In Pursuit of the American Dream: Pueblo in the Modern Age, 1940-1982

Prepared by:

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City of Pueblo, Colorado

Colorado State Historical Fund
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PUEBLO

Pueblo modern
1940-1982

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On the cover. This Belmont family, with eight of their nine children, enjoys a walk in Belmont Park. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCSH-P-98-0151, John Suhay Collection)*

Introduction

Seeking the American Dream

At no other time in our history was the American Dream so possible for some and so elusive for others as it was in the decades following World War II. Years of unrequited consumer desire followed a decade of want, as the United States emerged from the Great Depression into wartime. Victory in Europe and Japan not only brought peace to large swaths of Europe, Asia, and Africa, but also freed Americans to spend, at last, their unprecedented savings. Buoyed by massive government investment, including the G.I. Bill, federal housing programs, and interstate construction, Americans built and consumed, achieving astonishing affluence envied the world over. Never before could so many achieve the American Dream—or at least its material trappings—so easily.[1]

But it was not to last. Those same federal programs fueled deindustrialization and suburbanization, decimating city centers. More shocking were the growing inequities between the white middle and upper classes and racial minorities, many of whom found the American Dream not only hard to achieve but also impossible to define. Postwar affluence gave way to unrest, to cultural revolution, to violence. The United States entered the late-1970s in a great malaise, ambivalent and unsure of its future that had once seemed so bright.

Postwar Pueblo—defined here as 1940 to 1982—was an exciting time when the city witnessed dramatic changes. The key components of the American dream from the individual's perspective—work, home, consumer goods, education, and freedoms—serve as the organizational framework for this document. It was these abstract ideas that sustained Puebloans, and all Americans, during both the depression and the war. These were the deferred rewards and the advantages enjoyed during the prosperous postwar years.

This document also covers another key topic related to the American dream: infrastructure and government. If asked to define the American dream, few individuals would list these subjects among its characteristics. However, jobs, home construction, available consumer goods, educational opportunities, and freedom of Americans to enjoy their lives all relied, to varying degrees, upon the underlying systems that were developed or much improved during the 1940s through the 1980s and the government officials, elected or appointed, who made these improvements possible. Given the importance of these underlying topics to the other, more obvious components of the American dream, infrastructure and government are discussed in the context's initial chapter. The first portion of the document highlights key transportation advances, the Pueblo Memorial Airport and Pueblo Freeway, which ushered the city into the modern age. The Frying Pan-Arkansas Water Diversion Project, after decades of both congressional debate and complicated construction, brought water, a vital commodity for growth in the arid West. Pueblo's city government, which transformed itself from a system with a weak city manager and a ward-based representative City Council to a strong

city manager arrangement with citywide representation on City Council in 1954, had the daunting task of providing for a community that continued to be much different economically and culturally than any other in the state of Colorado. Finally, key public improvements within the city of Pueblo—years of debate about the best approach for reinvigorating Union Avenue, multiple revitalization plans for downtown, and successful construction of the Sangre de Cristo Arts Center—changed the way community members both perceived themselves and were viewed from the outside. Dynamic, outspoken Planning Director C. Allan Bloomquist and the Pueblo Regional Planning Commission (PRPC) exerted a tremendous influence upon the city during the 1960s and 1970s, the effects of which are still evident today.

During the entire period of this study, three main firms defined the world of work for a large segment of Pueblo's population: the Pueblo Ordnance Depot, Colorado State Hospital, and Colorado Fuel & Iron (CF&I). At the same time, the community recognized the need for and engaged in a concerted effort to diversify the local economy and attract new employers. This need was clear in 1962 when the Colorado State Hospital decentralized, downsizing both its inpatient population and its employment numbers. It was again obvious, in the period after the Vietnam War, when work at the Depot decreased significantly. In the 1980s the rapid and dramatic downturn of CF&I, an employer so closely associated with both the history and identity of Pueblo, not only had a tremendous economic impact on the community but also caused a psychic rift that, at the time, many worried would never heal.

Homeownership is central to achieving the American dream, and the third chapter discusses the major factors that shaped the national housing market over time. Especially relevant are forces that made the immediate postwar period through the mid-1960s the golden age of the suburban subdivision. This context explores financing changes that made home ownership possible for an ever-expanding segment of the population. It also details the importance of wartime construction methods and materials in the dramatic transformation of the home building process, changes that made construction of not just individual homes but entire suburban subdivisions as complete communities possible. A new type of businessman—and existing research indicates *all* of these housing entrepreneurs were men—emerged during this period: the merchant builder. William Levitt, developer of the Long Island (1947-1951) and Pennsylvania (1952-1958) Levittown developments, is perhaps the most well-known merchant builder. However, Pueblo had its very own. John Bonforte was responsible for early filings in the sprawling subdivision of Belmont, which is discussed in detail. The text also explains how Pueblo's housing patterns both resembled and differed from national trends over time.

The postwar period in the United States witnessed a dramatic and unprecedented rise in American prosperity, in both the economy as a whole and the individual financial circumstances for the majority of its citizens. The American people entered the mid-1940s ready and willing to spend, and possessing the newest, brightest, best consumer goods became an increasingly important barometer both for defining success and attaining the American dream. The explosion of postwar housing, the record-breaking baby boom, and the country's strong manufacturing capacity all exerted a tremendous influence upon the rise of consumerism during the 1940s through the late-1950s. It was during this period, more than any other in American history, that the car was king. Newspa-

pers, glossy magazines, and television commercials presented each year's improved car models, encouraging drivers to upgrade to the newest car as evidence of their personal prosperity and refined taste for modernity. In this golden age of the American automobile, cars became increasingly larger, luxurious, chrome-embellished, and tail-finned each season. Given the importance of the automobile, Chapter Four focuses on Pueblo's auto-related businesses, namely its dealerships, motor courts, and drive-in restaurants and theaters. This portion of the context also briefly reviews the city's key financial institutions, the banks and savings and loans that made it possible for Pueblo's citizens to borrow and spend on new consumer goods. The city's downtown is discussed again here, this time in reference to its inability to offer shoppers the convenience, store variety, and parking they craved. In contrast, suburban shopping areas, especially the Midtown Shopping Center and Pueblo Mall, enjoyed tremendous popularity and high revenues.

From its foundations associated with Horace Mann's eighteenth-century reforms to decades of sometimes misguided and often culturally insensitive Americanization efforts, earning an education has long been considered part of the American dream. It is linked to the rhetoric of self-improvement and represents one way parents encourage a better life, both economically and culturally, for the next generation. Chapter Five explores the dramatic increase in the number of public schools in Pueblo from the late-1940s through the 1960s. Deferred construction during both the Great Depression and World War II, the effect of the baby boom upon school-age population numbers, and the integration of land for public schools within Pueblo's new suburban subdivisions all played a role in the improvements to the educational offerings and actual school buildings within the city's school district, which became unified in 1946. In terms of higher education opportunities, this chapter traces the humble beginnings and development of Pueblo Junior College, the intense lobbying for a four-year college, and the role of Southern Colorado State College (SCSC) in the culture, economy, and image of the city of Pueblo over time.

The final chapter is about freedoms, two types in particular: the freedom to enjoy leisure and the freedom of racial equality. At first glance, pairing these two topics together may seem contradictory since the first is so seemingly inconsequential and the second is so significant. However, each is very much in keeping with its particular time period. Americans emerged from the Great Depression and World War II wanting a break from troubles and turmoil, and the mid-1940s through the 1950s provided the appropriate political, economic, and social conditions to make this wish possible for a larger section of the population than ever before. The jubilant postwar mood became part of what most Americans believed they deserved and, therefore, was incorporated into the concept of the American dream. The text related to the pursuit of leisure focuses on Pueblo's social clubs, the popularity of bowling and baseball, the continued use of city parks, and the rise of the television set as the key appliance for in-home entertainment. Shifting gears entirely and representing the different political and cultural influences of the 1960s and 1970s, the discussion of racial equality details the struggle of Latinos and Chicanos to enjoy their rights of citizenship and the American dream. There are sections devoted to the economic push and pull on these immigrants over time and key national leaders Cesar Chavez and Corky Gonzales. In addition, there are Pueblo-specific details about not only Al Gurule, Martin Serna, the

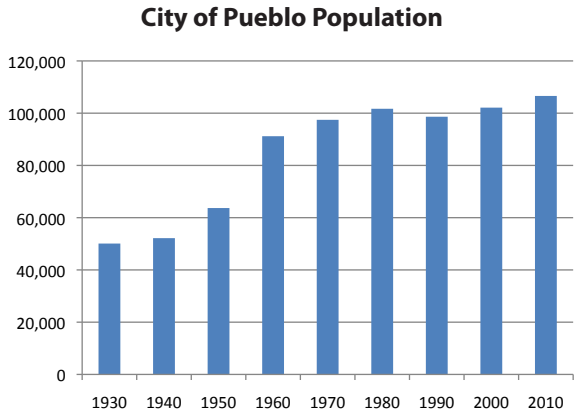

Figure i.1. The decades after World War II saw the highest spike in population growth. Yet, in comparison to other Front Range communities, Pueblo experienced a slower, steadier growth rate.

Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MECHA), and the Casa Verde Berets but also mainstream Hispanic educators, leaders, and other professionals who followed in the footsteps of these local trailblazers.

This document is intended to cover the history and architectural development of Pueblo from 1940 to 1982, but there is not a slavish dedication exclusively to that date range. It is important to discuss what comes both before and after in order to develop a better understanding of both events and trends. Both the lasting effects of the 1921 flood and the Great Depression profoundly shaped Pueblo's history, development, and appearance from the 1940s through the early-1980s. Given the economic and political realities in Pueblo, New Deal programs had a dramatic impact here. Programs such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and Civil Works Administration (CWA) brought the city its first exposure to and experience with Modern architecture and uplifted the psyche of thousands of unemployed Puebloans. By the beginning of World War II, "Pueblo was a prematurely aging industrial city."[2] While the city's population growth during the 1940 to 1982 was impressive, it did not adhere to the same astronomical patterns found elsewhere during this period along Colorado's Front Range. There were changes in the city but, "wartime and postwar expansion did not fundamentally alter Pueblo's urban-industrial base or the social and political order that had grown up around it"[3]

Finally, 1982 marked the conclusion of an important economic and cultural era in Pueblo. That year the city's major employer, CF&I, succumbed to mounting international economic pressures, signaling the commonly acknowledged termination of both the firm's and the city's postwar prosperity. After this dramatic economic and psychic shock, Pueblo, like it had so many other times in its long history, emerged stronger and more diverse. The post-1982 period is a topic for the next chapter in the story of the "Pride City," a community firmly committed to providing its citizens with the opportunities to pursue their own personal piece of the American dream.

The details in two appendices supplement the story of Pueblo's historical development from 1940 to 1982. The first, a guide to the architectural history of Pueblo during this same period, highlights the influence of Modern architecture upon the city's public, commercial, residential, and religious buildings. It also features illustrated examples of the wide range of architectural styles and building types present in Pueblo from 1940 to 1982. The second appendix, a Preservation Action Plan, includes a long list of projects and initiatives inspired by the historical and architectural context document. These suggestions for future work have been divided into six major action categories: research, document, evaluate, monitor, promote, and steward, with individual tasks assigned, as appropriate, to various preservation players.

Chapter 1

Infrastructure and Government

The phrase "American dream" rarely evokes thoughts of infrastructure or government. Most think, idealistically and perhaps a tad naively, of the American dream as something that is our own to pursue and has little to do with external forces. However, there is a vast underpinning of systems and structures that must be in place for individual citizens to possess the freedom and opportunity to pursue the goals of owning a home, earning a living at the career of choice, providing for families—in short, achieving the American dream. Citizens elect public officials at the national, state, and local level who they believe are most likely to pass the legislation necessary to foster economic and political stability, the very conditions crucial for both collective and personal growth.

The 1930s and 1940s were a challenging, chaotic period dominated by the Great Depression and World War II. Yet, the United States emerged from these traumatic decades with a feeling of optimism, poised for prosperity, and ready for leisure. In many ways the span from 1946 to 1959 represented a period of reconstruction in the United States. Having established a program of federal investment in public works during the Great Depression, this pattern continued in the postwar years, with federal and state governments investing tremendous sums of money in massive infrastructure projects such as the national interstate system, numerous water diversion projects, and airports. According to historian William O'Neill, the country witnessed tremendous improvements in the postwar period "…in terms of health, well-being, safety, security and economics. It was the best of times in many ways."[4] Americans enjoyed their emergence from World War II as both the political and economic leaders of the Western world.

Pueblo, during the Great Depression, had one of the highest percentages of the population in the nation involved in work relief projects. There were approximately 10,000 Works Progress Administration (WPA) workers in the seven-county area that included the City of Pueblo and nearly 3,500 relief workers based within the city and county.[5] Construction and repair projects in city parks, at the Colorado State Hospital, and elsewhere in the city and county dramatically changed the built environment. New Deal work relief projects provided the community with much-needed buildings, in some cases replacing key facilities lost or irreparably damaged during the devastating Flood of 1921.

This pattern of government investment in infrastructure continued into the postwar period. The most important outlays were spent on transportation and water diversion, providing Pueblo with the resources necessary to transform it into a more modern community. Congress long debated about the Frying Pan-Arkansas Water Diversion Project, finally authorizing it in 1962. Construction ended in 1975, providing water, one of the key necessities for growth and prosperity in the deserts of southern Colorado. Key transportation-related infrastructure improvements included the Pueblo Memorial Air-

Figure 1.1. Night work on the Pueblo Dam. The center portion of this engineering marvel was the first massive-head buttress dam the Bureau of Reclamation had ever constructed. This design was employed because it required less excavation and used less concrete, making the overall cost of the dam substantially lower. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-1459, John Suhay Collection)*

port, opened to the public in 1954, and the Pueblo Freeway, a connection to Colorado's capital city planned and built between 1941 and 1959. With a revision to its city government and a city planner setting its course, Pueblo also invested in its downtown in the postwar period. With these important improvements and investments to infrastructure, government facilitated the citizens' ability to pursue the American dream.

Water

In the West, growth depends upon the availability of sufficient water to support additional population and development. In the Colorado River Compact of 1922, the seven Colorado River Basin states agreed that the upper basin states would supply 7.5 million acre-feet of water annually to the rapildy developing lower basin states, reserving the upper basin's prior appropriation to 7.5 million acre-feet of water annually. It was the first in a series of western water laws that fa-

cilitated the growth of western cities such as Denver, Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, Phoenix, and Los Angeles. These laws allowed the states to develop and use water according to their appropriation, and the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation (BOR) began studying various river drainages to find the most appopriate locations for dams and other water diversion structures.

The Frying Pan-Arkansas Project was one of these projects designed to bring the necessary water to arid southeastern Colorado. However, it took an arduous multi-year political battle and over twenty years of construction. The Flood of 1921 was one of the initial motivations behind seeking a way to control natural drainage in the region. Project supporters also hoped to address desperate water needs during periodic droughts. In 1936, the BOR launched the "Arkansas Valley Investigation," continuing this study through the 1940s. In 1951, agency engineers proposed the Gunnison-Arkansas Project, a huge undertaking that annually would divert 800,000 acre-feet of water from the Gunnison River to the Arkansas River Valley. Citizens in southeastern Colorado and the Secretary of the Interior were both enthusiastic, but Western Slope residents were angry about the prospect of the Front Range appropriating their water. In response to western Colorado opposition, the BOR "tabled the larger plans and focused on the first phase of construction—diversion of water from the Roaring Fork and Frying Pan rivers."[6] This more modest work promised to bring 69,200 acre-feet of water each year to the eastern side of the Continental Divide.

In seeking federal approval for this smaller water diversion project, United States Representative John Edgar Chenoweth of Trinidad claimed the proposed effort was the only way to provide Pueblo, the industrial center of Colorado, with desperately needed water. However, each time Congress considered the Fry-Ark project it failed to receive committee approval due to firm opposition from both eastern and western politicians. The Fry-Ark debate placed long-time House of Representatives member Wayne Aspinall of Palisade, Colorado, in a particularly difficult position. Aspinall was a keen supporter of both water reclamation projects and any Congressional allocation for work in his district. Yet, most of his Western Slope constituents still resented the Fry-Ark Project taking their water. The opponents reached a compromise in April 1959, when the dam near Aspen was abandoned in favor of a larger capacity facility on the Frying Pan River, which would provide for the water needs of Western Slope users as well.

With the inter-Colorado water squabble finally solved, the Fry-Ark Project next encountered issues with neighboring New Mexico based upon Aspinall's insistence that Native Americans waive their water rights prior to passage of the Navajo Indian Irrigation project. Pueblo subdivision developer John Bonforte wrote to Aspinall to express his worries about the fate of the crucial Fry-Ark Project, stating, "We in Pueblo, who have been working and urging the passage of the Frying Pan bill for many years, are becoming anxious in fear that some unexpected development may block passage of this bill."[7]

The Fry-Ark Project finally received presidential authorization in August 1962. In a visit to Pueblo on August 17, 1962, President John F. Kennedy praised the diplomacy involved in ultimate passage of the water project authorizing legislation. He stated:

> I hope that those of us who hold positions of public responsibility in 1962 are as far-seeing about the needs of the country in 1982 and 1992 as those men and women were thirty years ago who began to make this project possible. The world may have been built in seven days, but this project was built in thirty

> years, and it took labor, day in and day out, week in and week out, month in and month out, year in and year out, by Congressmen and Senators, and citizens, and the press of this state, to make this project possible.[8]

In the early-1960s BOR engineers estimated construction of the Fry-Ark Project would take thirteen years, although it ultimately lasted over twenty. During those two decades the BOR modified, removed, or renamed many of the planned features. The first concrete for the project was not poured until 1970 due to two factors. First, there was a massive and time-consuming operation to relocate or reroute roads and railroad lines in the way of the planned water project. Second, the National Environmental Protection Act of 1969 (NEPA) required preparation and approval of an environmental impact statement (EIS) for the Fry-Ark project area. The BOR released the first EIS, covering only the initial construction area, for public comment in 1972; and comment they did, voicing worries about the effects of the project upon both the natural and built environment. For some local Fry-Ark advocates additional delays were more worrisome than any potential effects to the environment. An article in the *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph* reminded readers, perhaps in an effort to discourage public comment, "…the project has been a long time in construction and should it be left half completed most people feel that it would be a sad heritage for those who were on hand when it was begun back in the days of President John Kennedy."[9] The EIS for the entire Fry-Ark Project, completed in 1974, resulted in numerous modifications to the original plan. BOR Commissioner Robert Broadbent complimented the changes made as a result of the EIS process, claiming "our efforts to bring Fry-Ark…online have been accomplished with minimal impact on the environment. You can't see most of these efforts—and that's the way it should be."[10]

Despite the fact Pueblo was located near the termination point for the water diversion project, BOR employee and Fry-Ark project manager James L. Ogilvie choose to establish his office in the city. From his Pueblo base, he managed the massive Fry-Ark workforce that, at any one time, included over 100 government employees and at least that many contractors. At one point soldiers from Fort Carson and members of the Youth Conservation Corps program worked on landscaping-related aspects of the project.

The Fry-Ark Project likely did not seem real to Pueblo officials and residents until work actually started near the city. Initial construction for the Pueblo Dam and Reservoir, the largest structure within the Fry-Ark Project, required plugging the Arkansas River gorge with concrete, building the Bessemer Ditch outlet works, constructing the earthworks for the dam foundation, and rerouting portions of Highway 96 and the Denver & Rio Grande Railway line. The first concrete for the Pueblo Dam was poured in April 1973, and by December of that year the dam walls were high enough to begin filling the area, which ultimately would become the 30,000 acre-feet-capacity Pueblo Reservoir. The BOR used "some of the largest earth-moving equipment in the world" to erect the 245 foot high dam with twenty-three head buttresses, an overflow spillway section, and several outlets.[11] The Pueblo Reservoir officially opened, at long last, in 1975 under the management of the Colorado Department of Natural Resources.

In the long years of waiting for completion of the Fry-Ark Project, local officials, business leaders, and other community advocates routinely promised the Pueblo Reservoir would be a key economic and recreational asset to the City of Pueblo. In 1969 the Pueblo Regional Planning Commission published a

report entitled *Potential Economic Impact of the Pueblo Reservoir,* which attributed the likely success of the newly-established recreation area to four factors: reservoir accessibility from Interstate 25, proximity to populous Pueblo, attractiveness of a large body of water in an arid region, and superior planning for recreational facilities. Planners also cited one possible negative: variation in water levels during the year making the reservoir "unattractive" during periods of low water. Based upon standard estimation equations and attendance at similar recreational facilities across the country, planners predicted the Pueblo Reservoir would attract a total of over 2.5 million annual visitors in 1990.

After over four decades of planning, negotiating, and building, the Fry-Ark Project achieved its major objectives. This massive water diversion project met the twin goals of offering flood control and providing much-needed water to southeastern Colorado. According to the BOR, flood control benefits from the period of construction to 1999 totaled over $16.8 million. The Fry-Ark Project provides water to several cities along the Front Range, including Colorado Springs and Pueblo, and also supplies irrigation for agriculture in the region. Pueblo receives approximately 8,040 acre-feet of water each year, flowing through all parts of the Fry-Ark water diversion system.

The Whitlock Treatment Plant is an excellent example of the infrastructure built during the project. Located at 1920 West Eleventh Street in an industrial area of northwest Pueblo, the complex of buidings, tanks, and in-ground reservoirs is difficult to see from the road. Like the rest of the structures built for the Fry-Ark project, this treatment plant is large in size and used concrete as its major construction material. Pueblo's water travels from the Whitlock Treatment Plant to local pumping stations and then though a network of 559 miles of water mains to local homes and businesses.

In 1979, the city had enough water for a municipality twice its current size, giving it plenty water for future growth. The total cost of the Fry-Ark Project to taxpayers was approximately $500 million. However, the Southeastern Colorado Water Conservancy District is responsible for paying back $150 million from its sale of water; the annual revenue from water sales is approximately $800,000.

Transportation

Pueblo Memorial Airport

Colorado, with its clear skies and generally temperate weather, established a reputation during World War II as a good flying environment; this link with military aviation continued into the postwar period. In 1955 the U.S. Air Force established its academy at Aurora's Lowry Air Force Base; in 1958 it moved to its Colorado Springs campus. Many airmen, who either learned to fly bombers in Colorado or attended the Academy, decided to remain in Colorado after completing their military service, providing the state with a large population prepared to become pilots for the growing commercial market. Immediately following the war, surplus military aircraft transported both goods and passengers, but companies like Boeing converted their wartime production lines to development of commercial aircraft, which benefitted from technological innovations tested in the skies over Europe and Japan.

Denver established its Municipal Airport in 1929; it was a near-immediate commercial success. In 1944, Denver expanded and renamed it Stapleton Airport in honor of former Mayor Benjamin F. Stapleton who was instrumental in construction of the aviation facility. Both Denver's example and

Figure 1.2. Once completed in 1975, the Pueblo Reservoir became a popular attraction for sailors and other water-sport enthusiasts. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-2850, John Suhay Collection)*

airline industry forecasts convinced Pueblo, then Colorado's second largest city, that it needed its own airport to retain an economic and cultural advantage. Pueblo had made regional aviation history when, in 1926, it attained the first air mail branch in the Western United States. But the city set a postwar goal to bring air passenger service to Pueblo.

In July 1948 the city acquired the former Pueblo Army Air Base, a site used for B-24 training during World War II. The new municipal airport did not open at this location six miles east of the city until June 1, 1954; the first commercial flight, a Frontier Airlines plane from Denver, arrived at 7:28 AM. Airport manager John Keeler, at the formal dedication of Pueblo Memorial Airport two months later on Colorado Day, declared, "The airport belongs to the people" and announced there would be a dozen daily flights, on either Frontier or Continental airlines, to selected locations in Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado.[12]

The airport was not an immediate success. In November 1954, it borrowed $13,000 from the city to cover the costs of remaining construction and the relocation of a water line near Highway 96. The airport planned to repay the loan, with interest, from funds earned when the first 100 lots on the old airport site, which was replatted as the Sunset Park subdivision, were sold in early-1955. The Pueblo Memorial Airport had a brush with celebrity on January 15, 1957, when President Eisenhower visited the facility. In 1958, the airport administration completed a master plan that called for numerous improvements, including rebuilding the east-west runway and adding new lighting along this strip. The airport planned to make all needed repairs without any money from the municipal general fund, relying instead upon a fifty-fifty combination of federal money and proceeds from continuing land sales in Sunset Park. Keeler declared, after these repairs were completed in 1959, the city would possess one of the state's finest flight centers and stated, "Airlines then will have no excuse to skip Pueblo."[13] As Keeler predicted, 1959 was a busy year at the airport. In a twelve-month span, the airport installed a new instrument landing system, dedicated a new runway, established a Weather Bureau radar, and began jet service.

In the 1960s the airport expanded beyond commercial air service. In August 1960, United Airlines established a pilot training program and a year later the City Council approved a master plan, co-developed by the Pueblo Industrial Development Corporation and the Pueblo Zoning and Planning Commission, for an 810-acre industrial area on the airport property. The airport also dedicated a new Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) control tower on October 26, 1966. That same year the airport added a new fire rescue building. Resurfacing of the east-west runway in 1967 allowed for landing aircraft up to 270,000 pounds.

The airport welcomed Trans Central Airlines in 1968. At a special City Council meeting in November 1969, city officials approved a rental rate for the firm, arranging for Trans Central to pay $250,000 on a twenty year lease. In exchange, the aviation company planned to build a $10 million complex for their state-of-the-art airline training facility. This facility, offering opportunities for learning to fly twin-engine commuter planes, included a hangar, library, classroom building, administrative headquarters, warehouse, swimming pool, putting green, tennis courts, and a dormitory for over 250 trainees. Trans Central had its headquarters at Stapleton Airport in Denver, but chose Pueblo for its training facility because of the city's excellent weather conditions and fine airport amenities.

In the 1970s, the airport commissioned a ten-year plan

for the facility. The Ishbill & Associates report had a very positive view of aviation, Pueblo, and the community's potential. The authors, instead of thinking "the sky's the limit," claimed, "the sky has become the frontier." They commended Pueblo for being "well aware of this trend," having "hitch(ed) its wagon to a jetstar."[14] The consultants expected Pueblo's population to reach 155,000 by 1980 and, like so many other sources, cited the importance of the three key employers, the continued growth of the four-year college, and the arrival of water from the Frying Pan-Arkansas Project for Pueblo's economic growth. The authors linked prior transportation advances to future strides in aviation, stating, "In the early days of Pueblo, railroads played the leading role in connecting the city with the rest of the nation…. Highway [Interstate] 25 and Federal Highway 50 have played a similar role in more recent years. In the Air/Space Age, aviation plays and will continue to play an increasingly important role in the Pueblo transportation picture."[15] The master plan recommended a five-stage expansion proposal for the Pueblo terminal, designating the east end of the facility for growth in executive aircraft facilities. The ultimate development plan included land designated for an eighteen-hole golf course adjacent to the airport and "an area of extensive aircraft sales and service" plus "transient residential and recreational facilities…for the itinerant pilot, businessman, and visitor."[16]

Industry reaction to the airport master plan was very positive. An article in *Airport Services Management* commented, "In a time when many airports are floundering and burbling in talk of future needs, it is refreshing to find one that has the future planned for the next decade."[17] The Pueblo airport had set a goal to be the "best" but not necessarily the biggest airport in Colorado. This aspiration proved quite profitable. In a complete reversal from 1954, when the airport was forced to borrow money from the city, the net profit in 1968 was over $110,000. The majority of these funds came from landing fees and gasoline profits.

In response to ongoing complaints regarding airline noise, in July 1970 the airport purchased a $150,000 system designed to employ radio signals to control sounds along the runway. It also developed a new flight approach: parallel to but one mile north of Highway 50 and then over the Pueblo Army Depot. During the early- to mid-1970s, the Pueblo Municipal Airport faced questions about its competitive advantage. Airport managers executed $766,075 worth of repairs to the north-south runway intended to make the airport more efficient and to address issues associated with high wind landings. However in June 1977, the airport received a reality check about both its and the city's appearance. An executive considering a business relocation to Pueblo stated, "If the chairman of our board had come out here and seen this [the surroundings], he wouldn't have talked to you. He'd just get back on the plane [to] fly home again."[18] Instead of being insulted, President of the Pueblo Beautiful Association Ottie Otterstein took this comment as motivation to work harder to improve the appearance of Pueblo, including the area immediately surrounding the airport.

The Pueblo Memorial Airport, like the city's overall economy, suffered in the 1980s. The culprit for aviation was deregulation. Yet, the local airport remained a popular option for commercial flights, with an estimated 10,000 passengers flying in and out of Pueblo Memorial Airport in 1987.

Pueblo Freeway

The earliest hard-surfaced road connection between

Figure 1.3. United Airlines developed a pilot training program at the Pueblo Municipal Airport in August 1960. By 1968, this airline alone accounted for 90 percent of the airport's total landing area revenue. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-1533, John Suhay Collection)*

Figure 1.4. Construction of the Pueblo Freeway was a time-consuming, expensive, and complex undertaking. It took ten years to complete, cost $10.6 million, and required the collaborations of multiple construction and engineering firms. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-1439, John Suhay Collection)*

Pueblo and Denver was completed in 1930, when the eighteen foot-wide thoroughfare between Colorado Springs and Denver was extended southward. This modest highway was slow but adequate during the 1930s and early-1940s. Then, in the postwar period, car ownership skyrocketed and drivers demanded easier, quicker, and smoother routes.[19]

Ira K. Young was one of the major advocates for the new route along Highways 85 and 87. Young, a Pueblo resident and member of the Colorado Highway Advisory Board from 1945 until his death in 1953, was a self-made man who worked his way up from driving a delivery wagon to becoming President of the Crews-Beggs Dry Goods Company. Seeking to gather widespread support for the new roadway, he discussed the need for a new road surface with local officials, Pueblo citizens, and key leaders in the Colorado Department of Highways. Planning for the improved road started as early as 1941. "Some people complained that Pueblo's image was forever marred by selecting the most industrialized, smokestack-lined route for the freeway," a path that, for unexplained reasons, ran down the middle of the CF&I property.[20] Construction began in 1949, but early highway department budgets were small and most of those funds were used to acquire the extra land necessary for the freeway right of way. The Pueblo Board of Realtors facilitated the purchase of a portion of land from Mineral Palace Park to north of the city limits; the total price of over $70,000 came from state highway money, the gas tax fund, and prop-

erty taxes.

The project received its largest injection of cash with passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, also known as the National Defense and Interstate Highway Act, which President Dwight Eisenhower signed on June 29, 1956. While Eisenhower is usually given credit for being the "father" of the American interstate system, it is important to realize,

> …they [interstates] didn't spring, fully formed or otherwise, from Ike or his lieutenants. By the time Eisenhower signed the bill that financed the system…most of its physical details were old news. Its routing had been committed to paper for eighteen years. The specifics of its design had been decided for twelve. Franklin Roosevelt had a greater hand in its creation than Eisenhower….[21]

Research over decades made the United States interstate system possible. A nationwide feasibility study, authorized under the 1938 Federal-Aid Highway Act, considered a six-route transcontinental toll road system, but concluded there was insufficient volume to pay for such roads. This study had its greatest influence in its suggestions for new design concepts that, ultimately, were incorporated into America's interstate highways: controlled access, beltways, and over-or under-pass routes in urban areas. The general public got its first glimpse of what such efficient, modern roadways would look like in Norman Belle Geddes' "Futurama" exhibit at the 1939 World's Fair in New York.

In 1941, the Bureau of Public Roads again studied the need for a national road system; this report estimated a demand for approximately 39,000 miles of highways and highlighted the effect urban freeways likely would have upon future development.[22] The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 gave state highway departments permission to begin work on a 40,000-mile system of inter-regional roads. It was this legislation that authorized early work on the north-south route along Highways 85 and 87 through Pueblo and completion of Highway 50 from Pueblo through La Junta and Lamar to Kansas, two of the twelve projects the Colorado Department of Highways had mothballed during World War II.

The north-south interstate through the city, originally known as the Pueblo Freeway, officially opened to the public on July 1, 1959. This 9.2 mile stretch of four-lane highway allowed for a direct and modern connection between Pueblo and Denver, the state's two most populous cities at the time. The ten-year construction project involved twelve construction firms that worked on twenty separate construction contracts, two engineering consultants, eight public utilities, and five railroads. The construction required over 19,000 cubic yards of concrete and used a system, pioneered in Europe, where contractors lifted prefabricated concrete beams into place onto the road surface. This stretch of freeway also required the erection of thirty-five bridges with massive piers and tons of steel. The project cost $10.6 million dollars, with $2.9 million spent on securing the right of way for the freeway. Nearly all of these funds came from the state and federal government; 1956 interstate legislation authorized Washington to pay for 90 percent of the 41,000 miles of freeways built nationwide. By 1965, Coloradoans could drive Interstate 25 from Walsenburg to the Wyoming border, traveling on the Pueblo Freeway through the Steel City.

After decades of planning and construction, everyone involved with the Pueblo Freeway completion was justifiably proud. Governor Steve McNichols lauded finishing the stretch of roadway as "another achievement in Colorado's great statewide road-building program."[23] Pueblo's City Manager Glen S. Turner claimed, "The benefits that the public will enjoy from

the Pueblo Freeway will multiply with every year of its use."[24] The State Highway Department initiated Pueblo drivers to the new interstate, reminding them "There Is A Difference in Driving a Freeway" and advising them to pay attention to directional signage since "the traffic engineer has figured out the particular lane that can be followed most advantageously to arrive at any given destination."[25]

Local Government

The concept of a city government in Pueblo was a challenging idea, given its early origins as four separate communities. After this merger, the new City of Pueblo government consisted of a mayor, auditor, city attorney, city clerk, city engineer, water trustees, and elected aldermen. A 1911 charter shifted representation from the aldermen to five city commissioners and also established a civil service commission to hire city workers. Two years later another change reduced the number of city commissioners to three. The influence of large federal investments in Pueblo, first for post-1921 flood repairs and then later for New Deal work relief programs to improve the city's crumbling infrastructure, led to an arrangement akin to a caretaker government that managed such federal projects and a wide range of improvement districts. This municipal structure lacked authority.

The debate about the most effective charter for Pueblo lasted for over ten years. In 1949 the pendulum of public opinion swung in one direction, supporting a weak city manager and ward-based representation of existing neighborhood interests on the City Council. Those who liked this form of government tended to be long-time, traditional Pueblo residents who were familiar with and benefitted from the results of ethnic- and neighborhood-based elections. In 1954, city voters approved a charter that shifted in the opposite direction—it featured a strong city manager—but included a compromise of seven City Council members, three elected at-large and four representing geographically-defined districts. The 1954 charter also allowed for the collection of citywide taxes to make necessary investments in infrastructure. Many communities across the country adopted strong city manager governments in the 1950s and supporters of the 1954 charter believed Pueblo would benefit from having a single person in charge but was not large enough to need a partisan political system for the City Council. While other cities adopted this form of government to remove politics from government and allow the city manager to be more of a booster for the city, few in Pueblo really believed the city manager would fill this role. Instead Puebloans seemed most interested in making the city bureaucracy professional. Increasingly the city manager acted as a specialist who solicited outside assistance from fellow professionals and experts but made the final decisions himself. The City hired numerous consultants from outside Pueblo, including Denver planners and appraisers to assist with the ill-fated Union Avenue urban renewal plan and Victor Gruen Associates of Los Angeles to develop options for revitalization of the downtown shopping district.

While the concept of a strong city manager worked quite well, Pueblo had some challenges filling this appointed position. The first city manager after passage of the 1954 charter was John O. Hall, but he resigned over conflicts with the City Council just two years after accepting the position. Yet, Pueblo's overall political structure seemed to improve. From 1954 to 1960 it enjoyed adoption of the new charter, recognition of the importance of planning as a government function, and employment of "progressive-cosmopolitan planner" C.

Allan Bloomquist as director of the PRPC.[26] A wide coalition of new non-elected leaders interested in Pueblo's cultural and physical development emerged between 1961 and 1969. The elections of 1969 and 1971 shaped Pueblo positively, shifting its image away from its earlier perception (and in some cases reality) as a city run by ward bosses. During the rest of the 1970s, Pueblo elected and appointed officials interested in both continuing to improve the city and reaching out to the wider regional system to accomplish this goal.

Public Improvements

Pueblo did not construct many municipal buildings, since its postwar population growth was less dramatic than other major cities in the state; the existing infrastructure was sufficient to provide city services. Instead of building a new and modern building, city workers continued to work in Pueblo's Neoclassical-style City Hall, constructed in 1917. The city executed minor interior alterations as needed. It dropped ceilings, created new conference rooms, and compartmentalized the building not only to modernize the workspace but also to accommodate modest increases in the number of city staff.

However, both the City of Pueblo police and fire departments erected new buildings in the postwar period. The city built the police facility at 130 Central Main Street in 1949 to house not only the police department but also the municipal court and jail. The two-story, flat-roofed building of glazed blonde brick was similar in appearance to International-style WPA Modernist buildings, although it was not constructed during the Great Depression. The police station has a simple, linear form with sharp, angular square corners and a number of basic, square steel windows. The building features little ornamentation beyond the restrained use of light green tile for both window ledges and the simple band of signage centered on the façade above the recessed primary entry.

The city constructed the new central fire station adjacent to the police station at 150 Central Main Street. Denver architect Stanley E. Morse was known for his numerous fire station commissions in Denver (plus his work with Burnham Hoyt on Red Rock Amphitheater and on Bears, later known as Mile High, Stadium) and he designed a similar building for Pueblo in 1948. This flat roofed International-style facility, also of glazed blonde brick, was completed in 1953 at a cost of approximately $325,000 financed with a voter-approved bond issue. Three glass roll-up doors, for the garages to accommodate the station fire engines, originally dominated the façade. The station also featured a four-story tower, used for drying fire hoses, at the southwest (rear) corner of the building. Twenty-two years after initial construction, the fire department moved to a new central fire station at Seventh Street and Greenwood Avenue and the police department expanded into this space. The City Council paid the Pueblo architectural firm of Hurtig, Gardner & Froelich $105,000 to design plans for necessary renovations to the former fire station. The changes, which included both an addition covering the portion of the façade containing the large garage doors and a covered walkway connecting this building to the adjacent police station, cost approximately $250,000. The existing and new space in the former fire station accommodated the police computer system, narcotics division, training academy, and other offices.

The addition of these two municipal buildings, plus another facility also on Central Main Street constructed for the City-County Health Department in 1958, represented rather modest additions to the city infrastructure. The following sections about Union Avenue and downtown Pueblo detail much

Figure 1.5. The fire station at 150 Central Main Street is decorated for Christmas, date unknown. Municipal buildings construction marked the postwar period in Pueblo. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo City-County Library District, Western History Collection)*

more ambitious efforts to modernize the built environment of the city. These more expensive and more expansive changes sought to take advantage of federal Urban Renewal funding first made available in the late-1950s. The development, evolution, and promotion of both these efforts relied upon a new emphasis upon urban planning, an occurrence that took place both nationwide and elsewhere in Colorado. Visionary and influential Pueblo Regional Planning Commission Director C. Allan Bloomquist embodied this new emphasis on planning in the Pueblo area during the 1960s. Despite support for urban renewal from Bloomquist and others, the only such project ultimately completed was the Sangre de Cristo Arts Center that was completed in 1972 thanks to federal grant funding from the Economic Development Administration (EDA).

Union Avenue

The Union Avenue Project was first mentioned during an October 4, 1955, meeting between an official of the federal Urban Renewal Administration and the Urban Renewal Committee of the Pueblo Chamber of Commerce. By December 14 of the same year, the Chamber Board of Directors had voted unanimously to recommend the City appoint a Pueblo Urban Renewal Commission to take advantage of federal funding to address blight conditions. In 1956, the City decided to target approximately sixty acres near South Union Avenue.[27] As per federal regulations, Pueblo established an Urban Renewal Authority (URA), and on September 3, 1959, granted the URA power to "substitute itself for the City" in fulfilling all requirements of an urban renewal contract with the federal government.[28] URA members, all City Council-appointed, served staggered, two-year terms.

During 1960 and early-1961 hired professionals, including Denver planning consultants from Harman, O'Donnell & Henninger Associates, worked on studies, estimates, and plans for the Union Avenue Project. These experts determined the best approach for improving Union Avenue involved "major clearance and redevelopment" or, in other words, demolition of the existing buildings to make way for new construction of a Civic Center complex, upgraded utilities, a revamped street pattern, and necessary off-street parking.[29] They identified three justifications for their proposal. First, they determined over 20 percent of the project area buildings were "by reasonable criteria, substandard to the degree warranting clearance."[30] Second, they stated the need for "substantial clearance" to address "blighting influences such as incompatible land uses, overcrowding of buildings on the land, and obsolete buildings not suitable for rehabilitation or conversion."[31] Finally, they declared the area needed to be cleared for public purposes. Overall, these planners determined, "all these factors…indicate…there is no sound method to remove or arrest the blight, that has been accelerating in the more recent postwar years."[32] The final report stated a total of ninety-eight buildings needed to be demolished: fifty-one due to their substandard condition, twenty-two to make way for the proposed Civic Center Complex, and twenty-five for construction of a new one-way traffic pattern. These experts determined the project—acquisition, demolition, and all new construction—would require more than $2.3 million from the federal government; the City of Pueblo would be responsible for an additional one-third match.[33]

The federal government approved a $2.3 million grant to Pueblo for the Union Avenue urban renewal project in January 1961. However, the funding award required taxpayers approve a general obligation bond of over $1 million to cover the city's portion of the project. If the local money was not approved, the Union Avenue Project would be dropped entirely. In the first half of 1961, prior to the June special election, both supporters and opponents tried to sway public opinion.[34]

It appears most local officials supported Union Avenue urban renewal. The Pueblo Regional Planning Commission (PRPC) did not sponsor the plan, but they endorsed this approach as "conforming to the preliminary sketch for the area."[35] Not surprisingly, URA was the most vocal supporter of the Union Avenue proposal. The group developed a brochure to share, in a much simplified form, the results of over seven volumes of research and supporting data for the Union Avenue plan. This publication explained the purpose of urban renewal, detailed the proposed project plan, identified the effect of the proposal upon Pueblo, and told how it would be accomplished. It labeled urban renewal as "a new total approach to problems and methods of rejuvenation" and assured readers state law allowed for acquisition and redevelopment "in order to insure a stable tax base and a healthy and growing community."[36] It promised to "transform an area of principally old and obsolete structures, adversely mixed land uses, and other substantially blighting influences into an area of modern development which will once more become a fully productive and appealing unit of the Pueblo economy."[37] It also praised the work of "qualified professional planners, appraisers, and engineers" who developed the plan. The URA appealed to Pueblo citizens, stating, "The Union Avenue Project is a most unusual opportunity to revitalize a portion of the old core area of the City" and claimed the urban renewal endeavor would be "a step towards a firmer tax base, as well as a solid mark of civic pride and accomplishment."[38] The brochure's final page,

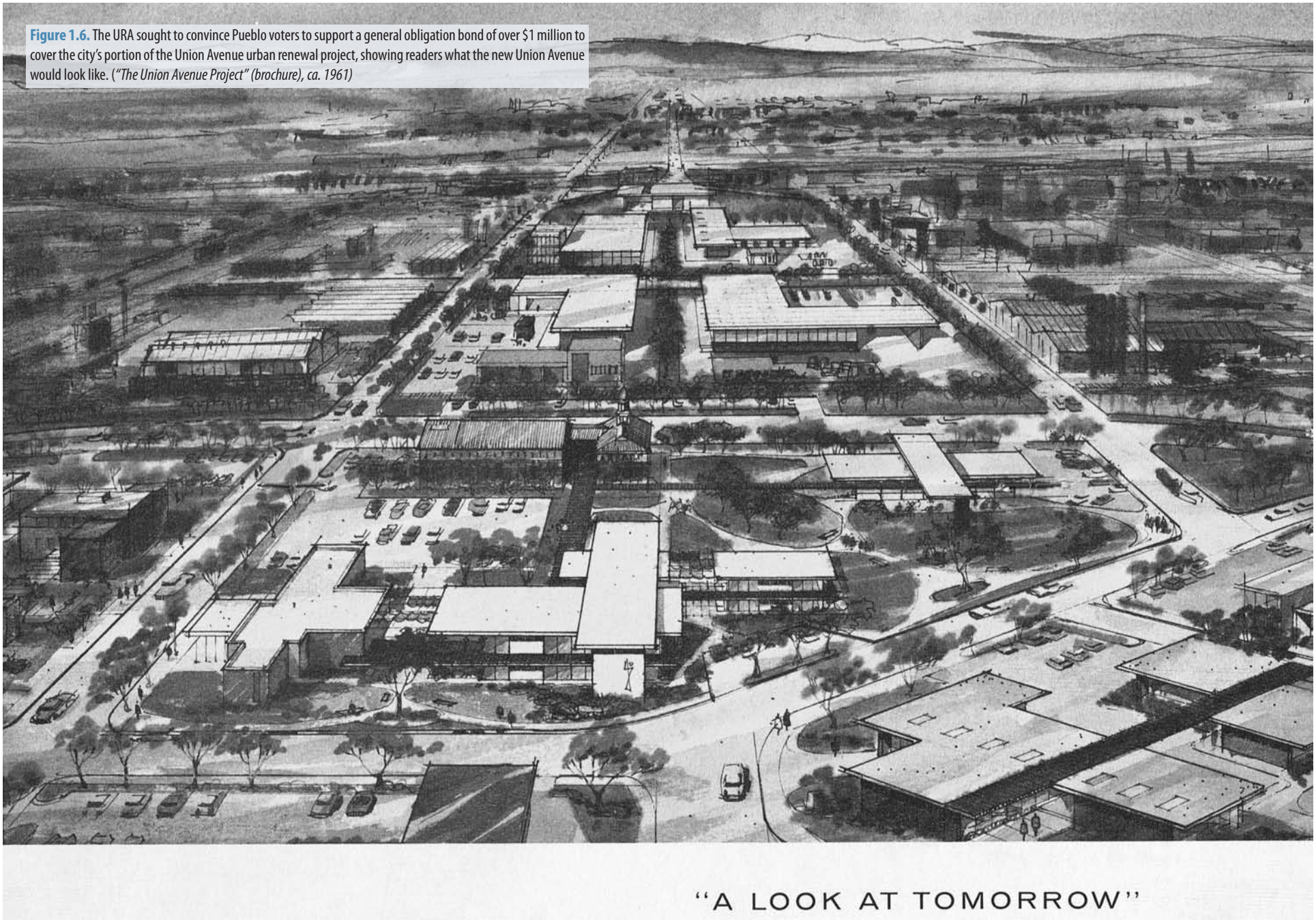

Figure 1.6. The URA sought to convince Pueblo voters to support a general obligation bond of over $1 million to cover the city's portion of the Union Avenue urban renewal project, showing readers what the new Union Avenue would look like. (*"The Union Avenue Project" (brochure), ca. 1961)*

labeled "success lies with citizens," described urban renewal as a community program aimed at improvement and promised the people of Pueblo, "If everyone is willing to 'face up' to the realization that blight is a serious drain of tax dollars, as well as a detriment to the welfare of all of the people, then success will lie within the grasp of all of the citizens."[39] The center of the brochure featured "A Look at Tomorrow" (see Figure 1.6), an architectural rendering of how modern, efficient, and streamlined the new Union Avenue would be with public approval for this federally-funded undertaking.

"Questions and Answers Concerning the Union Avenue Urban Renewal Project," which appears to be an internal document for city planners and government officials, also summarized the various studies and documents about the urban renewal plan. This document, clearly supporting the urban renewal ethos of the period, listed five benefits of the Union Avenue project:

1. Would revitalize the oldest portion of the downtown area and provide an incentive and base for improvement of other downtown properties.
2. Stimulate the economy of the City through the release of funds and generation of new construction.
3. Provides for a better flow of traffic and eliminates congestion through off-street parking, loading, and docking requirements.
4. Elimination of living accommodations from an area totally unsuited for such use.
5. Provides additional lands for the creation of a civic center in an area where a heavy investment of public funds has already been made for the provision of public services.[40]

The memo's details about Union Avenue history were particularly interesting since this topic was not featured in most urban renewal documents about the area. This source stated Union Avenue was the main street for Pueblo by the late-1870s, with many of the larger buildings in the area constructed in the 1880s and 1890s. By the 1920s the area was "beginning to run down a little" and, like so many other parts of Pueblo, was devastated by the Flood of 1921. During the Great Depression the area "fell flat" and vacancies increased dramatically. Uses shifted "to the bottom, with flop-houses, pawn shops, and crowded slum conditions on the second floors of buildings." The area rebounded during World War II and "for awhile it appeared that…[it] might be able, through shortage of store space, to overcome its economic obsolescence." However, the arrival of new shopping centers and the hesitancy of businesses to locate in this undesirable area stymied growth. The memo claimed, "the area is slipping back into further deterioration which only a serious and concerted effort can stop." Both the URA and the City believed participation in the federal urban renewal program represented exactly what Pueblo's Union Avenue needed.[41]

Another 1961 memo, "Facts about Urban Renewal and the 'Union Avenue' Project," also offered city officials pro-project talking points. This document addressed five categories of opposition to urban renewal. In response to the claim urban renewal is socialistic, the memo explained the emphasis on private development in the proposal and noted "special interest groups often attach the socialist tag to anything to which they are opposed." The memo refuted the claim urban renewal takes away individual rights, insisting control of the individual for the benefit of the whole represented a guiding principle of a "productive and orderly society." In response to the charge urban renewal denies a person the right to do what he wants with his property, the document explained zoning and local

Figure 1.7. Having survived the threat of urban renewal, Union Avenue business sought to appeal to younger customers less likely to worry about the perceived "seediness" of the area. The distinctly 'mod' signage along the storefront contrasted with the late-1800s architecture of the building. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-0421, John Suhay Collection)*

land use laws are intended to enhance community health and safety. The "Facts" memo also noted the Supreme Court consistently upheld the right of eminent domain for urban renewal. Finally, the document explained although urban renewal uses federal funding, it is not a federal program. To further counter negative public assumptions about urban renewal, the memo offered seven "facts" concerning the Union Avenue project, stressing the project did not require a tax increase, would guaranteed building owners fair market value, and pay to relocate tenants. Finally, this source claimed the Union Avenue urban renewal project was "designed to benefit the entire city, not specific individuals, groups, or businesses."[42]

It seems most Union Avenue business owners disliked the urban renewal proposal. "The Truth about the Pueblo Urban Renewal Project" featured talking points for businesses within the proposed urban renewal area. The business owners did not oppose improvements to the Union Avenue district, but they appeared to have serious reservations about the choice of urban renewal methods. Their concerns included the mischaracterization of current businesses, the true financial potential of the proposed project, the legality of eminent domain, and a general dissatisfaction with the use of outside experts to solve Pueblo's problems.

