a twelve-minute address. Despite being a "nonpolitical" tour, the President called on Congress to write that year "a conservation record second to none." He also delivered one of the more notable quotes of his presidency:

> I believe that those programs which make life better for some of our people will make life better for all of our people…. A rising tide lifts all the boats."[4]

On his trip from Pueblo Municipal Airport to the stadium, President Kennedy's motorcade proceeded west on East Fourth Street, through the heart of the East Side. Residents of the city packed the street as the motorcade passed by with the President, Governor Stephen L.R. McNichols, and Senator Carroll. The choice of route was, more than anything, planned for expediency; it was the quickest way between the airport and the stadium and the President still had to fly to California for another event at Yosemite National Park that afternoon. But it was also a moment for the East Side to become the most important neighborhood in Pueblo, if only for a moment. Puebloans saw the President through the context of the East Side. The populist leader, who paved the way for civil rights legislation, who said, "If we cannot end now our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity," in many ways, represented this neighborhood and this neighborhood represented him.

A place set apart—a place safe for diversity. This is the legacy of the East Side. It was where people of different cultures, of different economic circumstances, of different religions, indeed, often radically different worlds lived together peacefully, regardless of what anyone west of Fountain Creek may have thought of them.

Notes

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19. Dodds, 47, 63.

Chapter 3: The Homestead Era

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Section 2

Architectural History and Style Guide

Introduction

The architecture of Pueblo's East Side neighborhood is remarkable for begin unremarkable. Unlike many of Pueblo's other neighborhoods, there is not one particular building that stands out as the epitome of a particular style. But this does not mean that the neighborhood's architectural heritage is any less rich than the rest of the city. Quite the contrary, the East Side is outstanding for having a least one example of nearly every architectural style built in Colorado, albeit most are expressed on very modest buildings. Moreover, the neighborhood contains some of the oldest buildings in the city, which are worthy and instructive treasures despite their lack of size or ornament.

The purpose of this architectural context and guide is not to provide an exhaustive listing and analysis of all of the architectural styles and forms found in East Pueblo; that data is unavailable since no comprehensive historical and architectural survey of the neighborhood has been conducted. Rather it is intended as a record of the East Side's rich architectural heritage and diversity.

Architectural analysis comes from the Colorado Historical Society Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's *A Field Guide to Colorado's Historic Architecture and Engineering* (July 2008) and lecture notes from Adam Thomas's *Architectural History and Historic Preservation* class at Colorado State University-Pueblo (History 491/591, Fall 2008). Date ranges for architectural forms and styles do not necessarily conform to those generally established, national chronologies, but rather to the appearance of a particular style in Pueblo's East Side.

Building Forms and Plans

The earliest buildings in East Pueblo, almost all of them dwellings, are generally best described by their form rather than their architectural style. Indeed, most of them lack ornament of any kind or the consistent decoration needed to assign an architectural style. Some later buildings, despite having definite architectural styles, are still best described by their form or plan. Thus the range of forms and plans described in this section range from mid-nineteenth century hall-and-parlors to early tweneith century foursquares to modern ranch houses.


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Center-Passage Adobe House: 1880-1900

The center-passage adobe house evolved from the confluence of Anglo and Hispanic cultures in southern Colorado. Mexicans and New Mexicans brought adobe construction to Colorado, but Americans introduced the center passage or I-house plan. This form was widely built in the San Luis Valley and appears occasionally in the East Side. Other versions, constructed of wood, are also fairly common in the neighborhood.

Common Features:

1. Adobe construction
2. One-room deep
3. A central hall with rooms on either side
4. One-and-a-half stories tall
5. Wall dormers


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Hall-and-Parlor Plan: 1858-1900

The hall-and-parlor form is one of the oldest domestic arrangements in the western world. Thus, the terms "hall" and "parlor" should be considered in their medieval sense rather than contemporary parlance. The hall was generally the larger half of the two-room building. It was the multipurpose room, containing the kitchen and dining area and serving as the center of domestic labor. Younger members of the family often slept in this room as well. The parlor was a space set apart and generally contained the family's few belongings of any value. It also served as the bedroom for the master and mistress of the house.

In Colorado, the hall-and-parlor house was commonly constructed during the homestead period, when it provided adequate shelter while "proving-up" homestead claims. Generally the most typical modifications to these houses was the construction of a shed-roof addition along the rear elevation and the expansion of the attic into more bedroom space.

In the East Side, hall-and-parlor houses are generally found south of Third Street. They could date to the homestead period, but were most likely built between 1872 and 1900. They are either wood-framed (left, top right) or constructed of adobe (bottom right).

Common Features:

1. Asymmetrical façade
2. Side-gabled roof
3. Shed-roofed rear addition




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Shotgun Plan: 1876-1900

The unusual name for this type of house comes from the arrangement of single rooms, one behind another, generally lacking a connecting hallway. The houses resemble the barrel of a shotgun and, according to some sources, the name comes from the idea that a shotgun fired through the front door would leave its buckshot at the back door.

The shotgun plan may have originally been an African form that traveled northward from New Orleans. Regardless, this arrangement of space is often found in early Colorado mining towns.

In Pueblo's East Side, shotgun houses are quite common and the neighborhood may contain one of the largest concentrations of this form in Pueblo, if not in the entire state. Rows of shotgun houses appear in the East Side, such as the north side of the 800 block of East Fifth Street.

Many of the East Side's shotgun houses feature muted Victorian-era decoration, including turned porch supports, decorative porch friezes, and variagated wood shingles in the gables. While the majority of the East Side's shotgun houses are wood-framed, some appear to be constructed of adobe or masonry, especially those that are currently stuccoed. Like hall-and-parlor houses, shotgun dwellings often received a shed-roofed rear addition

Common Features:

1. Front gabled
2. Façade one-room wide
3. Side elevation two or more rooms deep
4. Shed-roofed rear addition






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Boxcar Houses: 1890-1910

When a place was within close proximity of a railroad, one of the earliest and easiest means of obtaining shelter was to acquire a used boxcar. This was especially true as railroads converted to larger, steel boxcars around 1900 and were desperate to get rid of fleets of smaller, wood-sided boxcars. Generally boxcar residents were homesteaders or migrant farm workers. In most instances, permanent houses soon replaced the boxcars, which were relegated to sheds, chicken coops, or other kinds of outbuildings.

However, sometimes the boxcar received additions of its own and with the installation of sash windows and siding, they became permanent residences. The largest concentration of boxcar houses in East Pueblo are located on the east side of Troy Avenue's 1400 block. They were probably associated with farming and dairying operations east of the city.



Common Features

1. Nearly flat, side-gabled roof
2. Unusually narrow side elevations
3. Small sash windows


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Hipped-Roof Box: 1880-1910

A simple, single-story box plan with a hipped roof, the hipped-roof box is perhaps the most ubiquitous working-class house form in the intermountain west. In the East Side, most hipped-roof boxes are of masonry construction, with truncated hipped roofs. They occasionally have small front-gabled or hipped-roof dormers.

Common Features:

1. Single-story box plan
2. Hipped roof
3. Shallowly overhanging eaves
4. Very little decoration


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Foursquare: 1900-1920

Another ubiquitous form in the intermountain west, the foursquare was more often found in middle-class urban and suburban neighborhoods. The name came from the floor plan which generally consisted of four major room divisions on the first and second floors. They were generally constructed of brick or were wood frame with a brick veneer. However, some wood-frame, wood-clad examples exist in the East Side. Stylistically, foursquares generally sported classical elements, such as Tuscan or Doric porch supports, porch pediments (often with decorative friezes), and flared eaves with modillions. Hipped-roof dormers often emerge from the front or from all four roof slopes.



Common Features

1. Two-story box plan
2. Centrally hipped roof
3. Generally symmetrical façade
4. Doric or Tuscan porch supports
5. Porch pediment
6. Flared eaves
7. Hipped-roof dormer


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Terrace Form: 1885-1920

The terrace form is rarely found outside of Colorado, where it was widely built for decades. The buildings are generally nothing more than one- or two-story brick blocks. They were almost always constructed as multi-family dwellings, which is certainly the case in the East Side. Stylistically, the buildings could express Italianate, Romanesque, and Neoclassical features, but always greatly subdued. The buildings always have flat roofs and some kind of cornice treatment.