This document described current Union Avenue occupants as "legitimate, progressive businesses licensed and approved by the city" and their trade contributed approximately $188,000 annually in property taxes. The author portrayed business owners positively, indicating their support for: flood control, a sewage disposal plant, Union Avenue widening and sidewalk construction, the annual Pueblo Single Fund, the Chamber of Commerce, and local fundraising campaigns. According to this memo, the Central Pueblo Improvement Association submitted an alternate plan for urban renewal, but the City Council and URA "did not even extend the courtesy of looking at the plan before rejecting it. They merely ignored it." The author noted completing the project "will take an indefinite number of years" and, in the meantime, "the loss to Pueblo in employment and taxes would run into millions of dollars." Business owners complained they were informed neither of the appraised value of their properties nor how much they could expect to be paid if urban renewal plans went forward. They objected to the fact that appraisers and planners were

based in Denver and already had been paid over $70,000. The business owners summarized their concerns, stating their belief the project was not needed and "will only create the biggest weed patch in the history of Pueblo."[43]

An editorial in the March 30, 1961, edition of the *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain*, expressed support for Union Avenue improvements, but highlighted a number of the public concerns with the urban renewal approach, including the plan's lack of options and sheer amount of demolition. The author claimed, "People don't like to be confronted with a take it or leave it attitude." And he predicted, "In order to have the bond issue approved by the people, it is going to require a tremendous selling job on what the advantages are to the city as a whole." Finally, the newspaper editor encouraged more City Council involvement in the debate, reminding elected leaders they, not the URA, are responsible to tax payers. The article concluded with an appeal to the City Council to "explore untried avenues of compromise" since "it would be a tragedy to have the program die before it has a chance."[44]

The newspaper announced the results of the special election colorfully, stating "Pueblo voters took a wrecking bar (sic) to the city's urban renewal plans."[45] The proposal failed by more than three to two and was approved in only six of the city's sixty-seven precincts; interestingly, voters within the Union Avenue urban renewal boundaries approved the bond by a total of eighteen to nine votes. Allan Bloomquist, director of the PRPC, claimed Union Avenue urban renewal failed to receive sufficient public support for three reasons: the area chosen, the poor plan, and the supporters' sales campaign prior to the vote. He recommended "persons on both sides of the issue (to) identify themselves with the real problems and work together to find solutions."[46] URA Chairman John A. Wilson reminded citizens, "The Union Avenue project is dead, but the Authority still is in existence…. We feel we have been able to get many persons interested in civic welfare and…hope some good will come to the community."[47]

Although the voters had defeated the bond issue for urban renewal, Union Avenue still needed improvement and focus shifted to the possibility of rehabilitation, an approach City Council President C.J. Burress favored. Such an approach differed greatly from urban renewal: it was not eligible for federal grant assistance, required fifty-one percent or more of the buildings to need no or only minor repairs, and demanded support from building owners and tenants for a conservation-based approach. In July 1961, Central Pueblo Improvement Association Chairman Ray S. Johnson asked the Union Avenue plan appraisers to provide details about building values so owners could decide whether rehabilitation made financial sense; this request was denied. City Councilman and URA member Richard D. Robb urged city inspectors to look at the buildings in the Union Avenue district to determine if the proper percentage were in the required condition to initiate a rehabilitation program; City Council also denied this proposal.[48]

An undated opinion survey, likely conducted in the late-1960s, showed continued interest in Union Avenue rehabilitation.[49] The questionnaire results indicated businesses within the reused buildings would appeal mostly to Pueblo residents younger than forty years old. Nearly seventy-four percent of the respondents did not shop along Union Avenue, mostly due to fear of the area and its inhabitants; but ninty-three percent claimed they would change shopping habits if the area were renovated and improved. Nearly eighty-seven percent of the answers indicated a need for more entertainment in Pueblo

TABLE 1.1. BLOOMQUIST'S CAREER HIGHLIGHTS: 1960-1970

May 1960	Hired as director of PRPC
August 1960	Served on Citizens Legislative Advisory Committee for four-year college in Pueblo
September 1960	Appointed Census Tract Key Person by U.S. Bureau of the Census
July 1961	Sat on committee to develop annexation policy for city
February 1964	Taught thirteen-week planning administration class for city and PRPC staff
Sept. 1965	Published first Comprehensive Technical Working Paper
April 1966	Accepted appointment to Reference Center Study Committee of the Federation of Rocky Mountain States
June 1966	Succeeded in establishing preferred route from Pueblo Freeway to SCSC campus
January 1967	Featured as speaker at Natural Beauty and Recreation Congress in Hawaii where he "chided the County Commissioner delegates for failing to demand beauty in the public structures and on all publicly owned lands"
January 1967	Appointed to committee to study County subdivision regulations
February 1967	Narrated presentation at Pueblo Chamber of Commerce-sponsored "Denver Media Day," briefing visitors from capital about Pueblo's progress
September 1968	Granted job leave to work on State Planning Division's Front Range Study
June 1969	Served on Board of newly-establish Pueblo Beautiful Association
January 1970	Traveled to Topeka, Kansas, with local delegation requesting Santa Fe Railway removal of spur track in Pueblo downtown area
January 1970	Criticized for comments about possible mafia ties and prevalence of gambling in Pueblo region that appeared in "The Colorado Front Range Corridor Report." Expressed remorse for controversy, but did not retract statements. Received vote of confidence from PRPC
September 1970	Narrated weekly cable television show, "Pueblo Tomorrow"

Source: Comi, Gladys R. A History of the Pueblo Regional Planning Commission. (Comprehensive Plan Technical Working Paper T-50). Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commision, December 1970.

and, again, over ninty-three percent expressed the need for new shopping districts within the city.

The idea of rehabilitation waxed and waned over the years, with the focus, especially after passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act, turning to historic preservation as an alternative. However, not until 1978 did a preservation organization for Union Avenue emerge. The Historic Pueblo Business Center Association grew from the PRPC's Preservation Advisory Commission. Business owners believed a restored Union Avenue "could be similar to Larimer Square in Denver" and hoped "to have a strip (of buildings) that tourists would love to visit."[50] The PRPC submitted a nomination and in December 1982 the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places listed the Union Avenue Historic District. Owners within the eighty-seven resource district started to take advantage of tax credits to finance renovation and rehabilitation work. Ironically, the same buildings urban renewal experts had deemed "not suitable for rehabilitation or conversion" in the early-1960s, were, approximately twenty years later, benefitting from this very treatment.[51] The *Pueblo Chieftain* declared in July 1985, "Union Avenue's rebirth is finally official," noting an act of arson in 1983 was initially viewed as a tragedy, until Atlanta-based Energy Conservation Systems, Inc. bought and committed to restore or rehabilitate thirteen buildings within the commercial district.

C. Alan Bloomquist and the PRPC

Local planners continued to place their faith in urban renewal as a way to improve Pueblo, even after the Union Avenue debacle. C. Allan Bloomquist, Director of the PRPC since 1960, was a driving force in the city for over two decades. Coming to Pueblo from St. Paul, Minnesota, this visionary, opinionated, pragmatic leader influenced planning in the city and throughout the Arkansas Valley region.

Bloomquist made an impassioned case for urban renewal as a solution to Pueblo's challenges with blight and poverty in his January 1966 document "Urban Renewal As A Goal," a publication that read more like a manifesto than a planning text. He explained the philosophy of renewal as "an ongoing, continuous, natural process…[that] has gone on every day since Pueblo began with old Fort Pueblo."[52] Bloomquist explained, "We do this sort of thing every day when we fertilize the lawn, encourage a child to eat his supper, make an investment in a new plant and new equipment, buy a full page of advertising…" and claimed urban renewal was just another example of a deliberate act "designed to accelerate what would tend to happen naturally."[53] He believed renewal was happening in Pueblo, but too slowly, and claimed this pattern could be reversed if Pueblo wanted.

Bloomquist made social, economic, political, and city image arguments to encourage support. His portrayal of the social motivations for urban renewal echoed commonly held beliefs about the American dream, with the author citing a nearly universal desire for a better life for ourselves and our fellow humans. He declared people "cringe at the prospect of poverty, ill health, delinquency, malnutrition, no hot water, outhouses, epidemics, rats, cold rooms, poor ventilation, shacks, boxcars, unemployment, school dropouts, and unhappiness, whatever the cause" and, in response, have empowered the federal government to develop programs such as public housing, welfare assistance, and urban renewal as an antidote to these social ills.[54] The document praised Pueblo, claiming…

[its] social motivation springs from the hard life at

> the meeting place of the mountains and the plains…. The mountains have lost their miners and loggers and the plains have lost their farmers and cowboys. These losses have been going on for thirty years, and Pueblo has been the receiving point for many of the souls so displaced by the hard technological and economic facts of life in America's vast center land.[55]

Bloomquist praised hardworking Puebloans and "their ancestors (who) have made the grade and…look to the days of a newer and greater Pueblo, a City of new industries and more jobs, a diversified economy, a City with the wherewithal to support higher socially motivated objects: the arts, higher education, a social whirl, great architecture, and a clean, exhilarating landscape."[56] He applauded the aspirations of the poor and commended the generosity of the rich, but worried about middle class apathy. He wished to awaken this group's social motivations, encouraging them to vote and make Pueblo a better place.

Bloomquist identified Pueblo's economic motivation for accepting urban renewal as the desire for better, higher paying jobs. He encouraged not only diversification of local industry but also growth among the three major employers. He acknowledged the challenges associated with relatively flat economic growth, admitting, "the swimming pools, library, new streets, new schools, new parks, new homes, and other standard-of-living improvements are expected to stimulate the good life," but such efforts are neither inexpensive nor guaranteed, by themselves, to generate local economic improvement.[57] Bloomquist was more hopeful about the influence of the Frying Pan-Arkansas project and the four-year college, but encouraged special attention for local shopping, local reinvestment, and local talent. He was concerned about the estimated $45 million Puebloans spent outside the city each year. To recapture these funds Bloomquist advocated renewal of the "trades and services…located largely in the obsolete downtown."[58]

In his discussion of the political motivations for urban renewal, Bloomquist praised Pueblo elected officials for "getting a share of the state and Federal pies for such things as the Frying Pan-Arkansas project, the four-year college, and highways."[59] However, he found considerably less political support in Pueblo for local projects using local money. He encouraged community decision-making, strong local leadership, and Pueblo-based supporters for city improvement projects. Bloomquist cautioned against following the status quo and hoping conditions would improve, a choice he described as "placing one's trust and the community's future in the hands of a 'natural' evolution," rather than the more directed and accelerated path of urban renewal.[60] The planner wanted a true city-state-federal partnership, with all officials lobbying for the city's rightful share of available urban renewal grants and other programs.

Bloomquist concluded his explanation of urban renewal motivations with a discussion of image, especially ongoing efforts to transform the city from "Pew-town" to "Pride City." The document praised the architects of Southern Colorado State College, the new First National Bank building, and the new library plus the numerous citizens engaged in clean-up campaigns over the years for working actively to improve Pueblo's image. He acknowledged the "many people proud of their city…(who) want that pride to show," but noted "there are also hundreds and thousands of Pueblo citizens and absentee owners who apparently do not care about the need for a new image in the form of a renewed or improved physical appearance. These people do nothing or sometimes even worsen (sic)

Figure 1.8. A June 17, 1962, editorial in *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* praised Bloomquist for the inclusive nature of his planning efforts. Routinely he solicited ideas from a wide range of individuals, searched for the best solutions, and worked to make decision-makers and citizens as well-informed as possible. *("Pueblo in the Seventies," October, 1969)*

things—all in all, they tend to drag the image down."[61] Bloomquist urged supporters of Pueblo's improved image to "plan, program, and actually cause the resisted change to happen," citing these techniques as central to improved urban renewal practice.[62] Bloomquist explained how urban renewal was "a much better and more workable program than when the ill-fated Union Avenue Project caused so much trouble," mentioning, in particular, introduction of mandatory relocation assistance and financial aid for those displaced during urban renewal projects.[63]

Bloomquist concluded this urban renewal document with a plea to Pueblo to adopt as its goal, "the renewal of those parts of the older city that do injury and injustice to humankind, and which no longer function effectively and efficiently as parts of the urban organism."[64] He included an organizational chart for converting this goal into action. According to his proposed structure, City Council would initiate the urban renewal program, making sure it had not only excellent staff but also a favorable public and political climate. Citizen leaders were responsible for working with, rather than against, urban renewal. Bloomquist urged all paid city staff to move beyond the status quo and strive for both innovation and excellence; such effort would require elected officials to be fully behind the urban renewal strategy instead of changing their minds or encouraging a "go slow" approach.[65]

Given the challenges and ill-will from the failed Union Avenue project, Bloomquist suggested disbanding the URA and assigning their duties and powers to the City. The report cautioned Pueblo to avoid the pitfalls of other communities. He reminded readers other urban renewal projects across the nation had "suffered a similar or worse fate than the Union Avenue project," and shared his belief urban renewal success depended upon "quality or lack of it.…Quality projects succeed. Those that are poorly designed, poorly promoted, poorly administered, or poorly legislated fail.…An urban renewal project has to be done well at all stages of its evolution."[66] The document ended with a simple but strong appeal: "Pueblo must commit itself to a 'quality' [urban renewal] program."[67]

Although "Urban Renewal As A Goal" was philosophical, other Bloomquist PRPC documents were more traditional. "Poverty and Blight In Pueblo," also presented in January 1966, provided statistics to support urban renewal in Pueblo. Data, sorted by census track, focused on eighty-six poverty and blight-related variables and determined "a large portion of urban Pueblo is either in slums or is seriously blighted."[68] According to Bloomquist, in one part of the city over fifty-seven percent of families used shared bathrooms, in another over thirty percent of families had incomes of $3,000 or less, and in yet another over eight percent of all children under the age of eighteen were considered "delinquents" with active County Probation Department files.[69] Looking at the city as a whole, there were 5,000 deteriorated and 2,000 dilapidated homes; 3,200 families had incomes below $3,000. Mapping the overall results of the statistical study illustrated a "Y" shaped zone of deprivation in Pueblo, with the downtown area at the center and the east side, Hyde Park, and Minnequa defining the arms to the east, west, and south respectively. Having identified this Y-zone within the city, Bloomquist and his fellow planners sought ways to improve conditions; they wanted a different approach than the city's existing "policy (which) is to do little or nothing except for welfare, health, single fund, and other minor programs of limited proven effectiveness."[70]

The planners supported more and better action because "poverty and blight are both bad—each digit and each per-

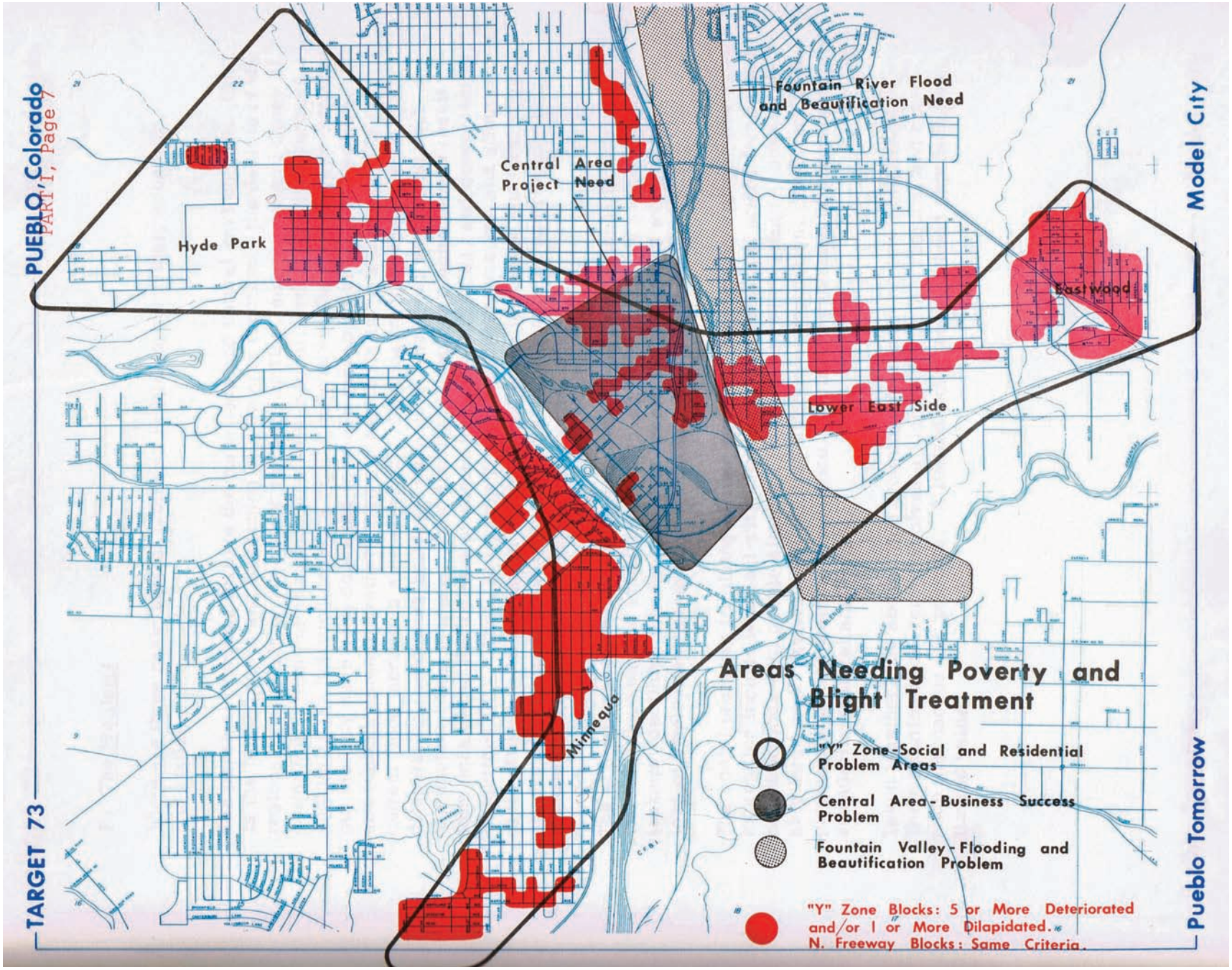

Figure 1.9. This map, which appeared in "Pueblo Model Cities Applications (Comprehensive Plan Technical Working Paper T-25)," is a graphic depiction of the statistics Bloomquist gathered to document poverty and blight in Pueblo.

centage point on the…data sheets represents one or more human beings in some sort of trouble or near trouble (and)…a person living in the 'Y' zone has a better than average chance of ending up in divorce, delinquency, poor health, bad housing, etc. if he has not already done so."[71] Bloomquist urged the city to budget a great deal of money for its older areas, identifying this action as "a practice that goes counter to its policy of the last twenty years, during which time it has been very busy keeping up with new growth in the periphery."[72] He believed such investment was crucial to tackle blight and to accelerate economic growth, citing a Catch-22 situation between these two issues since the appearance of slums and poor image negatively impacted the ability to attract new businesses and the lack of new jobs caused both the appearance and reality of Pueblo's poor neighborhoods to worsen even more. There were also deeper, more personal links between the Y-zone and Pueblo's image. According to Bloomquist,

> It is our (PRPC's) profound belief and most expert opinion that the 'appearance' of Pueblo and its 'lack of recreation'…are two of the City's main problems as far as getting the economy moving forward. These two factors are most pronounced in the 'Y' Zone area from which come our clerks, gas station attendants, waitresses, and others who reportedly "play down" Pueblo to our visitors and who tended to vote "no" on civic improvements in the last three elections…(but) why should they "sell" Pueblo or vote for public expenditure on the fringe, when to them Pueblo is the 'Y' Zone? This is just another way of saying that the Pueblo "attitude" or the Pueblo "spirit" needs basic medicine and skillful surgery.[73]

Downtown Pueblo

Once planners identified the Y-zone in Pueblo they developed a number of plans and strategies to address it. The existence of this area within the city influenced both Pueblo's decision to submit a Model Cities application and its overall community renewal plan. But the Y-zone concept had the largest effect on downtown. Although downtown Pueblo was quite literally at the center of the Y-zone, there had been efforts to address the business district prior to the identification of this region of deprivation.

Having learned from the failed federally-funded urban renewal proposal for Union Avenue, PRPC Chairman Curtis Cope released "The Prospectus and Plan for a Main Street Plaza in Downtown Pueblo, Colorado," for downtown merchant comment in November 1962. It sought to remake downtown, addressing dips in property values, rises in storefront vacancies, and shopper defection to other Colorado communities. The document focused on what was both feasible and affordable. The three goals were: 1) providing a competitive shopping environment, 2) accommodating traffic, and 3) offering parking in a variety of places. Successful plan execution called for downtown merchants and building owners to create a City Council-authorized improvement district; empowering owners and private enterprise, rather than the quasi-governmental URA, to take charge of physical work and the improvement district addressed a key public complaint about the recently rejected Union Avenue project.

This publication, in contrast to later plans focused on poverty and blight, had a very optimistic tone. Cope claimed, "Pueblo's progressive and knowledgeable people regard today as the calm before the storm." The document cited plans for the Fry-Ark Project and Southern Colorado State College, numerous new downtown hotels, and widening of both Highway 50 West and Interstate 25 South as key indicators things

were improving in Pueblo and encouraged the downtown merchants to prepare for increased patrons and tourists. This downtown plan was divided into three phases. The first phase, to be completed in 1963, involved improving traffic conditions on the north-south streets and building a central mall to boost retail sales and reinvigorate Main Street. The second phase, planned for 1964, sought to address traffic on the east-west streets and support mall development with store remodels and additional parking. The final plan phase, from 1965 onwards, addressed completing traffic improvements, major rebuilding, and adding a civic/cultural center.

The PRPC advocated strict adherence to plan phasing, with the five blocks along the new mall comprising the initial improvement district. While the plan mentioned the possibility of federal funding, it was clear planners were leery about suggesting such a scheme. Instead they sought to convince building owners a relatively small investment would translate into dramatic revenue gains.[74] The document included some sketches of what the mall might look like, but stressed they were for illustration purposes only, instead encouraging business owners to work with architects and engineers, once the improvement district was established, so the new mall maintained a unified appearance.

Written as part of an overall city transportation plan, this downtown proposal admitted traffic and transit improvements alone would not invigorate Pueblo's commercial core and encouraged local business owners to engage in creative marketing and community outreach. In an effort to sound positive, Cope may have underestimated both the time and levels of cooperation his downtown proposal would require. A curious final page, labeled as an "Editorial," explained why he felt this plan was both practical and necessary. He stressed the two years of development and collaboration completed prior to writing the plan. He admitted "there is no such thing as an absolute proof that this plan will work perfectly" but was "quite certain…the plan as proposed will cause a vast improvement in downtown conditions."[75] To bolster his argument the report mentioned the Cincinnati Planning Director's identification of four goals for downtown planning—making the area more efficient, more attractive, more active, and worthy of more investment as a way to boost taxes—and claimed his Pueblo plan would accomplish all four.

Although Cope's downtown proposal generated publicity for and interest about a seven-block Main Street Mall, the city and citizens did little. City Council approved an improvement district for the construction of Central Plaza, with area merchants indicating this limited improvement helped to more than double their sales.[76] The City approved two downtown parking lots on the east side of Santa Fe Avenue in December 1963; the first municipal off-street lots were completed in November 1966. But, in May 1965, the City Planning and Zoning Commission "scrapped" all plans for a downtown mall.

Once again, as with the plans for Union Avenue, Pueblo rejected a comprehensive urban renewal approach for area improvement. It is not entirely clear why local leaders chose not to adopt demolition and new buildings as the way to boost downtown shopping. Perhaps Pueblo, with lower levels of postwar population growth than Denver or Boulder, felt more moderate actions such as additional parking and minor cosmetic changes were sufficient to draw shoppers back downtown. The decision not to pursue urban renewal downtown ran counter to how other cities, both in Colorado and across the country, chose to address downtown development and to take advantage of available federal funding for wide

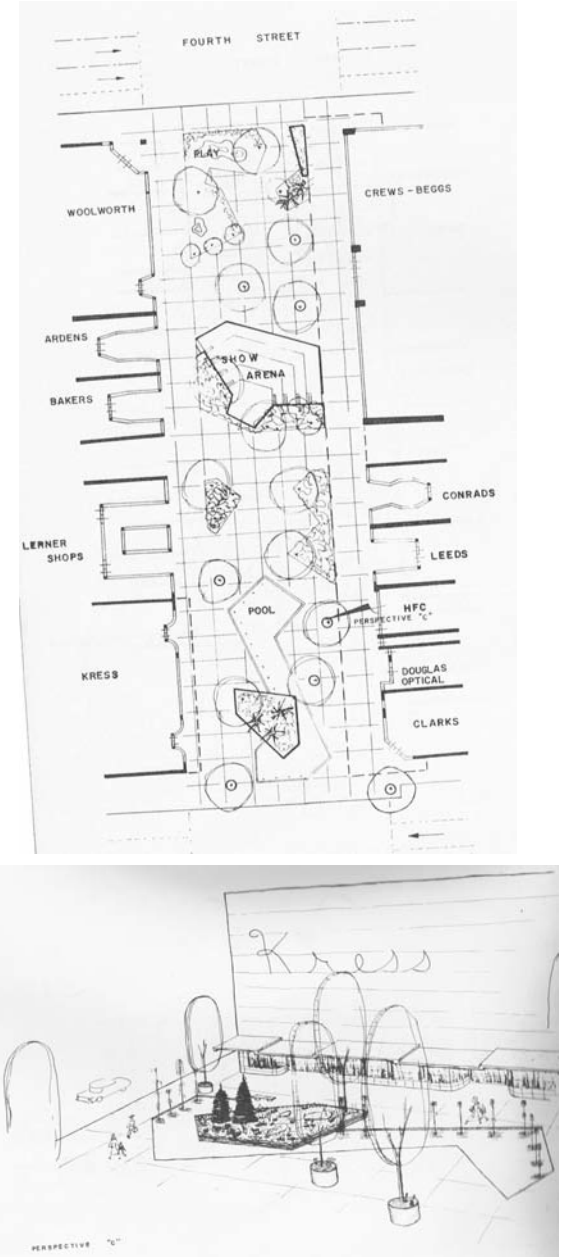

Figure 1.10. "The Prospectus and Plan for a Main Street Plaza in Downtown Pueblo, Colorado" cautioned owners to consult the sketches (shown above) for informational purposes only.

Figure 1.11. In an effort to compete with suburban strip malls, the City Council approved downtown parking lots. This one, at the 300 block of Santa Fe Avenue, offered parking but not the same convenience and proximity to stores as shoppers enjoyed at Midtown, Belmont, or Sunset Park shopping centers. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-0450, John Suhay Collection)*

scale modernization efforts during the 1960s.

Despite, or perhaps because of the minor changes made downtown, the issue of revitalization for this established shopping district arose again quickly. In March 1966, the City Council, using funds from downtown merchants and a federal grant, asked the PRPC to find a firm to conduct both a market analysis and a downtown planning program. Downtown merchants ultimately hired Victor Gruen and Associates of Los Angles to develop a physically, economically, and politically feasible plan to revitalize downtown Pueblo.

Victor Gruen was the preeminent planner of the time, and Pueblo clearly wanted a high-profile and high-quality solution. Victor Gruen, born in 1903, fled his native Vienna in 1938 when the city fell to the Nazis. He was known as the "Father of the Shopping Mall," having developed the Northland Mall outside Detroit, Michigan, in 1952 and Southdale, the nation's first fully-enclosed shopping mall near Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1956. In the early-1960s he started to promote "revival of downtowns through careful commercial planning, much as he had pioneered the development of regional shopping centers, themselves the source of many cities' economic ills."[77] In 1964 he published his widely read urban planning manifesto *The Heart of Our Cities: The Urban Crisis: Diagnosis and Cure*. By the time he was sixty-five and returned to Vienna, Gruen had expanded his firm Victor Gruen Associations, Architects, Planners, and Engineers to five partners, fifty professionals, and 200 employees at offices in both Los Angeles and Detroit.

It seems likely the city chose Gruen's firm because their goals and beliefs mirrored closely those of Bloomquist. The Gruen response, dated July 6, 1966, expressed the desire to develop a Pueblo downtown solution…

> …which will catch people's imagination; which will have that 'rightness of design' that citizens viewing it will sense its logic; that will contain the many needed opportunities for diverse types of new investment and the possibilities for expanding the quality of urban life in your city…. Finally, the solution must reflect the special character and history of the city. The design theme should be one which recognizes Pueblo's geographic and cultural heritage.[78]

It is interesting the Gruen proposal was the most expensive of the four submitted, with the firm pledging to complete all pre-project planning work and development of alternatives for a total not to exceed $32,000. This choice likely reflects not Pueblo's extravagance but instead the influence of Bloomquist again; his planning documents emphasized the importance of both excellence and quality and he likely believed the city would receive both from such an esteemed firm.

The city established the Downtown Master Action Plan Committee, a group composed of 200 members with a fifteen-person Executive Committee and a fifty-member steering committee, in March 1967 with the expressed purpose of assisting Gruen and Associates with the downtown plan. The group, conveying frustration with plans that did not result in any improvements, told the Gruen staff to "mold the available data into a usable plan we can put on the ground, not hang up on a board."[79] On July 29, 1967, two associates from Gruen's firm made a public presentation of five conceptual alternatives for revitalization of downtown Pueblo. Drawings of the options, plus public response to these concepts, were gathered in the planning document "Pueblo's Five Downtown Choices." All five proposals shared the following characteristics: they were based upon a ten-year phased development; they included 600,000 total square feet of retail space, a figure which doubled the existing shopping square footage; they provided 3,000 off-street parking spaces; they envisioned the three ex-

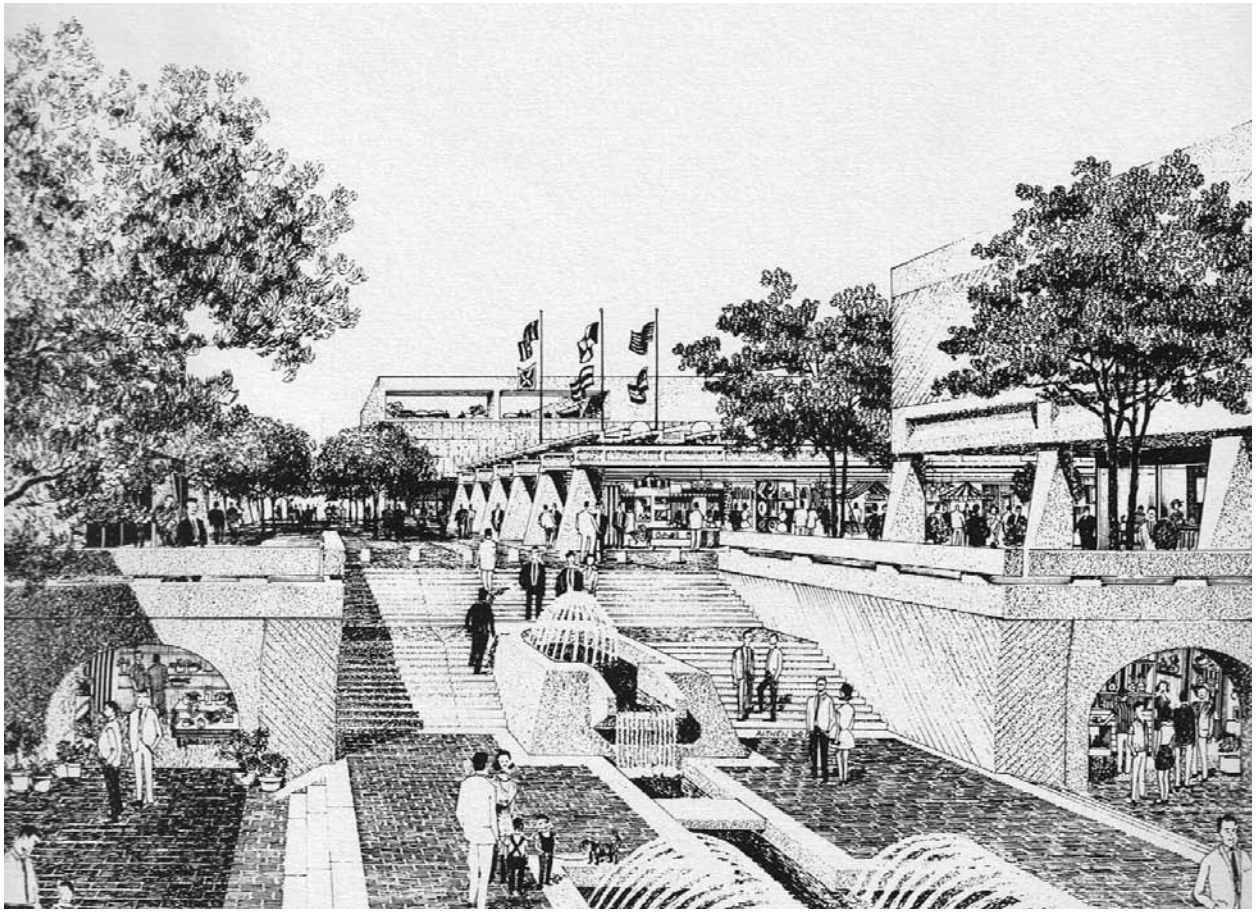

Figure 1.12. Victor Gruen Associates, Inc. labeled this image as the "Ultimate Development Concept" for a downtown mall in Pueblo. However, these changes were never executed. *(Image from* Downtown Pueblo Tomorrow, *1968)*

isting department stores, in either new or enlarged modern buildings; and they emphasized major beautification in the downtown area, especially the addition of a fine arts or convention center. The five Gruen concepts differed in their physical arrangement of the various elements, the location within the downtown that received the greatest focus, phasing of all planned work, the length of time necessary to complete the proposed improvements, and total cost. The over 100 attendees at the public meeting expressed a variety of often contrary opinions about the concepts, with Bloomquist marveling at "the wide range of intelligent reaction and penetrating questions that is possible when faced with five alternatives."[80]

The citizens favored a concept that, according to Bloomquist, "provided the unified regional shopping center (in downtown) but tended to make it stand out like a sore thumb."[81] He, instead, favored a blending of two concepts, those that best addressed his concerns about the appearance of the Interstate 25 frontage and Pueblo's image while also taking into consideration the challenges associated with both other development near the downtown area and the issues of

project coordination and funding.

The details of the final Gruen downtown plan appeared in two February 1968 documents, one by Victor Gruen and Associates entitled *Downtown Pueblo Tomorrow* and a second, *Economic and Financial Feasibility*, by Larry Smith and Company of San Francisco, California. Phase I of the final plan included four major projects. The first was a new parking lot for approximately 900 cars and requiring closure of West Second and Third streets. The second component involved construction of two or three new buildings to provide about 50,000 square feet of retail space; these buildings were to be located near both the new parking lot and Main Street. The third portion of the final Gruen plan called for erection of a series of pedestrian malls linking the new parking and retail stores. The basic concept was to create a "super-block" of new parking, new buildings, and new landscaping with these improvements also benefitting existing retail buildings nearby. Finally, Phase I of the Gruen plan advocated a southern extension of the J.C. Penney's located at 226 West Fourth Street. While the plan did not require this existing store to expand, the economic analysis from Larry Smith and Company indicated the first three changes the Gruen plan advocated likely would make financial sense for the established retailer.

The PRPC paid $5,500 to hire Larry Smith and Company to complete an economic analysis of the downtown proposal because the "Gruen team had begun to have doubts about the economic feasibility of a major new complex."[82] The Smith report presented phasing and completion alternatives for the Gruen downtown plan. This study, seemingly, did not share Gruen's concerns, claiming to be "encouraged by the potential that exists for expanding and upgrading the quality and quantity of facilities within the downtown without delay."[83] The Smith report also classified the "local climate (as)…favorable for implementing a positive downtown action program."[84] Based upon community consultation and slow population growth in Pueblo, the Smith study determined the need for local action downtown before attempting to attract outside companies to Pueblo.

The economists contrasted Pueblo's relatively stable postwar population numbers with dramatic growth in both Colorado Springs and Denver, explaining, unfortunately, these demographic differences meant "Denver and Colorado Springs have developed images of being dynamic, progressive communities and, by comparison, the image of Pueblo has suffered and is generally considered elsewhere in Colorado to be somewhat stagnant."[85] The experts claimed the steel industry did not improve Pueblo's image either. The Smith report said Pueblo differed from other cities like Colorado Springs, Denver, and Boulder where the "glamour industries" of tourism, research, and technology had chosen to locate. The economists believed completing the first phase of the Gruen downtown plan, especially simultaneous action on steps two (new retail buildings) and three (pedestrian malls), would show outside industry and tenants that Pueblo could be successful and attract to the community new businesses interested in participating in the more long-term implementation of downtown renewal.

Despite the investment in a downtown revitalization proposal from a renowned expert, the Gruen plan, like the Cope plan years earlier, was not executed. Correspondence from Gruen Associates Vice President Dan Branigan dated April 17, 1968, traced the key events in the firm's Pueblo downtown planning process, offering some insights into why the proposed improvements did not take place. According to Brani-

gan, "the roof more or less fell in" on the project when economists from the Larry Smith & Company disagreed with the approach proposed in the Gruen plan. He claimed the lesson learned was (emphasis original) "**never, never, never** (to) undertake planning work…without having early input from the economist" and admitted the Gruen firm normally engaged economists as part of their planning process but "somehow things got working backwards on the Pueblo job." [86] Both the Gruen planners and Smith economists were led to believe the two existing downtown department stores were ready for immediate expansion into larger buildings, a fact that proved to be incorrect and had a major impact on the capacity of the plan. Branigan also detailed the negative reaction of the local Executive Committee to the Gruen and Smith findings: these members were "bitterly disappointed" with the current plans in comparison to earlier versions, feeling the most recent scheme was "much watered down."[87] The Gruen representatives sought to convince the committee that the less ambitious plan still "would excel in all respects," but it seems the local group may have lost both confidence in and support for the Gruen downtown concept.[88] At the same time, both committee members and the city's traffic engineer started to worry about the high cost of the proposal. In response, Branigan acknowledged the difficulty of talking about "spending hundreds of thousands of dollars within the climate of decline and deterioration which prevails today in the Central Area."[89] Despite the catalog of missteps, Branigan remained quite positive, stating his belief:

> In the months to come we will witness clear evidence of the catalytic effects of starting with the retail element. We should see a City that has for many years lacked leadership and initiative transform itself into an action oriented and aggressive force…. The latent desire to move ahead was always there, but nobody knew where to go... (but the city is) now on the move doing something they (the key decision makers) believe in….[90]

Branigan's optimism seemed a bit misplaced, or perhaps just premature.

The idea of a mall in downtown Pueblo was resurrected in October 1970 when the Master Action Plan Committee reviewed a proposal from the Pueblo architectural firm of Hurtig, Gardner, & Froelich. Their plans included either an under or overpass at Fourth and Main Streets and a mall along Main Street between First and Fourth streets. The downtown mall, again, did not happen. However, these architects were awarded the commission for a long-awaited, much-anticipated cultural arts center.

Sangre de Cristo Arts Center

The Board of County Commissioners received a $740,000 grant from the Economic Development Administration (EDA) for construction of a new creative arts and conference center. Pueblo was lucky to receive this funding, as the EDA was in the midst of changing its award focus from construction projects to efforts devoted exclusively towards job creation. The arts center in Pueblo was the final construction project in the United States to receive EDA funding. Officials responsible for completing the grant application, including PRPC director Bloomquist, were particularly attentive to the changing priorities of this federal agency and included numerous statistics about the job-creation potential of the proposed arts center project. Bloomquist, in the "Summary of Economic Impact Analysis" within the grant application, estimated the project would create a total of 282 jobs: 14 at the completed center, 75 at the adjacent hotel-restaurant complex, 171 related to local

Figure 1.13. Excavation work was one of the first tasks in the construction of the Sangre de Cristo Arts Center, a long-anticipated addition to downtown Pueblo. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-1380, John Suhay Collection)*

conventions, and 22 in retailing. He also noted, of the total $1.4 million in construction costs, $500,000 would be paid in local construction salaries and the remainder would be spent locally for materials, supplies, and equipment. The grant application also emphasized the economic impact of the proposed arts center in drawing citizens and visitors alike to the new facility. Comparing Pueblo's planned cultural complex with those in Colorado Springs and Little Rock, Arkansas, Bloomquist predicted, in its second or third year, the new Pueblo arts center would draw a total of 250,000 visitors. This total included individuals using the classrooms and studios, plus attending exhibits, meetings, conferences, and theater performances.

The application, after making the case for the economic importance of the proposed arts center, focused on the potential to transform Pueblo culturally, aesthetically, and architecturally. Local officials claimed the new facility would make the city not only more "attractive to the many doctors, their wives, and other talented people who have refused, in the past, to come here because the cultural life is nil" but also better educated, drawing "people of all ages and from all walks of life."[91] The application stated the new arts center would make downtown Pueblo a more urban place and improve the image of the city, especially its appearance from Interstate 25, contrasting the "current view from the freeway…of Pueblo's 'back' door" to a transformed "new and modern 'front' door" after construction is complete.[92] The architects' plan for the new complex was described as featuring a "southwest Indian and/or Mexican-American architectural motif and symbolism so important to the Pueblo Region, where 25 to 30 percent of the citizens are of Indian, Mexican, and Spanish background."[93] Bloomquist concluded the project would represent a "major achievement of environmental design."[94]

The Sangre de Cristo Arts and Convention Center opened to the public on June 3, 1972, three months ahead of schedule. Over 1,000 individuals attended the dedication ceremony where Governor John A. Love spoke, congratulating "those who dreamed the dream and brought it to this conclusion" and first lady Ann Love was responsible for the ribbon cutting.[95] As promised in the grant application, the completed center featured numerous contributions from the local public and professionals. Pueblo-based architects submitted the architectural plans and a local firm, H.W. Houston Construction, completed all the building work. The Service League, a women's group that had been active since 1963 in the campaign to create an arts center, donated a custom made chandelier for the arts center lobby.

The first artist-in-residence was local steel worker-turned photographer John Suhay. The Pueblo Chamber of Commerce had offices in the arts center and managed the conference facilities, leading Duncan Pollock, art critic for the *Rocky Mountain News*, to compliment the center for striking "an all too rare alliance between business and the arts;" he also praised the new facility's "strong, contemporary architectural lines."[96] The successful arts center received its first expansion—the addition of three galleries, a gift shop, and a small children's museum—in 1982 and the complex currently features the Buell Children's Museum and Jackson Sculpture Garden. The center proved to be a major employer; in 2011 there are seventeen full-time and twenty-six part-time employees, sixty class instructors, and 125 volunteers engaged in a wide variety of artistic and cultural endeavors at the site.

The arts center was the only portion of the urban renewal plan for downtown Pueblo that was actually executed prior to 1982. This spared the city from the destructive effects of urban

renewal that scarred so many other communities in Colorado and across the country. Since urban renewal and the resulting federal funding proved locally unpopular, downtown merchants engaged in much smaller changes to modernize their businesses. Common alterations executed between the 1950s and the 1970s included canted entries, larger display windows, and installation of more visible signage. Some owners constructed blonde brick or faux stone integrated planters along the façade, a popular treatment in domestic architecture during the late-1950s and early-1960s. Most of the alterations to downtown buildings, intended to make the businesses more competitive with new commercial outlets in Pueblo's suburban shopping centers, favored modern materials such as metal and neon and sought to give the historic buildings a sleeker, more streamlined appearance. This modernization treatment was not restricted exclusively to downtown Pueblo. Merchants with nineteenth and early-twentieth century buildings in other small commercial districts throughout the city also sought to make their establishments appear more modern in order to attract or retain customers.

Government facilitated the American dream, making it a reality for most citizens in postwar Pueblo. Without huge investments in infrastructure, cities could not modernize and support the ever-expanding baby boom population. Water diversion and control efforts, like the Fry-Ark project, were the first critical step. Controlling water allowed cities across the arid west to develop into economic powerhouses. Transportation infrastructure was another key component of government investment. Airports and highways served a demographic increasingly dependent on rapid movement. Though Pueblo's early success was dependent on a rail link, the last passenger train pulled out of Pueblo in 1967. Still today, steel rails are critical to serving Pueblo's industry. Like many cities, Pueblo put its faith in postwar planning. The URA struggled to transform downtown Pueblo from a nineteenth century city center. Regional planner Bloomquist was an idealist, someone who thought infrastructure and planning could foster the American dream. And, in many ways and even though neither the Union Avenue nor downtown plans were fully executed, he was right. A wide variety of investments in Pueblo infrastructure laid the ground work for key factors within the American dream: job growth, homes, schools, bowling alleys, drive-ins, and shopping malls.

Figure 1.14. More accustomed to being behind the camera, John Suhay was responsible for documenting Pueblo's daily life during the 1950s through the late-1970s. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-3238, John Suhay Collection)*

Chapter 2

Work

Given the profound experience of the Great Depression, having steady employment became an even more important part of the American dream from the 1940s forward. Work meant security, stability, and solvency. The paycheck was necessary to live, but the sense of purpose that accompanies a job defined one's self-worth. Ray Talbot, the Pueblo City Commissioner for Parks and Highways from 1932 to 1946, recognized just this advantage of the New Deal work programs:

> The more or less hidden value of Work Relief Jobs of course will be many times greater (than brick and mortar projects)…we have…maintained the morale and industrial skills of the unemployed, contributed to community tranquility, afforded the citizens with healthful and constructive employment of which they are not ashamed, stabilized real estate values by public improvements, and put millions of dollars through trade channels.[97]

Pueblo was particularly hard-hit by the Great Depression. All of the pillars of Pueblo's economy—mining, manufacturing, and agriculture—faced a collapse of world markets. Pueblo manufacturing output declined by a third from 1929 and 1933, with local businesses laying off employees in the face of decreasing demand. Adverse weather conditions associated with the Dust Bowl made agricultural troubles more acute and particularly affected small-business owners who supplied farmers and ranchers from the surrounding areas. In addition, the community was still recovering from the devastating effects of the 1921 Flood. The infrastructure projects associated with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Civil Works Administration (CWA), and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) provided exactly the types of infrastructure improvements Pueblo needed. Pueblo officials were justifiably supportive of work relief programs such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA), and dedicated limited tax revenues and hastily passed bond issue proceeds to provide the required local match and construction materials. Outside the city there also were a number of Conservation Construction Corps (CCC) camps.

For all of these reasons combined, the Pueblo-area had one of the highest participation levels in federal work relief programs from 1933 to 1940, with approximately 3,500 workers within the City and County of Pueblo earning paychecks from these New Deal federal programs.[98] March 1938 represented the peak of work relief employment in the city when there were 3,402 individuals working on federal building projects.[99] The community also took advantage of available relief quite quickly, as evidenced by CWA photographs of ongoing and completed work featuring dates just six to eight months after President Roosevelt assumed office. The total money spent in the Pueblo area on about 150 New Deal projects equaled $4.2 million.

The accounts below of two of the three major Pueblo employers, the Pueblo Ordnance Depot and Colorado Fuel & Iron (CF&I), illustrate how important wartime industries were to

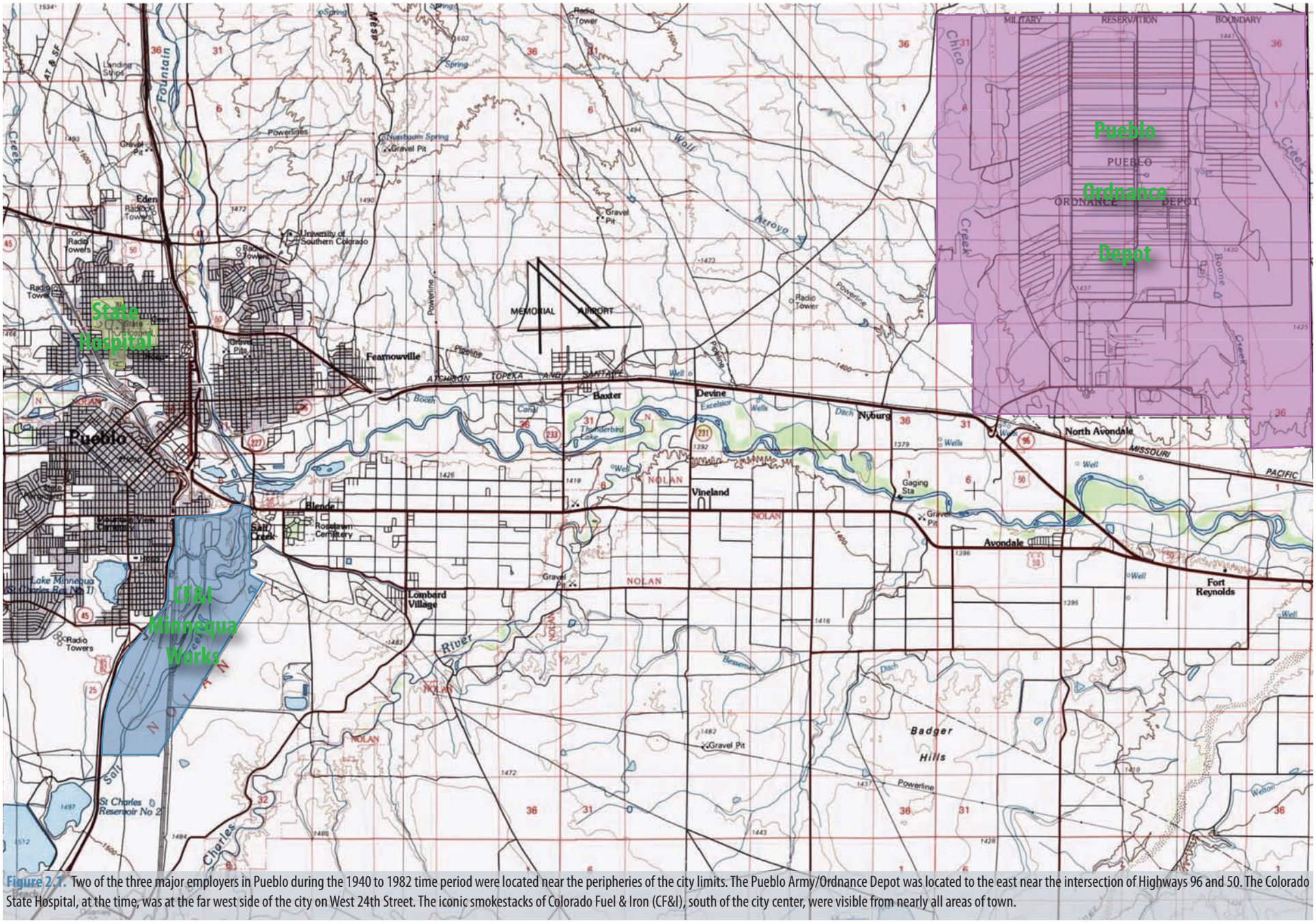

Figure 2.1. Two of the three major employers in Pueblo during the 1940 to 1982 time period were located near the peripheries of the city limits. The Pueblo Army/Ordnance Depot was located to the east near the intersection of Highways 96 and 50. The Colorado State Hospital, at the time, was at the far west side of the city on West 24th Street. The iconic smokestacks of Colorado Fuel & Iron (CF&I), south of the city center, were visible from nearly all areas of town.

ending the Great Depression. Numerous wartime manufacturing plants, military installations, and defense industries developed facilities west of the Mississippi River during the 1940s. This escalation of wartime production, in turn, had an effect upon small businesses, where the employees of these major employers shopped. According to historian Gerald D. Nash, the western economy made more advances during the four years of war than it had during the previous forty years of peace.[100] California Governor Earl Warren, in 1944, claimed, "anyone who has had the opportunity to travel and consult with western business, finance, and industrial leaders during the past year has been heartened by the atmosphere of expectancy, faith, and determination which is everywhere encountered."[101] Pueblo officials, boosters, and business leaders saw no reason their community could not take advantage of this new-found interest in and vitality of the western United States. They publicized Pueblo as an important rail and transportation hub with easy access to all the necessary raw materials—coal, lumber, natural gas, and water—for postwar economic development.

Employment was a theme of local advertisements appearing immediately after the end of World War II. The Southern Colorado Power Company took out a half-page space in the newspaper that showed a smiling G.I. holding up a Japanese flag with the words "Jap Defeat." The copy stated:

> You've done a great job! YOU saw a job to do and You did it…. NOW it's up to US. You need Jobs and Good Living and the AMERICAN WAY. We want all of our folks back in their jobs because there's lots of work to be done….[102]

Crews-Beggs department store, in another advertisement, sought to calm the fears of returning GIs regarding the availability of jobs. They claimed tales of unemployment represented "foolish fears" and reassured soldiers those losing their jobs now were women, older men, and students, all individuals who would be glad to be unemployed if it meant life getting back to normal and men returning from war. The company claimed, "the period of unemployment (for returning soldiers) will be brief, PROVIDED we have FAITH (and) CONFIDENCE. Confidence we are living in the greatest country in the world and on the verge of the greatest era of prosperity this great country will ever experience."[103]

Available jobs in postwar Pueblo were, in many ways, very similar to those in the community prior to World War II or, more accurately, before the onset of the Great Depression. Returning soldiers and newcomers could apply at Walter's Brewery, a community institution and beer maker based in Pueblo from the late-1860s until 1975, or the Alpha-Beta Packing Plant, another long-time employer with a Pueblo operation from 1891 until 1980. Another manufacturing option was the Triplex Federation of America plant, the largest aluminum piston manufacturer in the world during the late-1940s and early-1950s. Puebloans also worked for School District 60, at Parkview or St. Mary Corwin hospitals, for the City or the County, and numerous small private employers. Yet, three places remained the major employers throughout the 1940 to 1982 period: the Pueblo Ordnance Depot, Colorado State Hospital, and Colorado Fuel & Iron/CF&I Steel Corporation.