Common Features

1. Flat roof
2. Masonry construction
3. Parapet
4. Corbelled cornice
5. Segmental-arch windows
6. Quoins
7. Porch (often two-story)




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Ranch House: 1945-1975

Ranch houses were meant to be low and sprawling, based on the haciendas of California and the southwest. All rooms were on the same level, often with an attached garage. Beyond their sprawling plans, ranch houses often have low-pitch hipped or gabled roofs, or even flat roofs. Often they have prominent chimneys, picture windows, and integral porches or breezeways. In the East Side, most ranch houses are found in the first phase of the Belmont development, which is actually south of the U.S. Highway 50 Bypass, in the north central portion of East Pueblo.



Common Features

1. Single-story, sprawling plan
2. Low-pitched or flat roof
3. Broadly overhanging eaves
4. Prominent chimney
5. Picture window
6. Integral porch
7. Attached garage


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Basement House: 1945-1980

The Basement House form is exceptionally rare, with only a few unaltered examples remaining in Colorado. One of them is in the East Side.

Basement houses were constructed immediately after World War II and marketed as affordable housing alternatives for returning veterans. The roof rafters were actually designed to support a subfloor, allowing for the construction of a traditional house above grade when the owner achieved sufficient affluence to build it. Thus, most basement houses were either built over or demolished for more conventional dwellings.

Basement houses saw a resurgence during the energy crisis of the 1970s. The thermal qualities of the ground made them naturally warm in the winter and cool in the summer. These later basement houses differ from their ancestors in that they were never meant to have a story constructed above them and generally sport skylights for interior daylighting.

Common Features

1. Majority of the building below grade
2. Flat or very shallowly pitched roof
3. Concrete construction
4. Protruding, at-grade entryway to stairwell

Picturesque-Era Styles

1860-1880s

The Picturesque Era represents America's first reaction to the Industrial Revolution. It focused on the country home, removed from the industrializing world. At the time, the house was seen as a domestic sactuary—the church of the cult of domesticity. Picturesque styles were also a reaction again the earlier Classical Era and promoted Romatic-era emotion and religiosity over reason and logic.

Most Picturesque-era buildings were loosely based on Italian country houses and villas, particularly the appropriately named Italianate style. Another style that emerged during the era was the Gothic Revival, which, when applied to houses, was meant to physically reinforce Christian values through architecture. While the East Side lacks any Gothic Revival houses, it does contain buildings which implemented the style long after the end of the Picturesque era—churches.

Since Colorado became a state late in the Picturesque era, there are comparatively few buildings constructed in these styles. What buildings are Italianate and Gothic Revival tend to be built rather later as compared to their eastern counterparts.


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Italianate Style: 1870s-1880s

The Italianate style was meant to evoke the houses and villas of the Italian countryside. Early house-plan books, which evolved at this time, lauded the Italianate as the perfect style for a proper, country home, although it was widely built in urban neighborhoods.

In the East Side, most of the earliest high-style houses were probably built in the Italianate style. However, very few exist because these houses have either been demolished or altered beyond recognition. But examples of the style can still be found. The house at left features many Italianate elements but lacks the tell-tale brackets beneath the eaves. The house at right, on the other hand, retains its bracketed eaves but lost most of its other Italianate features.



Common Features

1. Bracketed eaves
2. Hipped roof (often truncated) with narrowly overhanging eaves
3. Usually a box, rectangular, or L-shaped plan, occasionally with bay or bow windows
4. Tall, narrow window and door openings with pronounced lintels or segmental arches


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Gothic Revival Style: 1870s-1880s (continued use for churches)

The Gothic Revival style evoked the churches and cathedrals of medieval Europe. When applied to a house, it was meant to reinforce Christian virtues. However, the East Side retains no identifiable Gothic Revival houses, and it is unclear whether the neighborhood ever hosted domestic examples of the style. However, the Gothic Revival was much more widely constructed in the United States as the ideal ecclesiastical architectural style. Thus, the neighborhood's remaining examples are all church buildings.

The most notable feature of the Gothic Revival style is the pointed or "Gothic" arch, which generally manifests itself in window and door openings. Other notable features are buttresses, overall verticality, trefoils and quatrefoils, and other Christian symbols. Bethel Methodist Church, at right, exhibits elements of both the Gothic Revival and the Romanesque.



Common Features

1. Pointed or "Gothic" arch
2. Buttresses
3. Towers or steeples

Victorian-Era Styles

1870-circa 1910

The Victorian Era took the ideas of the earlier Picturesque period and carried them to their extremes, even to the point of absurdity. At this time, the Industrial Revolution was making some Americans incredibly wealthy while increasing tremendously the size of the managerial middle- and upper-middle classes. As these professionals moved out of the city into suburban neighborhoods, they constructed their homes in the latest Victorian fashions.

Victorian styles were historicist interpretations of what Americans thought medieval English country houses looked like. The styles highlighted verticality, asymmetry, massiveness, and often wildly mixed elements from many other architectural precedents.


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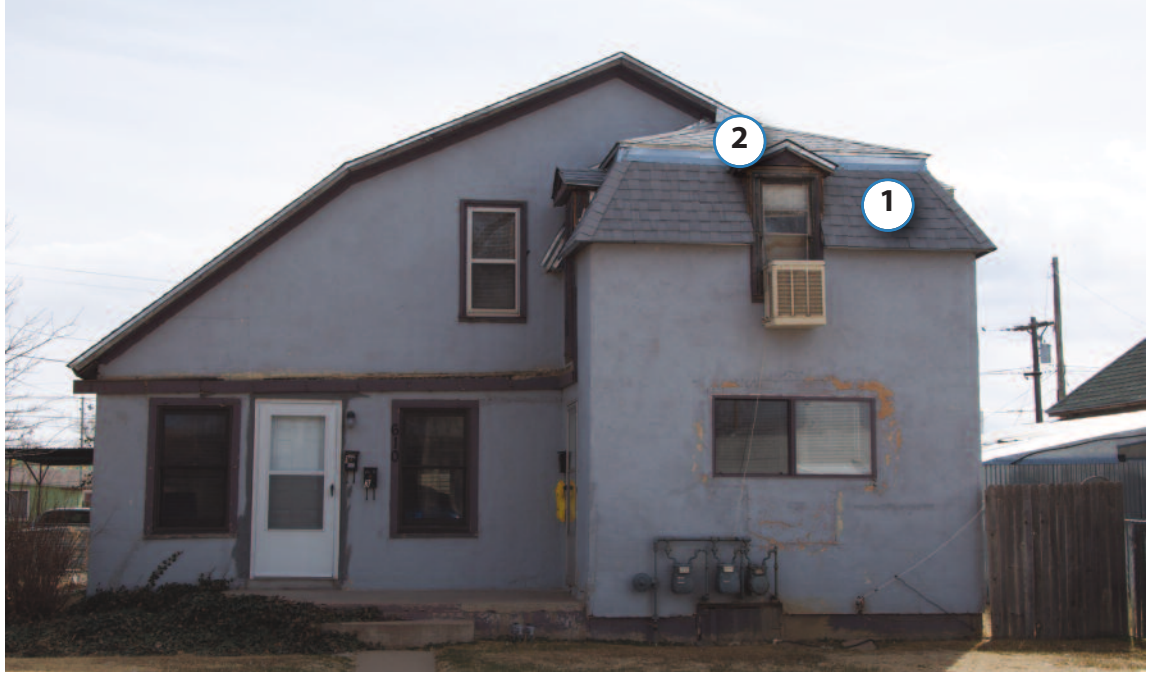
Second Empire Style: 1870-1890

In many ways, the Second Empire style served as a transition between the Italianate and the later Victorian-era styles. It continued with bracketed eaves and tall narrow windows with elaborate surrounds. But the Second Empire also always included the style's most important feature: the mansard roof. This style is occasionally referred to as the "Mansard."

The Second Empire was meant to resemble the large government buildings and mansions constructed in France during the reign of Napoleon III from 1852 to 1870.

In general, the Second Empire is rarely found in Pueblo, and where it does exist, the buildings generally lack physical integrity. The East Side's few Second Empire houses are all very modest examples, as compared to similarly styled buildings in the North and South sides. The houses at left and top right retain many of their character-defining features, particularly the mansard roof and dormers with pedimented surrounds. The example at bottom right shows the remains of a mansard-roofed house swallowed up by stylistically incompatible additions and modifications.