Pueblo Ordnance Depot

Originally considered a temporary military installation, the Pueblo Ordnance Depot became a seemingly permanent local industry that some claimed rescued the community from both the Great Depression and its status as a one-industry town. Established in 1942, it was a storage and maintenance

Figure 2.2. The Pueblo Ordnance Depot, one of Pueblo's major employers, had a facility similar to a small city. There were miles of roads, a railroad connection, a bus service, a private security force, and several clubs for the employees to join. This undated image shows some of the many industrial buildings on the site. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo City-County Library District, Western History Collection)*

site for vehicles, machines, tools, guns, and ammunition. Pueblo's sunshine, low humidity, high elevation, and continental interior location were ideal for the storage of such war materiel and the Pueblo facility became one of the United States Army's largest ordnance depots. It was located on 28,000 acres of land about twelve miles outside the city limits on a parcel purchased from the Thatcher family for $1.50 per acre in accordance with the first War Powers Act of 1941 and Executive Order Number 9001. The Corps of Engineers constructed ammunition "igloos," that, from photographs, seemed to be based upon a basic Quonset hut design. These igloos covered several acres and stored "enough high explosive to blow much of Colorado off the map."[104] However, the storage huts were arranged to prevent the spread of any unintended explosion from igloo to igloo.

In April 1942, the Army Ordnance Corps took control of the depot and by August the facility received its first load of ammunition for storage. There were 1,200 depot employees in 1942, and this number grew steadily during World War II. Amidst wartime worker shortages, a number of women filled truck driver positions vacated by male employees fighting overseas. Depot motor training officer Lieutenant M.R. Shunk claimed "The manner in which [the women] have responded in this and other war-time capacities here spells sure death for the Axis. I wish Hitler and Tojo could take a tour of this depot and see how American women react to totalitarian ideas of how a world should be run. They'd get the shock of their life."[105] While most of the wartime workers were from Pueblo and the surrounding communities, Italian Prisoners of War captured in the North African campaign also were assigned here; some of these POWs befriended local Italian families, with a few even marrying and remaining in Pueblo after the war.

In the postwar period, this facility became an equipment maintenance and repair site. In 1948, a former warehouse was converted for reconditioning trucks and tanks; elsewhere at the depot workers renovated and demilitarized ammunition. By 1949 the depot had become the ammunition distribution center for six states, expanding to a ten-state site in 1951. By 1952 the depot "had boomed into a billion-dollar installation" and had approximately 8,000 civilian workers.[106]

The depot transported 2,700 workers from Trinidad and Walsenburg and became a model for cities nationwide coping with transportation challenges and housing shortages. The depot functioned like a small city, with roadways and other hard surfaces covering an area equivalent to the distance between Pueblo and Cheyenne, Wyoming. The facility had its own ten-minute bus service to transport workers around the depot grounds. In addition, there was a railroad system with four switch engines and fifty-eight miles of track, allowing for the importation of used or damaged material and exportation of renovated items to Army facilities across the country. The depot also had its own security force with both radio control cars and at least seventy-five guards.

For the employees there were a number of clubs. The Business and Professional Women's Club was established in 1952 to encourage both personal development and community involvement. Many female non-employees participated in the Women's Auxiliary to the Depot Officers' Club.

The depot continued to provide vital support during the Cold War era. During the 1960s the depot modernized, introducing an IBM computerized system to reduce paperwork and accounting. Construction of the guided missile maintenance building, completed in 1961, allowed depot employees to work on Sergeant, Pershing, Redstone, and ENTAC missile sys-

tems. In 1962, the name of this key employer changed from the Pueblo Ordnance Depot to the Pueblo Army Depot, but its mission remained the same. By 1966, only the depot worked on Sergeant and Pershing missiles and the facility also added maintenance for Nike Hercules and Ajax plus Hawk air defense missile systems; a special "super clean room" was constructed for exclusive operations on these weapons. The depot also continued to service conventional military supplies and, in 1966, it started storing fixed and floating engineering bridges.

There were a total of 3,800 employees at the depot in 1967. Like so many other workers in Pueblo, the employees at the depot unionized. President Kennedy signed Executive Order Number 10988 in July 1962 allowing union organizing at federal facilities. Between 1965 and 1969, three unions established five units. The Boiler and Domestic Heating unit workers were members of the Laborers' International Union of North America; the guards, firefighters, and communication center staff belonged to the American Federal of Government Employees; and the National Association of Government Employees represented all other depot workers except supervisory managers. The year 1967 also was significant as the silver anniversary for the depot. A published history of the facility from 1942 to 1967 claimed the annual payroll had averaged $25 million, for a total of $625 million during the depot's existence. Based upon a multiplier of four, the author calculated the depot exerted a yearly economic impact of approximately $100 million on the Pueblo economy.[107] As one of the city's three major employers, this trend continued into the 1970s and early-1980s.

More mechanization and computerization came on site in the 1970s. In 1971, the depot opened a $1 million radiographic facility. It also became a repository for Army historical properties in that same year. In 1972, there were a total of 2,706 employees; 16 percent were women and nearly 50 percent were minorities, mostly Hispanics. At that time approximately 27 percent of Pueblo's population was Hispanic and less than 2 percent were African American. The depot also kept statistics for the promotion of Spanish-surnamed employees, noting that 10 percent of all such federal workers employed in high-level non-supervisory grades were based at the Pueblo facility. By 1974, the depot had 15.3 percent female employees and an internal publication noted the promotion of one woman to a "leader" positing, indicating "each female advanced in the blue collar field is considered a significant gain since it is usually in work traditionally occupied by men."[108] That same year there were nearly 52 percent minority workers at the depot and nearly 55 percent of promotions were awarded to Spanish-surnamed employees.

In the period after the Vietnam War, the number of depot employees decreased gradually. In 1982, the facility was renamed Pueblo Depot Activity. The total closure of the depot facility was announced in 1988, but there have been substantial delays in developing and executing a clean-up plan for the Pueblo Chemical Depot, as the site is currently known.

Colorado State Hospital

The second major Pueblo employer in the postwar period was the Colorado State Hospital.[109] From 1939 to 1941, there were a total of 4,567 patients at the facility. Although the number of workers was not noted for this same period, the Colorado State Hospital biennial report for 1945 documented a total of 160 hospital employees, including sixteen women, who served in World War II; three hospital workers were killed in action.[110] In 1949, there were fifty-six medical doctors work-

ing at the hospital. Patient over-crowding became more of a problem over time. In 1955, the official capacity of the facility was less than 4,900 beds but 5,720 patients were being treated at the hospital. The facility had its peak of both employees, (2,201) and patients (6,100) in 1961. There were 2,506 patients in March 1967. In 1971, there were 1,721 full-time and 149 part-time workers. By 1979, the hospital employed a staff of 1,400, with 900 workers engaged in patient care, and a total payroll in excess of $20 million. At the same time there were approximately 5,000 patients, although only about 800 at a time received inpatient care.

Established in 1879 as the Colorado Insane Asylum, there were 113 Civil Works Administration (CWA) and Works Progress Administration (WPA) improvement projects completed on the hospital site during the New Deal era. These included dormitories, the Superintendent's House, 1,200 feet of stone walls, cow barns, chicken houses, a greenhouse, a milk pasteurizing plant, storage buildings, garages, a paint shop, a maintenance shop, three miles of curb and gutter, over a half mile of sidewalks, two miles of paved roads, and repairs to numerous existing facilities. Many of the new buildings and walls utilized stone from a hospital-leased quarry near Beulah, Colorado. Throughout the 1930s, the hospital facility, geographically isolated from Pueblo, operated much as its own self-contained

Figure 2.3. This image of the Female Building at the Colorado State Hospital was taken December 26, 1950. The four-story, brick, modest International Style building features a central bay with strong horizontal elements and recessed windows. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo City-County Library District, Western History Collection)*

community, with nearly all of the employees living on site. However, in 1940 Colorado Governor Ralph Carr offered housing allowances of fifteen dollars per month and over 300 employees chose to rent outside the hospital gates; this trend continued over time with more hospital workers choosing to rent or buy homes in Pueblo. Yet, there is no evidence that there was demand to build any new subdivisions or neighborhoods on the west side of Pueblo specifically to accommodate hospital workers. Similarly, there were no new shopping centers developed for this segment of the population. The hospital continued to provide on-site benefits to their employees, erecting a 25,000 square foot employees' cafeteria in 1940 and, over time, numerous lounges and libraries in the administrative buildings.

There also were changes over time to the programs offered and buildings erected at the hospital. Patients deemed well enough were allowed to work while receiving hospital treatment. Two popular options were the cannery, established in the early-1940s but closed soon after based upon fears of food contamination, and the 120-acre dairy farm located two miles west of the hospital where patients worked until 1962. In 1942, the hospital established a training program for psychiatric nursing. Two years later the facility welcomed their first class of diatetic interns from Colorado General Hospital in Denver and, by 1960, there were over 106 graduates of this program. In 1953, the hospital erected two six-story buildings for their geriatric patients; at that time 60 percent of the patients were over fifty and 20 percent were over seventy. In 1961, male and female patients were allowed to eat in the same dining room for the first time. The facility dedicated its new General Hospital Building on January 15, 1965, and the same year opened a children's day care center and a gymnasium-recreation building. The hospital instituted an innovative scheme to save energy in 1966, using a mixture of Pueblo's shredded trash and coal to fire boilers for heating and air-conditioning. The Chapel of Hope, first envisioned in 1963, was finally completed in 1978. By the time the hospital celebrated its centennial in 1979, the following specialties were present at the facility: the Geriatric Treatment Center, the Child and Adolescent Treatment Center, the General Adult Psychiatric Service, the Drug and Alcohol Treatment Center, and the Institute for Forensic Psychiatry, the "only psychiatric treatment unit in the state of Colorado for the treatment of the mentally disordered criminal offender."[111] There was also a ninety-six bed hospital and numerous administrative and support service buildings. That same year the hospital received funding from a National Institute of Mental Health grant to establish a Hispanic Treatment program. The amount the hospital invested in its patients increased dramatically over time, rising from an average of $6 per day in 1961 to $94 per day in 1979.

Operations at the hospital changed drastically in 1962. In the mid-1950s, Colorado Governor Stephen McNichols became concerned about the number of patients who had been housed at the Colorado State Hospital for twenty or thirty years with no plans for their discharge. In 1958, representatives from the National Institute of Mental Health; the National Institute of Health; the Public Health Service; and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare conducted a study of mental health care in the state. The twenty-one page report included recommendations to address the high number of patients, poor administration practices, and lack of communication at the Colorado State Hospital. As a result of this research, the state established a second state mental health facility at Fort Logan in Denver in 1961 and decentralized the Pueblo fa-

cility. Decentralization was intended to change the image of Colorado State Hospital as a holding facility and to dramatically reduce the amount of time patients remained in institutional care. In 1961, the average stay at the state hospital was a staggering sixteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days.[112]

New hospital superintendent Dr. Willis H. Bower and his staff spent an entire year preparing to move the vast majority of the patients out of residential care on the hospital grounds. For three days in March of 1962, soldiers from nearby Fort Carson assisted in moving patients. Despite all the planning and hard work involved in its execution, the process of decentralization was not without its detractors. In May 1962, a grand jury investigation based upon complaints concluded, "The new philosophy of an open hospital along with the privileges given to patients had opened up new freedoms for them, some of which were not readily accepted by community or staff."[113] However, in 1966 the American Psychiatric Association awarded the Colorado State Hospital its Silver Award for reduction of patient census through decentralization. That same year Governor John A. Love praised the hospital for its "national reputation" and being "in the vanguard of the concept of treatment rather than custody."[114] Marking the more open approach to mental health care, the last section of fencing around the hospital was removed on June 18, 1969.[115]

Both with and without fencing, the hospital dealt with escapees. The 1941 biennial report indicated there had been 202 escapes, the most in the institution's history. It attributed this number to the introduction of "open" wards and the assigning of patients to work projects across the hospital grounds. A 1972 grand jury charged the hospital with mismanagement, citing a total of 250 escapes (although this number included multiple escapes by the same individuals) between January 1968 and October 1971. On June 7, 1974, ten patients escaped the "Old Max" by breaking windows with hacksaw blades and cutting through fencing; all of these patients were returned, some after a few days and others by the end of the month. The administration responded by firing the hospital police chief, although Superintendent Dr. Charles Meredith defended his leadership, noting, "I took over the job from a superintendent who had begun to change the state hospital from its old 'snake pit' custodial image into a modern psychiatric hospital."[116]

Issues of lack of funding at the hospital were a recurring theme over the institution's long history. Superintendent Dr. Frank Zimmerman, the longest serving leader at the facility who held the head post from 1928 to 1960, often had to fight for money from the Legislature. He "would resort to reaching for his keys and telling Colorado lawmakers if they didn't give him the money to do the proper job, 'they could have the keys and run the place themselves.'"[117] In 1952, he demanded "realistic" pay for all hospital employees, and by July 1957 he obtained both a salary increase and a five-day work week for all hospital employees except the doctors. In May 1974, Colorado Governor John D. Vanderhoof acknowledged problems with morale, food quality, cleanliness, and staffing levels.

These working conditions and other grievances forced members of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) union working at the hospital to strike from July 25 through August 3, 1974. Approximately 100 to 150 workers walked the picket line. After a single day of the strike, the governor demanded all striking employees return to work or face legal action and called union organizers "outsiders" who should "go home and let Colorado and its citizenry solve their problems."[118] Less than a week later the hos-

Figure 2.4. Despite the long wartime work hours, CF&I employees made time for fun. This group shot was taken at a Christmas party at the Vail Hotel on December 22, 1943. The high percentage of women employees at this event was an indication of how many females were employed in wartime production at the mill. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-09-0153, John Suhay Historical Collection)*

pital administration announced their intention to send letters of dismissal to all employees who had missed five or more consecutive days of work without permission. However, two days later, on August 3, 1974, it was the workers who were victorious. The union signed a six-point Memorandum of Understanding with the hospital that granted the workers higher salaries, contained an administration pledge to hire more staff, and addressed all union member concerns. Union officials were "elated over being the first union in Colorado history to negotiate a signed document with the State on behalf of public employees."[119] While there were still worries about budget cuts and job losses and union members occasionally threatened the administration with work stoppages, there was never another strike at the hospital.

Colorado Fuel & Iron

Of all Pueblo's numerous employers, CF&I was the most important not in the number of individuals it employed or the goods it produced, but instead in the strong sense of identity it provided. Pueblo was known as the "Steel City" because of CF&I. The iconic smokestacks of CF&I made Pueblo home to its residents and seem like an anachronistic industrial hub for other Coloradoans and tourists alike who expected the Centennial State to be exclusively schussing skiers and snow-capped mountains.

The numbers at CF&I over time indicate the boom and bust nature of both industrial employment and production at the company. Basically, when production was high so was employment. When demand dropped, production slowed, and the plant laid-off employees. The 1930s witnessed a dramatic reduction in rail production, one of CF&I's main products, and 1933 represented the depth of the Great Depression for the company. CF&I's wartime orders, even before United States forces entered the conflict, caused a rapid increase in overall productivity. The Pueblo plant was operating at only 42.5 percent of capacity in 1939, but this figure rose dramatically when CF&I received its first orders for 155 millimeter shells from the U.S. Army Ordnance Department in May 1940. Production climbed to 79.7 percent of capacity in 1941 and continued this upward trajectory: 97.6 percent in 1942, 101 percent in 1943, and 111.4 percent in 1944.[120]

Increased wartime demand required construction of new facilities at the mill. The company built a $625,000 forge plant to begin production of bullets. A new furnace, costing $900,000 to build, was completed in late-1941. In March 1942, CF&I constructed the Minnequa Canal, a system of over 24,000 feet of new pipeline, to carry Arkansas River water to a reservoir south of the steel plant. The federal government paid for a new blast furnace, numerous coke ovens, a steam plant, and a benzol-recovery unit and leased this facility to CF&I until the war ended.

CF&I faced labor shortages during World War II. A total of 2,629 men and eighteen women who worked at the company left employment temporarily to serve in the armed forces. Like many other industries faced with wartime labor shortages, the Pueblo plant started hiring women in much greater numbers. Initially these female new hires were employed in clerical positions and the machine shops. But, eventually, they worked wherever needed in the plant. In an apparent nod to gender equality, but more likely as an indication of just how acute local labor shortages were, the company promised women "would not be barred from any job simply because they were females."[121] In August 1943, CF&I initiated the forty-eight-hour work week, offering time-and-a- half pay for overtime. They

Figure 2.5. In Pueblo, belching steel stacks at CF&I were a good sign for both employment and the overall economy. During World War II production capacity climbed dramatically from 79.7 percent in 1941 to 111.4 percent in 1944. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-0408, John Suhay Collection)*

also hired soldiers stationed at the Pueblo Air Base to work part-time, but labor shortages continued both in the mill and at the mines until the end of war.[122]

Despite labor shortages, CF&I employees were extremely productive. Workers on the shell production line received the Army-Navy E Award in both 1942 and 1943 for their tremendous level of efficiency and contribution to the nation's military effort. One reason the workers were so efficient had to do with CF&I innovation; the machine redesign and methods first employed in Pueblo allowed all shell manufacturers across the county to meet or exceed the army's artillery requirements. Yet, making shells remained hot, noisy work and employees in this unit were required to rest for fifteen minutes of every hour shift. Despite these restrictions, in 1944 CF&I employees set the world record for 155 millimeter shell production. In six days, with three shifts per day, 500 employees produced 27,844 shells. At war's end the company had made 3.5 million projectiles, using materials from both their fully operational mines and community scrap metal drives. CF&I required 2,000 tons of iron and steel each day to remain in full production and Pueblo citizens were reminded junking a single car yielded enough materials to produce ten 155 millimeter shells.

While labor conflicts were greatly reduced during World War II, there still were threats of work stoppages in CF&I's coals

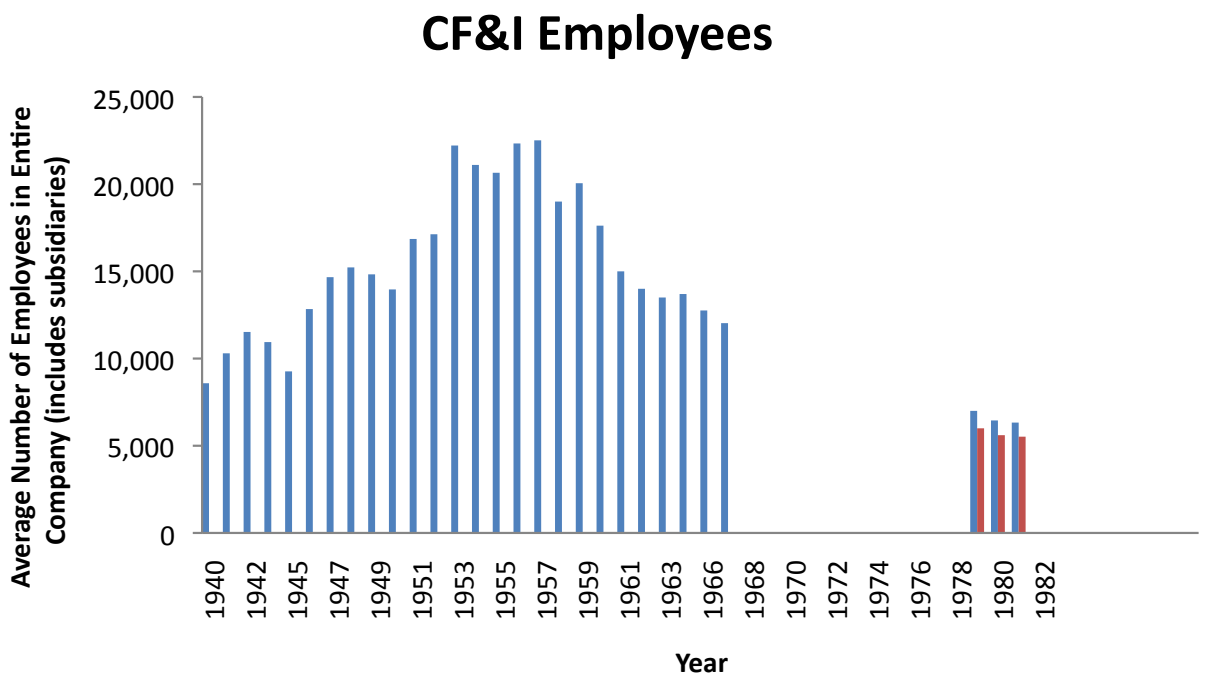

Figure 2.6. CF&I has always been the major employer in Pueblo. This graph shows total company employment in blue and Pueblo employment, as available, in red. The peak years for both company and Pueblo employee numbers occurred in the 1950s. *(Sources: Bessemer Historical Society and CF&I annual reports in clipping files at Pueblo City-County Library, Western History Collection)*

mines. Concerns about the effect of a strike on wartime production caused the federal government to seize control of the company's mines in May 1943. It returned them to CF&I approximately three months later when the workers, who never actually went on strike, agreed to the union-negotiated offer of a $1.50 per day pay increase and paid vacations. The company was in a position to afford such largesse, enjoying net profits of $2 million in 1941 and 1942. Even after taxes were deducted, CF&I made $1.4 million in 1943 and $1.7 million in 1944.

Increases in wartime workers had relatively little impact upon the built environment near the mill. There were five subdivisions—Pierson, Colorado Fuel & Iron's Company, Thurman, Minnequa Town, and Cyril Zupan—platted near CF&I between 1940 and 1943. All of these subdivisions were quite small, ranging in size from ten to thirty lots, and most not experiencing complete build-out until the late-1950s or 1960s. Similarly, there were few if any new businesses constructed to service the CF&I area and its many employees. Instead, steel workers and their families continued to shop at existing stores, many taking advantage of the streetcar that did not stop running in Pueblo until 1947. Merchants realized how important CF&I-related shoppers were to the local economy. In October 1963 the Midtown Shopping Center sponsored "Steel Week," where all of the stores featured signage reminding shoppers about the variety of items made from steel within their individual shops. There were established commercial areas along Northern and Mesa avenues near CF&I. However, these businesses were located mostly within late-nineteenth century buildings. Into the 1950s and 1960s, some of the owners of the

commercial buildings closer to CF&I, like their fellow merchants in Pueblo's downtown, chose to modernize their shop fronts to attract more customers.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who sensed the end of wartime production highs growing near, sold CF&I to Allen & Company on December 23, 1944, for over 50 percent of the common stock shares plus cash. The total cost of the transaction was equivalent to $12 million. In January 1945, Charles Allen, Jr., an investment banker and chair of the Wickwire-Spencer Steel Company, took over at CF&I and was at the helm when World War II ended. He was optimistic about CF&I's future, citing the fact the company had both a strong postwar position and the capacity to employ wartime facility improvements and increased mechanization to making new products and profits. However, the war also introduced new regional competition. Kaiser Steel Company built a new production facility at Fontana, California, in 1942 to supply steel plates for building navy ships at plants along the west coast. A subsidiary of U.S. Steel Corporation also built another new plant, known as the Geneva Works, in Provo, Utah. For a brief time Kaiser and Allen sought to merge these three western facilities to form a "steel colossus" and end dependence upon the established east coast industry.[123] However, Kaiser dropped out of these negotiations, leaving CF&I to bid unsuccessfully for the Geneva plant in February 1946. Instead the federal government granted the Provo facility to its parent company, U.S. Steel. Fortunately, this acquisition had little effect on either CF&I or Pueblo's economy since the two steel companies produced noncompeting product lines.

This potential merger illustrated how the steel industry in the western United States emerged from the war much more competitive. Eastern steel companies resented this competition, but westerners welcomed the changes along with increased petroleum exploration and modifications to transportation patterns. Westerners had long wanted a more diverse economy and "the war did not end such dreams, of course, but rather opened new vistas for the future. By 1945, westerners were actively engaged in planning for a still brighter future."[124] CF&I seemed to be engaged in the same goals of diversification and expansion. In July 1946, the company merged with Allen's Wickwire-Spenser Steel Company in order to expand both their product line and their geographic reach. Rail production had been over 70 percent of the company's sales during the pre-war period but, in efforts to diversify, railroad orders represented approximately 30 percent of CF&I's output in the postwar era. In 1949, the company built a new rod mill for making nails, fencing, netting, welded fabric, and numerous types of wire. In 1951, CF&I acquired a Delaware plant that produced both carbon and stainless steel plates and oil and gas transportation pipes. The next year the company purchased the John A. Roebling and Sons Corporation, famed builders of the Brooklyn Bridge, to make electric wire, cable, and wire rope. All of these new materials were much in-demand during the post-World War II home building boom and economic expansion.

CF&I engaged in wartime production yet again in 1950, this time for the Korean War. The plant produced over 800,000 tons of pig iron in 1951 and a million tons in 1953. This high-carbon, brittle raw material was turned into steel and then manufactured into barbed wire and sent to Korea. The Pueblo plant's high carbon steel was transformed into shell forgings.

CF&I finally shifted to peacetime production in 1953. Due to the high cost of extraction and low levels of production, the company closed all its old coal mines, including all six active at

Figure 2.7. Like many neighborhood commerical buildings in Pueblo, this cottage at 1110 Lake Street had thick stone lintels over the windows before getting a postwar flagstone makeover complete with inset planter. In 1929, a grocer lived here; in 1960 it hosted Coleman Electric Company. *(Wade Broadhead)*

the end of World War II, by the early-1960s. A new, highly-mechanized coal mine, opened in 1950 near Weston, Colorado, "was hailed as one of the nation's most modern plants for the extraction of bituminous coal."[125] The mine was capable of covering CF&I's coal supply for the immediate future and the company was in the enviable position of owning properties that supplied them with nearly all of the raw materials for making both iron and steel. This situation allowed the company to enjoy "a long period of relatively unbroken prosperity."[126]

The only major union action at CF&I during the 1940 to 1982 period occurred in 1959 when members of Local 2012 of the United Steelworkers of America joined a nationwide strike. A total of 8,000 Pueblo workers walked out for 116 days. Each day between 100 and 150 striking workers walked picket lines at the Indiana Avenue and Main Street gates of CF&I; newspaper accounts indicate relations between strikers and remaining workers were amiable and there were no reports of violence in Pueblo. Soon after steel workers walked out, a quarter-page advertisement from the Steel Companies Coordinating Committee, representing management at all of the nation's major steel producers, appeared in the *Pueblo Star-Journal*. It tried to convince readers the strikers' demands for higher wages were unreasonable and ultimately would negatively impact all Americans by increasing everyone's cost of living.[127] However, given the number of CF&I employees in Pueblo, public sympathies seemed to be squarely with the workers. By mid-August the national union was contributing nearly $10,000 per week to Pueblo's striking workers, with additional hardship contributions available from Catholic Charities and Family Service. Local banks and creditors also granted extensions for debts striking workers owed. As the strike continued, additional support for the CF&I union members came from the employees of the Colorado Springs Building Trades association who, on September 25, 1959, sent a truck containing over $500 worth of groceries to the Pueblo steelworkers.

Four days later, United States Representative J. Edgar Chenoweth waded into the conflict, sending a telegram to President Dwight D. Eisenhower. In this correspondence the legislator stated, "I have been in Pueblo for two days and have talked to many steelworkers and businessmen. The time has come to settle the strike as quickly as possible. Pueblo's steelworkers…must return to work—it is essential."[128] Despite Chenoweth's plea and Eisenhower's involvement, the strike continued until early-November, when the United States Supreme Court upheld the validity of the Taft-Hartley Act and ordered all strikers back to work. Efforts to get the mill and mines up to full operation started immediately, but took several weeks to complete. In the wake of the strike, County Commissioners requested $50,000 in state emergency disaster funds to continue to assist all striking workers until CF&I returned to full operations; the prolonged strike had depleted all Pueblo County welfare funds and the department now possessed a large deficit as well. Local businessmen expressed enthusiasm for the end of the strike, with Carl Cooper, assistant manager at the King Soopers remarking, "We are glad indeed that the boys are going back to work. It means that they will have some spending money for Christmas."[129]

The use of the Taft-Hartley Act, a law unions considered a "slave labor act," to settle the steelworkers' strike of 1959 indicated the waning influence of the union movement nationwide.[130] After experiencing its height of participation in 1945, when 35.5 percent of non-agricultural workers belonged to a labor union, national union membership declined steadily

from the mid-1950s onward. While many industrial workers realized working conditions were far from ideal, "they were delighted to have the means to buy homes, cars, and household conveniences…. Those who became parents—a commonplace experience in the baby boom era—came to expect that their children would enjoy a better world than the one they themselves had grown up in."[131] Indeed the workers were able to achieve the American dream.

In the 1960s, CF&I put the memories of the 1959 strike behind them and continued its modernization and diversification efforts. The company was one of the first steel plants in America to build a basic-oxygen furnace in 1961. This innovation represented a shift away from the old open-hearth methods, allowing for speedier processing and more production. On August 1, 1966, the company changed its name to CF&I Steel Corporation. This new moniker marked a break with the past and expressed exactly how the organization was making its money now:

> No longer was the firm a producer of coal and coke for the fuel trade. Iron was not an important item in its product line, except as the basic metal for making steel. In addition, the enterprise was committed to the development of new lines and functions. Through acquisitions and mergers, it hoped to manufacture alloy steels, plus heavy machinery and components.[132]

The next year CF&I purchased the Denver-based firm Silver Engineering, Inc. and started producing equipment for the sugar harvesting, food processing, and construction industries. The company experienced another major change in June 1969 when the Crane Company of New York acquired 82 percent of CF&I stock. This transaction was in keeping with CF&I's commitment to diversification since Crane was an international firm and allowed the company to get involved with new product lines: valves, pumps, water and waste treatment equipment, plumbing and heating supplies, and aerospace items.

Figure 2.8. The identity of Pueblo and CF&I were nearly one in the same. This image shows an attempt to portray the steel industry as much cleaner than it had been historically. This image appeared in a ca. 1971 Pueblo Service League and Pueblo Chamber of Commerce publication, "Pueblo…its women." *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-0289, John Suhay Collection)*

In the late-1960s, CF&I started to experience the effects of foreign competitors offering lower cost imported steel. In response, the company sold a number of their operations on the east and west coasts. In 1970, CF&I moved its corporate headquarters to Pueblo and C. Clay Crawford was the first

company president based at the Minnequa Works. The company also acquired other operations closer to their Pueblo hub: Colorado Springs-based Fountain Sand and Gravel Company in 1972, Pueblo Compressed Steel Corporation in 1973, and the Denver Metal Company in 1974. Despite, or perhaps because of, niggling concerns about foreign competitors, CF&I continued to add facilities to make the company more efficient. They constructed a new bar mill that allowed for steel production in a continuous form that then could be cut into the size and shape needed for the diversity of markets CF&I now served. The company increasingly relied upon electricity, receiving a boost when the Public Service Company of Colorado's Comanche coal-fired steam plant south of the steelworks went online in 1973.

In response to the nascent environmental movement of the 1970s and both federal and state legislation requiring reduction in air and water pollution, CF&I instituted new systems to capture emissions and treat wastewater. In 1972, Pueblo voters passed a $19 million bond issue so CF&I could build two non-polluting coal ovens and modify a third to make it more environmentally sound; this public investment allowed the company to comply more quickly with new regulations and had a positive effect on the community as a whole. Local journalist Ralph C. Taylor, in an educational publication about Pueblo, asked, "What happened to Pueblo, the dirty industrial town?" and answered his own question by claiming the city had "learned that industries do not need to be smoky and dirty." He praised CF&I for making the Pueblo facility "one of the nation's most modern" and remarked, "the State Department of Health says Pueblo's air is cleaner than that in Colorado Springs and Denver."[133]

Overall, the 1970s were a decade of boom and bust in an industry particular prone to such cycles. In the early-1970s CF&I was one of few integrated steel companies that operated at capacity. In 1976, however, the recession hit the company hard; a total of 6,000 workers, 18 percent of the work force, were laid off for three months. This reversal was only temporary and CF&I was back to full employment by the end of the year. Unfortunately, there were similar layoffs in 1977 and this time the recovery was much slower due to market competition, the lingering recession, and inflationary forces. However, by 1979 the company had remodeled their rail mill to be the most advanced in the county. This work represented the "largest single capital improvement program ever carried out at the Pueblo plant" and CF&I was proud they, unlike Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corporation, had financed this important technological advance without federal assistance.[134] CF&I had the only rail mill in the western United States and in 1979 produced 55,000 tons of rail, one-third of all rail used across the country.

Given this level of recent success, the steel collapse of the 1980s came as a profound shock to the city of Pueblo. CF&I had become so intertwined with the image and identity of the city, if the company failed then so did Pueblo. Residents, whether CF&I employees or not, were in disbelief since the steel mill always had been able to overcome challenges—labor strife, material shortages, competition—and emerge seemingly stronger.

The company's decision to institute massive job cutbacks was due to inexpensive steel imports and the lingering effects of cyclical recessions during the 1970s and 1980s. However, there were larger forces at work within the national and international steel industry. Experts were divided as to whether the causes of the collapse were primarily foreign or domestic.

Those espousing a foreign cause explained plants rebuilt after World War II, in some cases with assistance from the United States government via the Marshall Plan, were more efficient than American facilities and overseas policies allowed for dumping surplus steel on the American market. The federal government sought to protect the domestic steel industry, with President Lyndon B. Johnson initiating a Voluntary Restraint Agreement with Western European producers in 1968 and President Richard Nixon (agreement covered Japanese steel as well) and President Ronald Reagan extending these provisions in 1974 and 1981 respectively. These protections were intended to give the American steel industry time to modernize, but instead the companies chose to focus on mergers, diversification, and internationalization all intended to boost profits. Basically, they chose the option of short-term profits over long-term viability. Analysts who blamed the steel collapse on domestic causes claimed major American manufacturers focused too much on profit and refused to lower prices, forcing customers to purchase less expensive steel from overseas manufacturers. Still other experts attributed the collapse to antagonistic labor relations that prohibited worker-management cooperation to become more efficient. Also, there was the impact of domestic mini-mills, using non-union labor and making steel from scrap metal, which proved to be more nimble than the larger producers.

Ironically, CF&I's Pueblo facility witnessed an increase in profits in the early-1980s, earning $19 million in 1980 and a record-setting $39.2 million in 1982. But the declining demand for steel continued. In October 1981, CF&I shut down the major blast furnace plus several of the mill buildings and laid off 800 workers at the Pueblo plant. Believing this downturn was temporary, CF&I invested $100 million in a new continuous caster and seamless-tube mill to be completed in 1983. In the midst of this decline and continued lay-offs, local newspapers continued to carry very positive stories with headlines proclaiming, "CF&I…A bright spot in the steel industry"[135] and "Annual report shows CF&I 'strongest component' for Crane Co."[136]

Unfortunately, the papers' optimism proved misdirected and in 1982 there were more cutbacks in both production and employment. Pueblo County's unemployment rate in 1982 was an astronomical 18.1 percent; although this figure dropped to only 11 percent the following year, it was because so many former CF&I employees had left Pueblo. Those workers who retained their positions at CF&I were forced to accept pay cuts and members of the union agreed to a cost of living freeze, that also applied to management, in June 1982.

During the first quarter of 1983, CF&I lost $18 million. In May 1983 Crane Company President Robert J. Slater declined an interview request from the *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain*; the paper was forced to run a reprint of a story from the *Denver Post* under the headline "Slater: Crane will not desert CF&I in hard times."[137] But, a short seven months later, in December 1983, the company announced the permanent closure of all facilities making both pig iron and basic steel. "Approximately 2,400 workers, most of whom had been without employment at the plant since 1981, were informed that they would not be recalled."[138]

In total, over 60 percent of the steel plant's work force was laid off and Pueblo changed dramatically. "People lost their homes, parents moved in with grandparents, children moved away."[139] Unemployment neared 20 percent and the *Wall Street Journal* described the city as having an air of "sooty gloom."[140] In 1985 the Crane Company sold its controlling interest and CF&I Steel became an independent manufacturer.

Because the Army Ordnance Depot, Colorado State Hospital, and especially CF&I represented such major employers, there were always efforts in Pueblo to diversify the economy as a protection from downturns or layoffs at one or more of these key workplaces. Yet, during the entire 1940s to 1980s period, these three facilities remained the major employers for Pueblo residents. And, fortunately for the local economy, despite periodic peaks and valleys in employment levels, the jobs at these three sites remained remarkably stable. It was not until after the collapse of the steel industry in early-1980s, when CF&I ceased to exist, that a local civic organization was created specifically to attract new business and industry to Pueblo. The Pueblo Economic Development Corporation (PEDCO), established in 1982, was successful in drawing the following companies to Pueblo: Unisys, Trane Company, B.F. Goodrich, Kaiser Aerotech, and McDonnell Douglas. By 1989, the Pueblo unemployment rate had fallen dramatically from its highs in the early-1980s to a much more reasonable 8 percent in 1989.

CF&I Steel filed for bankruptcy in 1990 and three years later Oregon Steel Mills purchased the Pueblo operation, renaming it Rocky Mountain Steel Mills. In 2007, the parent company of Rocky Mountain Steel Mills, the Russian steel company Evraz Group, purchased Oregon Steel. The facility currently operates as a mini-mill that produces a limited product line of steel rails, pipes, rods, and bars. But the CF&I legacy remains alive in Pueblo. The Bessemer Historical Society is based in a small enclave of historic buildings at the former CF&I mill. Here they maintain an extensive archives, museum, and heritage complex. Among the nonprofit's other activities, the Society hosts reunions of former CF&I employees and their families. It preserves a tangible link to Pueblo's steel making history and documents the long period of time when CF&I was the major employer in the city.

Many citizens learned the value of work during the Great Depression when they accepted jobs with New Deal relief programs active in the Pueblo area. Despite poor economic times, these individuals shared a profound belief in the existence of the American dream and their ability, eventually, to achieve it for themselves. Wartime and postwar jobs—with the Pueblo Ordnance Depot, Colorado State Hospital, CF&I, and other local employers—were particularly beneficial for reestablishing personal stability and self-worth. A large percentage of Puebloans earned the income necessary to obtain the materials rewards most associated with the American dream: homes, cars, and a wide array of new consumer goods. And, as personal finances improved, so did Pueblo's spirit and overall economy. It was in this climate of postwar prosperity the majority of Puebloans were able to achieve the American dream. Even when major employers experienced set-backs like labor strikes, closure, or bankruptcy, Puebloans maintained their faith in a better life for themselves and their children.

Chapter 3

Home

From our country's early history associated with the yeoman farmer to the Homestead Act to the common belief voiced in the adage, "Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home," ownership of a house has always been a key tenet of the American dream. Owning a home means having a place to call your own and often is idealized as shorthand for holiday memories, shared family life, and achieved success. During the 1940s through the 1980s, for the vast majority of Americans, the vision of home meant a new house with a grass lawn, friendly neighbors, and safe streets in a suburban subdivision.

Financing changes at the beginning of this period made such home ownership dreams a feasible reality for a segment of the population who, prior to this period, could not afford their own house; it also marks a key shift in the American way of life. The text below provides a brief history of American subdivisions with an emphasis on the physical and financing characteristics of such residential developments during the postwar period. Construction methods and materials used to build these sprawling subdivisions are part of this story. Merchant builders and entrepreneurs applied wartime lessons and utilized new materials to achieve business success. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Pueblo postwar housing, highlighting the ways development here differed from national trends. Two Pueblo subdivisions, the Westview Addition and Belmont, illustrate the realities of subdivisions in the city although these two developments are, by no means, the only residential areas developed in Pueblo during the 1940 to 1982 period.

Suburban home development and transportation have always been intimately related. Railroad suburbs were the earliest housing developments outside cities. These picturesque enclaves appealed to the wealthy who escaped dirty cities for a rural idyll, though "civilization" was just a train ride away. By the late-1800s and early-1900s, streetcar suburbs started to develop in Colorado. Platted along the streetcar lines in a rectilinear format, houses were usually within a five to ten minute walk from the nearest streetcar stop. Traditional streetcar suburbs developed in Pueblo along the Lake Minnequa-Grand Avenue/Fairmont Park line on the North side, near Mesa Junction in South Pueblo, and along Eighth Street on the East side.

During the Great Depression the majority of private builders lacked both the funds and the clientele to construct new suburban homes. A few New Deal programs engaged in domestic construction but this tended to be multiple family units or resettlement camps. During World War II materials and manpower were devoted almost exclusively to the war effort. Few suburban homes were built, although the government did construct numerous housing developments, quickly and inexpensively, for defense workers.

It was not until after World War II that the housing market, like the economy and society as a whole, was free to operate normally again. Four key factors combined to make the post-

Figure 3.1. Pueblo homeowners needed to protect themselves from nuclear fallout, as emphasized by the bright color of this advertisement. *(Polk City Directory, 1960, courtesy City of Pueblo)*

World War II period the golden age of the American suburb. They were the effect of deferred gratification, changes to the home financing system, the construction lessons learned from methods and materials used in wartime building, and the emergence of the merchant builder. All four are discussed below.

Demobilized soldiers were eager to put the war behind them and start living the American dream in their own homes. In most places across the country, materials were scarce from 1929 to 1945. During the Great Depression, New Deal programs funded public works, rather than private homes. During World War II most construction materials were either rationed or directed toward wartime production. Many companies associated with the production of consumer goods converted their factories to production of tanks, bombers, and other war materiel. Their wartime advertising highlighted the companies' patriotism yet reminded readers the war would not last forever. And, when the war was over, these firms would be ready to provide them with all the consumer products they needed to make a new house a home.

Immediately after the war, housing was extremely scarce. According to National Housing Authority reports, the nation needed "at least 5 million new (housing) units immediately and a total of 12.5 (million) over the next decade."[141] Many soldiers and their expanding families found themselves doubling up with in-laws or other relatives; by 1947 an estimated six to seven million families were sharing housing, the majority in homes built in the 1920s or earlier.[142] Challenges with shifting from wartime to peacetime production delayed home construction and, in most places, housing shortages remained acute. During the first two years after the war, an estimated 2.8 million new families formed, but just 1.5 million new houses were constructed.[143] The announcement of new model suburban homes was exciting and, in the late-1940s, Americans were ready to purchase new houses. Many builders were able to sell all their lots within days of opening the models.

The second factor contributing to the rise of the American suburb was changes to the home financing system; Americans were not only ready but also able to purchase new homes. Two key events, the creation of the Federal Housing Agency (FHA) and the passage of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (also known as the G.I. Bill), dramatically changed home financing during the postwar period. In the late-1930s lenders lost billions of dollars in defaults on home mortgages, and they were hesitant to grant home loans. Early mortgages had high down payments (40 to 50 percent) and short financing periods (three to five years); most interest rates ranged from 5 to 9 percent.[144] Such restrictive terms made home ownership impossible for most Americans. The National Housing Act of 1934 created the FHA, a federal agency that insured mortgages, making lenders more likely to offer home loans. FHA regulations also allowed for a longer pay-off period, lower interest rates, and low down payments. Unfortunately, economic conditions continued to deteriorate during the Great Depression and, even with new FHA mortgage guidelines, most Americans lacked the income to purchase new homes.[145] But these financial provisions were well established and ready for the postwar housing boom.

FHA officials established a variety of standards to protect their substantial investment in postwar housing. The agency based property value appraisals upon a comprehensive look at the borrower, the home, the neighborhood, and the city. In granting mortgages to individuals, the FHA considered the prospective owner's income and job prospects, the condition

of the home he wished to buy, the physical quality of the surrounding area, and other factors such as land-use controls, deed restrictions, and health of the housing market. The FHA also scrutinized project plans for any subdivisions seeking agency loans to finance development. The agency was keen to avoid issues associated with earlier subdivision development, especially small pockets of speculative homes within large, empty land tracts. The agency required planning and zoning that guaranteed new houses would not be located adjacent to manufacturing or industry. The FHA, seeking to create homogenous new neighborhoods, supported large-scale developments with modest sized, single-family homes. Federal officials liked garages on the front of the home, providing access to the street without the need for antiquated and often unsightly alleys at the rear of properties. In FHA-funded subdivisions, the streets were intended to control the flow of vehicular traffic, channeling cars from larger streets to smaller clusters of houses. The curvilinear street pattern, so popular in postwar suburbs, was designed to be both more pleasant and safer. The agency also developed landscaping guidelines, preferring shade trees and grass lawns to separate new homes and to give suburban neighborhoods a park-like feel.

After FHA approval of subdivision plans, the agency made a conditional commitment to the approved lender to insure the home mortgages for properly qualified borrowers. This process gave banks the guarantee they needed to finance new suburban residential developments. Once the money was in place, the builders could begin home construction.

The G.I. Bill, aimed at easing the transition of soldiers from wartime to peacetime, is best known for its educational provisions and tuition stipends. However, this legislation also offered very successful home ownership incentives; about 3.5 million home mortgages were granted to veterans. The G.I. Bill home ownership provisions, like FHA funds, instituted certain conditions. For example, veterans only were eligible for home loans on properties ranging in size from 800 to 1,000 square feet with prices from $6,000 to $8,000. Given these requirements, veterans' new homes were almost exclusively single-family dwellings in suburban settings, most with no more than four to five rooms. The G.I. Bill and FHA lending encouraged a dramatic transition in American society, since both mechanisms reinforced the nuclear family through economic incentives and the small, intimate housing design they promoted.[146]

The third factor influencing the rise of postwar suburbs, was the legacy of wartime materials and construction methods. During the age of streetcar suburbs, architects designed a handful of models and then construction crews working for small, local builders erected the homes. From this time until the pre-war period, the average builder constructed fewer than ten homes per year. The huge demand for new houses and available financial incentives signaled a need to change the way American homes were built. Methods and materials used in wartime construction proved crucial in addressing the sheer volume of required postwar housing. Builders modeled their mass production on the automobile assembly line. The government too used factory-like production techniques to develop housing for millions of defense workers. Many of these new buildings also featured prefabricated components that allowed for quicker, more efficient construction.

Postwar builders divided home construction into three basic task headings—foundation, rough, and finish—and then further subdivided these work categories into discrete subtasks that individual crew members completed at each home within a residential subdivision; this division of labor encour-

aged both specialization and rapid replication. Specialized staging areas allowed for the daily delivery of only the precut and prefabricated materials workers needed for homes under construction. The goal was to increase overall efficiency: the foreman never had to leave the job to locate missing supplies and there were fewer delays due to lack of building materials. Such changes reduced the time necessary to complete a house from several months to several weeks or, in extreme cases and with the most efficient operations, just days. Basically, "specialization, material control, precutting, and preassembly…brought a degree of speed and predictability (to home building) that had previously been deemed impossible."[147]

Wartime construction also taught lessons about building materials. Faced with both rationing and material shortages, defense housing used concrete and wood substitutes. Such non-traditional items were acceptable given the extreme need for housing. The federal government also approved their use based upon the belief such buildings would be temporary. According to the National Bureau of Standards in 1942, "unusual materials, designs, and methods of fabrication not used in normal times are entirely justified under prevailing conditions."[148]

After the war, facing extreme housing shortages, the sense of crisis continued and many experimental materials continued to be used. In addition, inspired by wartime material development and operating in the period of "better living through chemistry," many American manufacturers experimented with materials that were more lightweight, relied upon technological advancements, and were the height of modernity. Key construction materials in wide use during the postwar period included asbestos, aluminum, and vinyl siding; pre-cast concrete; pressure treated wooden beams; and a wide variety of plastics.

The emergence of the merchant builder represented the fourth and final factor to influence postwar residential subdivisions. Also known as operative builders, these entrepreneurs were involved with the entire house production process rather than just home construction. By 1949, merchant builders had become a major force in the housing market, with just 4 percent of all builders responsible for 45 percent of new homes. Perhaps the two most well-known merchant builders during the postwar period were William Levitt on the east coast and Joseph Eichler in California, although thousands of other merchant builders operated across the country, including in Pueblo.

Merchant builders were responsible for four major tasks in subdivision development: land acquisition, financing, construction, and marketing. Buying land was an expensive and risky proposition, but it was only one part of the acquisition process. These businessmen also arranged for subdivision engineering and secured government approval of their plans. Financing was a time-consuming task that involved acquiring the necessary funds for the land, development, and construction costs. In addition, most merchant builders facilitated funding for prospective home buyers; they realized if the public was unable to secure a loan, they would be unable to purchase a new home. There was a dramatic increase in savings and loan business among new builders in the 1950s. During this boom period many untested businessmen, individuals just entering the merchant building field, wanted to start with a big project, but banks or the FHA were unwilling to make such a risky investment in an inexperienced builder. But savings and loans granted money to both merchant builders and prospective home owners. Timing influenced profits, and merchant

Figure 3.2. Curvilinear streets and outlying locations indicate, as much as the yellow shading, the majority of homes built during the 1940 to 1982 study period. While the map names the larger postwar subdivisions, Pueblo possessed, in addition, hundreds of small subdivisions scattered throughout the city. *(map courtesy of Pueblo County GIS)*

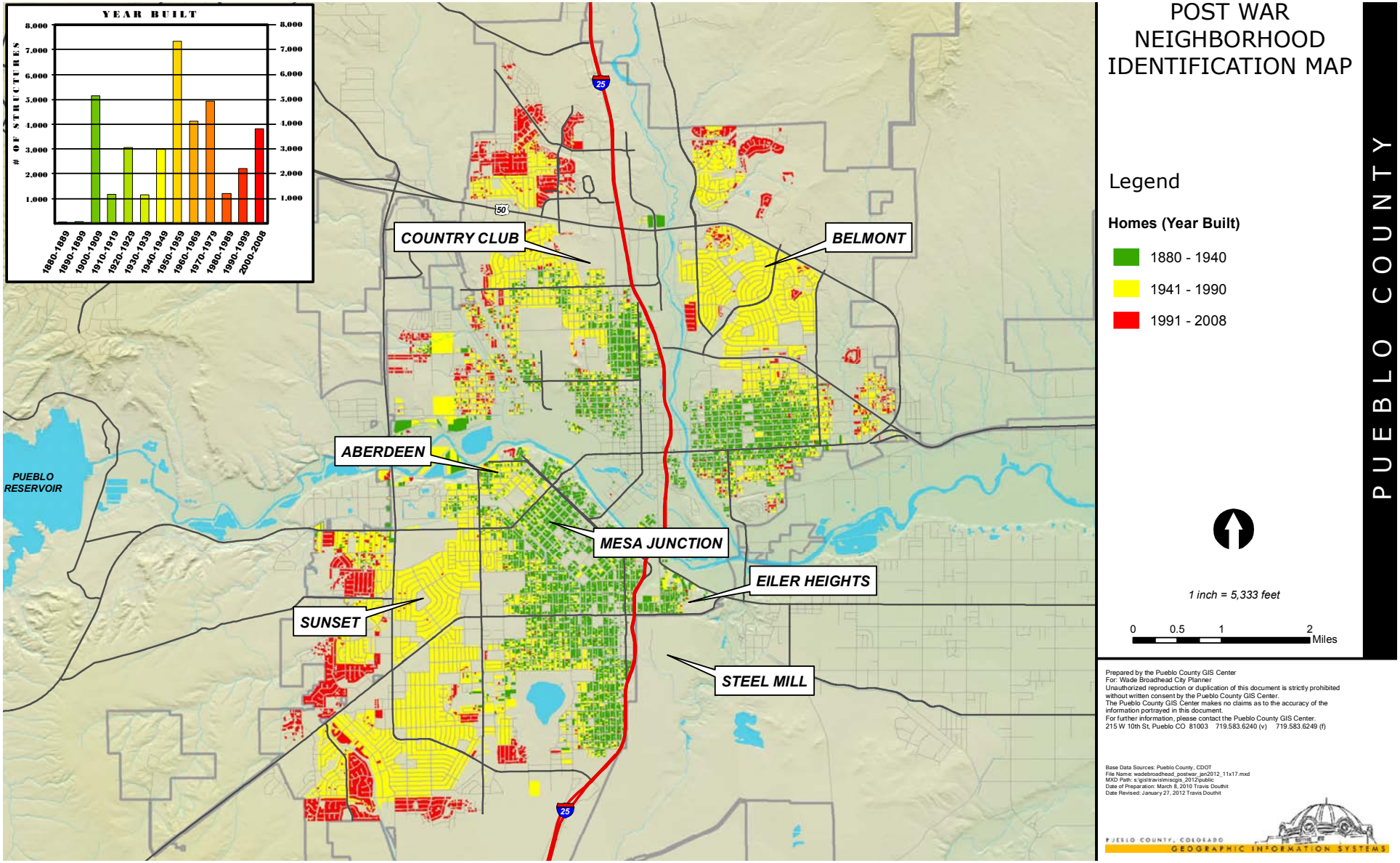

Figure 3.3. Both FHA and VA financing made homeownership less expensive than renting, a fact developers of new subdivisions were keen to publicize. *(Slide #72 of Heckendorn, Dale, James Hewatt, & Mary Therese Anstey. "Identifying, Evaluating, and Nominating Post-World War II Residential Neighborhoods." Denver: Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 2006.)*

builders aimed to have their model homes at or near completion and accessible the day the subdivision map was final, the construction loan recorded, and the land purchase closed. This mania to get models and first phase production started was not only a symptom of hyperactive natures, it was also part of an overall strategy that was at the heart of merchant building. These men were not just out to build a few hundred houses in one project. They were trying to perfect a process—meshing land acquisition, government processing, land development, financing, house construction, and marketing.[149]

The final merchant building task, marketing, actually happened both as a separate step and as part of the other three tasks as well. Operative builders chose sites and developed homes that would sell quickly. While home staging was not necessary in the high-demand period immediately after World War II, by the mid-1950s model homes often included donated furnishings from local merchants and elaborate landscaping. Many merchant builders purchased advertisements in the local newspaper, but most discovered word-of-mouth publicity was much more successful in selling new homes. A newspaper advertisement for Sproul Homes, Inc. encouraged readers to "Boost Belmont and Win Up to $1500!," offering to pay a premium to individuals who encouraged their friends and family to purchase one of the company's new houses in the Belmont Acres subdivision.[150]

Postwar Pueblo exhibited many of the characteristics common to suburban residential development elsewhere in the country. There was definitely pent-up demand and many returning soldiers paid high rents for any housing they could find, including poky basement apartments.[151] Pueblo buyers took advantage of both FHA and G.I. Bill financing to purchase new houses. A wide variety of local newspaper advertisements showed prospective buyers of new homes in numerous Pueblo postwar subdivisions that monthly mortgage payments actually could be lower than what they were paying in rent.[152] Pueblo had its very own merchant builder, John Bonforte, who developed the Belmont subdivision starting in 1952.