Common Features

1. Mansard roof
2. Dormers with pedimented surrounds
3. Bracketed eaves


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Stick Style: 1880-1900

Another earlier Victorian-Era style is the Stick , named for the exterior wall treatment. It was not as widely built as the more flamboyant Queen Anne style, but it was nonetheless a visible part of most nineteenth-century Colorado neighborhoods.

Key features of the Stick Style are the application of boards and shingles in different patterns, horizontal division of stories with friezes, and decorative "stickwork" in the gables.



Common Elements

1. Varying exterior wall treatments, usually with boards, siding, or shingles
2. Friezes separating stories
3. Decorative stickwork in the gables
4. Exaggerated horizontality


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Queen Anne Style: 1880-1910

The Queen Anne was the epitome of all Victorian-era styles. It was flamboyant, widely mixing elements for many stylistic precedents. Queen Anne houses typically expressed a sense of massiveness, even if they were sometimes quite small.

The East Side lacks the large Queen Annes that dominate nineteenth century portions of Pueblo's North Side and South Side neighborhoods. Yet while the extant East Side Queen Annes are small, they are nonetheless quite stunning.

In general, Queen Anne houses express a sense of verticality and massiveness. They are asymmetrical and usually have a complex gable-on-hip roof. Generally each story has a different wall treatment. Decorative details highlight the porches and gables.

Common Features

1. Towers, turrets, and bays
2. Varying wall surfaces
3. Variagated wood shingles
4. Turned porch supports
5. Spindlework porch railings and friezes
6. Dormers
7. Vergeboards and gable stickwork
8. Large chimneys
9. Complex gable-on-hip roofs




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Edwardian Style: 1890-1910

The Edwardian was the last of the Victorian-era styles. It was essentially a simplified version of the Queen Anne , with more standard plans and simplified, more accurate classical decorative elements. Sometimes this style is referred to as the Princess Anne. The vast majority of remaining, intact Victorian-era houses in the East Side are Edwardian Style.

Common Features

1. Asymmetrical massing
2. Plain exterior wall surfaces
3. Multi-gabled roofs
4. Pediments
5. Classical porch supports
6. Wrap-around porches
7. Round-arch windows





Period Revivals

1890-1930

In the waning years of the Victorian Era, many architects began seeking more accurate historical design precedents rather than the historicist models of the earlier period, which had diverted greatly from their supposed medieval roots. The Progressive Era furthered the evolution of these more accurate period styles.

The most popular period revival style was the Colonial Revival, which is perhaps the most widely built architectural style in the United States. it was elegant, yet simple, and best of all, undoubtedly all-American. The style spanned all of the twentieth century and is still built today. Strangely, however, the East Side lacks a single good example of the Colonial Revival style. A few ranch houses in the north-central portion of the neighborhood exhibit elements of the style but none of them could be classified as Colonial Revival.


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ST LEANDER'S SCHOOL

Renaissance Revival Style: 1900-1930

The Renaissance Revival style, also known as the Italian Renaissance style, was the style of choice for many of Colorado's grandest buildings, including Union Station in Denver and the Vail Hotel in Pueblo. It was similar to the Classical Revival but featured more surface ornamentation but lacked monumental porticos and columns.

While the East Side has no extant examples of the Classical Revival, it does have an example of the Renaissance Revival style, the former St. Leader's School building.

Common Elements:

1. Modillions and dentils
2. Enriched cornices
3. Quoins
4. "Flat" porticoes
5. Tiled, hipped roofs


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Dutch Colonial Revival: 1900-1925

While the East Side lacks the Colonial Revival, it does retain examples of its sister style, the Dutch Colonial Revival, which was nearly identical to the Colonial Revival except for its iconic gambreled roof. The style was meant to resemble the houses Dutch settlers built in New York, but eventually became more and more neoclassical in its style.

In other portions of Pueblo, Dutch Colonial Revival houses are huge, verging on mansions. In the East Side they are quite modest, with one example being nothing more than a gambrel roof over a hall-and-parlor plan (bottom right).

Common Elements:

1. Gambrel roofs
2. Integral porches
3. Shed-roof dormers
4. Variagated wood shingles
5. Corniced window surrounds




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Pueblo Revival Style: 1905-1940

Despite the city's name, Pueblo has very few Pueblo Revival buildings. Yet some of the best examples are in the East Side. The style is meant to evoke an adobe pueblo, particularly those of New Mexico such as Taos and Acoma. Occasionally these houses were indeed constructed of adobe in Pueblo, but more often masonry blocks or wood backed the stucco. Most Pueblo Revival buildings in the East Side are quite modest, but the neighborhood does host a few ranch-form Pueblo Revival houses that appear to have been recently constructed.