It is interesting to note Pueblo differed from national subdivision trends in ways associated with both the timing and design of its suburban housing. For example, a number of Pueblo subdivisions were platted during the early-1940s. Likely indicating a rise in demand for worker housing due to CF&I's dramatic increase in wartime workers, a total of five subdivisions were platted near the mill between 1940 and 1943.[153] Although this number seems to imply there was a great deal of home building surrounding the steel plant, it is important to realize all of these subdivisions were quite small. In addition, not all platted subdivisions experienced complete build-out immediately. For example, the Thurman Addition plat was filed on April 8, 1940, however, only six of the ten total homes in this small subdivision were constructed between 1940 and 1945, and the last home in the area was completed fourteen years later, in 1954. This pattern of delayed subdivision build-out means Pueblo neighborhoods feature numerous examples of Modern infill architecture.

Given the realities of wartime rationing and material shortages, it is not clear from where the construction supplies for the six earliest houses in the Thurman Addition came. The 1941 Pueblo city directory listed a total of six firms under the heading "Building Materials & Supplies," but whether these local companies had materials to offer for wartime domestic construction is unclear. It is also unknown whether wartime home construction in Pueblo benefitted from provisions in the

Lanham Act of 1940 that provided $150 million to the Federal Works Administration to build, in conjunction with local authorities, housing units for defense workers. What is clear, is the fact four of the six Thurman residents listed in the 1941 and 1942 city directories owned their homes. The small subdivision seems to have been solidly working class, with two of these individuals employed as steelworkers at CF&I and the other two owners working as a bartender and a fountain manager (at J.J. Newberry Five & Dime) respectively.

The layout of many of Pueblo's wartime and postwar subdivisions also looked different than stereotypical designs found elsewhere across the country. Pueblo residential developments, with a few notable exceptions, relied upon gridded street patterns rather than the standard curvilinear thoroughfares of the 1940s and 1950s. Based upon influences from Frederick Law Olmstead, the City Beautiful movement, and Garden City models, the curvilinear subdivision became the FHA-approved preference by the late-1940s.The agency endorsed the feeling of enclosure curvilinear streets and homes, on either cul-de-sacs or courts created.[154] While some early subdivisions on Pueblo featured curved streets or perhaps a single circular court of homes, the prominent alignment remained quite rectilinear. It is not clear why Pueblo favored gridded rather than curvilinear street patterns in its residential subdivisions.

However, it is important to note the majority of Pueblo's subdivisions were much smaller in size and featured fewer homes than those found elsewhere around the United States during the same period. Perhaps Pueblo residential areas, given their size, did not require curvilinear streets to disguise the lack of variety among the basic house models. A possible explanation for the smaller size of postwar subdivisions in Pueblo may be attributable to the city's population. Many communities in the western United States experienced tremendous booms in the postwar period. However, Pueblo's postwar growth was not nearly as dramatic as that of other cities in the state or the region. From 1940 to 1960, the population increased from 52,162 to 91,181, representing an increase of 42.7 percent. During the same period Fort Collins's rate of increase was over 50 percent and it tripled between 1950 and 1970.[155]

Westview Addition

Given Pueblo's preference for gridded neighborhoods relatively late into the postwar period, it is ironic its first curvilinear subdivision was platted so early.[156] The Westview Addition, platted on June 27, 1941, featured two concentric ovals of housing with Creston Drive forming an inner ring and Kenwood Drive as the outer ring. The Westview Addition also differed from other Pueblo subdivisions in another way: it was larger, containing a total of 109 house lots. Arthur C. Leach of the Leach Realty Company developed this housing area north of the State Fair Grounds. Born on March 27, 1883, near Yale, Illinois, Leach came to Pueblo to visit his brothers in 1904 and decided to stay. He worked as a delivery driver and a shoe salesman before establishing Leach Realty in 1912. Beyond selling houses and developing Westview, Leach also served terms as both the treasurer and the president of the Real Estate Exchange, the precursor to the Pueblo Board of Realtors.[157]

Like the Thurman Addition, most of the houses in Westview actually were constructed after hostilities ended, although the housing area was platted in the pre-World War II period. Only seventeen of the 109 homes in the Westview subdivision were built prior to 1946; ten were constructed in 1942 and seven were completed in 1945. The majority of homes, a

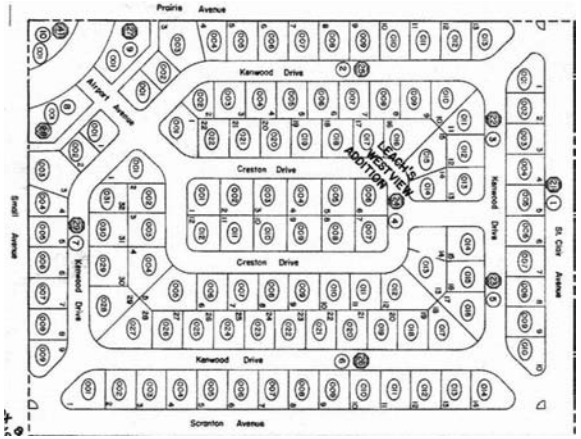

Figure 3.4. Westview was platted on June 27, 1941, and shows a very early curvilinear street pattern, differing from other 1940s subdivisions in Pueblo. *(Pueblo County Online Property Search engine)*

total of thirty-four, were built in 1949. The newest home in this area was constructed in 1963. Most of the earliest houses lie along the western side of the subdivision, along Kenwood Drive, on corner lots. According to the 1943 Pueblo city directory, the neighborhood had a mix of middle- and working-class residents: steelworkers, salesmen, a superintendent at the Pueblo Nursery, a warehouseman, a clerk, a lumberyard manager, and two railroad brakemen.[158] The majority of these individuals owned their homes, although there were three occupants renting in Westview. By 1950, it appears the neighborhood had more residents in managerial or white collar positions, including a number of individuals working as salesmen and a total of twelve homeowners employed at CF&I, none as steelworkers. There were two salesmen for Leach Realty living in the neighborhood, at 101 and 104 Kenwood Drive. The house at 406 Kenwood Drive was home to C. Clay Crawford and his wife Gayle; Crawford was President of CF&I from 1970 to 1976.

Not surprisingly, given the twenty-two year span between subdivision platting and final build-out, the homes in Westview show a great deal of architectural variety. Styles and types present in this subdivision include Minimal Traditional, Moderne, and a wide variety of Ranch homes, the earliest small ones in red brick with single-car garages added later and some with Contemporary influences such as flat roofs and wide cornices (see Figure 3.5).

Belmont

Pueblo's Belmont Subdivision is significant for a number of reasons. With its total of sixty-seven filings, it is by far the city's largest postwar suburb. These filings also span a long period of time, from 1952 to 1980, making it possible to study the evolution of the housing area both in terms of subdivision design and architectural styles. Most importantly, Belmont was the brainchild of Pueblo's answer to William Levitt, its most well-known merchant builder, John Bonforte.

Bonforte, the man responsible for starting the Belmont subdivision, got his start in homebuilding with two postwar subdivisions in Colorado Springs, coming to Pueblo after he faced challenges dealing with Colorado Springs officials. Bonforte was born November 24, 1898, in New York City. He graduated from New York University in 1925 in the institution's first aeronautical engineering class. During the 1930s, he worked with the Civil Aeronautics Board where he assisted with development of nationwide commercial air traffic patterns. Bonforte served in the Army Corps of Engineers during both World War I and II, achieving the rank of lieutenant colonel. He moved to Colorado Springs in 1942, returning there after World War II convinced it would be a popular place for postwar development and keen to participate in the transformation of the town by building much-needed low- and middle-income housing. He received his first financial backing in 1945 from Kenneth King, founder and president of Columbia Savings and Loan Association.

Like other successful postwar merchant builders, Bonforte employed an assembly line approach, stating, "I duplicated a factory production line as best I could. I had a separate crew for everything—a foundation crew, a roofing crew.…Every day one element of a house was finished. As a result we became more and more efficient. I was out to kill my competition."[159]

Bonforte was always trying to accomplish the work in less time and for a lower cost. Instead of purchasing supplies from a local lumberyard, he shipped large quantities of wood di-

110 Kenwood Drive

207 Kenwood Drive

204 Kenwood Drive

112 Creston Drive

313 Kenwood Drive

all photos credit: Mary Therese Anstey

Figure 3.5. The Westview Addition features a variety of architectural styles and building types. One of the earlier homes (constructed in 1942) is the Minimal Traditional type house with yellow asbestos siding at 110 Kenwood Drive. The Moderne home at 207 Kenwood Drive was constructed in 1949 and features stucco siding, curved wall surfaces, and glass block windows.

The remaining three images all show examples of Ranch type homes in Westview. The single-car garage with the two-tone door likely was added later to the 1945, small, red brick Ranch home at 204 Kenwood Drive. The modified Ranch at 112 Creston Drive, constructed in 1954, exhibits a flat roof and wide cornices. The 1956 Ranch at 313 Kenwood Drive has vinyl siding, a recessed double-door entry, and flat roof.

rectly from the Pacific Northwest to his Bonnyville Supply Company. He also eschewed real estate agents to handle the sale of his houses, relying instead on high levels of demand and the reputation of a Bonforte-built home. He touted himself as an "engineer, not a contractor or carpenter" and claimed his work "meets any quality standards ever established."[160] He was the first president of the Home Builders Association of Metropolitan Colorado Springs and a member of the Chamber of Commerce in Colorado Springs and later Pueblo.

Based upon his successful initial building experience, Bonforte started to construct larger residential subdivisions. He built both Belleville and Bonnyville in Colorado Springs during the four-year span from 1946 to 1950. Two national trade magazines, *American Builder* and *Practical Builder*, featured articles about Bonnyville. The subtitle of the article in the first publication claimed Bonforte "Produce(d) Low Cost Homes Which Sell for $200 Down and Payments of $60 to $70 per Month for Veterans Who Qualify."[161] The article in *Practical Builder* focused on Bonforte's packaged mortgage plan that included the cost of the house plus an 8' refrigerator, 36" electric range, and a washing machine.

In keeping with merchant builder patterns, Bonforte conceived Bonnyville as a complete community. According to Bonforte, he attracted "the best landscapers in Colorado…[who] didn't like the idea of just building a row [of houses]—they wanted to build a community."[162] The Colorado Springs subdivision of Bonnyville featured more than 325 homes. The Bon Shopping Center, adjacent to the residential development, opened in 1953 with a Safeway supermarket as the main anchor for the strip mall. The Bonnyville subdivision also included another defining element of merchant builder developments: land reserved for a park. Bonforte, however,

TABLE 3.1: BELMONT FILINGS

Filing	Date
Belmont First Filing	25-Feb-52
Belmont Second Filing	5-Jun-52
Belmont Third Filing	8-Aug-52
Belmont Fourth Filing	2-Dec-52
Belmont Fifth Filing	4-Jun-53
Belmont Sixth Filing	16-Sep-53
Belmont Seventh Filing	15-Feb-54
Belmont Eighth Filing	2-Jun-55
Belmont Ninth Filing	5-Aug-55
Belmont Tenth Filing	3-Aug-55
Belmont Eleventh Filing	3-Aug-55
Belmont Thirteenth Filing	15-Feb-56
Belmont Twelfth Filing	13-Apr-56
Belmont Fourteenth Filing	26-Apr-56
Belmont Fifteenth Filing Amended	27-Jul-56
Belmont Eighteenth Filing	5-Sep-57
Belmont Seventeenth Filing	27-Feb-58
Belmont Sixteenth Filing	21-Aug-58
Belmont Twentieth Filing	25-Jun-59
Belmont Twenty First Filing	22-Dec-59
Belmont Twenty Second Filing	22-May-61
Belmont Twenty Third Filing	5-Oct-61
Belmont Nineteenth Filing	15-Mar-62
Belmont Twenty-Fourth Filing	4-Feb-63
Belmont Twenty-Seventh Filing	31-Dec-63
Belmont Twenty-Sixth Filing	19-Feb-64
Belmont Twenty-Fifth Filing	26-Mar-64
Belmont Thirty-First Filing	16-Feb-66
Belmont Twenty-Ninth Filing	6-Jul-67
Belmont Forty-Ninth Filing	1-May-68
Belmont Fortieth Filing	21-May-69
Belmont Forty-Eighth Filing	23-Jun-69
Belmont Thirtieth Filing	13-May-70
Belmont Forty-First	30-Sep-70

TABLE 3.1, CONT.

Filing	Date
Belmont Fiftieth Filing	26-Jan-71
Belmont Forty-Second Filing	25-Feb-71
Belmont Thirty-Second Filing	29-Nov-71
Belmont Thirty-Third Filing	29-Nov-71
Belmont Forty-Third Filing	29-Nov-71
Belmont Twenty-Eighth Filing	5-Apr-72
Belmont Fifty-Second Filing	20-Jun-72
Belmont Sixty-Eighth Filing	13-Jul-72
Belmont Thirty-Sixth Filing	19-Dec-72
Belmont Thirty-Eighth Filing	3-May-73
Belmont Thirty-Fourth Filing	19-Sep-73
Belmont Thirty-Seventh Filing	20-Sep-73
Belmont Forty-Fourth Filing	26-Nov-73
Belmont Thirty-Ninth Filing	26-Nov-73
Belmont Eleventh Filing Replat	18-Mar-74
Belmont Fifty-First Filing	17-Apr-74
Belmont Forty-Fifth Filing	27-Feb-75
Belmont Forty-Sixth Filing	27-Feb-75
Belmont Thirty-Fifth Filing	5-Feb-76
Belmont Forthy-Seventh Filing	23-Mar-76
Belmont Seventy-Second Filing	9-Nov-76
Belmont Fifty-Fourth Filing	9-Feb-77
Belmont Seventy-Third Filing	1-Mar-77
Belmont Eightieth Filing	23-Mar-77
Belmont Fifty-Sixth Filing	23-Nov-77
Belmont Eighty-First Filing	18-Jan-78
Belmont Fifty-Third Filing	1-Feb-78
Belmont Fifty-Seventh Filing	7-Jun-78
Belmont Fifty-Ninth Filing	17-Jan-79
Belmont Sixtieth Filing	4-Apr-79
Belmont Eighty-Second Filing	2-Aug-79
Belmont Eighty-Third Filing	2-Aug-79
Belmont Seventy-Fourth Filing	10-Mar-80
Belmont Eighty-Fifth Filing	6-May-80

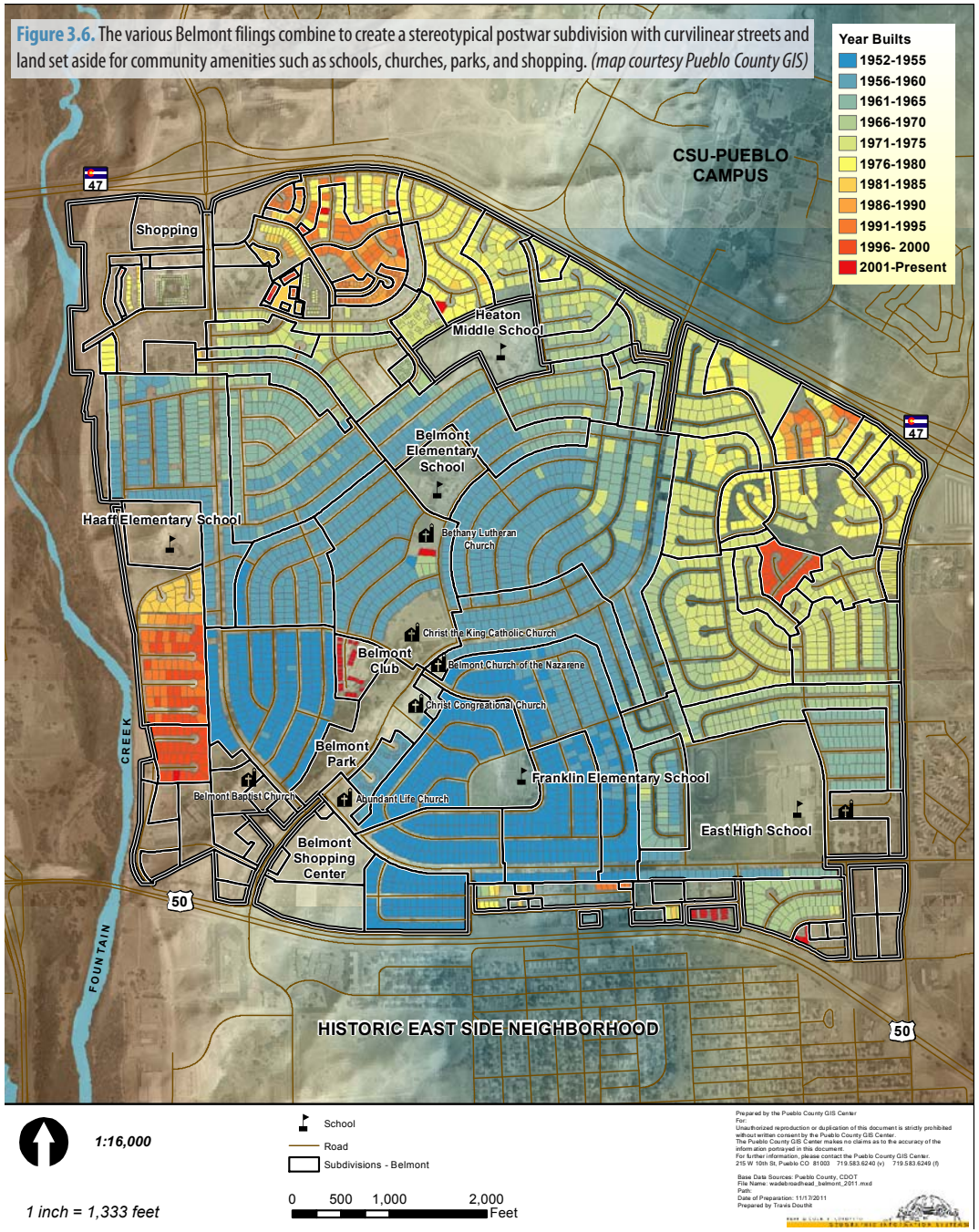

Figure 3.6. The various Belmont filings combine to create a stereotypical postwar subdivision with curvilinear streets and land set aside for community amenities such as schools, churches, parks, and shopping. *(map courtesy Pueblo County GIS)*

only donated this land after a heated fight with members of the Colorado Springs City Council.

Controversy about the eight-acre parcel of park land convinced Bonforte to move his home building operations to Pueblo where he was responsible for two Pueblo subdivisions, (another) Bonnyville and Belmont.[163] As he had in Colorado Springs, Bonforte established his own supply solution, Building Materials Center, for his new Pueblo subdivisions.

In October 1949, the Bonforte Construction Company purchased 23.71 acres northwest of the Pueblo city limits for $23,500. The Denver architectural firm of Harmon & O'Donnell, the same firm who worked with Bonforte on Bonnyville in Colorado Springs, surveyed the land and created the subdivision plan for what became another Bonnyville subdivision, this one in Pueblo. Bonforte built about ninety homes in three basic models with five floor plan variations, offering purchasers a total of fifteen different houses within the small subdivision. Homes with two bedrooms originally sold from $8,400 to $8,850. The three-bedroom houses, with a total of 1,125 square feet, sold for $9,975. As he had in Bonnyville in Colorado Springs, Bonforte included refrigerators, electric ranges, water heaters, and central heating in the home purchase price. He built the houses in accordance with FHA guidance and he arranged for financing for the buyers from Prudential Insurance Company. Homes were "sold to veterans under preference" and the Pueblo Prudential office processed all loans.[164] Pueblo annexed the Bonnyville Addition—bordered by Twenty-Fourth Street on the north, West Street on the east, Twenty-Second Street on the south, Montezuma Road on the west, and located adjacent to the Jewish and Pioneer cemeteries—into the city on January 26, 1950.

Based upon his success with the Pueblo Bonnyville subdivision, Bonforte agreed to develop a second, 1,200 acre site northeast of the city limits. He again worked with Harman & O'Donnell on the subdivision survey and their design featured five neighborhood units that represented the first five Belmont filings. Bonforte continued his pattern of developing complete communities and the plan for each filing included its own elementary school near the center plus a park or recreation area. Within the combined initial filings approximately sixty acres were reserved for schools (elementary, middle, and high). Bonforte and the other planners also set aside six church sites, each one-and-one half acres, and forty acres for both a larger shopping center adjacent to the subdivision and a smaller neighborhood commercial area.

Bonforte's Belmont subdivision, like Bonnyville in Colorado Springs, was featured in a national publication. The Urban Land Institute's April 1952 issue of its *News and Trends in City Development* devoted the cover story to Belmont. Intended for an audience of fellow builders, the article emphasized how Bonforte was one of a small number of postwar developers to execute a "complete neighborhood of homes with every amenity for modern living."[165] The piece summarized the qualities such residential developments should possess—complete and self-contained community; enough population to support a shopping center, elementary school, and recreational areas; streets within the subdivision intended for local traffic only; and a variety of home types built in appropriate locations—and complimented the Belmont plan for handling them so well.[166]

The Urban Land Institute article was written about the plans for Belmont's early filings. Yet, as actually constructed, the subdivision included nearly all of the elements of the "instant community" that Bonforte had planned. The Belmont

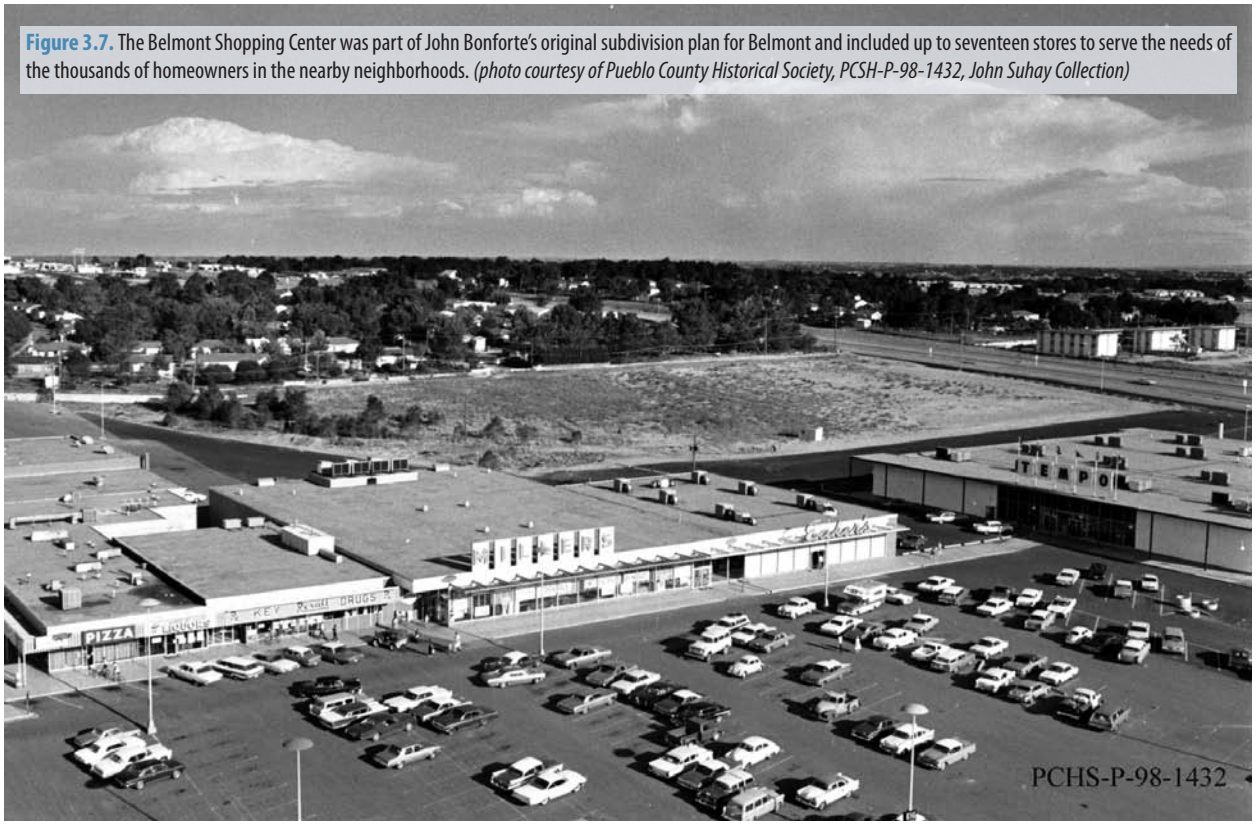

Figure 3.7. The Belmont Shopping Center was part of John Bonforte's original subdivision plan for Belmont and included up to seventeen stores to serve the needs of the thousands of homeowners in the nearby neighborhoods. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCSH-P-98-1432, John Suhay Collection)*

Shopping Center, located near the corner of Highway 50 and Bonforte Boulevard, was constructed in 1956. The original tenants were a Duckwall Store and an Arapahoe grocery store. By 1960, there were a total of seventeen stores, including a drug, liquor, and hardware store. Most importantly for the automobile age, the Belmont Shopping Center featured a large parking lot with plenty of space conveniently located near all of the shops.

The Belmont Club was another non-residential amenity Bonforte provided within the subdivision. The developer donated the 7.5 acre site in 1953 for a private, non-profit recreation center at 1737 Bonforte Boulevard. The club was akin to a country club, with membership exclusive to dues-paying Belmont homeowners. Facilities available at the club included a swimming pool, tennis court, baseball field, outdoor patio, and locker rooms. It was the site of numerous parties and community celebrations for both adults and the teen group.

Belmont homeowners who chose not to join the Belmont Club could get their exercise at Belmont Park, the 5.5 acre space near the corner of Bonforte Boulevard and Jerry Murphy Road. Managed by the City Parks Department, this outdoor facility featured baseball fields, a playground, and numerous picnic areas. This and other small neighborhood parks within the multiple filings of the sprawling Belmont subdivision were the

Figure 3.8. The Belmont Club was the equivalent of a country club for the Belmont subdivision. Club members swam in the pool, played tennis, and had numerous costume and other theme parties at the Club. The Belmont Club was renovated and currently serves as the home to the Rocky Mountain Family Church at 1700 Horseshoe Drive. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCSH-P-98-0238, John Suhay Collection)*

Figure 3.9. This Ranch home was John Bonforte's original construction office for the Belmont subdivision. Located at 1224 Ruppel Street, the house has been modified. Likely changes include addition of a single-car garage that was subsequently converted to living space with a sliding glass patio door on the façade. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

type of amenities that attracted families seeking safe places for their children to play. As planned, there also were numerous schools and churches within the various Belmont filings.

The first filing within the Belmont subdivision was platted on February 25, 1952. Access to the Belmont subdivision ultimately was via an interstate interchange that Bonforte lobbied the Eisenhower administration to include in the portion of Interstate 25 that traveled through Pueblo west of the subdivision.[167] The internal roadways were arranged with a system of four collector streets leading into the center of each neighborhood unit. Belmont also took advantage of the natural topography, with a valley park dividing the first five filings of the subdivision into a three- and a two-neighborhood unit arrangement. Most house sites overlooked the mountains and the city to the south and west.

Throughout Belmont the typical lot measured 60' x 115' for a two bedroom home and 65' x 115' for those with three bedrooms; corner lots were slightly wider at seventy feet. The plans for the Belmont subdivision dictated construction of approximately 10,000 homes over five years. Home construction in Belmont's First Filing, slightly isolated from the rest of the Belmont subdivision and located south of Highway 50, began in November 1950. The very basic Ranch home on Lot 1, Block 1, addressed as 1224 Ruppel Street, was where Bonforte erected his construction office. The frame houses within the early filings ranged in price from $8,500 to $12,000 with either two or three bedrooms and one-and-one-half baths. They were all Ranch homes with basic rectangular footprints, hipped roofs, and curvilinear walks up to the front door.

By 1954, nearly all of the homes along Ruppel Street were occupied, although many of the Maudslay Avenue houses, also in the first filing, were still listed as vacant. Of the thirty-eight homes with residents listed in the 1954 city directory, there were six individuals working at the Pueblo Ordnance Depot—as a trainee, mechanic, analyst, supply officer, employee, and crane operator—and another three at CF&I—a clerk, draftsman, and steelworker. Of the remaining owners, many worked in white-collar professions such as sales or as managers.

Later Belmont filings featured a wide variety of architectural styles and building types, although Ranch homes were clearly the most popular housing type within this sprawling Pueblo subdivision.[168] In general, the design characteristics of the individual houses within the suburban development are in keeping with the dates when the various Belmont filings were recorded. Over time, Ranch homes became larger and more rambling. The largest homes within the subdivision, some perhaps architect-designed, were constructed along Bonforte Boulevard. For example, a classified advertisement in 1959 referred to the home at 1814 Bonforte Boulevard as "custom-built" with a full basement. Later Belmont filings feature more Split Level type houses and a few examples of the Neo-Mansard type; the majority of these homes were located on small cul-de-sacs or courts containing approximately six houses each.

Mobile Homes

Homeownership, deeply rooted in the heritage of our nation, was a key component of the American dream. During the 1940s through the 1980s, most Americans held rather stereotypical visions of home, at least as an ideal. However, it is important to remember neither all Americans nor all Puebloans lived in single-family houses within newly-constructed suburban subdivisions. In fact, Pueblo had a tradition of mobile home living during the 1940 to 1982 period.

all photos credit: Jeffrey DeHerrera

Figure 3.10. Current views of three of the church buildings within the Belmont subdivision: The Belmont Church of the Nazarene (top) at 1702 Bonforte Boulevard, Central Christian Church (middle) at 1902 North Hudson, and Christ the King Catholic Church (bottom) at 1708 Horseshoe Drive.

As with businesses that left downtown to operate in new shopping centers in newer areas of town, Puebloans who moved to new subdivisions tended to establish new congregations. For this reason, the mission of some of Pueblo's downtown churches shifted slightly, as they engaged more in outreach to the needy or opened cafeterias to provide affordable lunches to downtown workers. Yet, downtown churches continued to have regular services and suburban residents often returned to established central city churches for special occasions such as Christmas or Easter.

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PUEBLO CHURCHES, 1940-1982

- Use of modern materials: glass, aluminum, concrete, steel
- Introduction of geometric rather than realistic stained glass windows
- More organic designs allowing for addition of supplemental functions such as fellowship halls or nursery schools
- Wide open, light, airy interiors
- Altar as focal point at all churches; at Catholic churches shift to forward-facing altars after Second Vatican Council (1962-1967)
- Large parking lots to accommodate auto-oriented congregations

Figure 3.11. Children enjoyed the benefits of suburban living, celebrating Halloween and Easter in the Belmont subdivision. Homeownership and happy family life were both part of the ideal American dream. *(Photos courtesy of Beritt Odom)*

Chet Haga, the owner of Chet's Markets, developed the La Vista Hills subdivision one and one half miles southwest of Prairie and Northern avenues, outside the Pueblo city limits, in 1957. This area originally featured custom-built homes in excess of 1,000 square feet on one-acre lots. He marketed to horse lovers; the community hosted stables, corrals, and other equestrian facilities. By 1963, Haga announced development of a "modern luxury park for mobile homes" in La Vista Hills.[169] Initially, the $30,000 park, designed by architect Robert J. Brown, provided space for twenty-four mobile homes. The lots were arranged in small culdesacs with four mobile homes each. He sold large 3,750 square foot lots with landscaping, concrete patios, auto parking, and storage lockers. The development featured a playground, was served by school district 60, and connected to utilities from Pueblo Gas & Fuel and underground lines for Southern Colorado Power Company.

In August 1960, the *Pueblo Chieftain* carried an advertisement for an Open House at the Riverdale Club Park, Pueblo's Newest Mobile Home Park. Located "just 15 minutes from downtown Pueblo" this non-traditional housing development was located near the Pueblo Memorial Airport and offered a number of amenities similar to those in suburban subdivisions: heated swimming pool, fenced children's play yard, picnic park, shuffleboard, and horseshoe pits. It also offered new owners 60' x 70' lots, mail delivery at their door, trash collection, deep well water, modern sanitation, telephones, school bus pickup, and laundry facilities with soft water. Statistics show mobile home living in Pueblo became increasingly popular between 1960 and 1970 due to the "rapid increase in the cost of homeownership."[170] During this decade the number of mobile homes in the entire county increased from 557 (1.6 percent of all housing stock) in 1960 to 1397 (3.7 percent of all housing) in 1970.[171]

In 1975, an intern with the Pueblo Regional Planning Commission prepared a special report on mobile home parks in Pueblo. He noted "fifty percent of all mobile home parks and virtually all of the large mobile home subdivisions in the county…have opened since 1969."[172] The city and county planning commissions received six requests for new mobile home subdivisions in the first ten months of 1974. Mobile homes were particularly popular with construction workers who moved to Pueblo to work on three projects: the Comanche power plant, the Pueblo Reservoir/ Fry-Ark water diversion effort, and various new apartment houses. In 1975, there were a total of twenty-five mobile home parks within the city limits. Over half of these were located in the northern part of town, especially along or within two-blocks of Elizabeth Street. There were also smaller clusters of mobile home parks on the East side and South side; there were a total of four parks on or within a block of Lake Avenue.

Mobile homes gained popularity in Pueblo because they were affordable. Access to affordable housing represented a key component of the American dream. Postwar changes in financing, construction, and overall prosperity made this dream a reality for more Americans than ever before. By 1952, a total of 64 percent of Puebloans owned their own homes.[173] This rate continued to increase, rising to a rate of 66.7 percent in 1960 and 69 percent in 1970.[174] While some residents remained in older neighborhoods of Victorians, bungalows, and Tudors, the larger percentage of the city's population chose new homes in one of the over 200 Pueblo suburban subdivisions platted from 1940 to 1982, fully participating in the stereotypical postwar American dream of open-plan homes, safe neighborhoods, and instant communities.[175]

Chapter 4

Consumerism

The American dream is about being able to afford everyday luxuries that make life more entertaining or easier to live. Yet, in the mid-1940s, the acquisition of consumer goods had been on hiatus for several decades. During the Great Depression most Americans could barely afford the basics and the 1930s and early-1940s were a period of mend, repair, and make-due. Then came the war years, when many Americans, especially those working in the defense industries, could afford new items. Yet again, because of wartime rationing even staples were in short supply. Patriotic Americans, with few of the consumer goods they craved available, instead grew victory gardens, invested in war bonds, and donated to scrap drives. They dreamed of when the war would be over, life would be back to "normal," and they could start making up for decades of deprivation.

Americans entered the postwar period needing, but more importantly, wanting new consumer goods. This drive for new possessions was a product of deferred gratification. The American economy grew exponentially following the end of World War II. Europe and Japan experienced devastating physical damage and the economies in these regions were in near-complete ruin and in need of dramatic postwar assistance from the Marshall Plan and other efforts directed towards rebuilding. But the American mainland, due to its geographic isolation from the fighting, remained, physically, virtually unaffected. American factories, rather than being destroyed by bombs had been fully active during the war, churning out the planes, tanks, bullets, and other war materiel necessary to secure a victory for the Allies. Many of these factories were ready to convert their assembly lines to a booming peacetime economy, to produce cars, appliances, and other consumer goods that Americans had delayed buying for decades. Kenneth T. Jackson, author of *Crabgrass Frontier*, marvels at the fact America's vast resources made it possible to build new houses for virtually all of our people, and at the same time give them a car to drive and a television to watch. He claimed "the fact that all of this…came together in one package…shows the incredible distance between the United States and the rest of the world in the fifteen years following World War II."[176]

A number of the other components of the American Dream affected the drive to buy consumer goods. For example, the housing boom fueled a massive wave of consumerism. New homeowners were keen to own not just a house but also all of the new modern appliances available for these homes. Many builders, like Bonforte, offered new appliances as part of the purchase price. But others did not, leaving new homeowners to purchase their own washers, dryers, self-cleaning ovens, refrigerators, blenders, toasters, and televisions. To encourage even the thriftiest consumers to participate in the buying frenzy, manufacturers redesigned many household items with modern lines, extra chrome details, and in new color schemes. Inspired by scientific concepts prevalent in

Figure 4.1. A well-appointed, modern kitchen had all that a homemaker could want in bright colors, plastic, glass, and steel. *(Ladies Home Journal Book of Interior Decoration, 1954, author's collection)*

both the atomic and space age, designers adopted forms like the boomerang, teardrop, kidney, amoeboid, cellular and mushroom-cloud shapes, and molecular structures. The atom was a popular motif for textiles, dishware, and various decorative pieces; the iconic Ball Wall Clock, a 1947 invention attributed to architect-designer George Nelson, and its many imitators were based on this scientific symbol. Hoover's Constellation, a spherical vacuum cleaner, also sought to associate home appliances with the wider scientific world.

Manufacturers also designed common household items to match the modern, open lines of new Ranch homes. Many housewives considered them part of the total package of a

modern new home life. Increasingly, homes became mere containers for the shiny consumer goods. The American postwar attitude was based upon prosperity, optimism, and leisure. Sociologists attributed this suburban purchasing frenzy not as much to keeping up with the Joneses as wanting to fit in; "Everything the family owned—the house, the car, the furniture—was provisional…. There was always the hope of being able to move up the ladder and buy something better."[177]

Marketers were quick to tap into these feelings. In its VJ-Day newspaper advertisement, the Pueblo Crews-Beggs store promised both jobs and much-longed-for consumer goods, encouraging returning soldiers to "get busy on your postwar plans" for home improvements or construction plus new utilities and furnishings.[178] Other advertisements also focused on getting back to normal life in the immediate postwar period. The Mountain States Telephone & Telegraph Company sought to answer the question "When Will I Get My Telephone?" asked by a smiling woman eager to share gossip and news with friends and family. The company reminded customers about the shortage of both handsets and wiring, encouraging patience among their clients.[179] In ten years, the number of telephone extensions in Pueblo doubled, reaching more than 27,000 in 1952.

Auto-Related Businesses: Dealerships, Restaurants, Motor Courts, and Drive-In Theaters

Buying a new car became nearly as much a part of the American dream as owning a new home. Just as few houses were built during either the Great Depression or World War II, there were virtually no cars being either produced or purchased. Americans simply held onto their older cars, repairing them as necessary. In 1945, the average automobile was eight years old and only a total of 26 million cars were licensed nationwide. However, by 1961 this total revved to 63 million.[180] Newly paved roadways and interstates, like the Pueblo Freeway, both encouraged and accommodated this growth in car ownership. Communities across the United States responded to the rise in car usage by developing auto-related businesses such as dealerships, gas stations, parking garages or lots, and auto repair facilities.

In Pueblo, the place to purchase a car, either new or used, nearly always has been on "Automobile Row" along Santa Fe Avenue. In 1947, the Silver State Motor Company and Colorado

Figure 4.2. Neon signs, well-lit car lots, and showrooms with massive display windows characterized "Automobile Row" along Santa Fe Avenue. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCSH-P-98-0425, John Suhay Collection)*

Figure 4.3. Car dealerships still dominate Santa Fe Avenue. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF AUTOMOBILE SHOWROOMS, 1940-1982

- Large, glare-free windows to display new cars
- Visible service bays with broad driveways
- Ideal location: intersection along major commuter route
- Expansive parking lots, often with a covered walkway attached to the main building, to display used cars
- Tall, distinctive signs, often in neon

Motor Car Company built a new building for their joint showroom and service departments at Ninth and Santa Fe Avenue for approximately $80,000. Two years later, the Moreschini Brothers moved their "More-Skinny" used car lot to Thirteenth and Santa Fe Avenue, building a small office and erecting their iconic neon sign with the "rake-thin version of the Las Vegas Cowboy."[181] They also had their own mechanics and service shop on site. The 1950 city directory listed a total of forty-four new and used automobile dealers, with nearly half of these located along Santa Fe Avenue. And, by 1952, this area was known for its "block after block of modern, trim, neon-lighted buildings and show rooms."[182]

Once more individuals owned cars, existing and new businesses found ways to accommodate the automobile. By 1950, Pueblo had nine drive-in restaurants. Perhaps the best known of these eateries, and one that has become a Pueblo institution, was the Pass Key. Brothers Frank and John Pagano purchased the establishment from their uncle, Sam Pagano, in 1953; the original owner was Pasquale Vitale, and the name of the restaurant comes from a play on the pronunciation of his first name. Originally, the brothers rented the small diner about one block away, at 608 East Abriendo Avenue. It was small,

Figure 4.4. The Pass Key is a cultural icon in Pueblo. *(Jeffrey DeHerrera)*

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DRIVE-IN RESTAURANTS, 1940-1982

- Large parking lots
- Buildings with exaggerated roof shapes intended to attract passing motorists
- Carhops, sometimes wearing roller skates
- Highly visible signs, often in neon

with only four booths, six stools at the diner counter, and curb service for six cars. In December 1968, their landlord attempted to cancel their lease, but insisted the brothers leave him with the Pass Key name, liquor license, and existing phone number. The Paganos took their landlord to court, won the right to retain their Pass Key name and reputation, and immediately started building their own restaurant. The current Pass Key building, located at 518 East Abriendo Avenue, opened in August 1969, just in time for the State Fair. The Pass Key "Special" Italian sausage sandwich has a legendary popularity and, in the 1950s and 1960s, patrons washed them down with "stubbies" or small bottles of beers. The Pass Key has always relied upon word of mouth publicity, a method that seems to have worked quite well. By 1983, the Paganos estimated they had sold nearly 2 million of the special sandwich, accounting for 375 tons of pork. Despite continued steady business at Pass Key, overall the development of drive-in restaurants declined in popularity from the 1970s onward.

With car ownership came the tradition of the family vacation along America's roads and interstates. These travelers required lodging along the way, usually in facilities known as motor courts, motor lodges, or auto courts. This type of roadside accommodation first appeared in the 1920s, offering early automobile tourists a place to stay with adjacent parking. Motor lodges, similar to motels, offered individual access to lodging, but the rooms usually appeared in either an "L" or "U" shaped arrangement. Located along highways, guests at motor lodges of the 1940s and 1950s generally stayed for a brief period on the way to a distant destination. As tourism increased, motels added swimming pools and restaurants in order to compete with motor lodges. In Pueblo, the motels and auto courts were located along three major routes: Santa Fe Avenue, Elizabeth Street, or Lake Avenue. All three of these thoroughfares were popular tourist routes prior to the con-

struction of the Pueblo Freeway in 1959. The 1960 city directory listed eight motels and auto courts along Santa Fe, eight on Elizabeth, and eleven adjacent to Lake Avenue. This year there was also a listing for the Continental Pueblo (motel) near the Belmont subdivision at the intersection of Jerry Murphy Road and US Highway 50. Over the years, more and more motels were constructed along this east-west tourist route; two chain motels, Holiday Inn and Ramada Inn, had local franchises on Highway 50 by 1970.

Drive-In Theaters, another type of auto-related business, were particularly popular starting in the late-1940s and early-1950s. Pueblo's first drive-in theater was located along Highway 50 north of the city. Uncreatively-named the Drive-In Theater and later known as Pueblo Drive-In, owner-operators Lionel and Ruby Semon opened the theater in May 1948. The Semons also owned Pueblo's second drive-in, the Lake Drive-In on the south side at 3000 Lake Avenue. This attraction opened in June 1949 and had space for 700 cars. Ronald "Tiny" Vaughn established Pueblo's third drive-in theater, the Mesa Drive-In, seven miles east of the city on Highway 50. The Mesa was the city's largest drive-in, with approximately 825,000 square feet of space to accommodate 1,000 cars, and opened in August 1951. This theater boasted about having "the West's largest screen…curved for perfect vision from any angle" and encouraged patrons to "come early…come as you are."[183] In addition to movies, the Mesa Drive-In had a playground for children with a miniature train, slides, swings, and a merry-go-round. Vaughn's wife Joye managed the concession stand, a

Figure 4.5. The Mesa Drive-In is the only such theater still operating in the Pueblo area. The red and white sign, along Highway 50 southeast of town, lures in moviegoers during the summer. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

modern building with glass block counters and outside seating, promoting the "special plate lunch—a meal for the entire family."[184] The Mesa Drive-In featured a four-lane entrance and lights on each speaker pole. In May 1952 Vaughn, a master promoter, hired the Gretona Family to provide pre-movie entertainment: a high wire act. The fourth and final Pueblo drive-in, the Hicks Drive-In, opened at 2211 East Fourth Street in June 1953. This facility closed temporarily in 1957, reopening days later as the 96 Drive-In, a name it used until August 1969. The next year this theater became the East Drive-In.

The late-1970s and early-1980s were hard times for Pueblo's drive-in theaters, with three of the four closing during this period. The last movie was shown at Hicks Drive-In on September 3, 1979, and the site became the East Dollar Store in 2001, although the drive-in's neon sign remained. Both the Pueblo Drive-In and Lake Drive-In closed within one day of each other in September 1988. In 1994, a fire destroyed the screen at the Pueblo Drive-In; this site became a strip mall. The Mesa Drive-In is the only such theater still going strong in Pueblo. In 1999, the owners shifted from old fashioned speakers that hang on the car window to transmitting movie audio via an FM radio signal. In 2000, the Mesa added two more screens that owners Charles and Marianne James acquired from defunct drive-in theaters in Loveland and Estes Park. The Mesa Drive-In is amazingly intact, with the architectural characteristics of a prominent sign visible from the highway, lighted entry drive, auto-oriented ticket booth with covered canopy, projection booth, and concession stand still present.

Financial Institutions

With so many Puebloans spending money, the city's banks remained important institutions in the commercial livelihood of the city. One of the community's oldest financial organizations, established on Union Avenue in 1889 as Pueblo Savings Bank, changed its name to Pueblo Savings and Trust Company in 1909 and became the Pueblo Bank and Trust Company in 1963. A new bank for Pueblo, the Arkansas Valley Bank, was established in 1950. Original bank president Richard Trefz supported customer-oriented banking. He was one of the first local bankers to establish a consumer loan department and offered reasonable interest rates to a wide variety of customers, including small businesses, ranchers, and prospective homeowners. His was the first Pueblo bank to offer free personalized checks, interest on savings accounts, and drive-thru windows. When, in 1953, he passed away while traveling in his native Germany at the age of 47, his wife Erna assumed leadership at the bank, becoming the first woman bank president in Colorado. By 1959, Erna's son-in-law Frank E. Evans had become bank board chairman and was responsible for hiring a local contractor to build a new facility for the Arkansas Valley Bank. The $150,000 project, designed by St. Louis architect Howard T. Musick, adjoined the original bank building to the adjacent former Safeway store. The design incorporated a "V-shaped roof design," marking "the first time this style of architecture…(was) used in commercial construction in Pueblo" and featured an exterior faced with blue corrugated siding, white stucco, and plate glass, plus four drive-thru windows.[185] The Arkansas Valley Bank became United Bank of Pueblo and built a new facility in 1975 to celebrate the institution's twenty-fifth anniversary.

Although several were established earlier, savings and loans became increasingly popular during the postwar residential building boom, since these institutions were willing to finance builders developing new subdivisions and prospec-

Figure 4.6. In the auto era, banks built bigger signs to attract customers. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

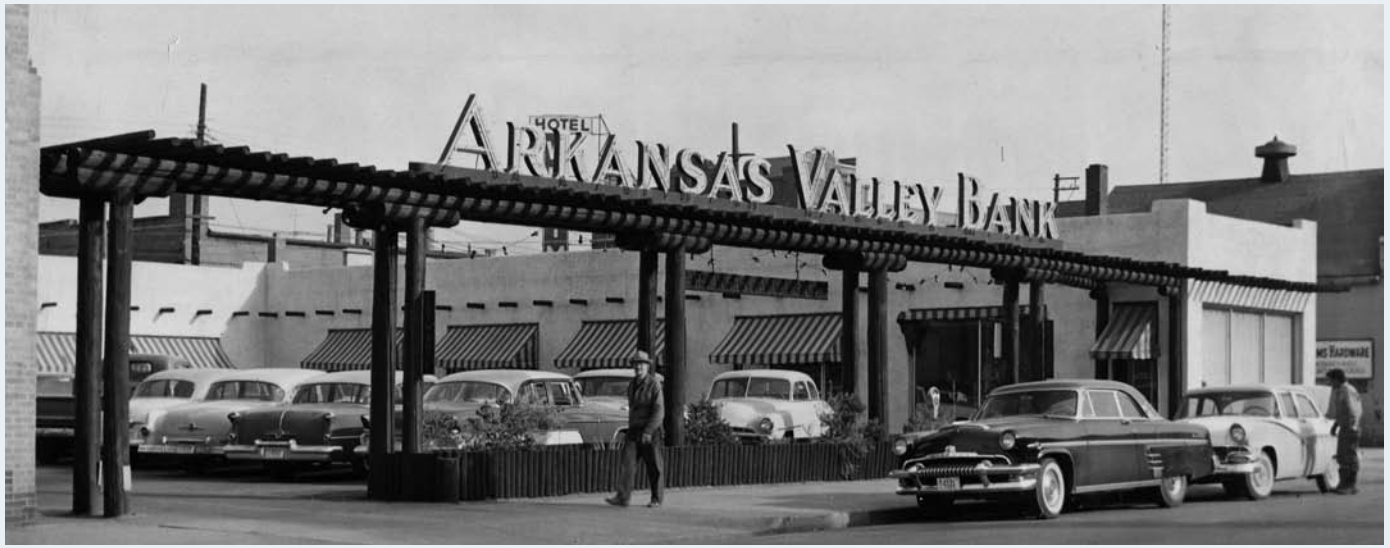

Figure 4.7. The Arkansas Valley Bank, originally located at 200 West Eighth Street, was the first new bank established in Pueblo after World War II. This image shows the original signage and Pueblo Revival architecture. In 1959 the company constructed a new building incorporating more modern materials and appearance. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo City-County Library District, Western History Collection)*

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF BANKS, 1940-1982

- Use of modern materials such as glass, aluminum, steel, and black marble
- International style favored because it sends a message of transparency and order
- Drive-thru windows; detached teller islands became more prevalent in the 1960s and 1970s
- Interiors more open with an emphasis on face-to-face contact between bank employees and customers
- Larger signage

tive homeowners seeking mortgages for homes in these new areas. The first savings and loan established in Pueblo was the Railway Savings & Loan, later renamed Midland Savings & Loan. Pueblo also was home to American Federal Savings & Loan, Columbia Savings (a company affiliated with the Columbia Broadcasting parent company), Otero Savings, and Western Savings.

Downtown Pueblo

As discussed previously, city officials attempted to address issues associated with the inadequacies of shopping opportunities in Pueblo's downtown for several decades beginning in the early-1960s. Individual businesses also tried to draw more consumers to their stores. For example, in 1947 the Crews-Beggs Dry Goods Company, a mainstay of Pueblo's downtown for nearly ninety years, spent approximately $400,000 on an addition to their existing commercial space. Yet Pueblo continued to lose shoppers to both Colorado Springs and Denver. In 1962, planner Curtis Cope stated, "now is the time for Downtown to get set, and get the kinks ironed out before the show starts…know(ing) that the shopping center people have already started."[186]

Given this preoccupation with new consumer opportunities in Pueblo's suburbs, all of the plans proposed for downtown improvement attempted to create a mall-like atmosphere within the existing shopping district. Perceived benefits of this approach included giving Pueblo's Main Street a newer, fresher feel; shortening the distance between stores; and making downtown shopping more pleasant. Cope's suggested marketing of the new downtown—ideas such as "sidewalk sales, outdoor fashion shows, sidewalk cafes, in-season produce sales, auto and boat shows, floral displays, art displays…(and civic uses such as) boy scout camporees, Christmas and Easter choral presentations by church groups, even

political rallies"—sounded more suited to an outlying shopping mall than the established downtown.[187]

To PRPC director Bloomquist, creating a downtown mall remained a key ingredient of the revitalization program. He gathered statistical data to support all of his proposals and recommendations. For downtown, he commissioned C. Raymond Mulay, advisor of the Pueblo County High School Distributive Education Club, and his students to conduct two downtown-related studies, one of retail clerks in 1966 and another of Pueblo shopping preferences in 1967. The first study made six recommendations intended to improve the downtown shopping experience:

1. Businessmen should attempt to improve their use of window displays and other visual merchandising devices.

2. Small Business Management clinics for managers and store owners are needed to help improve the management of retail establishments.

3. Businessmen should conduct sales clinics for retail sales personnel, instructing them in better and improved selling techniques.

4. Local merchants should attempt to make customer referrals to competitors when merchandise is not handled or out of stock, thereby absorbing the retail trade locally, rather than facing a leakage problem.

5. Businessmen, operating through the Pueblo Chamber of Commerce, should attempt to promote an educational program directed toward presenting Pueblo as the "Pride City" and a city that will prosper in the years to come.

6. Businessmen should encourage "total" community involvement, emphasizing that Pueblo is OUR community and that local purchases create new jobs and prosperity.[188]

The second report summarized responses of 537 Pueblo families to a questionnaire Victor Gruen Associates created; the students were responsible for conducting all personal interviews. Based upon the answers these Puebloans provided, the students recommended "Downtown Pueblo should…concentrate its money solutions on making itself more convenient, increasing the variety and types of stores, and boldly solving its parking problem."[189] Twenty percent of the respondents cited no good features in Pueblo's downtown and 33 percent wished there were more department stores. The students concluded, "Downtown Pueblo suffers because Crews-Beggs, Wards, and Penneys are small stores compared to the modern, spacious stores their companies are building elsewhere."[190] To counter-act shopper drain to Colorado Springs and Denver, the students suggested local business owners study the department stores in these other communities, seeking ways in which Pueblo's downtown stores could be made similar.

Bloomquist, like Cope before him, encouraged local officials and downtown business owners to act quickly in the face of increasing shopping options. In discussing the five options Victor Gruen Associates developed for Pueblo's downtown, he remarked, "everything proposed will have to be altered if certain adverse conditions develop. Construction of a major regional shopping center on the edge of town during an extended period of downtown hassel (sic) and debate is one such possibility. This possibility suggests that this is not the time for taking it easy and doing nothing."[191]

Shopping Centers

Changes to federal tax regulations in 1954 made mall building more profitable since developers were allowed to write off the value of a building in seven rather than forty years. This change created a nationwide rush to build strip malls and

shopping centers, although in Pueblo, in comparison to other cities of similar size, there were fewer of these new shopping areas. The new strip malls and shopping centers were convenient, offering spacious parking lots, more night hours, better store layouts, and greater selection. The shopping center also tended to be designed for women, the individuals who bought groceries for the family, clothing for the children, and gifts for a wide range of friends and relatives. This same design trend continued as communities built enclosed malls that seemed safer and offered planned activities meant to appeal to women. "From the color schemes, stroller ramps, baby-sitting services, and special lockers for 'ladies wraps,' to the reassuring security guards and special events such as fashion shows, shopping centers were created as female worlds."[192] During the postwar period, Pueblo built both its largest shopping center, Midtown, and its much-anticipated enclosed mall, the Pueblo Mall.

Midtown Shopping Center

The site of the Midtown Shopping Center on West Sixth Street had a colorful history. This area originally was known as the "Peppersauce Bottoms," a small rundown residential neighborhood until the Flood of 1921 swept away the substandard houses and killed a total of 100 residents. The mudflats left behind became a truck farm in the 1930s, with Japanese vendors growing crops for transport and sale on land known as Thomas Gardens, leased from the Pueblo Territorial Railway Company. This farming enterprise ended in the early-1950s when the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway purchased the land. A group of five investors initiated the planning for this new retail area in 1955. The group included three individuals from Denver and two from Pueblo: Temple Buell, the developer of Denver's Cherry Creek Mall; Denver mayor Will Nicholson; Denver investor Leslie Friedman; Pueblo realtor Richard Leach, the son of Arthur C. Leach who developed the Westview subdivision; and Pueblo attorney Robert S. Gast, Jr.

The location for the new Midtown Shopping Center was unexpected. It was nearly unprecedented for a community, in the 1950s, to choose a center city site for an auto-oriented retail development. Pueblo already had at least two such shopping centers near suburbs where vacant land for both larger stores and ample parking was readily available. The first, Treasure Island at South Prairie and West Northern avenues, opened in 1953 with Chet's Market as the key anchor store. The second, Belmont Shopping Center, was part of John Bonforte's Belmont subdivision in 1956. By 1959, Pueblo boasted at least one more suburban retail center, the Sunset Shopping Center located near the Colorado State Fairgrounds and developed in conjunction with the Sunset Park subdivision. Sunset Plaza placed a premium on parking spaces; this center offered ten acres for customers' cars. This 90,000 square feet shopping area originally had twenty-one businesses with construction continuing over time to meet growing demand. In fact, Sunset Plaza, Inc. President W.K. Hurd planned to add 100,000 more square feet of commercial space by 1962. The goal of all these suburban centers was the same: to make "Pueblo's newest residential areas…practically self-sufficient without numerous trips to the downtown business center."[193]

Yet the Midtown developers chose, as the shopping center's name expressed, a centralized location six blocks west of downtown. This site was considered the perfect place to take advantage of what local leaders believed would be a continuing shift of retail enterprises to the west. During the mid-1950s the Safeway grocery store chain either built new stores or ren-

ovated existing facilities at three locations west of downtown: Eighth and Court streets, Lincoln and Abriendo avenues, and Michigan Street and Abriendo Avenue. Particularly optimistic Pueblo boosters believed in the potential for nearly continuous commercial development from downtown to Union Avenue with the Midtown Shopping Center in the middle of this new shopping district. To facilitate the movement of shoppers, they advocated changes to the street patterns, including introduction of a four-lane highway and bridge at West Fourth Street, and envisioned the intersection of West Fourth and Elizabeth streets, rather than spots further downtown, as the new geographic crossroads of shopping in Pueblo.

Temple Buell designed the Midtown Shopping Center, modeled on his plans for Cherry Creek Mall, and hoped it would be the "largest thing of its kind in Southern Colorado."[194] The plans included a 65,000 square feet space for Sears and a 25,000 square feet facility for Safeway. These two anchors, that opened in 1956 well in advance of the entire shopping center, flanked a block- long strip of smaller retail venues. The subterranean 32-lane Bowlero Lanes bowling alley spanned this entire length. Houston Construction Company built Midtown Shopping Center and "poured more than 1,000 tons of concrete into a mesh of CF&I steel to create a waterproof floor for the bowling alley."[195] Buell's plans also allocated space for a restaurant, department store, variety store, drug store, numerous other shops, and at least 2,300 parking spaces. The Midtown National Bank building, designed by architect Marvin Kneeder in 1958, was detached from the rest of the shopping center in order to accommodate several drive-thru lanes. Shoppers reached the center via a circle drive off of West Fourth Street. Landscaping on the site included numerous bedding plants and mulched areas; a large line of potted evergreen trees ran the entire length of the parking lot in the mid-1960s. The total cost of the project was estimated to be more than $4 million, although by August of 1959 the development company had invested over $7.5 million, making Midtown Shopping Center the "one of the largest commercial retail property investments in Pueblo's history."[196]

The grand opening for the Midtown Shopping Center was a three-day event held in early-May 1959. Over 30,000 individuals attended the first night alone. The merchants association staged western-themed entertainment, including gunfighters from Buckskin Joe and square dancers performing to a country swing band. Pueblo police were on hand for crowd control. Among the attendees at the festivities was Robert Williams, president of Hested's department stores, who expressed his happiness at being in the same shopping center as so many other "select tenants." He praised the appearance of the new Hested's store in Midtown, labeling it "as modern as any of the sixteen outlets we have in Denver."[197]

Even after the grand opening, Midtown continued to provide many perks to the shoppers and the center was the site of numerous community events such as the "Little Miss Pueblo" and "Talented Teen Search" competitions, the annual "Egg Hunt for Orphans," and the Southern Colorado State College "Art for Heart" art show. Over the years Midtown's massive parking lot hosted the General Motors display from the New York World's Fair with Pueblo's car dealers also showing their new models, various mobile home shows, overflow parking with a complementary shuttle bus for the Colorado State Fair, and numerous other auto-related events.

In 1961, Temple Buell bought out the other partners in the Midtown Shopping Center and ownership eventually transferred to his family foundation. He was optimistic about

Figure 4.8. Temple Buell designed the Midtown Shopping Center, modeled on his plans for Cherry Creek Mall, and hoped it would be the "largest thing of its kind in Southern Colorado." *(photo courtesy of Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-10788)*

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SHOPPING CENTERS, 1940-1982

- Large display windows
- Presence of one or more anchor stores, often a grocery store
- Parking lots usually located in front of stores
- Often located near or built in conjunction with new residential subdivisions

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SHOPPING MALLS, 1940-1982

- Anchor stores (usually department stores) connected by enclosed shopping corridors
- Climate controlled
- Massive parking lots surrounding the entire complex, making the mall appear as an "island" in the center of the parking lot
- Constructed not only for shopping but also a community or regional destination

both the site and the city. Buell, in a 1963 speech at the Minnequa Club, stated he viewed Pueblo as "a bustling city on the move, a community which has matured and has become an important metropolitan hub for the business, industrial, farming, transportation, and cultural life of Southern Colorado."[198] In this spirit of optimism, Buell announced plans for a new motel and a $1.5 million six-story office building attached to the mall via a covered walkway, but these additions were never executed. In 1968, Buell purchased additional land to expand the center's Fourth Street entrance, increasing the overall size of the property to 32 acres. In 1972, he purchased more property on the south side of the Fourth Street Bridge across from Midtown with a goal of having Third Street to the west join this new land; this plan, too, was never executed.

In January 1980, Jack Jacobs & Company of Chicago expressed interest in purchasing the Midtown Shopping Center for redevelopment into a covered mall to rival the new Pueblo Mall in both size and amenities. This plan, like other concepts for either expansion or changes to Midtown Shopping Center, did not happen. The Jacobs Company, engaged in mall purchase and development projects in both Greeley and Louisville, Colorado, decided against converting Midtown to an enclosed mall. They also acknowledged the downturn in Pueblo's economy had an impact on their decision, labeling 1981 as "not the best time for building."[199] The Sears store, one of the first tenants at the Midtown Shopping Center, despite their stated preference for a central city location, ultimately decided to move to the Pueblo Mall.

Pueblo Mall

In the course of the years and years of discussion about plans for downtown Pueblo, the Pueblo Mall was always cited as an impetus for taking prompt action to revive shopping in the central city. Numerous PRPC documents from the 1960s and 1970s raised the specter of mall development, with its convenient under-one-roof shopping and acres of free parking spaces, as an inevitable change to the local economy, one that would no doubt negatively impact the downtown.

In spring 1973, a site on the city's west side was considered for the new mall. There were mixed opinions about the proposed mall from the nearby residents in the Northridge subdivision. Approximately 100 to 150 homeowners signed petitions opposing the proposed mall and some of these individuals attended a planning commission hearing to share their worries about traffic and pollution. However, other residents were enthusiastic about the idea of the grocery store to be built adjacent to the new mall. The City Council rejected the west side site, but not the idea of a regional shopping center since this facility promised to bring over 500 jobs and $12 million in revenue to the Pueblo area.

Local officials chose a site east of Interstate 25 north of the city. Site work, including the over eight feet of earth infill necessary to prevent any flood damage from nearby Fountain Creek to the 210-acre plot, began in April 1973. A number of companies developed and constructed the Pueblo Mall, including Dillon Companies, Inc., a firm with local holdings in King Soopers supermarkets; Ernest Hahn, Inc., a nationwide commercial general contracting company and shopping center developer; the Fullenwider Management & Development Company of Denver; Melvin Simon and Associates, major shopping center developers based in Cleveland, Ohio; and Burke, Kober, Nicolias, and Archuleta of Los Angeles and San Francisco, architects for the project. Architecturally, the Pueblo Mall was to be a "Southwest theme with modern Spanish ac-

Figure 4.9. The Pueblo Mall offered covered, climate-controlled shopping year-round. To encourage shoppers to stay longer and enjoy their shopping experience, there were plenty of seating areas and designed landscaping. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCSH-P-98-2483, John Suhay Collection)*

cents" and would feature benches, plants, and trees as part of the interior landscaping.[200]

As the Pueblo Mall got closer to full completion, long-established downtown retailers decided to move to the new shopping center. In August 1976, Rosenblum's Men's Wear & Varsity Shop, known as a "downtown mecca for quality men's wear since 1929," signed a lease at the new mall.[201] They made the move based upon the "changing patterns in community growth" and were looking forward to a new store designed by a California architectural firm.[202] Once the mall was open, the store planned to close its downtown location. The major department store anchors at the new mall—Montgomery Ward, J.C. Penney's, and Joslin's—also intended to close their downtown locations once the mall stores opened.

The Pueblo City Council, fully behind the new shopping center as a sign of the community's modernity and as a regional destination, declared October 7, 1976, "Pueblo Mall Day." Forty-three stores within the mall opened that same day. The first 1,200 shoppers wearing Pueblo Mall t-shirts, created from the iron-on decal that appeared in the *Pueblo Star-Journal &*

Sunday Chieftain, received free logoed Frisbees. The Pueblo Mall Merchants Association provided a free bus to carry shoppers from the downtown station at Fifth and Court streets to the new mall for the grand opening. The mall received its own mascot, Perry the Prairie Dog, in February 1977, with the winner in the name the mascot contest awarded a $100 gift certificate to the shopping center.

By September of 1976, the new shopping center had attracted over 5 million shoppers, a figure considered an "exceptionally good response to a regional mall in its first year."[203] A year later things were still going well at the Pueblo Mall. Developer Ernest W. Hahn informed the local Rotary Club local sales were exceeding the national average. Based upon the success of the new center, May D&F decided to open an outlet at the mall in August 1979 and leasing agents were searching for more restaurants to make the Pueblo Mall home, creating not only a shopping destination but also a leisure activity hub.

In the immediate postwar period Americans, having experienced a long period of deferred gratification during both the Great Depression and World War II, were ready to shop. In Pueblo, this pattern manifested itself in dramatic increases in consumer spending at a wide variety of businesses, especially those catering to shoppers driving their cars: drive-in restaurants, drive-in theaters, banks with drive-thru lanes, and suburban shopping centers with massive parking lots in close proximity to a vast array of stores, restaurants, and services. Commercial spending remained strong during the period from 1960 to 1973, with retail sales rising 185 percent.[204] Unfortunately, the biggest loser in this consumer equation was Pueblo's downtown that continued to experience "shopping drain" not only from Denver and Colorado Springs but also from its own suburban stores.

Chapter 5

Education

Education promises, to those who apply themselves, the attainment of new skills, enhanced knowledge, and greater aptitude. Armed with their diploma, graduates are able to compete for better jobs and participate more fully in the American dream. Pueblo's public school system changed dramatically after World War II, as it faced extreme overcrowding due to deferred construction during the 1930s and early-1940s, the effects of baby boom-induced school population increases, and the trend of suburban subdivision growth. Conditions in District 60 changed markedly in the 1970s and 1980s when enrollment fell and officials had to decide which public schools to close. Pueblo Junior College was established in 1933, growing exponentially due to both a special program of wartime defense courses and the effects of the G.I. Bill. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Southern Colorado State College, the long-awaited four-year institution of higher learning with its campus on land John Bonforte donated and the state purchased adjacent to his sprawling Belmont subdivision.

Public Schools

In many ways Pueblo's public schools were a microcosm of the larger community, experiencing all of the same challenges as the city as a whole. Like so many other key institutions in the city, the school districts benefitted from work relief programs that made improvements and repairs to a number of the academic facilities during the Great Depression.[205] In fact, "the school buildings and grounds were never in such splendid condition as during the early years of World War II."[206] The schools, too, were forced to deal with the realities of wartime rationing and military recruitment. Students did their part, with teachers and administrators quoting the words of Lieutenant General BB Somerville, "We can lose this total war on the battlefront as the direct result of losing it on the educational front."[207]

Both Centennial and Central high schools taught classes related to defense work and similar to those offered at Pueblo Junior College; the high school students attended courses during the school day with these same classrooms opened to Pueblo citizens for identical training courses in the evening. With World War II in mind, the public schools enhanced their offerings in math and science, responded to greater interest in geography based upon the location of overseas battles, and continued with the popular Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program originally established during the Great Depression. All traditional extra-curricular activities were canceled during the war, with most students participating in the Junior Red Cross and selling $500,000 worth of special stamps for the government to purchase war materiel. Finally, both enrollment and teacher employment patterns changed during World War II as male high school students discontinued their studies to enlist in the armed services and male staff took leaves of absence to enter the military; women teachers inter-

TABLE 5.1: SELECTED NEW PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN PUEBLO: 1940s-1970s[208]

Strack Elementary	1941	Named for Carolyn Strack, principal at several Pueblo schools
Risley School	1949	School originally established in 1926 at Benedictine College
Morton Elementary	1951	Near long-time home of Pueblo educator/ administrator Max D. Morton
Washington Elementary	1951	
Thomas Jefferson Elementary	1952	
South Park	1952	
Benjamin Franklin Elementary	1954	In Belmont subdivision
Freed Middle School	1954	Named after a Pueblo family of educators
Fulton Heights Elementary	1954	In Fulton Heights subdivision
Irving Place	1954	Replaced original school constructed in 1906
Goodnight Elementary	1956	Named after local cattleman George Goodnight. School located three miles east of Goodnight Ranch
Hyde Park	1956	In Hyde Park subdivision
Sunset Park	1957	In Sunset Park subdivision
East High School	1959	In Belmont subdivision
South High School	1959	Additions constructed in 1964 and 1972
Eastwood Elementary School	1961	
Heaton Elementary	1961	Named for Wilbur F. Heaton, teacher who established ROTC at Centennial High School
Hellbeck Elementary	1961	Named after School Board Secretary Olga Hellbeck
Highland Park	1961	In Highland Park subdivision
Pitts Elementary	1961	Named after former Central High principal, Lamuel Pitts
Haaff Elementary	1962	Named after long-time woodworking instructor, Clarence F. Haaff
Fountain Elementary	1972	Replaced Fountain School (1896) located between 6th and 7th Streets
Minnequa Elementary	1977	Original building constructed in 1902, but succumbed to fire in 1916 and rebuilt; that building was demolished in 1976

Sources: Taylor, Ralph C. *Pueblo*. Pueblo: Pueblo Board of Education, 1979

ested in joining the U.S. Naval Reserve (Women's Reserve or WAVES) and the Women's Army Corps (WACS) were not granted this same advantage. Wartime teacher shortages and a legal case that went to the Colorado Supreme Court convinced both school districts to discontinue the practice of firing or freezing pay for married female educators.

After the war, Pueblo's public school system executed an historic change, consolidating the long-established District One and District Twenty into a new administrative unit known as District 60. Like so many other planning and development efforts in Pueblo during the 1940s and 1950s, consolidation advocates noted the correlation between the proposed Fry-Ark water project and the change to local education, claiming Pueblo improvements required united efforts. Voters approved creation of the new district in a special election held on March 4, 1946. As part of the transition from two districts to one, school officials decided to equalize salaries to the higher of the two districts, continue with the already funded separate repair and expansion projects, and retain all administrative staff.

The greatest challenge the new school district faced was the need for new school buildings. Both the baby boom and increases in the number of postwar subdivisions affected school construction for several decades to come. Starting immediately following cessation of World War II and continuing into the early-1960s, the nationwide baby boom peaked in 1957 when 4.3 million children were born. While more births meant more students, nearly all of the new Pueblo subdivisions platted included land set aside for new neighborhood schools. However, even though these new schools were planned, actual construction did not keep up with demand during the late-1940s into the 1960s. As a consequence, many Pueblo students, like children across the United States, attended schools with overcrowded classrooms and lack of sufficient gymnasiums and lunch rooms. Some school districts moved temporary buildings, such as surplus barracks from demobilized military installations, onto their campuses to deal with the emergency situation.[209] At the 1950 dedication of Pueblo's new Lincoln School, with its combination gymnasium-auditorium, Superintendent Ernest M. Hanson praised the new construction as evidence of "the progressive spirit of a forward looking city [and]…the expression of a desire…for a modern educational program patterned to meet the needs of our children."[210]

Using money from voter-approved bond issues, the district constructed sixteen new public schools in Pueblo during the 1950s, a period when the city's school population increased from 18,288 to 28,914 students. In 1959, the city doubled its number of high schools, adding both East and South. Prior to their construction, all Pueblo students living north of the Arkansas River attended Centennial, and Central was the regional high school for students living south of the river. Planning for East and South started in 1956; architect Walter DeMourdant designed the identical schools in 1957. H.W. Houston, the firm responsible for the Midtown Shopping Center, was the contractor at East and Whitlock Construction was the contractor for South.

Each new high school had forty classrooms, a 500-seat gymnasium, an auditorium with space for 1,200, a cafeteria and library, specialized areas for band and orchestra instruction, and wood and metal shop classes. DeMourdant designed the buildings to let in more natural, but less direct, light and to take advantage of passive solar to decrease the cost of heating. The schools originally had more than 200 skylights on the roof, a feature intended to save approximately $750 per year in en-

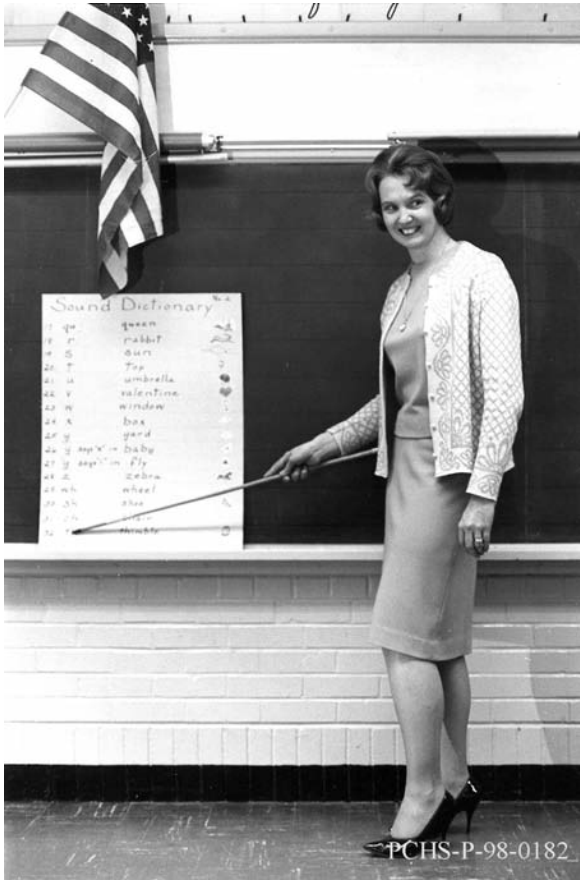

Figure 5.1. Pueblo teacher Evalyn L.C. Williams, photographed in front the chalkboard in her classroom at Irving Place Elementary School, and thousands of other female educators in Pueblo benefitted from district policy changes in the late-1940s. During the Great Depression Pueblo school districts hired married women only to work as substitute teachers and froze their pay because they had a husband to provide for them. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-98-C-0182, John Suhay Collection)*

Figure 5.2. Pueblo architects Hurtig, Gardner, and Froelich designed the Pueblo School District Administration Building that featured an exterior mural by Ken Williams. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-98-C-1496, John Suhay Collection)*

ergy costs. These skylights, however, were later removed due to the high cost of maintenance.

The first day of classes at both East and South was September 1, 1959. A total of 1,090 students attended East and there were fifty-one teachers and faculty on campus. South's initial attendance was slightly lower, at 950, and there were forty-five members of staff. The two schools, who had been assigned their colors and mascots by a coin flip, instantly engaged in a football rivalry intended to complement the long-established competition between Centennial and Central high schools. All four schools played their games at the Pueblo Public School Stadium located in the 1000 block of West Abriendo Avenue, an athletic facility developed in 1950 with $72,000 worth of bonds and in-kind donations raised by parents and students throughout Pueblo.[211] The District 60 citywide dedication for East and South high schools was held at this same stadium. In his keynote address at this event, U.S. Commissioner of Education Lawrence Dethrick applauded Pueblo's citizens for their ability "to look and plan ahead to keep your schools in pace with expansion in your city" and claimed, "your plan to take care of classroom needs over the next decade is a shining example of what can be done when citizens in a community really care about their schools."[212]

School overcrowding led to new school construction or additions to existing buildings throughout the district. But finding sufficient space for all of the staff and district leadership also had been a challenge for District 60 since its creation in 1946. In July of that year, the district leased the Brown Building, a former medical clinic at 119 Colorado Avenue, to house the superintendent, assistant superintendent, board secretary, treasurer, purchasing agent, and numerous clerks and secretaries. The district quickly outgrew this converted building, so supervisors and maintenance staff established their offices in two classrooms at Hinsdale School. The headquarters for district maintenance remained at Central High School. The district eventually constructed a new administration building, at 315 West Eleventh Street, in 1979. This white stucco edifice, designed by the Pueblo architectural firm HGF, featured a flat roof, nearly triangular footprint with a curved entry portico, and a decorative frieze near the main entrance.

The erection of new school buildings, changes in curriculum, and increased parental emphasis on the importance of obtaining an education in order to achieve the American dream all lead to changes in Pueblo's level of academic achievement. Between 1960 and 1970 the average number of years in school completed among Pueblo citizens rose from 10.6 to 12.1.[213] Referring to improvements such as these, a former District 60 official declared, "Pueblo's public schools are rated among the best in the country. Most children attend new schools, where able teachers and modern equipment prepare them for useful and happy lives."[214]

While classroom overcrowding presented the district with unique challenges in the early postwar years, in many ways the situation of adding more school buildings and educational facilities was easier than the issues that faced Pueblo's schools in the late-1970s and early-1980s. During this period District 60 faced the exact opposite situation: decreases in classroom numbers and the need to make difficult, emotionally-charged decisions regarding which of its many schools to close. During the 1970s the district ultimately closed two schools, Edison Elementary and Central Grade School. While district officials originally planned to raze these historic buildings, both were retained and found appropriate reuses. The fate of these two elementary schools, like the ultimate choice of treatment

along Union Avenue, showed the community's support for historic preservation instead of demolition. By the 1980s, in the face of steadily falling student enrollment numbers and the high cost for building repairs, local economic conditions, despite continuing popular support for historic preservation approaches, were not suited to retaining five of the six historic school buildings.

In 1892 Dr. R.F. Corwin, head surgeon at the Corwin Hospital, arranged for construction of the Edison Elementary School at 900 East Mesa Avenue. The complex, based upon educational concepts the doctor witnessed during his travels in Europe, was constructed as a series of bungalow-like cottages with connecting breezeways at a total cost of $5,975. In response to increases in student population, the building received an addition in 1923. Yet, by the early-1970s, District 60 officials were concerned not only about falling enrollment numbers but also rising levels of energy usage. In the midst of the energy crisis, school leaders decided to close the Edison School at the end of the 1973-1974 school year, sending the 156 students to nearby Bessemer and Fountain Elementary schools. District 60 turned the building over to the City of Pueblo with the understanding the former school be reused for a public purpose. Nearly ten years later the search for the correct use still was underway, with the PRPC advocating preservation of the building due to both its historical and architectural significance. In 1987, local contractor Bret Verna purchased the former Edison School and converted it to two- and three-bedroom apartments for low-income senior citizens. Verna ultimately sold the building to Energy Conservation Systems (ECS), an Atlanta-based company involved with building renovation efforts in the Union Avenue Historic District, and the Pueblo Housing Authority managed the property.

Central Grade School, located at 431 East Pitkin Avenue, was completed in 1882. The stone Italianate building, originally constructed with a central cupola, was the oldest school in use in Pueblo when District 60 officials, in 1979, decided to close the facility.[215] They reached this decision for two reasons: declining enrollment and the high cost of repairs needed to bring the facility into code compliance. District officials estimated the total cost of fixing the original building plus its 1923 and 1959 additions at nearly $1 million. Faced with this prohibitively expensive price tag, the district decided to raze the building to make way for a regulation-size track, a softball field, and additional parking for nearby Central High School pupils. Students from the grade school went to other nearby schools: Bessemer and Carlile. However, various Pueblo citizens sought other solutions. Members of the Preservation Advisory Committee of the PRPC successfully achieved National Register of Historic Places listing for the school in recognition of its historical and architectural significance. The Pueblo County Historical Society, also an advocate for retaining the building, launched a citizen letter writing campaign to encourage District 60 to give the Central Grade School to the society for use as a heritage center. Individual citizens also shared their views with school district officials. Adolph Otterstein castigated them, stating, "I can't believe your stupidity!... You want to tear down that magnificent building for a track. When I was a kid, we ran around the block. There are plenty of places for kids to run." Gary Trujillo took a more diplomatic approach, reminding the leaders, "A city without a look at its past has no perspective for its future."[216] The various pro-preservation efforts were only moderately persuasive. District 60 Superintendent Rob Freeman admitted, "I personally have developed a great

Figure 5.3. Keating Junior High, like all District 60 schools, enjoyed very high enrollment numbers throughout the late-1940s to the 1960s. This image shows one of many homeroom classes from 1958-1959. Enrollment trends at Keating reversed dramatically in the 1980s and the district closed the junior high, along with five elementary schools, in 1982. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo City-County Library District, Western History Collection)*

deal of sympathy for preservation of the building, but I have not changed my mind about tearing it down. More space is desperately needed."[217] The district demolished the two additions to the building, but remained open to adaptive reuse for the original portion of the school. Ultimately, the Pueblo Civic Ballet moved into the facility, taking advantage of the high ceilings, large classrooms, and wooden floors for their dance practice space.

The next wave of District 60 school closures came in the early-1980s. Between 1971 and 1981, District 60 lost a total of 7,471 students, or approximately 27 percent of its enrollment, and projections indicated an expected loss of an additional 3,000 students prior to 1986. In response to these declining figures and the need to close schools, the district established a citizen advisory committee in 1980. This group recommended closure of two elementary schools and one junior high, although the names of these schools were not disclosed and no facilities closed at that time. The next year the district announced a list of six schools being considered for closure in 1982. This list was longer than the one developed by the citizens' group; it included five elementary schools—Fulton Heights, Lakeview, Lincoln, Thatcher, and Washington—and a single junior high, Keating.

District officials held a series of public hearings about the six schools they proposed to close. A key component of each meeting was sharing the results of district analysis based upon criteria such as building age, cost of required repairs, enrollment trends, and average cost per student at the six schools (See Table 5.2). Interestingly, although the Pueblo school closure debate pre-dated 1990 passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), District 60 officials also considered the accessibility of the six buildings, noting the existence of "architectural barriers" such as basement cafeterias or steep staircases at several of the listed schools.

Reactions at the public hearings were, somewhat predictably, loud and passionate with the well-attended meetings featuring students, parents, and alumni carrying signs and attempting to convince District 60 officials their school was worthy of remaining open. Some citizens questioned past district decisions and forced district leaders to admit if they had closed the three schools the citizen advisory committee had recommended for closure earlier, then District 60 could have saved $335,263. While each hearing was different, the concerns expressed at each were quite similar. Major worries included detrimental effects to the sense of community in the area surrounding the schools, the safety of children who would have to walk further to school (often across busy streets), and perceptions of the relocated students as outsiders at the receiving schools. A task force of Chicano parents, students, and teachers released a position paper that claimed Chicano students would suffer disproportionately from the effects of school closures, especially in cuts to bilingual teachers and classes. Reflecting community-wide concerns about the relatively recent departure of CF&I and the need to attract additional jobs to Pueblo, one hearing attendee dramatically accused the district officials of "cutting our throats" and asked, "What industry will come in if we can't even support our schools?"[218]

Yet, despite such widespread objections, the cash-strapped district had no option but to close the six schools. Superintendent Phillip Schoo contended the closings would ultimately "improve the quality of education" because it would "bring more resources—human and financial—to bear on the education of our students."[219]

In December 1982, a semester after the six schools were

TABLE 5.2: COMPARISON OF SIX DISTRICT 60 SCHOOLS CLOSED IN 1982

School Name	Year Built	Alterations	Total Cost of Repairs	Enrollment in 1982	Enrollment Decline: 1973-1982	Relocated To	Enrollment Changes to Relocation Schools	Average Cost per Student
Fulton Heights	1954	N/A	$30,000	88 (53% of capacity)	38%	Columbian	From 351 to 515	$752 (highest)
Keating Junior High	1926	1929, 1976: remodeled	$30,000	647 (61% of capacity)	35%	Corwin Pitts	From 457 to 826 From 666 to 1056	$408 (highest among middle schools)
Lakeview	1917	1928, 1936: remodeled	$82,500	215 (55% of capacity)	32%	Minnequa	From 370 to 482	$414 (5th highest)
Lincoln	1907	1924-1947: 8 rooms added 1949: gym, lunchroom, kitchen, kindergarten added	$100,000	191 (63% of capacity)	39%	Carlile Sunset Park	From 237 to 403 From 383 to 384	$432 (4th highest)
Thatcher	1922	Not available	Not available	447 (percentage of capacity not available)	Not available	Somerlid Irving Fountain	Not available	Not available
Washington	1950	1954	$40,000	244 (62% of capacity)	24%	Hellbeck Columbian	From 363 to 464 From 351 to 515	$367 (7th highest)

Sources: *Pueblo Chieftain* (24 February 1982, 25 February 1982, 3 March 1982, and 5 March 1982)

closed, there were mixed opinions about the effects of the closure. Many parents and some students acknowledged issues with the transition to their new schools. A group of 136 individuals, mostly parents whose students had attended Thatcher, went so far as to file a lawsuit alleging District 60 had placed their school on the closure list because they knew Parkview Hospital was willing to pay a great deal of money for the school and its land. However, both Pueblo District Court and the Colorado Court of Appeals upheld the district's decision for closure. District 60 officials expressed positive opinions about the school closure process, citing near-capacity numbers of students for all of the receiving schools while maintaining student-teacher ratios, in most cases, quite near to the required one to twenty-four levels. Edmund Vallejo, assistant superintendent of instructional services, commended the community for the adjustments they made and acknowledged early "glitches" with equipment shortages and teacher transfers had been resolved very quickly.

The Pueblo school closings in 1982 differed from those in the 1970s in several notable ways. There were more schools closed in the 1980s. Also, instead of advocating historic preservation and adaptive reuse, the majority of the school buildings closed in 1982 were demolished. The district admitted age was a disadvantage and a main consideration in the decision to close the six schools; these older schools, rather than being valued for their history or architecture, were viewed as possessing particularly costly repairs and barriers to access. Ironically, at a time when adaptive reuse was becoming increasing popular nationwide (the *Pueblo Chieftain* ran an article on "Recycled schools" in July 1982 citing examples of reused schools

Figure 5.4. The College Center at Pueblo Community College was completed in 1960. Architecturally, it was a departure from the stucco and red brick-roofed buildings Walter DeMourdant designed elsewhere on campus. The addition of a number of larger parking lots, all on the periphery of the original campus plan, represented another change made at the campus over time. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-98-C-2901, John Suhay Collection)*

in California, Utah, Montana, Texas, and Virginia), Pueblo opted to reuse only one of the closed schools. Keating Junior High became an alternative education facility for at-risk students until its final closure in 2009. Lincoln was demolished in 1991 to make way for a new school on the same site. District 60 sold the former Thatcher Elementary to Parkview Hospital in 1983 for approximately $600,000; the hospital subsequently demolished the school building to make way for expanded facilities.

The emotional battle parents and students waged to save their schools from closure indicated not only the importance they placed on these neighborhood institutions but also the continued emphasis on education as a means to improve both individual lives and the community as a whole. Once Pueblo students graduated from the public schools, local officials wanted to make sure they had access to higher educational opportunities in the city. The story of college, and university, education in Pueblo is an evolutionary one. What started as an idea with the name San Isabel Junior College eventually morphed into Southern Colorado State College, a four-year institution that today is known as Colorado State University-Pueblo. The original junior college campus is now home to Pueblo Community College.

Junior College/Community College

Higher education in Pueblo started with incorporation of Southern Colorado Junior College (SCJC) in June 1933. Although starting such an institution during the Great Depression seemed like a gamble, many individuals were unemployed and, if they could come up with the tuition money, were encouraged to continue their education with the hope jobs would be more plentiful once they had earned their degree. The junior college provided educational opportunities for a wide variety of learners: two year degrees in arts, literature, and science for those wishing to go on to earn bachelor degrees; high school completion classes for those who had not graduated; enrichment courses for adult learners; and vocational instruction for anyone needing such skills. Centennial High School teacher Eric T. Kelly was the major organizer of the effort to establish the college. He also served as first dean and President of the newly-established educational institution from 1933 to 1936.

The first classes met in some vacant rooms in the top floor of the Pueblo County Courthouse. In 1933, there were sixty-three students, each paying $12 per course to cover the salaries for the dean, registrar, and two full-time and eight part-time instructors. The first graduating class in 1935 had seventeen students. With growing enrollment, the college sought a permanent site. CF&I donated land in South Pueblo and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) started construction on the first academic building, a 55,000 square foot arts building designed by Pueblo architect Walter DeMourdant, in 1936.[220] The following year Pueblo County voters agreed to allocate tax money to the junior college and the name of the institution officially became Pueblo Junior College (PJC). In October 1939, PJC contracted with the Civil Aeronautics Authority to offer ground instruction for civilian pilot training.

The college entered the 1940s with an enrollment of 300 total students and twenty-eight full-time instructors. The curriculum also expanded and divided into eight divisions: Arts and Sciences, Commerce, Engineering, Home Economics, Fine Arts, Music, Education, and Agriculture. The campus had three buildings, described as being "of Spanish architecture…a style well adapted to a setting in the old Spanish territory of Southern Colorado."[221] Roselawn Nursery provided the campus landscaping, including a sprinkler system. In 1940, the campus developed a Model Vocational Center with cooperation from the National Youth Administration. During the 1940-1941 academic year, the school offered night school classes for the first time.

The college, like the rest of Pueblo, dealt with the realities of World War II. In February 1942, PJC administrators granted a leave of absence to any faculty members drafted into military service. The 1941-1942 yearbook listed a total of forty-five graduates under the heading "Men in the Service" and this figure grew to 191 students and seven faculty by the following year. In 1943, the college took control of the former Rood Candy Company building, a four-story structure of approximately 8,000 square feet, in order to provide vocational instruction for those entering wartime production jobs; there were classes in machine tool operation, aircraft engines, radio maintenance, blueprint reading, sheet metal fabrication, and electric welding. Several hundred skilled welders who learned their trade at PJC worked in the shipyards on the west coast and by 1945 over 100,000 students had passed through this facility.[222] As more students became involved in the war effort, enrollment numbers dropped dramatically, from 310 in 1940

to only 124 in 1943. When the gymnasium converted to additional space for wartime industry classes, physical education classes moved to the downtown YMCA and YWCA.

The college entered the postwar period before the war officially ended, with PJC starting preparations for a training program for World War II veterans. When the war ended, so did the college's programs in wartime production. However, the college-sponsored Canning Center remained operational until November 1945. In April 1946, PJC established a special cooperative program with the Veterans Administration (VA). The "Related Training for Apprentices" involved the college offering night courses to returning GIs, with the VA paying part of their tuition. PJC also hired a special tutor, offering his services to students at a rate of $2 per hour, to work with soldiers who had not completed their high school education prior to enlisting. The vocational offerings at PJC shifted to skills better suited to a peacetime economy, including classes in air conditioning, furniture upholstery, refrigeration, and film projectionist training. The postwar enrollment boom finally arrived during the 1946-1947 school year, forcing the college to request an increase in the local mill levy.

On June 22, President Roosevelt signed the "Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944," also known as the G.I. Bill. This measure, among other things, paid universities for tuition and other expenses and provided a modest stipend to veteran students, thus allowing thousands of former soldiers to attend college. This legislation aimed to ease the transition from wartime to peacetime and to avoid the type of bonus marches that followed World War I. Government officials and business leaders realized until American industry transitioned to peacetime production, there would be few jobs available for veterans.

The answer to this challenge was to reward those who served their country with a share in the American Dream, providing the means to obtain a college education or other training for new jobs. By the time this version of the G.I. Bill program ended in 1956, over half of the 15 million World War II veterans had taken advantage of its education and training benefits. Approximately 3.5 million of these soldiers-turned-students attended institutions like PJC.[223] The G.I. Bill was one of the most significant developments in the history of American education and democratized college campuses, making it "…possible for the sons of farmhands and laborers to get a better education than they had ever dreamed of (and)…gave widespread and permanent credence to the idea that education is the pathway to a better job and a better life."[224]

PJC used the additional local mill level funds, supplemented with proceeds from the G.I. Bill, to offer more classes, hire more qualified instructors, commission an architect to plan for physical expansion on the campus, and expand their vocational school to a full-time program during both the day and at night. A new student organization, the Veteran's Club, also began during the postwar period; this support group helped returning soldiers navigate the provisions of the G.I. Bill, find part-time jobs, and locate increasingly scarce housing. In January 1947, architect Walter DeMourdant published his proposed master plan for the PJC campus. The campus was to include a total of nineteen buildings, including a new on-campus facility for the vocational education program.[225] Pueblo voters approved a bond issue of $750,000 to pay for these improvements in a February 1947 special election. Citizens seemed to agree with the PJC administration's persuasive argument "that the higher the educational standards of a community, the higher the living standards of that community."[226]

To ease immediate overcrowding the campus acquired four temporary barracks, formerly located at the prisoner of war camp near Trinidad, for use as additional classrooms.

The PJC campus continued to grow in the 1950s, despite the slight dip in enrollment during the Korean War. The new Vocational Building was completed in 1950 at a cost of nearly $560,000; like the 1930s buildings DeMourdant designed, it featured a red tile roof. That same year the college joined the National Junior College Athletic Association and acquired additional land for a physical education fields offering space for archery, soccer, and field hockey. PJC had, for the first time, student housing at the beginning of the 1951 school year. Female students moved into the campus-owned apartment building at 901 West Orman Avenue.

Rejected in the first attempt in 1943, PJC was accredited as a member of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools on March 29, 1951, becoming the first accredited junior college in Colorado. In 1952, the school had another name change, becoming known simply as Pueblo College. The administration, in keeping with the times, authorized construction of a campus television station in 1955; the facility was not completed until seven years later. A new dorm was supposed to have been ready for the beginning of the 1955-1956 school year, but construction delays forced emergency use of the YMCA and a building scheduled for conversion to music studios as temporary student housing. Cuthbertson Residence Hall, a three-story yellow brick building, included dorm rooms for forty male and forty female students and featured a partitioned center to separate the building by gender. The Administration Building, the next new building from DeMourdant's campus master plan, was completed in 1956. In 1957, Pueblo College purchased five residences adjacent to the campus in order to give the institution even more room to grow. The new College Center, in the planning stages for at least five years, hosted its grand opening in November 1961. Using a loan granted to Pueblo College under Title IV of the Housing Act of 1950, this modern student union included a cafeteria, bookstore, barber shop, ballroom, conference rooms, student activity offices, and an art gallery.

Pueblo College administrators, faculty, and students all lobbied many years for establishment of a four-year college in Pueblo. In 1961, the Colorado General Assembly declared Pueblo College a four-year state college to be known as Southern Colorado State College (SCSC). On September 13, 1963, all Pueblo College assets were transferred to the Board of Trustee of State Colleges for SCSC's use. The new educational institution continued to use the Orman campus for several years, renaming the former Pueblo College the "College for Community Services and Career Education" in 1974. Four years later this facility became independent again and in 1982 the name was changed officially to Pueblo Community College (PCC). PCC continues to offer vocational and academic classes for students planning to transfer credits to four-year colleges and universities. PCC also currently offers classes in Canon City, Cortez, and Durango.

Four-Year College/University

Higher education in Pueblo changed dramatically in 1961 when the Colorado Legislature granted the community its own four-year state college. Vincent Massari—Pueblo resident, key member of the local Italian-American community, and State legislator—was the "patron saint" of South Colorado State College (SCSC). He was born in 1898 in Luco nei Marsi, Aquila, Italy, and, in 1915, he arrived in the Pueblo area, where his father

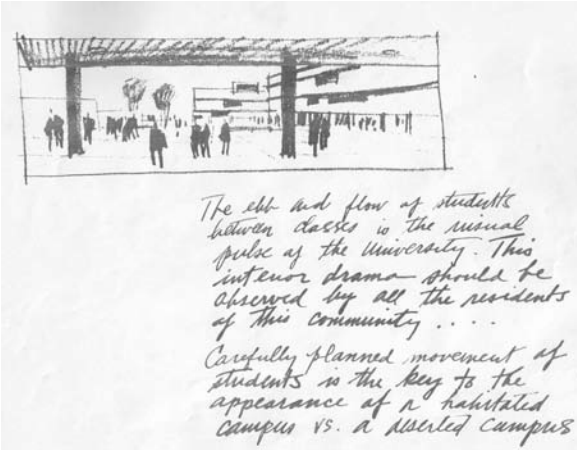

Figure 5.5. The planning document Rice professors Todd and Lacy prepared for the new four-year college campus included a number of evocative sketches. The script below the image poetically states,"The ebb and flow of students between classes is the visual pulse of the university. This interior drama should be observed by all the residents of this community. Carefully planned movement of students is the key to the appearance of a habitated campus vs. a deserted campus."

was a miner and union organizer. Massari also became a union organizer and served as editor and publisher of a national Italian language newspaper *L'Unione*. He was active in establishing Columbus Day as an official holiday. In 1954, he entered the Colorado State Legislature where he served for twenty-two years. He initiated his lobbying efforts for the creation of SCSC among his fellow legislators in 1956 and, three years later, he succeeded in getting an official needs study for a four-year college in Southern Colorado. After the college was established, he maintained his strong relationship with the institution. He was instrumental in securing university status for SCSC, that changed its name to the University of Southern Colorado in 1975. In honor of all his efforts to promote education in Pueblo, Massari had the gymnasium complex at the Belmont campus named after him and he was inducted, posthumously, into the Pueblo Community College Hall of Fame in March 2003.

Once Pueblo was awarded a four-year university, the search for the new campus site began. In December 1961, the Board of Trustees engaged the assistance of planners from the firm of Caudill, Rowlett, and Scott of Houston, Texas, in this important process. The chosen 845-acre site was near the Belmont subdivision on Pueblo's east side. John Bonforte, the merchant builder involved with platting and construction within Belmont, donated 150 acres to SCSC and reduced the price for purchase of the remaining land to approximately $700 per acre. The fledgling college also commissioned a study of how the new campus should look. Professors A. Todd and B. Lacy of Rice University concluded "The architectural statement must be bold! Pueblo, second to Denver in size, should be second to none in courage to build a significant architecture…. The architecture should express the right of Pueblo to have big industry AND a large university…. The site is prominent. The architecture must not be timid."[227] These academics expressed their preference for concrete as a building material on the new campus, citing the link to the region's history of adobe construction but stressing the "technological advantages inherent in concrete construction" that can be used as structural components, precast panels, and blocks.[228]

Both the professors and the planners endorsed a campus plan based upon a pedestrian circulation "spine" they labeled as the "paseo," with this dominant pathway also flowing into a variety of arcades and plazas near the academic buildings and other campus facilities. These design professionals stressed the importance of views, both from and toward the campus, and encouraged a unified design of buildings with each offering protection from the sun and showcasing magnificent views. In terms of the landscaping, the two professors noted the "desert" surroundings and suggested continuing this type of materials and plants on the campus; they believed this approach was "practical…since it would be impossible to create and maintain large areas of greenery" but conceded such groundcover would be necessary, in moderation, for sports fields and as a respite for the eye within the campus plan.[229]

In late-1963, groundbreaking for the Belmont campus took place. The first group of key buildings constructed included the library, a few classroom buildings, the first residence hall, and the power plant. During the late-1960s and early-1970s, new buildings for Life Sciences (1968), Physics and Math (1969), Administration (1971), Art-Music (1971), College Center (1974), Psychology (1976), and various athletic fields emerged.

The institution was more successful than expected, drawing over 5,000 students by 1967 rather than reaching that fig-

Figure 5.6. Southern Colorado State College (now Colorado State University-Pueblo) is located on a plateau above the city, allowing it to be, according to campus planners, "a visual symbol to the people of Pueblo and to all who approach Pueblo from any direction. It should show that the city takes pride in its accomplishments as a city, industrially and culturally." *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-2851, John Suhay Historical Collection)*

ure, as predicted, in 1975. Statistical changes in educational attainment figures indicated the importance of SCSC (and PCC) to Pueblo; in 1960 the percentage of citizens who had completed high school or continued into higher education was 40.8 percent and this rate rose to 52 percent in 1970.[230]

In 1972, the school introduced its first masters degree program in teaching. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare honored the college for its various academic programs in the 1970s as one of twenty-five advanced developing institutions. The Teacher Corps Program received the Award of Merit from the American Association of College for Teacher Education. The Electronics Engineering Technology Program, the only one of its type in Colorado, also earned accreditation from the Engineers Council for Professional Development.

SCSC maintained a two-campus model until 1976. Buses carried students between the older Orman site and the new Belmont campus. These two facilities differed not only in their academic offerings but also their appearance. The Orman site was significantly smaller than the Belmont location and, unlike SCSC further west, the community college had virtually no land available for expansion. The Belmont campus, designed in the 1960s when collegiate sports started to take on more importance and experienced wider (and co-ed) participation,

provided specialized athletic fields and other recreational facilities from the beginning. The Orman campus featured a large central, grass quad and numerous old growth trees; its design reflected nationwide campus planning trends during the 1930s through the 1950s. By contrast, the Belmont facility lay along a long spine, and as the campus grew developed multiple courtyards and open spaces among the various academic buildings and other facilities. While there were some grassy areas, the SCSC site was designed with Pueblo's natural vegetation and arid climate in mind. The residence halls on the two campuses reflected their periods of construction, with Orman's Cuthbertson Hall representing a smaller facility. At the Belmont campus, the residence halls were built in the newer, tall tower style with a central elevator core, small lounges on most floors, and large communal bathrooms. In the 1970s, the college built a number of off-campus apartment complexes near SCSC to provide additional student housing.