Common Features:

1. Flat roofs with a smooth or slightly curvilinear parapets
2. Vigas (exposed log rafter ends)
3. Wing walls
4. Buttresses
5. Straight-headed windows and doorways
6. Stucco finishes






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Mission Revival Style: 1900-1930

The Mission Revival style was based on the original Spanish missions built in California but was made popular by the California Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Thy style generally traveled west to east, especially pushed by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway.

In East Pueblo, the Mission Revival style is fairly rare, limited to a few small houses, and more closely related to the Pueblo Revival style than existing as pure examples of the Mission style.

Common features:

1. Curvilinear-shaped or stepped parapets or gables
2. Stucco finishes
3. Tiled roofs
4. Arcades




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Spanish Colonial Revival Style: 1910-1930

The Spanish Colonial Revival style is closely related to the Mission Revival style, but features an elaborate surround around the principal doorway. Only one building in the East Side exhibits the style: St. Leander's Catholic Church.

Common Features:

1. Elaborate door surrounds
2. Curvilinear gables or parapets
3. Round-arch windows
4. Tile roofs
5. Bell towers (either gabled or domed)


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Mediterranean Revival Style: 1900-1930

The Mediterranean Revival style is similar to the Spanish Colonial style, but much more restrained. The East Side contains small, simple interpretations of the style. Stylistic evidence suggests that the Landmark Apostolic Church, at bottom right, probably originally had a tiled roof.

Common Features

1. Tiled roofs
2. Stucco finishes
3. Arcades






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English-Norman Cottage: 1920-1940

The English-Norman cottage is based on English country houses. It shares much in common with its much more massive cousins, the Tudor Revival and Elizabethan-Jacobean Revival. However, the English-Norman Cottage is always more modest, never exceeding a single full story. While the East Side lacks any houses massive enough to be classified as Tudor Revival or Elizabeth-Jacobean Revival, it has many very detailed English-Norman cottages.

The principal feature of an English-Norman cottage is a single-story plan with a steeply pitched, multiple-gable roof. This provides a sense of massiveness to these otherwise modest dwellings.

Common Features:

1. Steeply pitched, multiple-gabled roofes
2. Steeply pitched, gabled entrances
3. Decorative brickwork
4. Catslides
5. Arched entrances
6. Multiple-light windows





Arts & Crafts Movement

1905-1930

The Arts and Crafts Movement was a direct reaction against the excesses and artifice of the Victorian era. It was also the architectural embodiment of the early twentieth century's Progressive and Populist movements. The movement promoted the handmade over the machine manufactured. It turned houses outward, embracing nature rather than being a sanctuary from the elements.

Yet for all these ideals, perhaps no other style was so mass produced. The culmination of the Craftsman style arrived when companies began selling kit houses through mail order catalogues. The creation of mail order housing allowed many blue-collar workers in the East Side to dress up their houses and add square footage without increasing the cost of the residence beyond their means. The sellers of kit homes promised that men with average construction knowledge and abilities could build their own homes; some homeowners did build their own houses that arrived in boxcars or crates and others hired contractors to build them. It is unknown how many of the East Side's Craftsman houses were kit-built, but undoubtedly many of them were.