In 1975, SCSC achieved another milestone when it was granted full university status. Governor Richard D. Lamm attended a special ceremony on campus where he signed HB-1381 to make the institution's new name Southern Colorado University. The governor "lauded Pueblo as a 'community that won't take "no" for an answer' and added 'Thank God, it won't.'"[231] University President Dr. Harry P. Bowes claimed, "More than anything else, the story of this institution's first forty-two years is a story of people; countless faculty and administrators who were dedicated to the idea of better educational opportunities for Southern Colorado and thousands of students who entered here to find those opportunities." He also acknowledged the "community leaders and concerned citizens who were willing to stand up and fight for the educational facilities and programs they felt were needed in Southern Colorado."[232] In July 2003, there was another name change, this time to its current Colorado State University-Pueblo.

Every community wants and benefits from a more educated populace. It is the responsibility of the educational system to provide students at all levels with the skills, knowledge, and understanding to make not only individual lives better, but also all citizens more responsible. A profound belief in education's potential to open doors to opportunities is central to the American dream and is one reason generation after generation of parents have encouraged their children to stay in school and obtain higher levels of education.

In the prosperous postwar period, Puebloans devoted a generous portion of their property taxes to the public schools, making up for low expenditure levels during both the Great Depression and World War II. They wanted their children to enjoy the benefits of peacetime but also be prepared to represent the United States in the space race and other endeavors designed to improve the status and future of the country. Conversely, Pueblo Junior College was established in the depths of the Great Depression; what organizers and students lacked in funding, they made up for in enthusiasm and desire for improvement. This same spirit of personal and community betterment drove the efforts to obtain a four-year college in Pueblo. City advocates for this college recognized the importance of educational opportunities for students wishing to continue their formal learning. But, even more so, they sought the prestige and positive image the presence of such an institution would confer upon Pueblo. Community and academic leaders invested a great deal of effort in both the choice of a campus site and the design of its buildings. They sought to create an elevated complex that educated area students but also broadened the horizons of all Puebloans.

Chapter 6

Freedoms

After the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Puebloans, like all Americans, awaited news of Japanese surrender and the end of World War II. Finally, shortly after 5 p.m. on Friday, August 15, 1945, "automobile horns blared forth…announcing that peace had come to the world with the surrender of Japan." Quickly a "parade of automobiles lined Main Street from First to Tenth, four abreast." The churches had only a few women and children praying, but there were "quantities of confetti dropped" from the Thatcher Building, the Colorado Building, and the Post Office.[233] A daughter born to Mr. and Mrs. Fred Samora at 5:41 p.m. was declared to be Pueblo's official "Victory Baby." The Veterans of Foreign War hosted a celebratory dance at their post on Grand Avenue, roping off the street between Fourth and Fifth streets for overflow revelers.

This chapter looks at two types of freedoms that, although both very important to the American dream, seem to be an unlikely pairing: the freedom to enjoy leisure and the freedom of racial equality. In the immediate postwar period and throughout the 1950s, Americans were ready to return to living normal lives, having emerged from World War II as victors. President Eisenhower, often shown in the newspaper and on newsreels either fishing or golfing, set the tone for a postwar period where Americans enjoyed themselves and their freedoms. After the seeming innocence of the late-1940s and 1950s, the tone of American politics and culture shifted in the 1960s and 1970s. The realities of the Cold War, the vulnerability of our leaders to assassination, and our greater exposure via television to the problems of an ever-expanding world all changed lives. Children of parents who fought overseas or sacrificed on the home front during World War II, started to see their future differently. Raised in the prosperous postwar period and as the beneficiaries of the material comforts of the American dream, they freely questioned the deeper meanings of American identity. The anti-war, racial equality, and women's rights movements all grew out of this period of rebellion. In Pueblo, the freedom of racial equality centered on the emerging Chicano movement with leaders Alberto Gurule and Martin Serna encouraging local youth to become active in the Casa Verde Berets, the MECHA organization at the college, and a wide variety of boycotts and protests.

Leisure

Like the deferred gratification that encouraged dramatic spikes in home purchases and consumer spending, Americans in the mid-1940s were ready for a much different lifestyle than the worry, work relief, and wartime austerity that had dominated the past fifteen years during the Great Depression and World War II. They wanted to inject their everyday lives with some fun, leisure, and material comfort. Fortunately, for these long-suffering Americans, the United States could take economic advantage of the Allied victory. "Americans entered peacetime in a jubilant mood, convinced that their traditional

Figure 6.1. Before the Pueblo Reservoir was constructed, Lake Minnequa was the best place in or near Pueblo for water skiing and other water sports. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-0340, John Suhay Collection)*

values and way of life had won the war," and feeling they deserved to enjoy their economic, political, and cultural position as citizens of the world's newest superpower.[234] In Pueblo, this late-1940s and 1950s emphasis on leisure resulted in increased participation in social clubs, with both the Pueblo County Club and Minnequa Club on the south side giving their dues-paying members plenty of opportunities to enjoy sports, parties, and new friendships. Puebloans who did not consider themselves part of the club "set," could enjoy other activities like bowling or baseball (and many did at all socio-economic levels). Pueblo's parks also were popular with a wide range of citizens and the city struggled to provide adequate facilities for a steadily growing population keen to enjoy their leisure time swimming in municipal pools and playing with their families in open spaces and playgrounds. And, as television ownership became more prevalent, more and more Puebloans, like all Americans, spent evenings parked in front of their RCAs, Admirals, and Motorolas, basking in the glow of their television and enjoying their favorite programs.

Social Clubs

The Minnequa Club, officially named the Minnequa University Club, was Pueblo's first private social club, established in 1892. Membership originally was open to only CF&I executives and their families. But, in 1927, CF&I sold the club building to its members and the organization decided to offer memberships to anyone interested in joining. Until 1946 the club had a "dry" facility, offering no alcohol service. The Minnequa Club, with its historic Mission style building from the early-1900s, became the unofficial country club for the south side of Pueblo, also known as the "working man's country club."[235] Over the years it was the site of numerous social

events such as costume balls, bridge parties, fashion shows, wedding receptions, banquets, and speaking engagements. The club offered lots of sporting opportunities as well, especially polo, golf, swimming, sailing, and water skiing. The city disallowed swimming in adjacent Lake Minnequa in the late-1940s, but club members installed a heated outdoor pool in 1954, expanding this amenity in 1960. In 1964, there were 310 male members of the Minnequa Club; their wives and children were welcome as guests. The club established a junior board of directors in 1969, allowing teenagers to plan their own activities. The club closed in 1989 when the members sold the building to nearby St. Mary-Corwin Hospital. The Lake became the centerpiece of Lake Minnequa Park.

The Pueblo Country Club was established as a males-only social center on March 28, 1903. It is believed to be the second oldest country club in Colorado, established soon after the Denver Country Club. It was not until 1926 that the club converted its dusty land in north Pueblo to a grassy oasis golf course. They also constructed a clubhouse, with numerous additions over the years as dues allowed for repairs or members requested greater amenities. In 1958, the members added a dining room, and in 1963 they extended and remodeled the front entrance to the clubhouse. Country Club member and, presumably, avid tennis player Donald Peaker paid for construction of the club's first courts. Member Whitney Newton, owner of Newton Lumber, paid for the Pueblo Country Club's first swimming pool in 1964. Later, members invested in a larger, Olympic-sized pool, offering space for both serious swimmers and those members more interested in a quick dip as a respite during long summer sunbathing sessions.

The Pueblo Country Club had a brush with notoriety in 1941 when it was the target of a gambling investigation. Fired bartender and bookkeeper Frank Wolf provided the police with a tip about wagering, prompting a raid on April 15, 1941. Club officers claimed the gambling allegations were a "spite case" since Wolf had been fired, but the police and courts took the matter more seriously. The investigation ended with six counts of gambling against fourteen club directors plus civil action against the club as a public nuisance. The Pueblo County Club was forced to close temporarily, with the police seizing cards, slot machines, and other gambling paraphernalia. According to Wolf who, as bookkeeper was in a position to know, the club earned $7,257.99 from a wide variety of gambling activities, having him record these ill-gotten gains as either "miscellaneous income" or contributions to the "improvement fund."

In the 1960s, the Pueblo County Club golf course expanded to eighteen holes; the club added its first irrigation system in 1964. A decade later the club completed $750,000 worth of repairs on the clubhouse. After being closed for three months, the facility reopened as what the *Pueblo Chieftain* described as a "completely new 'Western-Spanish' club."[236] At the time of this clubhouse upgrade, the Pueblo Country Club had a total of 500 resident members and 250 other members. It was not until the 1980s that the club became co-ed, though. Like at the Minnequa Club, members' wives and children were welcome as guests.

Bowling and Baseball

Nationally, the heyday of bowling popularity occurred during the period from the 1940s to the 1960s. In Pueblo it appears this fad peaked at a slightly later date, with city directories including no bowling alleys in either 1940 or 1950. However, by 1960, there were four bowling alleys in the city; in

Figure 6.2. Costumed couples celebrate at the Minnequa Club. Hawaiian themed parties were very popular after Hawaii became the fiftieth state on August 12, 1959. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-0103, John Suhay Collection)*

Figure 6.3. Both the original and 1975 renovated clubhouse at the Pueblo Country Club hosted numerous social gatherings, dinner dances, birthday parties, and other events. *(photo courtesy of Pueblo County Historical Society, PCSH-P-98-0091, John Suhay Collection)*

both 1970 and 1980, a total of five bowling alleys were listed. The oldest bowling alley in the city was located at the corner of Northern Avenue and Routt Street near CF&I. Over the years there were Corsi's Lanes, J-Ron-Z Lanes, Brothers Lanes, and Minnequa Bowling. This twelve-lane alley had a very healthy league schedule, with many teams coming straight from their shifts at the mill. Long-time owner Ernie Brothers also recalled "there were lots of times when twenty-five or thirty people would bowl 'pot games' for five or six hours at night after the leagues ended."[237] This alley was also a popular lunch spot and hosted school gym classes that arrived in yellow school buses.

The Brunswick Belmont Lanes, at 1011 Bonforte Boulevard, was one of the original tenants within Belmont Shopping Center. This alley was significantly larger than Minnequa Bowling, featuring twenty-four automatic lanes. The social center also had a coffee shop, bar, and nursery. In 1972, bowlers played for 60 cents per game during the day; both students and seniors paid 45 cents. The Belmont Lanes, also popular with bowling leagues, was destroyed by fire in 1991.

The Bowlero Bowling Club, active in the 1970s, gathered at the Midtown Shopping Center at 1000 West Sixth Street. This massive facility located below the large strip mall had thirty-two lanes, a snack bar, nursery, pro-shop, meeting room, babysitting service, and lounge. Costs here were comparable to those in Belmont; shoe rental cost 15 cents in 1972. Like Minnequa Bowling, this alley worked with the City Recreation Department, inviting junior and high school students in to bowl as part of school-day programs.

Bowling was a year-round activity enjoyed in the modern, climate-controlled alleys. But once spring weather arrived, for many, thoughts turned to baseball. Pueblo has a long history with America's favorite pastime. Babe Ruth played an exhibition game here in 1938 and the town was home to numerous company, American Legion, and local little league teams.[238]

Pueblo also was associated with professional baseball. In 1941, the Western League Pueblo Rollers were a farm team for the St. Louis Browns. All league play was suspended during World War II, resuming play in 1947. The Pueblo Dodgers, a Class A team for the Brooklyn Dodgers, were active from 1947 to 1958 and played at Runyon Field. Western League President Edwin Johnson, the former Colorado Governor and United States Senator, served from 1947 to 1955 and was responsible for reviving minor league baseball after the war. Johnson stated, "Baseball is the perfect example of the American way of life. It is democracy in operation" and under his league reign he emphasized use of qualified umpires and good behavior for all men on the field.[239]

In 1958, when the Dodgers, like so many postwar Americans, made the move to the West, the Pueblo minor league team changed affiliation. Famous Dodgers who played in Pueblo included Sparky Anderson, Roger Craig, Jim Gentile, Clem Labine, Maury Wills, and many others. Big Leaguer Omar Joseph "Turk" Lown—who played in the majors for the Chicago Cubs, Cincinnati Reds, and Chicago White Sox—made his home in Pueblo after his retirement in 1962, living at 1106 Van Buren Street. When the Dodgers moved cross-country, the Pueblo Bruins, a farm team for the Chicago Cubs, continued playing at Runyon Field. Faced with dwindling attendance, the Western League went dormant starting in the fall of 1958. With no minor league team to play there, Puebloans raised $15,000 to keep Runyon Field open for local games and other recreational uses.

TABLE 6.1 SELECTED LIST OF DEPRESSION ERA PROJECTS IN PUEBLO'S PARKS

Location	Agency	Description
City Park	WPA	Golf Course clubhouse, storm sewers, stone hay barn, four lighted tennis courts, lighted softball fields with stone bleachers and announcer's stand, lighted horseshoe court, wading pool, restrooms, cabinet workshop in basement of Pavilion, Skeet-Trap Shooting Building (1937), Boy Scout's building, identification and mapping of plants and flowers
	CWA	Goodnight Circle stone fountain , renovation of City Park Pavilion (1934), Girl Scout's Sunshine Lodge, trails, bridges, rock gardens, restrooms, stone walls around Lake Joy
Mineral Palace	WPA/CWA	Restrooms, greenhouse, stone walls, enlarged maintenance facility, enlarged horse barn, boathouse pavilion, four tennis courts, wading pool, enlarged playground, construction of two recreation buildings, office for Park District #1 Superintendent, walls around Lake Clara, new lake house complex with band shell and stone bridges, lily pond, , identification and mapping of plants and flowers
Mitchell Park	WPA	Restrooms, stone walls, fountain, wading pool, bathhouse

Source: Pueblo County Historical Society. *A Condensed Account of 1933-1942 Federal New Deal Programs Within the City and County of Pueblo, Colorado.* Pueblo: Pueblo County Historical Society, 2007.

Pueblo's Parks

Throughout its history Pueblo has recognized the need to provide its citizens with open space for recreation, an amenity particularly important in an industrial city with numerous factory-bound workers who needed affordable, accessible parks to enjoy leisure time. Pueblo's park development started in 1890s with the development of four large, regional parks to serve the various communities which eventually became the unified city. During the 1930s and early-1940s, Great Depression work relief programs left their physical stamp on many the city's parks, both large and small. Pueblo also benefitted from two specific park development trends, the 1959 introduction of neighborhood-school parks and the 1972 ordinance which required developers of new residential subdivisions to set aside a portion of land for new neighborhood parks. The Pueblo Parks and Recreation Department took an active approach to both park and city beautification. In the 1970s staff members introduced a program to respond to the aftermath of the Dutch Elm disease outbreak, assisting residents to choose appropriate replacement trees and planting them for homeowners.

Pueblo's park system was born in 1896 when members of the Ladies Parks and Improvement Association met with city officials and members of the Pueblo Chamber of Commerce to suggest the development of three park districts. This plan lead to the development of Pueblo's four historic parks—Minnequa Park (now known as Bessemer Park) to the south, Mitchell Park on the east side, Mineral Palace Park on the north side, and City Park to the west. All four of these community assets show hallmarks of the City Beautiful movement. These historic parks featured large, open, grassy areas with deciduous trees and also contained designed landscapes with specialized structures such as lakes, ponds, fountains, and decorative stonework. Great Depression work relief efforts repaired or enhanced many of these original features (see Table 6.1). During this time, the small animal display areas at both

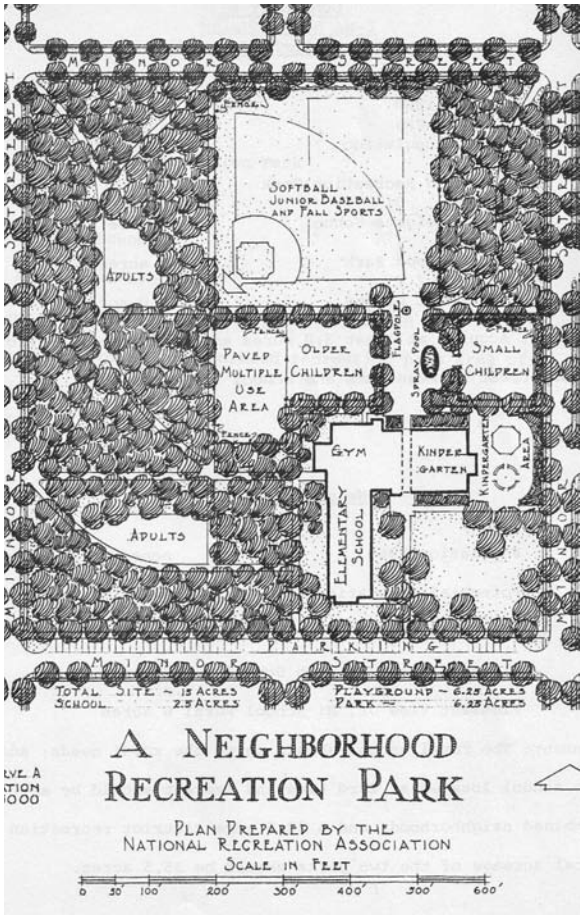

Figure 6.4 The National Recreation Association offered this example for communities to follow when developing neighborhood-school parks. The overall goal was to design "an attractive recreation, cultural, and educational center that will be an inspiration to all and will do much to make the neighborhood a very desirable place in which to live." Pueblo's first neighborhood-school park, Beckwood, featured far less vegetation than shown in this diagram. But it did have sports fields, a flagpole, playground equipment for smaller children, and a shuffleboard court for adults. *(Kenneth Smithee.* Parks, Recreation, and Beautification, *37)*

Mitchell and Mineral Palace parks were moved to a much larger facility, which eventually became the Pueblo Zoo, in City Park. Works Progress Administration (WPA) crews used excavated stone to build four bear pits and an artificial mountain for the zoo. In addition to the faux mountain, there were stone walls, paths, a bridge, a waterfall, a beaver pond exhibit, and deer shelters which were later used for storage instead. The popular "Monkey Island" had a surrounding moat, a stone lighthouse, a replica of a wrecked ship, and an elaborate monkey enclosure in which the individual cages featured bas-relief sculptures with tropical scenes completed as part of a WPA-funded project to provide work for unemployed artists. WPA workers also developed the ornamental iron work for all of the lighting fixtures within the zoo

There were a total of nineteen urban parks in Pueblo by about 1940, with a combined area of over 647 acres. All but two of these facilities received WPA attention during the Great Depression. Work completed at the parks included repairs to and installation of irrigation systems, construction of sidewalks, improvements to or paving of thirty-three miles of roadways, creation of concrete and stone curbs and gutters, development of concrete tennis courts, and establishment of shuffleboard courts in nearly every park. The WPA also built horseshoe courts, baseball backstops, public restrooms, drinking fountains, picnic tables, benches, and cooking grills. Ten of the city's parks received new playground equipment; all of the merry-go-rounds, swing sets, and other apparatus came from Lamar Playground Equipment Company.

Pueblo's historic Mineral Palace Park, like all of the recreational areas, continued to evolve after the New Deal period. In 1943 the City, unable to afford years of deferred maintenance, demolished the grand, 1891, Otto Burlow-designed Mineral Palace, which was the City Beautiful-era centerpiece of this park. The state purchased the eastern portion of Mineral Palace Park for construction of the Pueblo Freeway and, over time, the city reduced the size of Lake Clara to save water. In the 1960s, the city demolished the former superintendent's house, which was used as a municipal museum. On a more positive note, in the mid-1960s, Parks and Recreation staff installed a popular climbing area featuring a group of boulders that functioned equally well as natural sculpture and creative activity center. The park faced another setback in 1974 when hail virtually destroyed the WPA greenhouse. The city commissioned local architectural firm Hurtig, Gardner, and Froelich (HGF) to design a replacement facility with 4,000 square feet of classroom, display, and plant growing space. This new greenhouse, built by Lindgren Construction Company of Colorado Springs, cost over $280,000 and was dedicated in 1976 as one of many citywide bicentennial projects.[240]

Pueblo's parks entered a new era in the 1950s. With the passage of the new charter in 1954, the city abandoned separate park districts for a unified, citywide system with George L. Williams, a parks employee since 1932, serving as the city's first director of Pueblo's Parks and Recreation department. During the 1950s, this newly established department made major improvements to the City Park golf course, including introduction of an 18-hole course in 1954 on former airport land adjacent to the existing course. In 1958, a total of 700 citizens attended the grand re-opening of the remodeled clubhouse. City staff made the golf operation more inclusive and more profitable, introducing gallery fees during major tournaments and other measures. The City Park golf course, in less than four years under municipal control, enjoyed a $20,000 increase in revenues. During the late-1950s, the city also created the

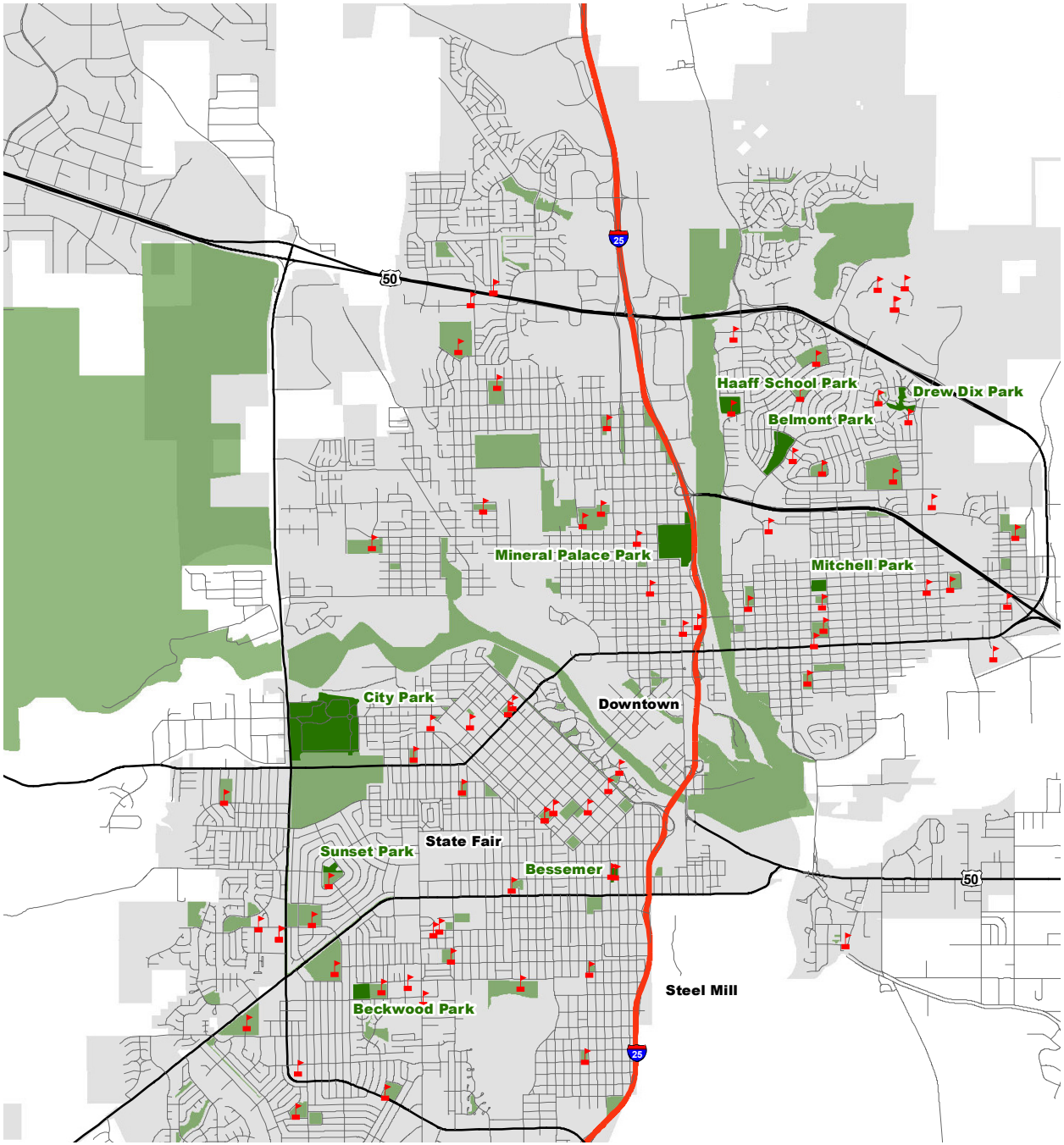

Figure 6.5 Pueblo is blessed with numerous parks and open spaces. The oldest and largest are Bessemer, City, Mineral Palace, and Mitchell parks. This map also shows the prevalence of neighborhood school parks throughout the city. Starting in 1972, all new residential subdivisions were required to set aside land for additional suburban parks. *(map courtesy Pueblo County GIS)*

Figure 6.6. Pueblo's first neighborhood-school park, Beckwood, features numerous examples of original playground equipment like this unique climbing apparatus. There are also tennis courts, a softball field, and evidence of former shuffleboard courts. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

"Happy Time Ranch" petting zoo and educational area in City Park, added numerous automated rides to the kiddie park, plus continued to stock the City Park fishing lake with catfish, which local banker William White donated.

In 1959, a group of homeowners initiated the important program that developed the first neighborhood-school park in Pueblo. A group of neighbors "banded together to confront the typical growing pains associated with new subdivisions of the time—inadequate sewers, unpaved streets, lack of traffic signs and the developing need for more schools."[241] They established the 10.56 acre Beckwood Park, on a formerly vacant lot used for illegal dumping, adjacent to Hellbeck Elementary School at 3000 Lakeview Avenue. This citizen group convinced the City, District 60, and the Pueblo Water Board that a new park was needed, after a girl was injured on a barbed wire fence while walking to school near the vacant lot. The school district allowed a park to be built for joint school and city use. The city vacated a street, purchased the land, designed the park, and promised to provide future maintenance. The water board donated additional land and fenced off a water tower near the new park. The success of Beckwood, "Pueblo's first modern neighborhood-school park," led to a new policy and the development of at least thirteen additional such parks adjacent to new school buildings throughout Pueblo.[242]

Despite the recent introduction of Beckwood as Pueblo's first neighborhood-school park, Parks and Recreation Director

Williams warned the City Council, in 1959, we "are losing our fight to make Pueblo the best place in which to live and rear a family. We are not keeping pace with our population growth. Our land areas and facilities are already twenty years behind."[243] Williams continued to worry about the lack of recreational facilities in Pueblo. In 1966, the Parks and Recreation Department spent approximately $9,000 to repair vandalism damage to garden hoses, sprinklers, restrooms, and trees in the parks. Williams attributed this behavior to the fact Pueblo had "added only ten acres of land to the entire park system in the past forty years" and claimed, as he had seven years earlier, the city's existing parks "just can't handle the population."[244]

A PRPC-commissioned report by Ken Smithee of the National Recreation and Parks Association, also published in 1966, echoed Williams's concerns. According to this outside expert, if Pueblo wished to meet the minimum standard of five acres per each 1,000 people, the city needed an additional 125 acres of park space immediately. He also predicted Pueblo would need 690 more acres of park space to accommodate the projected 1980 population of 200,000 residents. Comparative figures indicated Pueblo's per capita spending on parks and recreation was much less cities of similar size across the country. In 1961, the much smaller Colorado Springs spent approximately $8.60 per person, similarly sized Cedar Rapids, Iowa, spent $6.17 per person, and Pueblo's expenditure was a lowly $3.90.[245] Overall, Smithee determined the city's 1966 budget allocation for parks and recreation was $178,604 too low.

Despite the inadequacy of available funding, Pueblo Parks and Recreation staff maintained very high standards in terms of park quality, beautification, and customer service. In 1971, the department initiated the successful "Trees for Today and Tomorrow" program in response to the destructive effects of Dutch Elm disease, which hit Pueblo, like so many cities nationwide, particularly hard. City workers kept busy removing infected trees from not only the parks but also private property; parks employees routinely removed homeowners' diseased trees and assisted citizens as needed. This new program, which assisted Puebloans in choosing and replacing lost trees, sought to enhance the overall appearance of the city, lower future maintenance costs, and increase available shade. In its initial year, the program allocated $15,800 for the purchase of new trees for Pueblo's parks, the same sum to cover half the cost of trees for homeowners, and an additional $15,300 for necessary equipment and staff time. In December 1970, 30,000 Pueblo residents received a brochure about the tree replacement program in their water bill. About 1,000 residents took advantage of this offer. Tree inspector William Serfling met personally with interested homeowners to choose the best tree for their yard and encouraged them to visit Pueblo parks where mature examples of the fourteen available tree specimens (a variety of maple, catalpa, hackberry, ash, locust, mulberry, sycamore, and linden trees) could be inspected. Participants in the tree program paid only $7.50 for both the new tree and the planting service, with the city promising to replace any tree that did not survive the first year. This successful program continued throughout the early-1970s.

Pueblo's parks experienced much-needed new growth thanks to a 1972 city ordinance. The "Neighborhood Park and Recreation Facilities" provision required developers to set aside 8 percent of the land in any new residential subdivision for use as a neighborhood park. When choosing the new park land, developers were to choose areas with "outstanding geo-

graphic, historic or topographic features."[246] The Parks and Recreation department assumed responsibility for both park development and maintenance. The city did not employ a professional parks planner but, instead, relied upon technical assistance from the PRPC to manage public meetings and other citizen participation, design parks, prepare cost estimates, and write grants.[247] The department also received input from the Friends of the Parks, the Recreation Advisory Council, the Fountain Creek Commission, and various sports and neighborhood groups. In keeping with the 1972 ordinance, Anthony Bonforte, son of John Bonforte and director of the Suburban Land Company responsible for development of the later Belmont subdivision filings, donated land near Carefree Lane and Massari Road for a new park. In December 1974, the irregularly shaped, 15-acre Dix Park, named in honor of Medal of Honor winner Drew D. Dix, was dedicated. Overall, the 1972 ordinance resulted in the addition of over eighty-nine acres of park land, a 16 percent increase, in Pueblo by 1980.

The city built municipal pools to serve its residents. Municipal pools were most popular from the 1920s to the 1940s; by the 1970s organized sports, rather than the more leisurely activity of spending the day at the swimming pool, enjoyed higher participation among both children and families. Still, in 1976, the Parks and Recreation department added its fourth and final modern swimming pool in Pueblo. This pool differed slightly from the previous ones at City, Mineral Palace, and Bessemer parks that opened in 1957, 1963, and 1965 respectively. All of these earlier pools were L-shaped, held much more water, and focused on providing sufficient length for competitive swimming. Given their earlier dates of construction, these pools also were less expensive to build. The pool at City Park cost $125,000 while the new facility at Bessemer Park cost $10,000 more. HGF designed the Mitchell Park pool, which was a rectangular pool with two diving boards. Its capacity was 170,000 gallons, and it featured concession stands, a sundeck, a bath house, and a shallow bathing area. This facility, completed by Pascal P. Paddock, Inc. of Oklahoma City, cost $213,000 to build on the site of the WPA stone fountain. The pool at Mitchell Park—along with summer use of District 60's indoor pools at East, South, and Centennial high schools—allowed the Parks and Recreation department to expand its learn-to-swim and water safety programs, lesson offerings which were started in the 1950s with the goal of making Pueblo a "drown-proof community."[248]

Assistant Parks Director George R. Williams, son of George L. Williams who had retired as Director in 1973, reflected on the successes of Pueblo's modern parks and recreation system. In a 1974 article in the *Pueblo Chieftain*, he attributed the post-1954 improvements to a number of factors, including an increasingly generous budget allocation over time, a progressive City Council, and the dedicated Parks and Recreation staff members. By 1980 Pueblo had a total of 948 acres of park land within the city limits, a figure that translated to 9.32 acres per 1,000 city residents and was very near the national average of 10 acres per 1,000 residents. While there was still room for improvement, Pueblo had set acquisition of public open space as one of its top priorities within the steadily growing postwar city. They recognized their urban, neighborhood-school, and suburban parks, along with the well-established and outlying mountain parks system, as a community asset that provided space for Puebloans "to engage in wholesome outdoor activities…to relieve the monotony of buildings and paved streets; to bring natural beauty into urban areas; to give people what they deeply desire—a home environment where they have

some of the advantages of the country as well as the city."[249]

Television

President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered a total of thirty evening radio addresses, dubbed "fireside chats," between 1933 and 1944. These presidential pep talks boosted American morale during both the Great Depression and World War II. But, in the postwar era, Americans started to consider the radio dated, belonging more to the past than the future. With a postwar emphasis on technological improvements, consumer culture, and the desire to buy new appliances or any product labeled as modern, by 1945 American citizens were looking for a new class of in-home entertainment. Scotsman John Logie Baird invented the world's first publicly demonstrated television system in March 1925 and also designed the first fully electronic color television tube. Unfortunately, Baird died of a stroke in 1946, before he could witness his ultimate triumph: the introduction of the television to American consumers.

During the late-1940s and early-1950s television sets became increasingly common place; merchant builder William Levitt was one of many developers who started offering built-in televisions as a standard amenity of new suburban homes. Ironically, many individuals, especially those outside the major markets on the east and west coasts, purchased a television set before there was anything to actually watch on this technological and consumer innovation. In many such communities, new television owners were excited nonetheless and they invited friends and family into their living room to view the test pattern. Pueblo, near the center of the country, was one of the cities where television arrived later. The city's first legal television broadcast took place on Sunday, March 8, 1953: KDZA-TV (Channel 3) showed their test pattern. Eight days later this same channel aired its first actual program, with the signal reaching viewers in Pueblo, Las Animas, La Junta, and Canon City. That same day KKTV (Channel 11) from Colorado Springs showed United Press and Movietone newsreels. March 1953 also witnessed broadcasts from KCSJ-TV (Channel 5), Pueblo's National Broadcasting Company (NBC) affiliate and KRDO (Channel 13). Soon *TV Mirror* magazine, with a list of television programs airing in Pueblo, became required reading.

In the evenings, the entire family gathered in front of the most important new household appliance, the television set. But TVs were not just about entertainment. People may have been physically separated, out on their own in a new muddy and unfinished suburban landscape, but they were also linked as never before through advertising, both on television and in popular magazines. Television provided fledgling suburbanites with examples of how to cope in their new environment. While it seems ill-advised, especially to sophisticated Americans of 2012, to even consider taking domestic advice from "I Love Lucy" or "Ozzie and Harriet,"

> Many (homeowners) sat watching (TV) in new houses, in brand-new neighborhoods where only a year or two before farmers had harvested lettuce. They had taken on new obligations. They were paying new debts. Their careers were taking shapes that their parents might not understand. The families on the sitcoms appeared to know what they were doing and take the world in stride.[250]

It was actors reading from scripts, rather the personal advice from family members, who many viewers perceived as most capable of providing them with how-to instructions for attaining the American dream during a time of newness and uncertainty.

Television was relevant for its capacity to entertain, but it

Figure 6.7. A postwar family could enjoy television together, and learn all about the consumer goods they should purchase as part of their American dream. This ad from the 1961 *Spiegel* catalog featured a 23 inch set. The catalog also sold suits, shoes, and hats for Mother, Father, baby, brother, and sister. In addition, the family could buy carpets and curtains, furniture and appliances, casserole dishes and candles, diet pills and exercise equipment. Featured too were leisure items such as boats, tents, and guns; tires, auto seat covers, and tools; and apple trees for the back yard orchard. How was downtown Pueblo to compete? *(Spiegel Catalog, 1961, in author's collection)*

also had the ability to inform viewers, to expand horizons, and to expose injustices. It brought national and world events, either live or via the evening news, into the living rooms of all Americans. While newspapers always had and continued to cover serious news stories, television, as a visual medium, had the power to tell stories through both sound and images that seemed both to affect and to stay with the audience. Once seen and heard on television, it was difficult to forget iconic events like the shooting of President John Kennedy's accused assassin Lee Harvey Oswald by Jack Ruby or the disturbing coverage of peaceful Black activists in Birmingham, many of them women and children, attacked by police dogs and fire hoses under the direction of bigoted Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene "Bull" Connor. The 1960s witnessed increasing political, social, and cultural complexity, especially in comparison with the seemingly "free and easy" 1950s of Eisenhower playing golf and Americans enjoying the benefits of postwar prosperity. In some ways we knew too much and could not truly be innocent any longer; the feelings of uncertainty introduced during this period made many citizens question the American dream and wonder about the injustice of it not being equally accessible to all races.

Racial Equality

Pueblo is often presented as a melting pot of the many cultures that came to the city, especially to work at CF&I. But most Latinos seem unlikely to recognize such a rosy assessment of their lives in the Steel City.[251] "Historically, Chicanos have done Pueblo's dirty work, picking crops for its tables, forging and welding its steel, mopping its floors, gathering its garbage. The city, in large part, has been built by Chicano hands."[252] Yet, this history and their contributions often have been underappreciated or completely ignored.

Latinos experienced a familiar push and pull over their United States history, welcomed to do mostly menial labor during periods of prosperity but forced to leave when times were hard and they were perceived as stealing jobs from Anglos. The 1930 Census counted 3,739 either "Mexican-American" or "Spanish-American" people in Pueblo, a figure believed to be approximately 5,000 lower than the actual Latino population within the city at the time. Most of the 1930 Census respondents worked in sugar beet fields, at CF&I, or for the railroads. But, just ten years later, the majority had become urban residents. They lived in segregated communities (or colonias)—Salt Creek near the steel mill, Mexican Town downtown, "La Placita" south of Mineral Palace Park, Hyde Park to the west, and Eastwood Heights (also known as Dog Patch) on the East Side.

As the Great Depression deepened, these "foreigners" were less and less welcome in Colorado. Governor "Big Ed" Johnson declared martial law along the Colorado-New Mexico line on April 19, 1936, stationing National Guard, Highway Patrol, and local police officers along the border near Trinidad, Alamosa, Durango, and Cortez. These lawmen were charged with protecting Colorado from New Mexicans who, the governor believed, were intent on entering the state to take both jobs and benefits from Colorado citizens. Johnson claimed, "The entering of aliens and indigent persons into the state in such large numbers constitutes an invasion that will create, encourage, and cause a condition of lawlessness and inevitably tend to discontent and unrest among the citizens of the state."[253] Under these conditions, all non-Anglos were suspected of being in Colorado illegally and even those only interested in passing through the state were forced to choose a

different route. On April 23, 1936, New Mexico Governor Clyde Tingley threatened to boycott Colorado products if Johnson continued his "private war" and one week later martial law was lifted. This incident illustrates the degree of racism Latinos in Southern Colorado faced, a situation that did not cease just because the governor backed down from his overt attempts to restrict movement and freedoms.

During World War II Latinos faced the completely opposite situation. Public Law 78 passed in 1942 to allow the temporary migration of Mexican nationals into the United States to fill some of the approximately 15 million jobs vacated when Americans enlisted in the military. Dubbed the Bracero program, this initiative was originally intended to last only as long as World War II, however, it continued until 1964. Wartime jobs also attracted newcomers from New Mexico, with the entire town of El Cerrito relocating to Pueblo and settling in Avondale and Eastwood Heights.

Many Latinos worked in defense industries, especially at the Pueblo Ordnance Depot, while others served overseas. Similar to African-American troops who served during World War II, many Latino soldiers experienced a glimpse of what a more integrated society could be like. Fueled by feelings of patriotism and a common enemy, many fought side by side with Anglos and all soldiers, regardless of race, were viewed as vital in the fight to defeat the Axis. Like nearly all GIs, most Latino soldiers "returned patriotic—ready to immerse themselves in all things American."[254] These soldiers, who had fought for America's freedom, wanted to enjoy their rightful piece of these liberties and were disinclined to return to the status quo of accepting racism in their own country. Instead, they formed groups like the G.I. Forum, a civil rights organization U.S. Army veteran Dr. Hector P. Garcia established in 1949 to advocate for the rights of Mexican-Americans and Latinos to the educational and housing benefits of the G.I. Bill.

Latinos from "the greatest generation" tended to support an integrationist philosophy towards racism and discrimination. This approach was very much of its time and mirrored the solutions the Southern Leadership Council, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and other African-American activists were pursuing in the late-1950s and early-1960s to redress Jim Crow laws and discriminatory practices. In his "I Have A Dream" speech, King clearly expressed his faith in both integration and the American dream, believing his children would one day enjoy equality with white Americans.

Cesar Chavez, who became active in the Mexican-American civil rights movement in the same era as King was fighting for African-American equality, also supported integration. Chavez, born on March 31, 1927, was raised in a family of migrant farmers. He attended over thirty-seven schools during his childhood, experiencing overt racism and suffering punishment for speaking Spanish in the classroom. He joined the U.S. Navy in 1944, serving two years and again facing discrimination, this time in terms of the roles available to him as a Mexican-American. Chavez and his new wife moved to San Jose, California, when he returned from his military service and the couple eventually had seven children. He assumed his former job as a field worker until 1952 when he became the lead organizer for the Latino civil rights group Community Service Organization. He assumed the national director role for this body six years later. Chavez gained national recognition for the plight of migrant workers, utilizing non-violent protests and his personal understanding of what it was like to work the fields. In 1962, he and Dolores Huerta established the National Farm Workers Association, later known as the United Farm

Workers (UFW). The UFW sought better sanitation, wages, and working conditions for migrant workers. Chavez successfully used strikes, boycotts, and marches to achieve these victories. He trained union workers in his methods, asking them to travel to other communities to spread both his message and his tactics. The August 1970 UFW "Salad Bowl strike," the largest worker strike in United States history, resulted in higher wages for farm workers in the grape and lettuce growing industry. Chavez enjoyed widespread support from organized labor, religious groups, minorities, and students. Many politicians and movie stars also championed his cause over the years.

In the mid-1960s and 1970s, the civil rights movement (both for African-Americans and Latinos) shifted away from integration. This generation of activists increasingly viewed assimilation as "selling out" or rejecting their unique culture in favor of the dominant, white/Anglo society. Although this approach differed from the methods King and Chavez advocated, it grew out of and built upon the successes of the integration period. The next phase in the fight against racism and discrimination was a product of parents'"zeal for America; it is the World War II children who fueled the Chicano Movement."[255]

The name of the movement expressed its motivations. The term "Chicano" was adopted as a rejection of the Hispanic label that was too broad and often prescribed association with European Spanish legacy when it did not apply. The Chicano label allowed activists to embrace all of their conflicting identities—Native American, European, American, and Mexican. The term became a way for activists to "denote their cultural heritage and assert their youthful energy and militancy. In appropriating a word that previously had a negative connotation, Mexican-American youth turned 'Chicano' into a politically charged term used for self-identification."[256] Many activists focused on educational issues, especially access to a college education; both high school and university students became active participants.

Denver native Rudulfo "Corky" Gonzalez was the key leader within the Chicano Movement in Colorado. This Mexican-American boxer turned poet and activist was born June 18, 1928. The youngest of eight children, his mother died when Gonzalez was two years old. During the Great Depression he attended numerous schools in Colorado and New Mexico, often working in beet fields to contribute to family finances. He graduated from high school at sixteen and set his sights and savings on college. He studied engineering at Denver University for a single semester before he ran out of money and was forced to leave school to become a professional boxer. Gonzalez spent his early political career serving as the manager for Denver's War on Poverty, Inc. office, belonging (as a non-veteran member) to the G.I. Forum, and acting as a key organizer in the "Viva Kennedy" efforts during the 1960 presidential campaign.

His position within the Democratic Party allowed Gonzalez to speak at the 1966 state convention in Pueblo. Gonzalez, other Chicano leaders, and even long-established civil rights organizations like the G.I. Forum were against the organization of an independent "New Hispano Party" (NHP). But a splinter group established the third party nonetheless and nominated Pueblo attorney Levi Martinez for Governor. This party's name indicated their bias towards the earlier practice of European ethnic affiliation and, therefore, was out of step with the burgeoning Chicano movement. The new party experienced internal struggles, and several candidates ultimately ran for seats on established party tickets instead.

Ironically, Gonzalez himself was becoming increasingly

disillusioned with the existing political institutions. He participated in formation of a Chicano political party. But first, in 1966, he established the Crusade for Justice (CFJ): a campaign to reform both the police and court systems, to provide better housing and more economic opportunities, and to offer a more "relevant education" to Chicanos.[257] The CFJ was viewed as both more nationalistic and more militant than earlier civil rights organizations; yet, Gonzalez still believed it was better to support political candidates who had the best skills rather than making a choice exclusively based upon a Chicano surname. The CFP organized the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver in March 1969. At this meeting, attendees drafted one of the key documents of the Chicano Movement, Él Plan Espiritual de Aztlán. This manifesto "rejected the earlier stance of most Mexican-American organizations and instead advocated a separate, third political space, away from both the political mainstream and the white-dominated student Left, which initially marginalized people of color."[258] The document influenced the Chicano Power Movement, similar in character to the Black Power Movement, with both emphasizing racial self-determination.

Gonzalez never abandoned his belief in better education for Chicano students. In 1970, he established a Denver private elementary school to teach both self-esteem and Chicano culture. In the same year, he traveled to Texas to meet Jose Angel Gutierrez, the founder of Partido de la Raza Unida, an independent political party that encouraged Chicanos to vote, run for office, and assume leadership positions.[259] This political party was somewhat successful in uniting Chicanos across the Southwestern United States. and even had a small contingent of members in Pueblo. However, the party declined after the 1972 national convention.

One of the key leaders of the Pueblo Chicano Movement was Alberto Gurule. He was born in Trinidad, Colorado, on June 19, 1945, making him one of the older movement members; mostly those born in the postwar period were active in this new equal rights movement. He made his living as a social worker, having earned an associate degree from Trinidad State College, a bachelor degree from SCSC, and, in 1968, a master degree from Denver University. In his early years as an activist, Gurule emulated the methods of and campaigned for the same causes as Cesar Chavez; in 1969 he and fellow supporters picketed at Pueblo Safeway stores in solidarity with grape harvesters. However, over time he adopted the approaches and beliefs associated with Corky Gonzalez.

Gurule was a master recruiter and motivator of young Chicanos, utilizing their energy and enthusiasm to build the movement locally. He sponsored the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MECHA) organization at SCSC.[260] This group, like anti-war or African-American civil rights groups at other institutions of higher education, became active in protests. One of their most memorable was participation in the national boycott against Coors brewery, actions intended to draw attention to the company's racist hiring practices. MECHA staged a demonstration at the SCSC student pub, joining hands so no students, employees, or faculty members were able to drink beer, Coors or otherwise, at the bar. Gurule and fourteen student demonstrators were arrested while, hoping to deter further campus activism, the college filed a restraining order against all of the protesters. Among the criminal charges against Gurule were "inducing minors to riot."[261] Eventually, SCSC President Victor Hopper dropped all charges against Gurule, but local media coverage changed how the social worker-activist was perceived in Pueblo.

PUEBLO BERETS' CREED

1. A Black Beret will always be observant of everything and anything in his surroundings.
2. Stress self discipline.
3. Let your leader know where you're at, and are going.
4. Reports from all Beret communities shall be presented at general council meeting.
5. Every Beret should read at least one hour of current political events each day.
6. In order to get respect for your beret from people, you have to have respect for it as well as yourself.
7. Upon the expelling of any beret, he will meet with the local berets, state the case to the council where the defendant shall await jurisdiction.
8. Practice the Chicano Code.
9. Turn in everything captured by attacking forces (riot helmets, mace, nightstick, etc.).
10. You are a service to your people, not masters.
11. U-N-I-T-Y.
12. The Black Beret will not be racist; he will respect other people's color and culture and demand respect for his own.
13. Age limit 15 but there may be exceptions if voted in.

Source: Marquez, 9-10.

According to CSU-Pueblo adjunct professor David Marquez, who participated in the Chicano Movement as both an historian and an activist, after his arrest Anglos no longer viewed Gurule as "a young, intelligent, and admired social worker" but instead considered him a "demagogue…a professional enigma who was upsetting the status quo and thus their privileged position in Pueblo's society."[262] Gurule also faced negative reactions from some local Chicanos who believed his methods were too assertive. His colleagues at Pueblo County Welfare were in two camps, those who supported Gurule and those who did not. In the face of waning support from his fellow social workers, Gurule resigned and accepted a new position acting as an advocate for Chicano youth with Pueblo United. This new job was an ideal way for Gurule to combine his profession with his activism. His first achievement was establishing a youth group in the La Casa Verde barrio on Pueblo's East side, a group inspired by the Brown Berets.

The Brown Berets, established in Los Angeles in 1966, "emerged as a key organization linking students to communities and to young people who were not enrolled in college."[263] The precursor to the Berets, the Young Citizens for Community Action, were quite assimilationist, meeting with political leaders and adopting the methods of Cesar Chavez. After the young activists faced police harassment, they adopted a new image including the uniform of the Brown Berets. Gurule established a chapter of the para-military Berets in Pueblo, developing a thirteen-point creed that summarized the group's goals and philosophy (see sidebar). Gurule and the East side youths developed the creed as a source of pride and a statement of their methods for achieving dignity.

Anglo citizens in Pueblo, however, objected to the aggressive nature of both the creed and the Berets and were especially worried about the group's indirect financial support from the United Fund. Many Pueblo citizens disapproved of charitable deductions from their paychecks being used to support what they viewed as a youth organization with a dangerous, militaristic, separatist agenda. A United Fund boycott caused a $25,000 drop in contributions and CF&I, the business with the highest donation levels in Pueblo, threatened to withdraw their employees' money as well. In response, Gurule's boss Father Marvin Kapushion urged the public to understand the creed as "a youthful declaration of self, pride, and ethnic awareness" and defended Gurule as a "positive role model…[who has] channeled [youthful] exuberance and hostility into a quest for self improvement, a fearlessness to express themselves, and to seek what is rightfully theirs."[264] Kapushion claimed the Beret base was a center for education and opportunity that offered a club library, involvement with MECHA members, and access to college scholarships. Gurule also promoted parental participation, helping to establish a Casa Verde Mothers Organization.

Although Bishop Charles Buswell appealed for racial harmony, Gurule resigned to save the Pueblo United Fund. He made his announcement at an April 4, 1970, symposium entitled "A City in Crisis: Operation Understanding." Gurule told the over 400 attendees at the SCSC event he was giving up his job "because I won't stoop as low as those bigots that would withdraw money from twenty-seven agencies just to try to hurt one man."[265] He stated his intention to expand the Berets to Salt Creek, the West side, and Bessemer. Gurule also started working with Corky Gonzalez on a Colorado La Raza Unida Party, and he ran, unsuccessfully, for Governor in 1970 on this third party's ticket.

Where Gurule left off with Pueblo's college students and

the Berets, Martin Serna, a MECHA leader and Gurule's unofficial lieutenant, took over with a mixture of MECHA members, high school students, and Berets. Under Serna, the focus of Pueblo protests against racial discrimination shifted to public school education. These young activists, drawing upon their personal experiences within the District 60 system, wished to reverse established patterns of lack of Chicano roles models as teachers and school administrators. They also were concerned about the number of Chicano students who did not graduate from high school, the low numbers involved in honors and college-preparatory programs, and the racism of some district teachers and leaders. Serna's group adopted a new protest technique to force District 60 to discontinue its discriminatory practices and attitudes. Serna scheduled the first walk out to mark the celebration of El Diez y Seiz de Septiembre, 1970. The Berets distributed leaflets at their respective high schools to encourage participation in the planned protest. These hand-outs contained language many Anglos found inflammatory, such as the students' claims they were more related to Pancho Villa then "the so-called father of this country, George Washington," and created antagonistic reactions to the proposed walk out.[266] Serna and the students called all Chicano students, from kindergarten to college, to leave school and join the march to Mineral Palace Park.