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Craftsman Style: 1905-1930

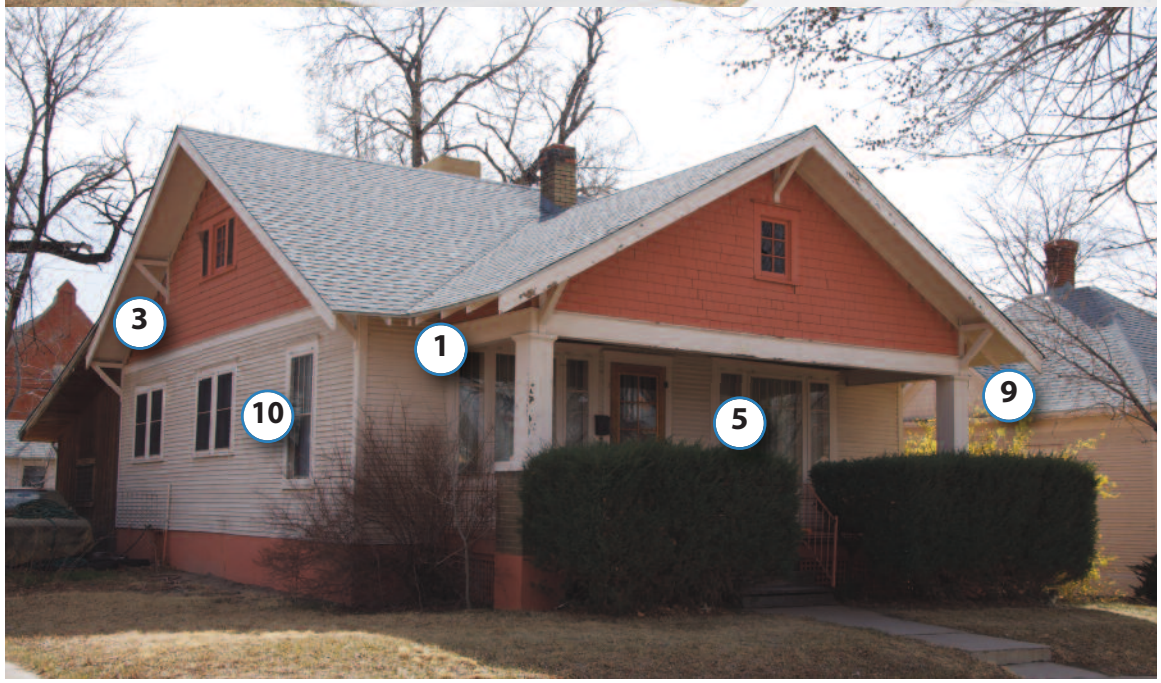
The Craftsman Style was meant to highlight hand-crafted construction and a renewed connection with nature. Thus, these houses have exposed rafter and perlin ends to express craftsmanship. And they have broad, low porches to provide a transitional space between the indoors and outdoors.

The Craftsman Style, particularly applied to the bungalow form, is the most widely constructed architectural style in the East Side. Rows of these houses extend eastward from Donald Fletcher's subdivisions. The East Side also hosts high-style examples of the Craftsman, particularly the house at left.

Common Features:

1. Exposed rafter ends
2. Exposed perlin ends
3. Knee brackets
4. Large hearths and chimneys
5. Broad porches
6. Battered porch piers
7. Dormers
8. Natural cladding materials (e.g. cobblestone)
9. Broadly overhanging eaves
10. Divided-light upper sashes over single-light bottom sashes





Modern Movements

Circa 1920 to Circa 1990

Modern architecture was a pursuit to find design precedents that were not rooted in the past. All previous architectural styles were based on buildings from European or American history. But architects rebelled against these conventions and began to look elsewhere for inspiration. One of the most fruitful precedents was industrial design and the machine. Other modern styles used the construction of the building itself to express its style. All modern styles sought to remove ornament, following Louis Sullivan's adage that form ever follows function.


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PARK VIEW SCHOOL

Art Deco 1925-1945

Among the most flamboyant modern styles, Art Deco emphasized the vertical thrust of a building. It was meant to evoke a sense of a powerful, bright future and was the style of choice for the schools and apartment buildings of the era.

The East Side contains but one intact example of the style, the Park View School, and it is largely surrounded by newer and stylistically different additions.

Common Features

1. Emphasis on the vertical
2. Broken cornice lines
3. Geometric forms




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Art Moderne (Streamlined Moderne): circa 1930-1945

Art Moderne was the architectural style of the machine age. It was meant to evoke the sense of a speeding, streamlined locomotive, automobile, or steamship. It featured a flat roof, rounded corners, speed lines, and general emphasis on the horizontal.

While the Art Moderne is rarely found intact in the rest of Pueblo, the East Side has a number of superb examples of the style.

Common Elements:

1. Flat roofs
2. Rounded corners
3. Curvilinear features
4. "Ship" railings
5. Corner windows
6. Speed lines
7. Glass blocks






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Minimal Traditional Style: 1930-1945

The Minimal Traditional style was a direct response to the material shortages of the Great Depression and World War II. The houses evoked the English-Norman Cottage and Colonial Revival styles, but were generally smaller and plainer. The most notable feature of the style was the lack of any overhanging eaves, which saved on the amount of lumber needed for the roof. These houses often have picture windows and attached garages, serving as a transition to the ranch house form, which would dominate post-war suburban development.

Blocks of Minimal Traditional houses can be found in the north central portion of the East Side neighborhood.

Common Features:

1. No overhanging eaves
2. Shallowly pitched gabled roofs
3. Simple plans
4. Plain exterior wall treatments (sometimes with simple brick designs in the watertable)
5. No porches; small, sheltered stoops
6, Picture windows
7. Attached garages





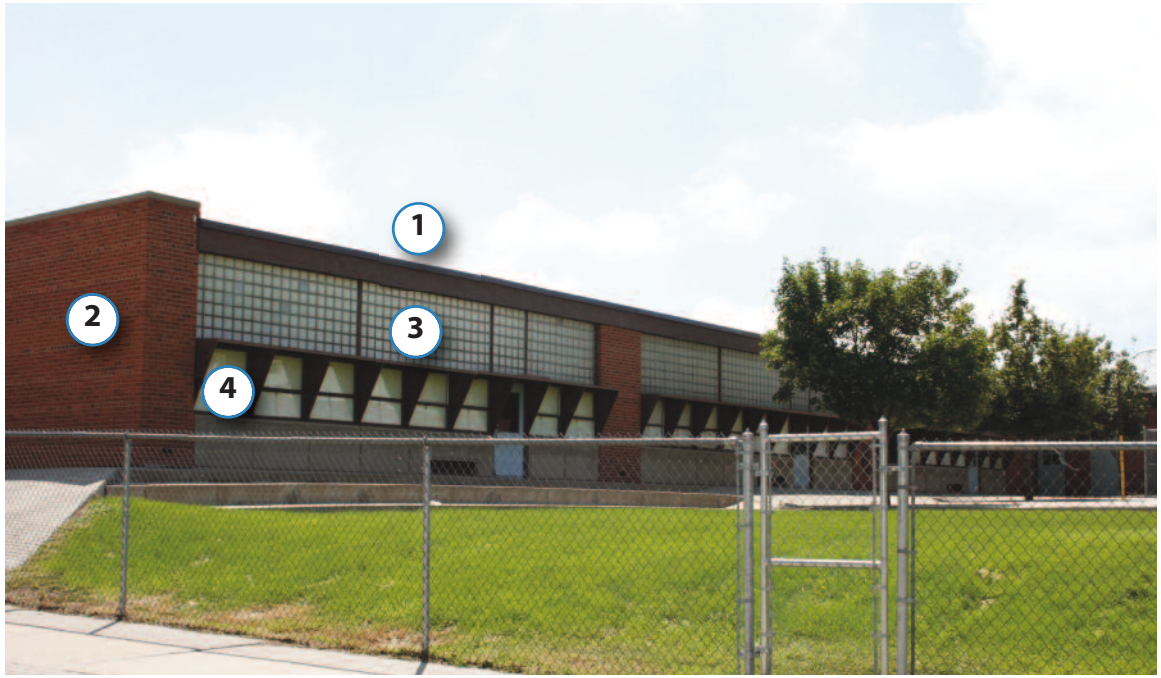

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International Style: Late 1930s-1960s

The International Style was a reaction against the falsity of all historical-based architectural styles. The architects who practiced the style wanted it to be pure: exhibiting the building structure itself rather than covering it with ornament. In the East Side, the style is best expressed by some of the neighborhood's existing schools.

Common Features:

1. Flat roofs
2. Smooth, untextured, unornamented surfaces
3. Glass blocks
4. Bands of windows



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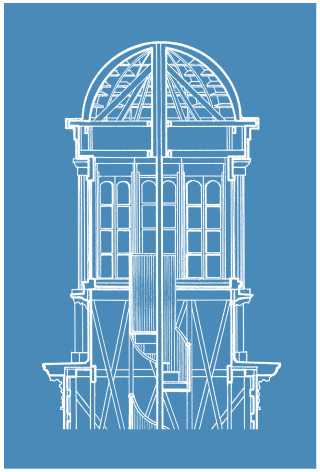
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