The featured speaker at the Mineral Palace Park rally was La Raza Unida's gubernatorial candidate Al Gurule. Following his speech a student presented a list of demands for changes intended to improve education for District 60's Chicano students. This same list was formally presented to the district at the October 14, 1970, board meeting. The nine items on the list dealt with the cost of school lunches, Chicano history courses, Chicano community review of any programs established for Chicano students, a need to increase the number of Chicano teachers and counselors, more respect for Chicano students from teachers and administrators, no cost use of school buildings for Chicanos, recognition of both September 16 and May 5 as holidays, respect for Chicano organizations within the schools, and an end to the "harassment" Chicano students who attended the walk out and rally faced from "white racist teachers and school administrators."[267]

District 60 Superintendent Dr. Lee Williamson responded to the list of nine demands. He claimed a Chicano studies class was not necessary because there was already an offering called Southwestern History; the student protesters believed this class was inappropriate since it was taught from the Anglo rather than the Chicano perspective. Williamson claimed the call for parent participation regarding programs for Chicano students was unnecessary since their children were not discrimination targets. The superintendent worried hiring Chicano teachers and counselors solely on the basis of their ethnicity would represent a type of racism. He believed in the need for respect, but stated such treatment had to be mutual with the students acting more appropriately toward their teachers. Williamson's comparison of September 16 and May 5 to Columbus Day and St. Patrick's Day "incurred the wrath of the Chicanos attending the board meeting."[268]

Displeased with Williamson's response to their demands and believing any other efforts within the system would be futile, the Berets advocated mass walkouts of Chicano high school students and chose Centennial High School as the first protest location. Emotions around the issues of racism were already running high at this school where there had been days of Anglo-Chicano fights. This larger walk out was held in May 1970, with 300 Chicano students leaving their classes to sur-

round the building and teachers and administrators who stood in the way receiving violent treatment from the Chicano students. Anglo athletes attempted to protect these teachers, but the Chicanos fought them too. A period of Chicano student expulsions, legal battles, Chicano student reinstatement, and a parent "walk in" at the school followed. Superintendent Williamson promised to reconsider the Chicano student's original list of nine demands, but by the start of the 1971 school year, no resolution had been reached. The Berets continued to stage walk outs, which expanded to the junior high and elementary schools within the district, and also filed a civil rights lawsuit. The Berets threatened to boycott District 60 schools, establishing an alternative school at St. Leander's Parish on the East side. Superintendent Williamson resigned, but conditions at the schools remained unstable.

In 1973, the civil rights suit was settled; District 60 needed to meet the demands of the Chicano students. Key improvements included the district's hiring of Chicano teachers and counselors, developing an affirmative action program, implementing a Chicano Studies program, and recognizing May 5 as a school holiday for Chicanos. The success these students achieved, based upon the example Gurule set and the leadership Serna provided, was nothing short of amazing. The Casa Verde Berets were able to receive the racial equality and respect that is each citizen's birthright and, therefore, a key component of the American dream.

There were Pueblo Chicanos such as Leo Lucero, Henry Reyes, and many others who, like Alberto Gurule, chose to run for political office and serve as role models in their community. There also were others who earned their racial equality through the courts. For example, Fred Valdez sued CF&I over the company's unfair hiring and promotion policies and won a $700,000 reward in his anti-discrimination case. After the Berets and Serna received their demands from District 60, they opened the door for a wide variety of Pueblo Chicanos, including Carmen Arteaga, to excel in the local educational system. And a range of local Chicanos became lawyers, doctors, accountants, and entrepreneurs. But, the context focused on Gurule, Serna, MECHA, and the Casa Verde Berets because they were trailblazers in Pueblo's racial equality fight.

The pursuit of freedoms was part of the American dream before this phrase was even in common use. The Pilgrims sought the American dream of freedom of religious expression. The Founding Fathers wrote our key documents based upon the goal of giving Americans a wide range of freedoms. And generations of immigrants came and continue to come to the United States to seek a freer, better life. The pursuit of freedoms from the 1940s through the 1980s encompassed a wide variety of activities. During World War II Americans, both on the battlefield and the home front, were defending their way of life against the threat of fascism. In the postwar period, they wanted normalcy and expressed this need in the freedom to pursue leisure activities. During this seemingly innocent era Puebloans enjoyed social events at the Pueblo Country and Minnequa clubs, bowled strikes and batted balls in league play, enjoyed Pueblo's numerous parks, and invited the world of television entertainment into their living rooms. By the 1960s and 1970s, events and experiences had changed the way Americans viewed freedoms and emphasis shifted to the pursuit of racial equality. In seeking the same opportunities for all, Pueblo Chicanos were seeking their own part of the American dream, full participation into a world where all of us have the chance to obtain full-time employment, our own home, consumer goods, and education.

Conclusion

Pueblo Lives the American Dream

Between 1940 and 1982 the people of Pueblo, like all Americans, participated in the American Dream. Yet it was never quite the same. Pueblo modern was not American modern. It was hopeful, thoughtful, sustainable. Pueblo's American dream was achievable.

In general the American Dream came at a great cost: deindustrialization, the abandonment of downtowns, urban sprawl, growing inequality, and staggering environmental degradation. "Eighty percent of everything ever built in America has been built in the last fifty years," laments James Howard Kunstler, "and most of it is depressing, brutal, ugly, unhealthy, and spiritually degrading…."[269] Yet, by and large, Pueblo avoided the ill effects of postwar prosperity. CF&I remained productive during this period; urban renewal efforts largely failed, preserving downtown; suburban development was limited; and most neighborhoods retained a healthy mixture of races, ethnic groups, and income levels.

While Pueblo's postwar population growth was impressive, it paled in comparison to the astronomical booms in other cities along the Front Range. This relatively lower growth rate, paired with the city's continuing reliance upon a sole heavy industry—CF&I—as its primary employer, contributed to the city's image as somehow less modern. Outsiders disparaged the city as "Pew-Town," viewing it as an ethnic enclave where party politics and union membership were far more important than in any other city in the state.

To some degree, those perceptions of Pueblo were right. Pueblo was an ethnic city and the majority of its blue collar employees belonged to unions. Yet these two facts downplayed considerably the increasing diversity of Pueblo's population, economy, and appearance starting in the late-1930s and continuing into the 1980s and beyond. Key political and business leaders were interested in attracting new industries and improving the appearance of Pueblo, yet the city did not have the same cache as Boulder, Colorado Springs or Denver, who successfully attracted both tourists and jobs in the aerospace and missile defense fields. Unfortunately, the pro-Pueblo feelings and efforts—the work of such key Pueblo figures as visionary planner C. Allan Bloomquist, determined city manager Fred Weisbrod, trailblazing civil rights advocate Al Gurule, progressive new leaders Henry Reyes and other candidates elected to City Council in the 1970s, highly perceptive photographer John Suhay, and hundreds of others keen to see Pueblo grow and succeed—did not penetrate beyond the municipal border. Yet, Pueblo never stopped trying. From the 1940s through the 1980s it continued to develop innovative revitalization plans, apply for key federal funding for new cultural projects, and engage in massive clean-up efforts to beautify their "Pride City."

In retrospect, Pueblo, rather than other Colorado cities who considered themselves so modern, followed the more sustainable path. Although Pueblo experienced a dramatic

and brief population loss in the wake of the steel industry collapse in 1981, it has enjoyed an overall pattern of slow but steady growth. This more reasonable rate of population gain protected the city from many of the damaging effects of sprawl. Pueblo did not lose its buffer of open land around the city limits, did not face shortages of natural resources like water, and, until recently, did not witness the construction of commercial areas dominated by national restaurant chains and their generic corporate design standards. In the face of the modern age, Pueblo was able to make some changes while still retaining its sense of place. A key reason for this achievement was the decision not to approve urban renewal projects proposed for both Union Avenue and downtown during the 1960s. Pueblo adopted a slower, steadier approach to community change, preferring incremental improvements to drastic demolition and new construction. Pueblo, having not destroyed the buildings along Union Avenue, was ready, in the 1980s, to take advantage of historic preservation techniques such as National Register designation, rehabilitation tax credits, and the nascent heritage tourism industry.

While Pueblo choose not to execute large-scale urban renewal projects, some massive projects took place here. The city participated fully in the postwar trends of interstate building, western water reclamation, and the increased importance of higher education. Pueblo could not have entered the modern age without the construction of the Pueblo Freeway, Pueblo Reservoir, and the Southern Colorado State College campus. In addition, the cumulative effect of the numerous smaller changes executed and new buildings constructed between 1940 and the early-1980s had a tremendous impact upon Pueblo's built environment.

The list of resources that form the lasting legacy of Pueblo's modern age is both long and inclusive. It features government buildings such as fire stations, branch libraries, the New Formalism-style justice center, and the impressive Sangre de Cristo Arts Center erected to enhance services for a steadily growing population. There are residential subdivisions such as Westview, Belmont, and Sunset Park but also a tremendous amount of infill construction throughout the city, especially the ubiquitous Ranch home, which came to embody the postwar American dream. Pueblo fully embraced the trend of auto-oriented businesses and examples include shopping centers in Belmont, Sunset Park, and at Midtown; the Pueblo Mall; the Lake Avenue Dairy Queen and south side gastronomic icon, the Pass Key; "automobile row" along Santa Fe Avenue; quaint yet threatened motor courts along Pueblo's pre-interstate tourist routes; the still operational Mesa Drive-In; and many others. Pueblo boasts numerous public schools constructed, mostly in variations of the International style, to address the baby boom of the late-1940s to the 1960s. The leisure landscape of the city features modern-era swimming pools, neighborhood-school parks, numerous bowling alleys, and the Pueblo Country Club. All in all, the period from the 1940s through 1982 left Pueblo with an impressive and diverse modern built environment.

Pueblo developed differently than other postwar Front Range cities, yet the aspirations of its citizens to attain the American dream were just as strong as those of the people living in nearly all other communities throughout the state and the country. They obtained the federal funds and political consensus necessary to create massive infrastructure projects like the Pueblo Freeway and the Frying Pan-Arkansas Water Diversion project. It was the underlying, systematic improvements like these that laid the groundwork for Puebloans to pursue

the American dream of homeownership, in Belmont or one of the city's other postwar suburban subdivisions. The people of Pueblo had always been hard-working and they pursued jobs at the city's three major employers—the Pueblo Ordnance Depot, the Colorado State Hospital, and CF&I—as a means to afford a better life for themselves and their children. Their wages allowed them to participate fully in the postwar economy, purchasing cars at the auto dealerships along Santa Fe Avenue, eating at the Pass Key, and seeing a double feature at the Mesa Drive-In. Puebloans, in their years of lobbying for a four-year college, showed their commitment to and belief in the potential of education to not only transform individual lives but also improve the city's image. During the prosperous 1950s the people of Pueblo engaged in leisure activities like attending parties at the Minnequa Club, golfing at the Country Club, enjoying family time at the municipal swimming pools or bowling at one of the cities popular bowling alleys. And Pueblo Chicanos risked their jobs, reputations, and safety to pursue the racial equality they deserved as part of the American dream.

There is no doubt the 1940s to 1982 time span was a defining period for both the city of Pueblo and its citizens. The vision and planning of this formative era not only left a rich personal and architectural legacy but also continues to shape the city's development. Past identified projects such as Union Avenue renewal, Lake Minnequa Park construction, and Fountain Creek beautification have now been accomplished. This progress may have taken longer than expected, but it accomplished the original goal. These municipal and landscape improvements have given Puebloans a renewed sense of pride and revitalized the city's image both internally and externally. Pueblo has expanded how it is perceived. The iconic CF&I smokestacks are still in place, but the community has added the Historic Arkansas Riverwalk, cultural and culinary festivals, and new "green" industries. Tapping into the city's historic ability to thrive during booms and survive busts, Pueblo has both embraced its past and envisions a future as a mecca of industry and arts, a commercial center for Southern Colorado, and a key heritage tourism destination. The personal, cultural, social, and architectural legacy of the modern age—the era of the American Dream—represents a proud and unique chapter in the story of Pueblo.

Notes

1. The phrase "the American dream," attributed to writer and historian James Truslow Adams, first appeared in print in his 1931 book *The Epic of America*. These simple words evoke a variety of images and concepts with the exact meaning often depending upon both the user and the time period. While each individual possesses his or her own definition of what the American dream means, we all have adopted, at least to some extent, the common societal understanding of this phrase as it has evolved over time. Jim Cullen. *The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea That Shaped a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 4.
2. Daniel J. Elazar, Rozan Rothman, Stephen L. Schechter, Maren Allen Stein, & Joseph Zikmund II. *The Closing of the Metropolitan Frontier: Cities of the Prairie Revisited* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 165.
3. Ibid.
4. Dale Heckendorn, James Hewatt, & Mary Therese Anstey. "Identifying, Evaluating, and Nominating Post-World War II Residential Neighborhoods"(Denver: Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 2006), Slide 14.
5. Pueblo County Historical Society. *A Condensed Account of 1933-1942 Federal New Deal Projects and Programs Within the City and County of Pueblo, Colorado* (Pueblo: Pueblo County Historical Society, 2007), 6.
6. Jedediah S. Rogers. "Frying Pan-Arkansas Project," http://www.usbr.gov/projects/ImageServer?imgName=Doc_1305042036789.pdf, 8.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. *Colorado Springs Gazette- Telegraph* (21 November 1973).
10. Rogers, 28.
11. Ibid, 27.
12. *Pueblo Chieftain* (1 June 1954).
13. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (31 December 1958).
14. Ishbill & Associates. *The Future of Pueblo's Memorial Airport* (Denver: Isbhill & Associates, n.d.), 12.
15. Ibid, 1.
16. Ibid, 10.
17. No author. "10 year plan to improve and expand makes PUEBLO'S MEMORIAL an airport with a future" (*Airport Services Management,* June 1968) ,13.
18. *Pueblo Chieftain* (22 June 1977).
19. The impact of the automobile during the postwar period also spelled the end for Pueblo's streetcar system. Originally incorporated as the Pueblo Street Railroad in 1878, this system ceased operations in 1947. More information about Pueblo's streetcar system is available in neighborhood context documents for Pueblo North Side (Phase I) and South Pueblo.
20. *Pueblo Chieftain* (21 June 1996).
21. Earl Swift. *The Big Roads: The Untold Story of the Engineers, Visionaries, and Trailblazers Who Created the American Superhighways* (New York: Houghton Miflin Harcourt, 2011), 7.
22. Colorado Department of Transportation, "50th Anniversary of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways," http://www.coloradodot.info/about/50th-anniversary.
23. Colorado Department of Highways. *Commemorating the Opening of the Pueblo Freeway: July 1, 1959.* (Denver: Colorado Department of Highways, 1959), 2.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 18.
26. Elazar etal, 185.
27. The boundaries set for the Union Avenue urban renewal area: Second Street to the north, South/ Central Main Street to the southeast, B Street to the southwest, and Victoria and Grand avenues to the northwest and west. While not part of this proposed project, it is interesting to note urban renewal did occur, evidently without the benefit of a public vote for matching funds, Nearly all of the existing buildings on "Upper" Union Avenue, near Union and Richmond avenues, were demolished. This clearance made way for the Vectra Bank and other new development.
28. Harmon, O'Donnell & Henninger Associates, Incorporated. *Union Avenue Project: Summary of Urban Renewal Plan.* (Denver: Harmon, O'Donnell & Henninger Associates, Incorporated, 1961), 3.
29. Ibid., 5.

30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.,12.
33. The match could be covered with cash, in-kind services, or a combination of the two.
34. Much of the text below about the pre-special election period comes from documents City Planner Wade Broadhead graciously provided to the author. Unfortunately, many of these sources lack details about the authors and dates of publication. For this reason, all resources without standard citation details are noted generically as "Historic Preservation - Union Avenue (Urban Renewal)," (City Planning File), the label assigned to this internal folder.
35. Gladys R. Comi. *A History Of The Pueblo Regional Planning Commission* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, December 1970), 4.
36. Pueblo City Planning Department. "Historic Preservation – Union Avenue (Urban Renewal)" - PURA brochure.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid - "Questions and Answers Concerning the Union Avenue Urban Renewal Project."
41. Ibid.
42. All quotes above from Ibid - "Facts about Urban Renewal and the 'Union Avenue' Project."
43. Ibid - "The Truth About The Pueblo Urban Renewal Project."
44. Ibid - "Hang On, We'll Get Over The Hump, Yet."
45. Ibid - "Urban Renewal Bond Issue Killed: Project Rejected By 6,723-4,253."
46. *Pueblo Chieftain* (28 June 1961).
47. Ibid - "Urban Renewal Bond Issue Killed: Project Rejected By 6,723-4,253.
48. Ibid - "Union Improvement Plans Under Study."
49. Source details and supposition of origin based upon study, similar in format and composition, for downtown which was conducted in July 1967.
50. *Pueblo Chieftain* (22 November 1978).
51. Harmon, O'Donnell & Henninger, 5.
52. C. Allan Bloomquist. *Urban Renewal As A Goal* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, January 1966), 2.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 4.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., 5.
57. Ibid., 6
58. Ibid., 7.
59. Ibid., 8.
60. Ibid., 9.
61. Ibid.,12.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., 1.
64. Ibid., 13.
65. Ibid., 15.
66. Ibid., 22.
67. Ibid.
68. C. Allan Bloomquist. *Poverty and Blight in Pueblo* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, January 1966), 1.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., 26.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., 29.
73. Ibid.
74. According to the *Prospectus*, the total cost of mall and storm sewer improvements was $387,600; the document suggested owners could pay $16.20 per foot per year over ten years.
75. Curtis Cope. *The Prospectus and Plan for a Main Street Plaza in Downtown Pueblo, Colorado* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, November 1962), 19.
76. Ibid.
77. Lizabeth Cohen. "From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America" (American Historical Review, October 1996), 1066.
78. Victor Gruen Associates and others. *Regional Center Study Proposals* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, July 1966), 1.
79. Comi, 16.
80. C. Allan Bloomquist. *Pueblo's Five Downtown Choices* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, July 1967, iv.
81. Ibid., ii.
82. Comi, 18.
83. Larry Smith and Company, Inc. *Downtown Pueblo Tomorrow: Economic and Financial Feasibility* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, February 1968), ii.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid., G-1.
86. Dan M. Branigan, letter to C. Allan Bloomquist, April 7, 1968, 7.
87. Ibid, 8.
88. Ibid, 8.
89. Ibid, 9.

90. Ibid, 10.
91. C. Allan Bloomquist. "An application by the Board of County Commissioners of Pueblo County, Colorado to the Economic Development Administration, Austin, Texas for a grant to help build a creative arts and conference center to serve Pueblo and the southern Colorado region." (Pueblo: Board of County Commissioners,1969) Exhibit 11a.
92. Ibid, 3.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. *Pueblo Chieftain* (3 June 1972).
96. *Rocky Mountain News* (28 May 1972).
97. Pueblo County Historical Society, 8.
98. Ibid, 6.
99. Ibid, 8.
100. Gerald D. Nash. *The American West Transformed: A New Interpretive History.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 1.
101. Ibid., 168.
102. *Pueblo Chieftain* (15 August 1945). Note: Capitalization appears in original quote.
103. *Pueblo Chieftain* (23 August 1945). Note: Capitalization appears in original quote.
104. Dannette Evans. *Spotlight on Pueblo (Past and present)* (Denver, Golden Press, c1952), 41.
105. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (No date).
106. Evans, 41.
107. Pueblo Southern & Colorado Railroad. *Pueblo & Southern Colorado Congratulate PAD: 25 Years of Progressive Service, 1942-1967*. (Denver: Boone Publications, Inc. 1967), 12.
108. Pueblo Army Depot. "Fact Sheet: Minority Employment Reaches 51.6% at PAD." (Pueblo: Pueblo Army Depot, 5 February 1974).
109. Since 1991 the facility has been known as the Colorado Mental Health Institute at Pueblo (CMHIP).
110. Nell Mitchell. *The 13th Street Review: A Pictorial History of the Colorado State Hospital (now CMHIP).* (Pueblo: My Friend, The Printer, Inc., 2009), 131.
111. Colorado State Hospital. "CSH Celebrates Centennial" (Pueblo: Colorado State Hospital, 1979).
112. Mitchell, 47.
113. Ibid., 53.
114. Joanne Dodds & Helen M. Mack. *Colorado State Hospital 1879 to 1978: A Chronological History.* (Pueblo: Pueblo Library District and Pueblo Chamber of Commerce, 1980), 20.
115. Mitchell, 70. Note: Fencing remained around the Maximum Security portion of the facility.
116. *Pueblo Chieftain* (14 July 1974).
117. Mitchell, 23.
118. *Pueblo Chieftain* (26 July 1974).
119. *Pueblo Chieftain* (3 August 1974).
120. Lee H. Scramehorn. *Mill & Mine: The CF&I in the 20th Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 153.
121. Ibid., 154.
122. By August 18, 1945, just three days after VJ-Day, CF&I already had closed the forge shop and offered other positions elsewhere at the mill to the 300 men who had worked there. All of the women wartime workers in the forge shop were laid off.
123. Scramehorn, 163.
124. Nash, 144.
125. Scramehorn, 171.
126. Ibid., 172.
127. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (12 August 1959).
128. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (29 September 1959).
129. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (8 November 1959).
130. James T. Patterson. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 51.
131. Ibid., 323.
132. Scramehorn, 174.
133. Ralph C. Taylor. *Pueblo*. (Pueblo: Pueblo Board of Education, 1979), 23.
134. Scamehorn, 178.
135. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (16 March 1980).
136. *Pueblo Chieftain* (25 March 1982).
137. The original article, by Gail Pitts of the *Denver Post*, ran on 6 May 1983 with the headline, "Tiny CF&I Fighting Steel Giants."
138. Scramehorn, 188.
139. *New York Times* (29 December 1997).
140. Carl Abbott. *The Metropolitan Frontier: Cities in the Modern American West.* (Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press, 1993), 163.
141. Gwendolyn Wright. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 242.
142. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 232.
143. Wright, 242.
144. Mark A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 145.
145. Ibid.
146. Avi Friedman, "The Evolution of Design Characteristics during the Post-Second World War Housing Boom: the US Expe-

rience" (*Journal of Design History,* Volume 8, Number 2 (1995)), 131.
147. Heckendorn etal, Slide 65.
148. Ibid., Slide 9.
149. Ibid., Slide 64.
150. Ibid., Slide 72.
151. Evans, 40.
152. Heckendorn etal, Slide 72.
153. The subdivisions were: Pierson, Colorado Fuel & Iron's Company, Thurman, Minnequa Town, and Cyril Zupan. In addition there were nine other subdivisions, all very small, platted in parts of Pueblo further away from CF&I.
154. Tom Martinson, *American Dreamscape: The Pursuit of Happiness in Postwar Suburbia* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 2000), 174.
155. Cindy Harris & Adam Thomas. *Fort Collins E-X-P-A-N-D-S: The City's Postwar Development, 1945-1967*. (Denver: Historitecture, June 2011), 66.
156. This subdivision layout is very similar to the arrangement for Circle Drive in Fort Collins, a residential area platted in 1946.
157. Real estate and home building are a family affair for the Leaches. Arthur C. Leach's sons Honald and Richard also worked at Leach Realty. His grandson Patrick owns Yellico-Leach Realty in Pueblo and has developed housing areas in Pueblo West.
158. The Pueblo County Assessor listed 1942 as the date of construction for ten homes in the Westview subdivision. However, the city directory listed occupants at only one property during that year. For that reason, the 1943 city directory was consulted instead.
159. *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph* (13 April 1980).
160. Ibid.
161. *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph* (14 November 1948).
162. *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph* (13 April 1980).
163. Some sources, including the plat maps available from the Pueblo County Assessor Office, spell the name of this Bonforte subdivision, Bonneyville.
164. *Colorado Springs Gazette-Telegraph* (27 October 1949).
165. Urban Land Institute. "Belmont: A Realization of Neighborhood Planning Principles." (*Urban Land: News and Trends in City Development,* Volume 11, Number 4 (April 1952)), 3.
166. These defining elements also were detailed in the Urban Land Institute's *The Community Builders Handbook*, a guiding document for postwar subdivision design.
167. *Pueblo Chieftain* (21 June 1996).
168. For more detailed descriptions of the architectural styles and building types in Belmont and elsewhere throughout Pueblo, please consult the *Guide to Architectural History in Pueblo, 1940-1982* available in the appendix to this document.
169. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (10 February 1963).
170. C. Allan Bloomquist, *Pueblo Design Quarterly* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, June 1973), 10.
171. Ibid.
172. Tony de la Torre, *Mobile Home Parks in Pueblo* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, 1975), 1.
173. Evans, 43.
174. Bloomquist, *Pueblo Design Quarterly*, June 1973, 11.
175. A GIS analysis of current homes in Pueblo indicated approximately half of these buildings were constructed during the context study period, 1940 to 1982.
176. Heckendorn etal, Slide 14.
177. Ibid., Slide 73.
178. *Pueblo Chieftain* (15 August 1945).
179. *Pueblo Chieftain* (24 August 1945).
180. John K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1998), 172.
181. *Pueblo Chieftain* (21 February 2005).
182. Evans, 44.
183. Michael P. Thomason, *Starlight Memories: 50 Years of Entertainment at the Mesa Drive-In Theater* (Pueblo: Copies in a Flash, 2002), n.p.
184. Ibid.
185. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (15 August 1959). This description in the newspaper seems to have been more poetic than accurate. The 1962 Pueblo city directory featured a photograph of the new Arkansas Valley Bank facility, showing a rather ordinary building. It had a U-shaped footprint, was faced in stucco, and featured a glass window wall on both the center recessed and eastern section of the façade. Contrary to the newspaper account, the building had a flat roof. The center shed roof projection and flat cornice treatment on the other portions of the façade were covered in blue corrugated siding. If forced to classify the architectural style of the bank building, it seems Modern Movements would be most appropriate.
186. Cope, 2.
187. Ibid., 17.
188. Raymond C. Mulay. *Survey of Pueblo Retail Clerks.* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, June 1966), 1.
189. Raymond C. Mulay. *Pueblo Urban Shoppers Survey.* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, July 1967), 2.
190. Ibid., 5

191. Bloomquist, *Pueblo's Five Downtown Choices*, ii.
192. Cohen, 1072.
193. *Pueblo Chieftain* (12 May 1955). First, the Treasure Island and later the Sunset Park Shopping Center were built to serve southwest subdivisions such as Beulah Heights, Columbine Village, Highland Park, Mountain View, and Sunset Park.
194. *Pueblo Chieftain* (12 May 1958).
195. *Pueblo Chieftain* (13 December 2010).
196. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (12 May 1960).
197. *Pueblo Chieftain* (8 May 1959).
198. *Pueblo Chieftain* (12 November 1963).
199. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (12 June 1981).
200. *Rocky Mountain News* (9 March 1973).
201. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (1 August 1976).
202. Ibid.
203. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (4 September 1977).
204. *Rocky Mountain News* (4 August 1976).
205. Examples of work relief projects executed at schools on Pueblo's south side include: pouring of concrete curbs and gutters around school buildings, demolition of the original Corona School building, erecting a garage and shop area at Central High School, and constructing both an addition to the Central High School stadium and new tennis courts. Similar work relief projects were executed at other schools throughout Pueblo.
206. James H. Risley. *How It Grew: A History of the Pueblo Public Schools.* (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1953), 227.
207. Ibid.
208. For more details about the following schools-- Bradford, Parkview, Fountain, Spann, and Eastwood Elementary plus Risley Junior High-- see *A Place Set Apart: The History and Architecture of Pueblo's East Side* by Jeffrey DeHerrera and Adam Thomas.
209. Bradford Elementary purchased unused barracks from the Pueblo Ordnance Depot. These temporary buildings were in use at the school from 1948 to 1987.
210. Risley, 238.
211. For more details about the sports ground, now known as Dutch Clark Stadium, see *Industrial Utopia: The History and Architecture of South Pueblo* by Jeffrey DeHerrera, Adam Thomas, and Cheria Yost.
212. *Pueblo Chieftain* (30 August 2009).
213. Risley, 295.
214. Elazar etal, 99.
215. For more details about the history and architecture of the Central Grade School, also known as the "Stone Building," See *Industrial Utopia* by DeHerrera et al.
216. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (11 July 1979).
217. *Pueblo Chieftain* (23 March 1979).
218. *Pueblo Chieftain* (24 February 1982).
219. *Pueblo Chieftain* (3 December 1981).
220. Taylor, 23.
221. Funding for the building came from a variety of sources, with both the WPA and Public Works Administration (PWA) involved in its construction.
222. Harold A. Hoeglund. *History of Pueblo College, 1933-1963* (Pueblo: Riverside Printing Company, n.d.), 26.
223. Ibid., 39.
224. Patterson, 68
225. Apparently, the 1947 DeMourdant master plan was not executed fully. The current campus features only a total of eight buildings rather than the nineteen he prescribed.
226. Milton Greenburg, "The G.I. Bill of Rights," http://www.america.gov/ (accessed 3 April 2008, 18 January 2010), n.p.
227. A. Todd & B. Lacy. *SCSC: A design analysis for the proposed Colorado State College* (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, 1963), 1.
228. Ibid., 6.
229. Ibid., 16.
230. *Pueblo Chieftain*, (17 June 1975).
231. Elazar et al, 99.
232. *Pueblo Chieftain*, (17 June 1975).
233. *Pueblo Chieftain*, (15 August 1945).
234. Heckendorn etal, Slide 13.
235. *Pueblo Chieftain*, (11 May 2010).
236. *Pueblo Chieftain*, (19 May 1974).
237. *Pueblo Chieftain*, (4 January 1992).
238. Walter's Brewery's is probably the most well-known.
239. W.C. Madden & Patrick J. Stewart. *The Western League: A Baseball History, 1885 through 1999* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 2002), 212.
240. Unfortunately, a fire in 2002 destroyed the vast majority of this new greenhouse.
241. *Pueblo Star-Journal & Sunday Chieftain* (7 March 1976).
242. Ibid.
243. George L. Williams. *Annual Report*. (Pueblo: Parks & Recreation Department, 1959), 1.
244. *Pueblo Star-Journal* (10 March 1967).
245. Kenneth Smithee. *Parks, Recreation, and Beautification for the Pueblo Region*. (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, April 1966), 155-156.
246. Pueblo Regional Planning Commission. *Urban Park and Re-*

covery Action Program, 1980-1985. (Pueblo: Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, 1980), 1.1.5.

247. The 1966 report *Parks, Recreation, and Beautification* recommended on page 90: "Every park should be planned by a competent park planner or landscape architect, who is experienced in the design of recreation areas…consideration should be given to the employing of at least one competent park planner or landscape architect as a permanent member of the parks and recreation staff…"
248. George R. Williams, personal interview, 17 November 2011. Prior to the construction of City Park Pool in 1957, it was common practice for children to swim in area irrigation ditches where, occasionally, children tragically drowned.
249. Smithee, 1.
250. Heckendorn et al., Slide 13.
251. Choosing the appropriate term to deal with the main racial minority in Pueblo, individuals with non-Anglo surnames, is a challenge even for experts in racial history. Some academics prefer use of the label Hispanic, while others contend this word is inaccurate since it only applies to individuals of Spanish/European ancestry. Plus, many claim this term has negative overtones since it was used historically to define non-Anglos as European, which translated to closer to white and, therefore, was a rejection of these individuals' true cultural background. This context instead uses two different terms: Latino and Chicano. Latino is a generic term for non-Anglos which lacks the European/white taint of Hispanic. Chicano came into vogue in the late-1960s and early-1970s and is intended to express the full multi-ethnic backgrounds (European, Native American, Mexican, American, and others) of non-Anglo individuals.
252. Pueblo Public Library, "Spanish/ Mexican Legacy of Hispanics in Pueblo County," http://www.pueblolibrary.org/pld_docs/HRC/MuralProjectPresentation.pdf.
253. David Sandoval "Spanish/ Mexican Legacy of Hispanics in Pueblo County," http://www.pueblolibrary.org/pld_docs/HRC/Mural-ProjectResearchPaper.pdf.
254. Amber Fawn Montoya. "Voices of Protest: Chicano Veterans and el Moviemento," http://www.pueblopulp.com/news-and-features/features/390-voices-of-protest-chicano-veterans-and-elmovimento.html.
255. Ibid.
256. Oscar R. Castaneda. "The Chicano Movement in Washington State, 1967-2006, Part 1 Political Activism." http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/Chicanomovement_part1.htm.
257. Bruce J. Schulman. *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 65.
258. Casteneda.
259. The literal meaning is "Party of the United People"; Raza can mean "race" or be used as a term of endearment, "my people."
260. The meaning in English is Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan. This group was an outgrowth of Corky Gonzalez's Él Plan Espiritual de Aztlán. Aztlan was a term intended to encompass the original homeland of all Chicanos.
261. David Marquez. "'The Chicano Wars': The Advent of the Chicano Movement in Pueblo, Colorado" Pueblo: University of Southern Colorado, n.d. http://digitool.library.colostate.edu///exlibris/dtl/d3_1/apache_media/L2V4bGlcmIzL2R0bC9kM18xL2FwYWNoZV9tZWRpYS8zNzMwOQ==.pdf, 7. The protestors included both SCSC and local high school students.
262. Ibid.
263. Casteneda.
264. Marquez, 12.
265. Ibid., 15.
266. Ibid., 18.
267. Ibid., 21.
268. Ibid., 22.
269. James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 10.

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Appendix A:

Guide to Architectural History in Pueblo, 1940-1982

This research work has been billed as the Pueblo Modernism study, although this architectural term is not appropriate, in the most technical sense, to either the entire 1940 to 1982 time period or all buildings within the city's built environment during this span. The text below provides a brief introduction to the history, theory, characteristics, and key architects of Modern architecture. The influences of this global architectural movement are evident in some of the public, commercial, and religious buildings erected in Pueblo during the 1940s through the early-1980s. Many of Pueblo's resources, especially new homes constructed during the period, however, are modern for the masses or lower-case "m" modernism. The Modern architectural influences, streamlined construction methods, and modern lifestyles new homeowners sought in Pueblo's residential subdivisions, the homes where the American dream was achieved, are detailed below.

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 Pueblo from 1940 to the early-1980s; that data is unavailable since no comprehensive historical and architectural survey was conducted as part of this project. Rather this appendix is intended to provide basic details about the wide variety of styles and building types that comprise Pueblo's built environment during an important forty-plus year span. Much of the detail about the various styles and types 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). Date ranges for architectural styles and building types do not necessarily conform to those generally established in national chronologies, but rather represent an estimate of when such buildings appeared in Pueblo.

History of Modernism

Modernism sought to make a break with the past. Instead of relying upon historical examples and traditional building methods, Modern architects emphasized functionalism, rationalism, and the latest technology in their commissions. Modernism has its earliest roots in mid- to late-1800s Europe, with Sir Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace and Gustave Eiffel's iconic tower. Both of these buildings were groundbreaking because they proudly displayed their structure on the outside rather than having it buried beneath decorative elements. For the most part, the general public was not ready for such audacious design, but these works and others inspired members of the international architectural profession.

The avant-garde De Stijl movement, established in the Netherlands during World War I and gaining international popularity in the 1920s, sought to develop a harmonious balance between horizontals and verticals in art, interior design, and architecture. Frank Lloyd Wright's experimentation with space and forms influenced this movement and others into the later-

1920s. But it was Wright's former boss, Louis Sullivan, who provided one of the key guiding principles for Modern architecture. He stated "form ever follows function" and adhered to this tenet in his designs for Chicago skyscrapers. Such emphasis on function inspired Modern architects, increasingly, to consider machines when designing buildings. French architect Le Corbusier voiced a second principle of Modern architecture in his 1923 book *Vers Une Architecture* (Toward a New Architecture), stating, "a house is a machine for living in." A belief in mass production, another concept related to the machine age, influenced both Le Corbusier and the Bauhaus, an architectural and applied arts movement that German Walter Gropius established in 1919. Gropius and fellow Bauhaus architects Marcel Breuer and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe rejected Arts & Crafts sensibilities to create buildings with an appearance traditionalists considered severe, elegant, and spare.

Modernism came to the United States when Gropius, Breuer, Mies van der Rohe, and others emigrated after fleeing Nazi Germany in the 1930s. In 1932, the Museum of Modern Art in New York applied the term International Style to their architecture. These and other mid-twentieth century architects viewed the clean lines and machine aesthetic of Modern architecture as an ideal response to an increasingly complex world, especially when applied to large swaths of land and integrated with new street layouts; Modern architecture was a favorite for new construction in bombed-out European cities and for urban renewal projects worldwide. Modern architects employed technological and material advances, integrating a wide variety of prefabricated components into their designs. Both Gropius and Mies van der Rohe accepted positions as architecture professors at American universities and, through their numerous students, influenced American architecture during the postwar period and beyond. The large architectural firm of Skidmore, Owings, & Merrill became one of the best known and prolific designers of Modern architecture.

A pattern of new movements developed in response to those that preceded them defines the history of architecture. In the late-1950s both architects and the general public started to feel Modernism was too uniform, institutional, sterile, and anonymous with little relation to regional building traditions. Amidst these changing attitudes, however, the emphasis on structure and materials—clearly evident in the work of Louis Kahn, Philip Johnson, and Brutalist school architects—continued. But architects Eero Saarinen, Alvar Aalto, and even Le Corbusier went in a seemingly new direction, with emphasis on rounded, expressionistic, sculptural forms. Postmodernism, a pendulum swing back to historic precedents and building traditions, had its origins in the 1960s writings of Robert Venturi, although the emphasis on high-tech materials remained and gave the buildings of Michael Graves and other Postmodern architects an eclectic appearance.

Modern Architects

Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959)

Perhaps the best known American architect, Wright's work spanned many styles and influenced a wide range of other architects; he established Taliesin, both in Wisconsin and Arizona, as a school-studio-cultural camp. While working for Adler and Sullivan of Chicago in the late-1880s, Wright's first professional designs were domestic commissions in a variety of Victorian styles. Wright designed his Prairie Houses from the late-1890s to the early-1900s.

He used a number of experimental materials, often with mixed results. His Larkin Building in Buffalo, completed in

1905, was the first fully-air conditioned office. The 1904 Unity Temple represented an early use of reinforced concrete. The design for the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, completed in 1922, included a successful and experimental seismic control system.His design for the S.C. Johnson headquarters building, constructed between 1936 and 1950, featured an enclosed interior courtyard with "tapered mushroom columns" and glass envelope walls for the tall laboratory tower. Wright's 1959 Guggenheim Museum in New York is one of the most well-known examples of Neo-Expressionism. When work was slow during the Great Depression, he turned his attention to the "Broadacre City" exhibit, a display showing his vision for much-needed new housing. The exhibit, which traveled to Rockefeller Center and other venues, featured small houses, each on its own plot of land, integrated with high-tech freeways; his design differed from and was a reaction against Le Corbusier's advocacy for high rise towers designed to offer all community amenities within a single massive skyscraper. Wright also designed Usonian homes in response to the need for more economical, middle-class houses.

Le Corbusier (1887-1965)

Born in Switzerland as Charles-Edouard Jeanneret-Gris, Le Corbusier was influential in architecture, architectural theory, and painting. He first experimented with new materials in 1908, investigating the use of reinforced steel in construction. During 1914 and 1915, he created the Domino houses using industrial reinforced concrete. Five years later, Le Corbusier created the Citrohan Houses, box-like homes built using assembly-line methods more common to automobile construction. At the 1925 Paris Exhibition, he built the *Pavilion de l'Espirit Nouveau*, a building that became the model for large, Modern apartment buildings.

Le Corbusier developed a five-point program for new, contemporary architecture. The first point advocated use of the *pilotis* or post, a belief that influenced Modern architecture in its tendency to build International style buildings raised on pillars. In his remaining four points, Le Corbusier championed roof gardens, the open plan, horizontal strip windows, and the free façade. In 1935, he published his plan for city development, *La Ville radieuse*, a document that, along with his 1945 work on massive apartment blocks in Marseille, helped to shape the worldwide urban renewal movement. Like Wright, Le Corbusier designed Neo-Expressionist buildings in his later career.

Walter Gropius (1883-1969)

German Walter Gropius was instrumental in bringing the International style to the United States. In 1910, he established his first architectural practice, designing the Fagus shoe factory that featured a rectangular supporting skeleton without corner pillars and a gridded façade of glass sheets in metal frames, one of the earliest examples of a curtain wall. Gropius became the leader of the Weimar School in 1918, merging the two divisions of this institution to form the State Bauhaus, the physical and cultural home of the Bauhaus movement. His design for the Bauhaus campus featured a number of interconnected buildings, including houses for him and the master-craftsmen, all built to fulfill their individual functions. Between 1926 and 1928, Gropius worked on his first large scale construction project, the Torten estate, that featured selected use of prefabricated concrete elements. In the late-1920s he developed a concept for a "total theater," complete with a revolving stage.

Gropius was forced to flee the Nazis, moving to England in 1934 before coming to the United States in 1937 where he accepted a position as the director of the School of Architecture at Harvard University. In 1941, he and fellow German émigré Marcel Breuer designed workers' housing in New Kensington, continuing to experiment with mass-produced homes during the early-1940s. In 1946, Gropius gathered a young group of architects and artists to establish TAC (The Architects Collaborative). This group was responsible for designing a number of residence halls around a community center on the Harvard campus. Gropius's best-known commission was the PanAm Building in New York, completed in 1963.

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969)

German Ludwig Mies van der Rohe had his first job designing stucco ornament for an interior design firm. He worked for three years at the same architectural firm as Le Corbusier and Gropius before establishing his own office in 1913. His future influence on Modern architecture was evident starting in 1921, when his submitted a contest entry for a high rise building, all in glass with a steel skeleton, that placed three almost triangular wings around a circular utilities well. Two years later he worked on designs for country homes that featured revolutionary open plans. Mies van der Rohe was chosen, in 1929, to design the German Pavilion at the International Exhibition in Barcelona; his basic glass box also included tubular steel furniture he designed. The next year he assumed the directorship of the Bauhaus.

Mies van der Rohe, like Gropius, fled the Nazis and accepted a university position in the United States. In 1938, he became the Director of Architecture at what is now the Illinois Institute of Technology. Soon after his arrival, he designed the new campus: a strict, angular arrangement of International style buildings. His best known domestic commission, the 1951 Farnsworth House, was a sleek glass box that hovered above the ground. Later in his career, he designed a number of skyscrapers of steel with massive glass curtain facades. He, working with Phillip Johnson, was responsible for the 1958 Seagram Building in New York City.

Skidmore, Owings, & Merrill (SOM) (Louis Skidmore: 1897-1962; Nathaniel Owings: 1903-1984; John Merrill: 1896-1975)

This significant partnership began in 1936 when Louis Skidmore and Nathaniel Owings established an office in Chicago, adding a second office in New York the following year. In 1939, John Merrill joined the firm and assisted with the numerous pavilions for the World's Fair in New York. SOM's Lever Building, completed in 1952, was a landmark commission that became the prototype for urban commercial buildings; it featured a twenty-one story, thin high rise atop a flat base building. The firm also set the standard for suburban corporate complexes with their 1957 Connecticut General Life Insurance Company commission. This design featured a series of flat, transparent cubes set in a park-like setting. The architects developed "tube construction" with the weight-bearing parts of the skyscraper strutted diagonally on the outside to enable taller buildings for the same cost. SOM used this innovation for both the John Hancock Center and the Sears Tower in Chicago. In 1962, SOM designed the dramatic chapel at the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs.

Louis Kahn (1901-1974)

Louis Kahn graduated from the University of Pennsylvania

in 1924. After extended travel in Europe, he established his own architectural practice in 1937. Ten years later Kahn accepted a teaching position at Yale University. While teaching, he also supervised construction of an annex to the Art Gallery, the first modern building in New Haven. This building featured obvious frame construction and a roof composed of multiple tetrahedrons. He continued this interest in such irregularly shaped building elements throughout most of the 1950s. In 1965, Kahn designed the campus of the Jonas Salk Institute in La Jolla, California, one of the most finely executed Brutalism complexes. He also became involved in town planning, with his designs for Dacca, Bangladesh, completed by 1976.

Philip Johnson (1906-2005)

Philip Johnson started his career as a curator and author. From 1930 to 1936, he served as the Director of the Department of Architecture at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York. In 1932, Johnson and Henry Russell Hitchcock published the influential book, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*, that was responsible for introducing Modern architecture to the American public. In 1940, Johnson studied under Gropius and Breuer at Harvard, working on campus as a freelance architect. Six years later he returned to his position at the Museum, co-designing an exhibit with Mies van der Rohe in 1947. His 1949 Glass House in New Canaan closely resembles the Farnsworth House. In 1953, he designed the MoMA sculpture garden. Teaming again with Mies van der Rohe, he worked on the Seagram Building in 1958. Johnson became increasingly experimental in the late-1950s and 1960s, transitioning gradually to Postmodern design. One of his most acclaimed commissions was the American Telephone and Telegraph Building in New York.

Eero Saarinen (1910-1961)

The Finnish designer moved with his family to the United States in 1923. He returned to Europe to study sculpture in Paris but also earned a degree in architecture from Yale University in 1934. He worked for his father's architectural practice and other firms prior to establishing his own office in 1950. The biggest break of his early career came when his contest entry, featuring both a theater and parabolic arch, was chosen for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Missouri. Although the contest was held in 1948, Saarinen's complex was not completed until 1963, two years after his passing. The architect was particularly interested in expressive designs, many of which incorporated rectilinear, steel, and glass cubic forms. He was responsible for two important 1962 transportation-related commissions: the TWA terminal at John F. Kennedy Airport and the hovering pavilion at Dulles International Airport in Washington, D.C.

Alvar Aalto (1898-1976)

Another Finnish designer, Alvar Aalto spent most of his life in Helsinki, establishing his own firm in 1923. His glass-walled outside staircase for the 1935 Municipal Library in Viipuri, Finland, was inspirational to many other architects. In the late-1930s, Aalto worked on the Finnish Pavilions for both the Paris and New York World's Fairs. He visited the United States for the first time in 1938. Two years later, he accepted a professorship at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, designing a residence hall on the campus.

Pueblo's Modern Architects

Walter DeMordaunt

Walter DeMordaunt had a remarkable career spanning

nearly forty years and became one of the most prolific architects in Colorado. He was born on September 4, 1896, in Butte, Montana. He attended the University of Utah while simultaneously interning for architects in Salt Lake City and Butte. During World War I, he worked as a draftsman for the United States Shipping Board in Washington, D.C., before being appointed chief of the division of planning and statistics for the Emergency Fleet Corporation in Philadelphia. After the war, DeMordaunt worked in Wyoming before arriving in Pueblo to work as a draftsman for William Stickney. In 1926, DeMordaunt received his license and took over Stickney's firm. He married Fredella Phillips on August 5, 1919, and had two children: Pauline Sells and Walter DeMordaunt, Jr.

DeMordaunt began his career by designing in the same historical revival styles as Stickney. But he always preferred to concentrate on the structural, leaning toward styles that were sculptural and less about surface ornamentation. Thus, he favored the Art Nouveau, Art Deco, and Art Moderne movements over the more ornamented revival styles. He pioneered a simplified local subtype of the Mediterranean Revival, best expressed in the 1935 Young Women's Christian Association building at 801 North Santa Fe Avenue and in the Carlile School, which featured the clay-tile roofing, arcaded walk, and bracketed eaves indicative of the style, but lacks other features and has an irregular plan. The minimalism of the International style was particularly appealing to the architect and defined many of his later buildings.

His portfolio of public buildings was expansive, and included many designs for the Public Works Administration (PWA). His commissions included the First Presbyterian Church in Las Animas; the Catholic church in LaVeta; the Chaffee County Courthouse in Salida; the Lincoln School in La Junta; Ouray and Ridgeway high schools; the United State Post Office in Lamar; and a women's dormitory at the University of Colorado at Boulder. In Pueblo, he designed Carlile Elementary, several buildings for Pueblo Junior College, and McClelland Orphanage (1936). The Seton High School Building may also be one of his commissions. He designed the 1949-55 Scottish Rite Temple; Freed Middle School; East and South high schools; several additions to Parkview Hospital; and, astoundingly, over fifty buildings for the Colorado State Hospital.

Just as the architect took over Stickney's firm, in 1926, the *Pueblo Star-Journal* commissioned him to design an ideal home for its readers. The *Star-Journal* was one of the most widely read newspapers in Colorado and a successful design would guarantee the young architect future commissions. The completed house, notably situated in the North side at 2920 Grand Avenue, was an immediate success. Other North side residences included the 1929 Dr. Fritz Lassen House, the 1951 Frank John Meyer House, the 1926 Allen G. Chamberlain House, and the 1929 Joseph C. Welte House. The architect continued to practice until his death on April 7, 1962.

Hurtig, Gardner and Froelich (HGF)

Started in 1964, the original three principals were John Hurtig, John Gardner, and Norman Froelich. The three architects met at the University of Oklahoma where they all earned their architecture degrees. The trio studied under expressionist architect Bruce Goff, who served as the chair of the school's architecture department. After graduation, but prior to establishing HGF, Hurtig served in the Air Force and worked for an architectural firm in Canada.

HGF was one of the most prolific firms in Pueblo, working on a wide range of projects for both government and pri-

vate clients. One of their most prominent commissions was the Sangre de Cristo Arts Center completed in 1972. In 1975, the firm completed plans for Fire Station Number One, on Central Main Street, to be remodeled for use as fire and police department offices. The following year HGF designed several municipal projects: the Mineral Palace Park greenhouse, the Mitchell Park swimming pool, and two new fire stations, one located at St. Clair Avenue and Pueblo Boulevard and the second situated at the corner of Prairie Avenue and Aster Street. The firm also designed the 1979 Administration Building for (school) District 60. It continues to practice today.

Other Pueblo Architects

Edward Bunts was responsible for many of the pre- and post-war schools in Pueblo. According to city directories, few architects practiced in Pueblo during the postwar period. In 1940, those listed included DeMordaunt, John Gray, and Jas M. Roc. In 1950, Earl Deits and DeMordaunt are listed. In 1960, architects in Pueblo included Robert J. Burris, DeMordaunt, Donald H. More, Murrin & Kasch, and Kenneth J. Stines. By 1980, architects included Robert L. Berry, George J. Boyd, Holst & Gallegos, Hurtig Gardner & Froelich, Richard R. Rhodes,and Robert L. Shrum.

Pueblo's Modern Building Materials

Glass, steel, and revolutionary new plastics were standard construction materials for modern architecture. Without the benefit of a comprehensive historical and architectural survey of Pueblo's modern resources, it is difficult to make definitive comments regarding how widespread the use of such materials was in the city. However, casual observation indicates Pueblo again defied national trends, with the majority of local architects and contractors favoring more traditional materials for buildings constructed between 1940 and 1982.

Pueblo has been home to Summit Brick and Tile since 1902 and local architectural firm HGF remained loyal to this local producer for two of their largest commissions: the Sangre de Cristo Arts Center and the District 60 Administration Building. The City employed a blonde, glazed brick (unknown whether this was a Summit product as well) for both the new police and fire stations on Central Main Street. A few, but not as many as expected, Pueblo modern buildings employed blonde Roman brick, a construction material that was ubiquitous elsewhere in Colorado for both public and residential construction. Evidence suggests stucco, both as an original construction material and as an early modification, was more popular for home construction in Pueblo than elsewhere in the state.

Despite Pueblo's moniker as the "Steel City" and the easy access to this modern material, it appears steel was not employed as a major visible construction material. It likely was utilized to create the structural underpinning for some modern buildings, since CF&I made both I- and H- beams. The Pueblo Freeway used both local and imported steel to create girders and bridge supports. It is unfortunate none of the city's architects, contractors, or park planners followed the advice Kenneth Smithee of the National Recreation and Park Association offered in his 1966 report, *Parks, Recreation and Beautification*. He recommended the bold use of local steel in a major sculpture as a way to promote CF&I materials, beautify the city, and encourage steel use among private developers and builders.


photo credit: Wade Broadhead


photo credit: Wade Broadhead

Moderne (1930s-1940s)

Moderne style buildings, also known as Art Moderne and Streamline Moderne, reflected early- and mid-twentieth century excitement about technological advancements, high speed transportation, and innovative new construction techniques. In fact, many of the homes and buildings of this style look like trains or ocean liners, featuring metal details at the corners ("speed lines") or round port-hole windows. Moderne buildings featured smooth, rounded wall surfaces often covered in stucco. They had flat roofs, steel corner windows, and used glass block ornament.


photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Wade Broadhead

Usonian (1930s-1960s)

Usonian was a domestic style Frank Lloyd Wright developed based upon his personal design philosophy and intended to meet the need for affordable middle-class housing. Usonian homes were smaller than Wright's earlier commissions with less ornamentation and also were constructed without either basements or attics. The houses were arranged into three zones: living areas, small bedrooms, and the kitchen-dining area. Most Usonian houses had a private entry, with clerestory windows on the façade, and a more public rear, featuring large picture windows intended to integrate the interior and exterior. The homes had a horizontal orientation, emphasized by flat roofs with broad overhanging eaves. Like other Wright designs, Usonian houses featured central hearths, cantilevers, and integration with the surrounding landscape. Most also included a carport.

photo credit: Jeffrey DeHerrera

International (late-1930s-1960s and 1970-1980)

This most austere of architectural styles was used for a wide variety of buildings, including office towers, hospitals, college academic buildings, and new developments erected as part of urban renewal projects across the country. The International style rejected historic references and ornament, instead displaying the physical structure of the building and emphasizing its functionality with smooth, untextured surfaces. International buildings usually featured a prominent grid and bands of windows. With a rectangular footprint, they had flat roofs with no cornices; some International buildings were raised on piers. Earlier examples of the style featured a wider variety of materials, often incorporating panels of precast concrete or vinyl, but as time passed, architects favored steel and large expanses of glass forming expansive window walls. This later type is sometimes referred to as Miesian style, indicating a similarity with the work of Mies van der Rohe. Shown at right, Freed Middle School at 715 West Twentieth Street and Agape Fellowship Church at 611 Broadway Avenue.

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey


photo credit: Jeffrey DeHerrera

Googie (mid-1940s-1960s)

Googie style buildings were designed for the automotive age, with the whole edifice intended to be advertising. Buildings of this style featured distinctive roof shapes, large adjacent parking lots, and eye-catching signs often of neon. The Googie style was a popular choice for coffee shops and restaurants, grocery stores, and automobile showrooms. The large front display windows offered drivers a glimpse of the activities and goods inside and, at night, allowed light from the well-lit interior to shine out toward the roadway to attract customers. The Pass Key, at left, may be the only Googie building in Pueblo.

Brutalism (Late 1950s-1980)

This architectural style was named for the treatment given concrete, *Beton brut,* which translates as "raw concrete." The concrete exteriors of Brutalism buildings often showed the grain of the wood forms used in their creation. These massive, angular buildings usually had flat roofs. The windows were small, often with hoods or surrounds, and recessed entrances stayed hidden in the facade. University, government, and institutional buildings featured this style.

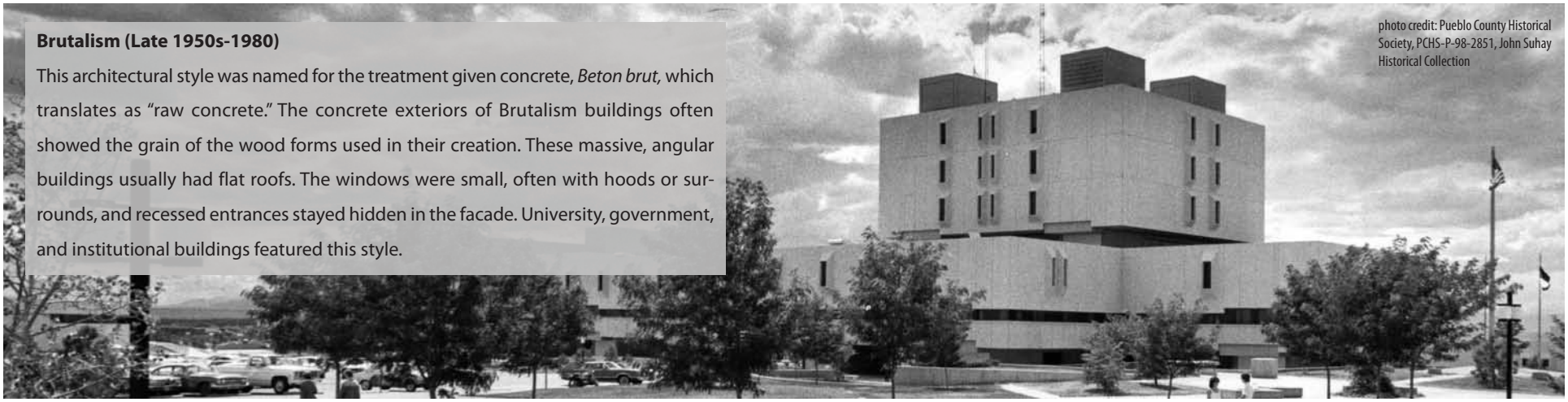


photo credit: Pueblo County Historical Society, PCHS-P-98-2851, John Suhay Historical Collection

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

Neo-Expressionism (Late-1950s-1980s)

Neo-Expressionism was a reaction against the rectilinear horizontality of the International style and also reflected cultural changes that occurred in the late-1950s and 1960s. This extremely sculptural architecture often featured unusual massing and preferred rounded, organic forms. The buildings were often constructed of brick, concrete, stucco, or glass and relied upon their unusual shape, rather than applied ornament, for visual variety.

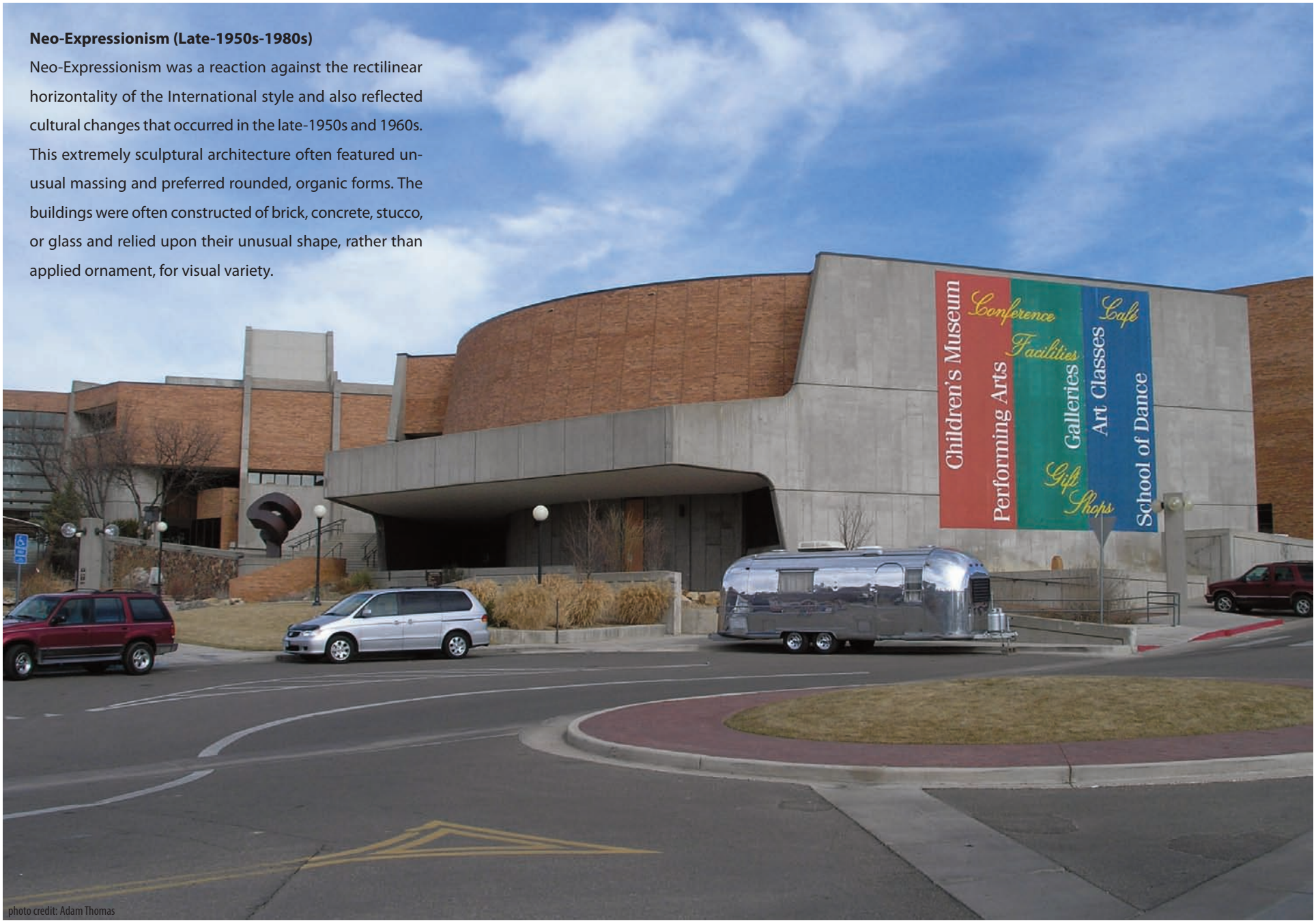


photo credit: Adam Thomas

Colonial Revival (1960s-1970s)

Examples of this style, especially homes with the most basic applied ornaments, have existed throughout the history of American architecture. However, this style experienced a revival in the 1960s. Associated with the country's East Coast origins, it was viewed as traditional and secure in an increasingly complex time. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA), always cautious about their investments in new suburban subdivisions, favored such traditional elements over more modern designs. The most common features added to basic Ranch homes or other buildings included decorative shutters, small pediments over front entries, modest porticos, and pilasters. In Belmont this link to the East Coast even extended to the street names, many of which referenced Revolutionary War topics; even the elementary school was named Ben Franklin.

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Adam Thomas

New Formalism (late 1960s-1980)

This Postmodernism style was a combination of the new materials and technologies of the modern International and the decorative elements of the historic Neo-classical styles. Designed to appear monumental, New Formalism buildings often used expensive materials such as travertine, marble, or granite. Given both their appearance and the cost of construction, New Formalism buildings usually had high profile cultural, institutional, and civic uses. Common design elements included pillars, arches, colonnades, and arcades.


photo credit: Adam Thomas

Modern for the Masses

The end of World War II marked a shift in the American psyche. Soldiers had fought "the war to end all wars" and entered this new age in an optimistic mood and ready to live different lives than their parents and grandparents. They wanted cars and consumer goods that were newer, better, brighter, and shinier, and this same attitude carried over to their requirements for homes. A 1945 *Saturday Evening Post* survey indicated only 14 percent of the respondents would be satisfied to live in an apartment or previously constructed house. Nearly all popular magazines used the term modern to apply to the new homes universally demanded in the postwar period. And the American people had a clear idea of what such modern homes should look like and include: 11,428 answers to a 1946 *Better Homes and Gardens* questionnaire showed the typical American wanted a home with more space, multi-purpose rooms, an eat-in kitchen, a dining room, and plenty of storage plus a yard for the children. None of these popular descriptions included Modernist architect's references to a rejection of historical influences or an emphasis on function and efficiency. However, these concepts are implied. Basically, postwar housing is characterized as lower-case "m" modernism because it was new and streamlined but not necessary high style or architect-designed. It was of the same age as and featured some of the same influences as the work of Wright, Le Corbusier, and Mies van der Rohe, but these houses experienced the diluting effects of FHA guidelines, builders' perceptions of what homeowners wanted, and cost considerations.

During the postwar period, builders simplified house designs to make construction easier, quicker, and less expensive. Other period changes included introduction of basic boxy shaped houses, standard window and door sizes, plus the decision to offer only a very limited number of models to simplify construction. Yet builders were encouraged, as practical, to adopt modern influences and to make their new homes competitively marketable. These new houses featured open-plan interiors that allowed the new owners, rather than the housing design, to determine the best use for the spaces within houses. In this way, these lower-case "m" modern homes fulfilled the Modern concept of form following function. While the postwar period featured many building types and architectural styles, these years were most closely identified with the ubiquitous Ranch home. From its earliest origins as a less than 700 square foot starter home to the rambling houses constructed in the 1960s, the Ranch house grew with the American family and the American economy.

Beyond the house designs, the suburban lifestyle was conceived of as modern and new. Both television and popular magazines portrayed suburbanites living spontaneous, informal lives. Historians Rosalyn Baxandall and Elizabeth Ewen described this period as the time when America's porch society gave way to patio society and where the formal dining room was left behind in favor of the barbeque and the TV dinner; Americans rejected white gloves, choosing to wear pedal pushers instead. The promise of other new owners like themselves, all striving to create a community, appealed to many of the new homeowners in postwar suburbia. This was the generation, after the experiences of both the Great Depression and World War II, used to helping each other and living communally in barracks, defense housing, or cramped G.I. Bill university dorms. According to an article in a 1953 issue of *Harpers* magazine, these new subdivisions were without history, tradition, established structure, inherited customs, institutions, or

socially important families. These new owners felt a sense of kinship because they all lived in a good neighborhood where there was no wrong side of the tracks.

Many owners bought their new homes with the intention of living the American dream, taking full advantage of the 1950s emphasis on leisure. Backyards, grassy lawns, and entertaining took on an added significance. While lawns were the perfect locations for spontaneous games among neighborhood children, in reality they required a great deal of hard work. Lawn maintenance was taken quite seriously, with specific covenants in certain subdivisions about how often the grass must be mowed. The ideal of continuous front lawns provided a neighborhood park; fences rarely interrupted the vista. High fences, also called 'spite fences', implied that the owner either hated their neighbors or was plain anti-community.

Lower-case "m" modernism was expressed in the wide variety of building forms described on the following pages.

Minimal Traditional (1930s-late-1940s)

These economical, basic homes were particularly popular prior to, during, and immediately after World War II. These houses marked a transition between earlier bungalows or cottage forms and the earliest Ranch homes. The small buildings had simple roofs with closed eaves and featured few decorative details, although most hosted non-operative shutters. Minimal Traditional houses were built with a wide range of exterior siding options, including asbestos shingles, brick, wood, stucco, or metal. Within Pueblo subdivisions platted in the 1940s with homes constructed in the same decade, nearly all houses were Minimal Traditional in form.

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Jeffrey DeHerrera

Cape Cod (late-1930s-1950s)

This inexpensively constructed, adaptable small house form, originally introduced to the U.S. in the 1700s, experienced a revival during the Great Depression and remained popular throughout the 1950s. This domestic form with a steeply pitched side gable roof evolved to meet modern living requirements, featuring enlarged windows, off-center front entries and chimneys, front roof dormers, side wings, and attached garages. Most Cape Cod homes were one-and-one-half story and featured wood, shingle, brick, or stone siding; in Pueblo it appears some Belmont Cape Cods originally were covered in stucco as well. Like the Ranch home, the Cape Cod was popular for the image it conveyed. Both new homeowners and the FHA favored the traditional elements of this type that referenced the nation's New England origins.

Ranch (1940s-1960s)

In Pueblo, as elsewhere around the country, the Ranch home became the most common postwar housing choice. The Ranch was inexpensive to build and popular with new homeowners who considered owning one of these houses part of a friendly, simple, and informal lifestyle. The work of Frank Lloyd Wright and Spanish haciendas of Colonial California represent two of the many influences that effected the development of the Ranch home. Ranch builders sought inspiration in not only Wright's Prairie homes—with low, horizontal profiles and open plan interiors featuring central fireplaces—but also his economical Usonian designs, with flat roofs, closed facades, and on-slab construction. Spanish influences inspired the either "U" or "L" shaped plans and integration with the outdoors many postwar Ranch houses exhibited. The earliest and best known Ranch designer was California architect Cliff May, and the general public became familiar with his use of natural materials, low roof lines, exposed beams, prominent fireplaces, and extensive amounts of glass in the pages of *Sunset Magazine*.

Ranch homes were one-story with low-pitched or flat roofs with wide overhanging eaves. Many featured picture windows, low chimneys, and minimal use of decorative wrought iron. Over time the low, horizontal façade became increasingly more elongated and total square footage also increased. Many early Ranches were built without a garage, but over time carports and especially attached one- and two-car garages became standard. Ranch houses featured minimal front porches with more emphasis on informal patio living in the rear. The basic Ranch form was a perfect canvas for a variety of stylistic details such as scalloped gingerbread trim, weeping mortar, or Colonial Revival elements like pedimented entries, pilasters, and decorative shutters.

EARLY RANCH

- Construction dates in the early- to mid-1940s
- Compact, usually less than 900 square feet
- Similar in appearance to Minimal Traditional homes
- No attached garage

HACIENDA RANCH

- Smooth stucco exterior painted white or light color
- Flat roof, perhaps with a slightly raised parapet
- Decorative elements such as exposed vigas, arches, or heavy iron work

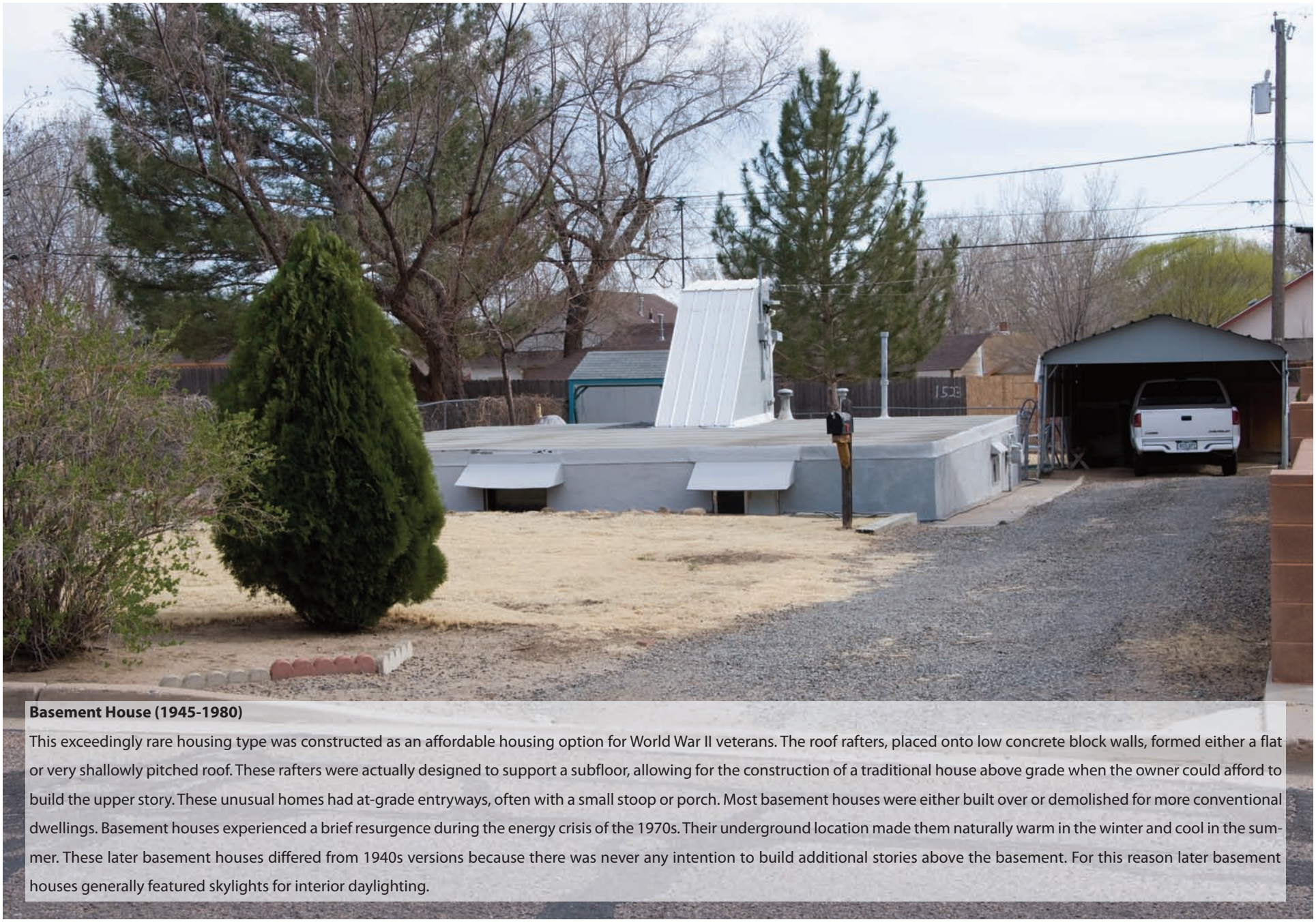
MODERN RANCH

- Flat roofs with overhanging eaves
- Wide metal or wooden cornices
- Small windows located under the eaves
- Fine examples frequently architect-designed

all photos credit: Mary Therese Anstey

CONTEMPORARY RANCH

- Low pitched front gable roof
- Loose stone sometimes used as roof cover
- Clerestory windows
- Usually more elongated than other Ranch homes
- Fine examples frequently architect-designed



Basement House (1945-1980)

This exceedingly rare housing type was constructed as an affordable housing option for World War II veterans. The roof rafters, placed onto low concrete block walls, formed either a flat or very shallowly pitched roof. These rafters were actually designed to support a subfloor, allowing for the construction of a traditional house above grade when the owner could afford to build the upper story. These unusual homes had at-grade entryways, often with a small stoop or porch. Most basement houses were either built over or demolished for more conventional dwellings. Basement houses experienced a brief resurgence during the energy crisis of the 1970s. Their underground location made them naturally warm in the winter and cool in the summer. These later basement houses differed from 1940s versions because there was never any intention to build additional stories above the basement. For this reason later basement houses generally featured skylights for interior daylighting.

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey


photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

Split Level (1950s-1980s)

The Split Level was a multi-story alternative to the ubiquitous Ranch home. On the exterior, these houses featured low pitched roofs, overhanging eaves, and a horizontal orientation. The three or more staggered floor levels on the interior created three types of space: a noisy living and service area on the partially below grade level (including a family room and often a garage); the mid-level quiet living area (containing the living room, dining room and kitchen); and the upper level or levels with the bedrooms. Most Split Levels had wallboard or stucco siding with brick from mid-level to the foundation. Nearly all Split Levels included attached, multi-car garages.

A-Frame (1960s)

The steeply-pitched gable roof with its eaves extended to grade defined this form that was particularly popular for vacation homes, ski chalets, and restaurants. A-Frame buildings usually featured an open-plan interior, with homes featuring sleeping lofts in the upper story. Many A-Frame buildings, given their simple forms, were sold as kit structures for easy self-assembly.

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

Bi-Level/Raised Ranch (1960s-1980s)

This two-story variation of the Ranch home featured a raised or garden level basement with larger, above-grade windows. The lower level usually contained a family room, a bedroom, bathroom, and utility room with the living room, kitchen, bathroom, and additional bedrooms located on the upper level. The entry was at-grade, either centered on the facade or next to an attached garage. The lower portion of the exterior was often faced in brick with the upper level generally sided in wood, vinyl, or aluminum siding.

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

Neo-Mansard (late-1960s-1980s)

This housing type was evidence of the Postmodern shift back toward traditional architectural details. It is named for its characteristic roof form. Builders appreciated the dramatic decorative effect of the mansard roof that was inexpensive to construct. Most Neo-Mansard properties had window openings cut through the lower slope of the mansard roof, forming a recessed window. Many later examples of this type, both domestic and commercial, lack the true double slope of the mansard roof and instead look like large pent roofs projecting below a flat roof.

Mobile Home Park or Trailer Court (1940s-1980s)

This property type became increasingly popular as a form of affordable housing. Mobile homes retained axles, wheels, and tow-hitches despite the fact they were rarely moved once placed on their concrete pads. Early model homes were narrow and covered in aluminum siding. Starting in the 1960s, mobile homes became both longer and wider, covered in metal or vinyl. Most mobile homes were located within communities known as trailer parks and ranged in size from only a few mobile homes to hundreds. These developments resembled residential subdivisions, often featuring sites in culdesacs or similar suburban arrangements. Many mobile home parks provided amenities such as patios, auto parking, playgrounds, swimming pools, utility connections, and laundry facilities. In Pueblo, most mobile home parks were located, at the time of construction, on the edges of town or outside the city limits but have since been annexed. Pictured is the Shamrock Trailer Court at 2400 Lake Avenue.

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Jeffrey DeHerrera

photo credit: Jeffrey DeHerrera

Oblong Box Gas Station (1930s-1970s)

This commercial building type marked both the shift from gas stations to service stations and the increasing influence of modern architectural styles on industrial design. Walter Teague produced a series of Oblong Box gas station designs for Texaco that inspired similar corporate and private gas stations throughout the country. The Oblong Box featured all the functions of the station, except the actual pumping of gas, within a simple rectangular plan building. The office/sales area was located prominently in the corner, usually facing the adjacent road intersection. The service bays with roll-down glazed doors were attached to the office portion of the Oblong Box. These stations featured rectangular plans, usually flat roofs, minimal landscaping, and detached lighting and signage.

Government Buildings (1940s to 1970s)

Local, state, and national governments across the country experienced a boom in construction in the postwar period. Lack of resources during the Great Depression, rationing during the war, and population growth created greater demand for municipal and county services. New buildings erected in the immediate postwar period usually were hybrids of Moderne and International styles, with the International style gaining in popularity over time. In the late-1950s through the 1970s, some communities chose to erect official buildings in a variety of modern styles ranging from Brutalism to New Formalism. The overall goal of these buildings was to portray the government functions inside as being as progressive, modern, and up-to-date as the exterior architectural style. This trend continues to the present day, with many communities building new facilities every thirty to fifty years. Vacant government buildings can be particularly vulnerable to demolition given not only the perceived difficulty in adapting to contemporary uses and technology but also the prevalent use of materials such as asbestos, lead paint, and a wide variety of plastics that are hazardous.

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Wade Broadhead

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

Automobile Showrooms (1940-1982)

This specialized use type functioned to market, service, and sell automobiles. Although such facilities first appeared soon after the invention of the automobile, by the 1940s and 1950s automobile showrooms took on many characteristics associated with other roadside architecture. The favored architectural style during this period tended to be Moderne. The large buildings, with new cars displayed inside and used cars parked in expansive lots outside, were highly visible from the street. The buildings were a living advertisement with the cars viewed through large, glare-free windows similar to the television screen that showed commercials for new models to at-home viewers. Broad driveways led to visible service bays, usually with large roll-up garage doors. Prominently displaying the service and parts departments allowed dealers to announce their commitment to customer care. The businesses also relied on prominent, often neon signage, which was frequently affixed to the roof to enhance visibility. In the 1960s, many dealerships adopted the irregular rooflines associated with Googie architecture, making sure the building exterior attracted the attention of passing drivers. Into the 1970s and 1980s, dealerships sometimes replaced vintage neon signage with flat panel or bubble awning lighting.

Drive-In Restaurants (1950s-1970s)

This specialized use type developed when the "automobile was king" and allowed drivers to eat in their cars. Located along major streets, these eateries featured large parking lots. The earliest restaurants were small, often flat roofed, with large windows and a walk-up counter where customers could order from a relatively limited menu. Over time these facilities increasingly adopted the exaggerated roof shapes associated with Googie style architecture. Many drive-in restaurants also introduced car service, allowing diners to order from either a carhop (often on roller skates) or via a car-side speaker. All restaurants had highly visible, often neon, signage.

Drive-In Theaters (1940s-1980s)

This type of roadside architecture allowed car-crazed owners to enjoy a night at the movies. Drive-In theaters sat near the edge of town where there was sufficient land available for a large screen and other features of the sprawling site. These isolated locations also reduced complaints regarding noise, dust, and traffic. Large roadside signs featured neon detailing and advertised the name of the movie being shown. Movie goers traveled down a short, lighted driveway, usually unpaved, to the glass box, canopy-covered ticket booth. Most drive-ins had a projection booth and concession stand, buildings usually constructed of concrete block. Many sites featured small playgrounds for children. The rows in front of the large movie screen featured individual speakers, attached to poles, which hung on the car window and transmitted sound once the film began; many theaters, over time, converted to sound systems that operated via FM radio.

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey


photo credit: Mary Therese Anstey

Motor Lodges (1920s-1960s)

These specialized resources served America's travelers during the pre-interstate age. The earliest examples developed in the 1920s as modest cottages with adjacent parking. By the 1950s most motor lodges, also known as motor courts or auto courts, where built in an "L" or "U" shaped arrangement with a series of attached lodging rooms and parking spaces in front of each room. These facilities usually featured a corner office for the on-site manager and prominent, often neon, signage that was visible from the road. As tourism increased, some motor courts added swimming pools and restaurants in order to compete with motels, especially those constructed along new interstate highways. In Pueblo, the motor lodges and auto courts were located along three major routes: Santa Fe Avenue, Elizabeth Street, or Lake Avenue.

Signs (1940S-1960

With the shift to automobile usage, business signage needed to be larger and more eye-catching. Most signs were painted metal and featured shapes such as arrows pointing to the business or iconic outlines linked to the name or type of goods sold. These signs tended to employ multiple bulbs or tubes filled with neon (or other gas) to be more visible at night. Some signs became so well associated with the business in question they also appeared in print or television advertisements.

all photos credit: Mary Therese Anstey

Appendix B:

Preservation Action Plan

Pueblo has remarkable postwar resources. While the city's roots may be found in Native Americans, Spanish explorers, and railroad-based industrial growth, its landscape today is solidly postwar. This period of urban growth, interstate and dam building, steel manufacturing, and urban renewal more than any other defines the cultural landscape in present day Pueblo. The city, unlike other Colorado communities, grew steadily after the war, stayed solidly grounded in the steel industry, preserved its ethnic diversity, and avoided the type of systematic urban renewal that decimated downtowns elsewhere across the West.

Although Pueblo differed from other Colorado cities during the postwar period, it has the architectural styles and forms most associated with architecture of the time. This period brought Ranch houses, Split Levels, and A-frames to subdivisions. Shopping malls, drive-in theaters, and bowling alleys lined commercial strips in an automobile-oriented landscape. Modern styles appeared like the streamlined Moderne, the efficient Usonian, and the horizontally-oriented International. Brutalism and Neo-Expressionism made statements about human relationships with the landscape. Colonial Revival and New Formalism tried to link the architecture of the present with an idealized past. During this period, Pueblo also developed its own endemic styles, including the Neo-Adobe house.

These postwar buildings and landscapes are difficult to comprehend. They mix with earlier nineteenth century commercial buildings; they rise on the horizon like a fortress. They are not always easy to love. This is why Pueblo's postwar built environment—like that of so many cities across the nation—is threatened. The National Trust for Historic Preservation notes:

> The significant buildings, landscapes, and sites of the Modern movement...are among the most underappreciated and vulnerable aspects of our nation's heritage. Day by day, a steady campaign of demolition erodes the physical fabric of the recent past, with little consideration of its community importance, design significance, or role in creating a sustainable future.[1]

The postwar landscape introduces unique preservation challenges. Looking at resources from this period, we must ask: How can a community embrace a postwar landscape while allowing for the very dynamic of change that it represents? How can Pueblo choose the best of this era, when the city has yet to develop a standard by which to judge such resources? How do home and business owners apply preservation guidance designed for preserving Victorian resources to twentieth century buildings? This plan not only addresses some of these challenges but also seeks the right balance for Pueblo.

Pueblo's preservation mission is people-focused, teaching Puebloans about their shared history. For that reason, this plan emphasizes the need for continued outreach and education. The results of this effort will guide future preservation. Saving a mid century building in 2020 starts today.

▼ **It takes a village.** Preservation is the work of many. Small actions combine to achieve great things.


City planner (preservation)


City Council


Historic Preservation Commission


Pueblo History Groups


Pueblo architects and realtors


Neighborhood Associations and Institutions (including churchs, school, and libraries)


Students


Owner Occupants


Consultants


History Colorado/OAHP

1 For the entire article, see www.preservationnation.org/issues/modernism-recent-past/.

▼ **Local architects influence the built environment.** HGF was just one of the architectural firms designing during the postwar period, though certainly the most prolific. The firm continues to design and redesign Pueblo's landscape. *(images courtesy HGF)*

HGF

Research

The City of Pueblo has systematically completed "neighborhood by neighborhood" histories for its Neighborhood Heritage Enhancement program. While the Pueblo Modern context revealed a great deal of information about the postwar period, there are areas that warrant more research.

R.1 Oral Histories

Now is the time to record oral histories with Pueblo's postwar citizens. Of first priority sould be interviews with government officials from the period, original owners of postwar homes, and Chicanos who participated in local protest movements and/or successfully ran for elected office (especially in the 1971 local election). The City could work with high school or secondary students and the library district to accomplish this project.

R.2 Study Local Architects

Time constraints did not allow for enough research on the commissions and practices of Pueblo architects, some of whom are still practicing. With a small amount of funding from the city's history groups, students could tackle this research, one firm at a time; the architecture firms also could assist with this project. The end product would be an "Architects of Pueblo" resource section in the Pueblo Library and on the City's historic preservation website.

◀ **Postwar Neighborhoods.** The Sunset Neighborhood is an excellent example of a postwar neighborhood and should be a high priority for further research. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

R.3 Construction During World War II (1940-1945)

The research revealed that unlike many American cities, Pueblo had construction and building projects underway in the 1940s. A study of the overall pattern of subdivisions platted and homes built during World War II, especially how the scarcity of materials affected design and construction, is needed. This is likely a grant-funded project.

R.4 Suburbanization of Churches

The context did not fully address the suburbanization of Pueblo's churches, many of which are architectural gems. This would be an excellent research project for a PhD candidate interested in the built environment and its religious manifestations. Church archives will be a valuable source of information.

R.5 Sunset Neighborhood

The Sunset neighborhood—its developers, construction techniques, marketing, and original residents—should be studied in depth. It appears this postwar subdivision retains a majority of its original buildings, many with few modifications. Its compact size makes it an ideal candidate for further study, especially as it compares to the history and architecture in Pueblo's largest postwar subdivision, Belmont.

R.6 Lopped Building

Research for this context uncovered a strange phenomenon: the "lopped" building. During the late-1950s or early-1960s, owners of several houses and commercial buildings removed the second story from their buildings. It is not clear

▶ **Lopped Building.** One of the most unique phenomenon discovered in this research is the postwar trend to remove an entire story from a building, as illustrated in this series of photographs of 212 East Mesa Avenue in the Eiler's neighborhood. Because the "before" house (at top) is so different from the "after" house (at bottom), identifying these through a street survey would be nearly impossible. Private and public archives need to be studied to identify more examples. *(photos courtesy of Karla Micklich)*

if this extreme modification was an attempt to reduce the tax value of the property, was an effort to modernize an aging structure and compete with new businesses, or was a means to control use (or specifically to exclude undesirable uses) of the second story. Evidence suggests Pueblo passed an ordinance allowing the removal of the second story. The extent of this action is not clear and should be researched more.

R.7 Growth of Hispanic Culture

The City requested research on postwar Hispanic history after the grant application was prepared. While the Pueblo Modern context provides a lot of information on this topic, it does not sufficiently link Hispanic history to the built environment. The City should consider pursuing a grant for a context solely devoted to Hispanic history in Pueblo and how it manifested itself in the built environment.

R.8 Stucco Phenomenon: Pueblo's Vinyl?

In the 1920s, Hispanics moved to Pueblo in increasing numbers, especially to the East Side. They built houses of adobe brick, and this construction type continued into the postwar period. Applying stucco veneer to brick, stone, or wood buildings was also a prevalent practice in Pueblo in the postwar period. The reasons for this treatment are not clear. It may have been less expensive to use stucco than to reclad or stucco may have been easier to keep clean under Pueblo's dirty skies. Alternatively, stucco application may represent cultural influences. The use of stucco, both as an original material

and as a later alteration, makes evaluating Pueblo buildings challenging, and it is certainly a subject worthy of more research. This topic would make an excellent master's thesis for a material culture historian. The City should seek out a student willing to delve into this complex subject more fully.

Document

Documentation involves the collection of information about buildings, not necessarily analyzing their historic significance. A key feature of historic preservation documentation is gathering basic information about a structure or landscape, including geographic details, construction history, and photographs. Gathering such data should be an ongoing task, so as opportunities arise the information is organized and accessible to both city planners and citizens. The following documentation needs came into focus during the Pueblo Modern research.

D.1 Digitize Building Permits

Pueblo has complete building permit records from 1940 to 1984, but they are stored poorly and difficult to access. Especially for this period, the City's building permits provide a lot of information about construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction. By scanning these, linking them to existing City databases, and even making them available online, the City can provide much more information to its citizens. Ways to achieve such a digitization effort include working with the university to apply for grants, having students assist with the scanning process, working with community groups and volunteers, and collaborating with the Rawlings Public Library. It is a time-consuming task, but certainly one that would make research of the built environment significantly more cost-effective.

D.2 Digitize Planning Documents

Similarly, the Pueblo Regional Planning Commission produced a plethora of documents during the postwar period. As a requirement of federal funding programs, Pueblo planners effectively wrote a blog, documenting their everyday decisions and summarizing key statistics and opinion survey results. Currently these bound volumes related to downtown development, civil defense, landscape beautification, economic renewal, and a wide variety of other topics are stored in the City Planning office. These useful resources should be digitized and made available.

D.3 Citywide Preservation Database

Another documentation project is to feature postwar resources in a citywide historic resource survey, that could be conducted by students and entered into a citywide historic preservation database. Keeping historic information about properties in a database—tied to the existing city assessor and GIS databases—can provide property owners with quick information. At minimum, this historic preservation database should include fields such as location (UTM, parcel number, latitude-longitude, neighborhood), photograph, style, year built, and other historical information.

▲ **Actual adobe or stucco?** There are rare 19th and mid-20th century example of extant adobe houses, whose construction is adobe brick, like the one above built in 1941 at 2011 East Eigth Street. The builder shaped the bricks from the clay that he dug by hand to excavate the basement. Pueblo also has many examples of adobe stucco applied as a veneer on timber frame, brick, or concrete block buildings. Understanding this trend would assist the City's planning and housing staff, private consulting firms, the Pueblo Historic Preservation Commission, and the Colorado Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation evaluate buildings in the City. (*Construction information and photo courtesy Daryl Wood)*

D.4 Graceful Retirement Program

The Pueblo Modern project revealed some obvious candidates for historic preservation documentation following the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, which includes a written narrative, photography, and in some cases measured drawings. This "Graceful Retirement" program should target postwar buildings that, frankly, even preservationists find hard to love. This approach does not advocate demolition but is instead a proactive recommendation to document these buildings before any future demolition application or permit for major alteration.

At the top of this list are Pueblo's Brutalism buildings—the county jail and the original buildings at Colorado State University-Pueblo. Brutalism's character-defining features are almost exactly the opposite of current design and planning trends. The lack of windows makes the buildings difficult to occupy. In addition, the strong vertical orientation coupled with a castle-like monumentality make buildings in this architectural style incompatible with human-scaled landscapes. Finally, the featured material—battered concrete—seems a curious choice in a steel and brick town. The university, like so many others across the country, may decide their Brutalist buildings are not compatible with current educational philosophies and pedagogy and, indeed, changes already have been made on campus. Now is the time to research the designers' intent (and interview the architects), write a narrative history of the properties, and photograph them using high quality digital images. At Colorado State University-Pueblo especially, there is a fabulous opportunity to work with students in a semester of field-based historic documentation methods.

Other threatened postwar resources worthy of documentation include:

- multi-family housing throughout the city;
- retirement homes (two examples are the Belmont Lodge Healthcare Center at 1601 Constitution Road and Pueblo Care and Rehabilitation built in 1962 at 2611 Jones Avenue);
- oblong box gas stations, especially those in areas already targeted for redevelopment; and
- mobile home parks or trailer courts.

Evaluate

After documentation, a formal evaluation of historic resources from this period is warranted. Though very few of Pueblo's buildings have been landmarked, this preservation plan aims to prioritize areas that might benefit from a systematic and formal survey of some kind.

E.2 Downtown Evaluation

Downtown Pueblo witnessed dramatic changes during the postwar period. Owners of nineteenth century commercial buildings "modernized" facades with steel siding, enlarged display windows, and large signs. When the original survey of downtown took place in the early 1980s, many of these changes were less than fifty years old. These modifications are now approaching this age baseline, making historic preservation commission review quite challenging. The entire downtown needs to be reassessed, with accurate documentation of postwar modifications, possible period of significance expansion, and a full accounting of the contributing and non-contributing resources.

◀ **Graceful Retirement.** Some of the best examples of postwar resources are also the most threatened. As regulations and demand for elder care change, so too will the buildings. The Belmont Lodge (top) and the Pueblo Care and Rehabilitation complex (middle) are high priorities for documentation. With its Neo-Mansard style, the Belmont Square apartment complex at 2020 Jerry Murphy Road (bottom) is an example of postwar multifamily design. The apartments may originally have been used as student housing for the nearby Southern Colorado State College campus. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

Mesa Drive-In at 2625 Santa Fe Drive

10-1-5 Program. The City goal for recognizing its modern resources is **10** local landmarks and **1** National Register listing within **5** years.

Other resources to consider for landmarking include:
- A lopped house
- A postwar adobe house
- An oblong box gas station
- John Bonforte's original construction office for the Belmont subdivision at 1224 Ruppel Street (modifications may make this difficult)
- The Sangre de Cristo Arts Center (though it is less than 50 years old in 2012)
- The State Hospital complex

E.1 Landmark Modern Resources

This context identified buildings that, if lost, would have a tremendous effect on the built environment and Pueblo's modern legacy. The City should invite these property owners to apply for landmarking.

Pass Key at 518 East Abriendo Avenue

Wilcoxs Car Dealership at 902 Santa Fe Drive

Cañon National Bank at 101 West Fifth Street

Central Christian Church at 1902 North Hudson Avenue

Christ Congregational Church at 1003 Liberty Lane

▶ **Evaluate downtown.** Pueblo's downtown survived the Urban Renewal trend that annihilated other city centers in the state. Some of Pueblo's downtown shopkeepers opted to modernize their buildings by applying pressed brick veneer, glass block and tile, and canted entry doors. These modifcations are fifty years old and may be historic in their own right. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

E.3 Subdivision Surveys

Post-World War II residential subdivisions differ from the suburban developments that preceded them in terms of the large numbers of resources within subdivisions, the limited architectural styles/building types represented, the relatively short periods of time for the original construction, and the fact these subdivisions were both mass marketed and designed as major land use developments including houses and other community facilities such as schools, parks, libraries, and strip malls. For this reason the identification and evaluation of such areas require a specialized approach. This type of survey is where State Historical Fund (SHF) grants would be put to best use for Pueblo's modern resources.

The Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) developed Form #1403b- Post-World War II Residential Subdivision Form (1945-1975) for recording resources within and making determinations of National Register of Historic Places historic district eligibility for entire subdivisions. Completing this form requires familiarity with not only the subdivision boundaries but also the basic history of the housing development. A reconnaissance survey of the entire subdivision also is strongly recommended. This effort may be an

informal review of the architectural styles and building types present in the housing development. Alternatively, a more formal reconnaissance survey, with individual photographs and basic data (such as address, date of construction, architectural style or building type, and modifications) gathered for each resource within the subdivision, can be completed. An informal review may be better suited for projects where a professional consultant will be recording the subdivision immediately on Form #1403b. The more formal reconnaissance survey represents a project suited to students and/or neighborhood volunteers; the results of their work can be used to prioritize subdivisions for selective intensive survey by a professional consultant using Form #1403b.

In large subdivisions with numerous filings that were developed over a longer time period, like Belmont, a slightly different method, involving the completion of multiples of Form #1403b, may be more appropriate. In such a case each individual form would document a group of filings that share similar platting dates, architectural styles/ building types, or builder involvement. For example, the first five filings in Belmont were all platted within a two year period (1952-1953), feature very similar small minimal Ranch homes, and are attributed to merchant builder John Bonforte. The homes within these early filings differ greatly from the latest filings in the 1980s; therefore, a separate #1403b is likely justified. Following this approach requires a great deal of knowledge about the overall development of the subdivision, a level of understanding that is not always available, prior to the initiation of work on Form #1403b.

Using these historic preservation survey methods, the Sunset and Westview neighborhoods are first priority areas. These neighborhoods seem visually durable, cohesive, and compact. The Westview area in particular, with its circular streets and remnant signs, appears to have a landscape architecture element worth understanding and preserving. This area is also small enough that a house-by-house survey (using form #1403) could be accomplished with relatively modest time and funds. For Sunset, using the #1403b form would be the best method to survey the neighborhood, though a better historical and architectural context would be necessary before starting a survey.

Beyond surveys of various subdivisions or neighborhoods, it would benefit Pueblo's preservation efforts to systematically study neighborhood commercial buildings. These resources are located on street corners throughout the City, and many appear to have been built before World War II. Yet, a number of these commercial establishments had a postwar revitalization, where individual owners modernized them with canted storefronts. These modifications are approaching the traditional fifty-year mark, and may make what was once an "ineligible due to lost integrity due to alterations" building eligible for designation. An intensive survey using either the local landmark form or the #1403 is best for these resources.

E.4 School District Survey

Pueblo built twenty-three postwar schools, many of which are still in use today. It is time for a formal historic context and survey of Pueblo's District 60 schools, with District 60 as the State Historical Fund grant applicant. This effort is especially critical in light of Keating Middle School's abandonment and other postwar schools reaching a replace-or-repair threshold.

▲ **Hidden treasures.** The Westview subdivision's original, scrolled sign posts remain next to modern street signs. Landscape features such as curvilinear streets and mature trees enhance the neighborhood character. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

▶▲▼ **Survey postwar schools.** Changing demographics and pedagogy threaten postwar schools throughout the country. A survey of Pueblo's schools may help the school district find funds for rehabilitation. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

E.5 Community Built Survey

Knowing that grant-funded surveys are difficult and costly, Pueblo seeks to reduce expenditures for survey while involving owners and neighbors. These recording efforts are modeled on the community-built park planning practice that engages citizens and creates strong buy-in and sustainability. These surveys should be designed to be small enough to be completed by local groups; and the priority should be set by where the greatest interest exists.

This innovative approach, first mentioned in the preservation plan for South Pueblo, has been initiated in the Eilers Neighborhood where homeowners have started documenting their history. This close-knit neighborhood features approximately twenty postwar homes, the local pub, and St. Mary's Church. The project will include an historic context, telling the story of the Eilers Neighborhood in Pueblo, and area residents will learn how to record the history and architecture of their homes and community buildings, likely incorporating oral histories. The City and Historic Pueblo have already committed time and funds to this project and the neighbors are engaged in fundraising as well. Though this approach is experimental, the advantages include flexibility, lower cost, and the ability to apply lessons learned in Eilers to similar neighborhoods interested in the future.

A second neighborhood of early Modern homes is a collection of cottages in Bessemer near St. Mary Corwin Hospital. The Minnequa Heights neighborhood was originally known as Eastlake (since it lies directly east of Lake Minnequa). Platted in 1903, the first houses were not built until the 1940s. City directories from the 1940s and 1950s indicated that 60 to 70 percent of the residents worked at CF&I and the rest generally worked in retail.

E.6 Fry-Ark Resource Study

A thorough history of the Frying Pan-Arkansas project by Jedediah S. Rogers is available at the Bureau of Reclamation (BOR) website and provided much of the background featured in the Pueblo Modern context. While it provides excellent details for the project, it is not a survey of the remaining extant resources. If an opportunity to survey the resources (dams, houses, treatment plants, etc.) associated with the project arises, the City and County of Pueblo should join in on the effort, which would likely be a statewide undertaking, led in part by the Colorado OAHP.

▼ **Community built surveys.** Pueblo seeks to reduce the cost of survey by having neighbors actively participate in the research and inventory process. These homes near St. Mary Corwin Hospital in the Minnequa Heights neighborhood are a candidate for this kind of project. *(Mary Therese Anstey)*

Monitor

The Historic Preservation Commission (HPC) is largely responsible for monitoring preservation of the designated historic properties through its Certificate of Appropriateness review. This means the commission has focused nearly exclusively on the Union Avenue Historic District. Since commission review is not required for the non-contributing buildings in a district, the HPC struggles with how to address midcentury modifications. The existing citywide design guidelines, the *Standards of Appropriateness & Demolition Standards For Alteration, New Construction, Reconstruction, Restoration, Rehabilitation and Relocation of Pueblo's Historic Landmarks and Districts*, do not even address postwar resources. It is time to edit this document and the local landmark criteria with a focus on the following three areas.

M.1 Is Pueblo Stucco Historic?

Traditional methods for evaluating buildings in Pueblo have excluded stuccoed buildings, an exterior treatment that was quite prevalent in Pueblo in the postwar period. Some stucco treatments, materials, and applications are historic while others are not. The HPC needs to consider the different types of stucco and the historic social and cultural reasons that it was applied. This task will be challenging, since more research on stucco is needed (See Research: Stucco Phenomenon above). This change in local preservation standards would not apply for houses built with stucco as the original finish (evidence suggests developer John Bonforte offered stucco as a finish option on his Belmont houses), bur rather for older buildings that were reclad in stucco. This modification is part of an historic practice that today gives Pueblo a distinctive sense of place. By considering the addition of stucco in the formal evaluation process and accepting it as contributing within the period of significance, many buildings currently determined ineligible due to this single alteration may be formally recognized.

M.2 Adjust the 50-year Rule for Local Landmarks

Perhaps the biggest hurdle to preserving modern resources is the fifty-year rule. This date—fifty years after construction, reconstruction, or alteration—is the guideline established in the National Historic Preservation Act. The fifty year period was chosen to allow enough time for effective analysis within the historic and architectural context. Although it is possible to evaluate and list properties before they reach fifty years, such resources must possess "exceptional" significance and relatively few postwar buildings rise to this level of importance. Those few buildings deemed exceptionally significant have tended to be architect-designed and aesthetically pleasing. While such architectural importance is one justification for designation, this approach discourages considerations of the vast number of resources and the overall postwar landscape. Armed with the Pueblo Modern context, the HPC now has the necessary tools to consider both the architectural and historical significance of postwar resources. Adjusting guidelines for local landmark designation, allowing the HPC to consider resources that have achieved their significance within the last thirty years, will allow Pueblo to recognize and preserve postwar resources that are particularly vulnerable to temporary, poor, and replaceable design.

M.3 Mid Century Style Guide

The style guide attached to the Pueblo Modern context is an excellent start to understanding Pueblo's postwar styles and forms. These need to be added to the *Standards of Appropriateness,* "Section: 4.1 Themes In The Character Of Residential Architecture," which currently does not even mention mid-century styles and forms

Promote

The foundation of all Pueblo preservation projects is community involvement. The City aims to make the information about its neighborhoods readily accessible to the citizens. The North side context and survey has been used to initiate neighborhood discussion regarding historic district designation. The East Side context was wildly popular beyond anyone's expectations, and helped initiate major changes in how the City addresses the neighborhood. The City distributed more than fifty copies of the South Pueblo context to the churches, schools, and businesses in the neighborhood. There are certainly eager readers awaiting the Pueblo Modern context.

Still, mid-twentieth century history is a tough sell not just in Pueblo but around the nation. Not everyone thinks the resources of this period are worthy of preservation. Not every baby boomer is eager to see the homes, recreational sites, stores, and other buildings associated with their own lifetime deemed "historic." Aesthetically, the mid-century design period was stark, especially compared to the excess of the nineteenth century. Ties to industrial design are not always appreciated and can seem foreign in comparison to contemporary design, where fast food restaurants, banks, and grocery chains aim for uniformity not just across town but across the nation. Even some long-time preservationists have trouble overcoming their Victorian and Craftsman preferences. To most people, the castle-like Orman-Adams mansion is more aesthetically pleasing than the castle-like Brutalist library at Colorado State University-Pueblo. Yet, both buildings are important monuments to Pueblo's history; both are worthy of saving. So with Pueblo Modern, it is best to work on promotion slowly, taking advantage of the "pockets of support" that exist in the neighborhoods and seeking to expand such support citywide over time.

▲ **Acknowledge twentieth century styles.** It is difficult to evaluate mid-century buildings. It is nearly impossible when the local landmark guidelines do not even mention them. The HPC needs to embrace Pueblo's postwar resources. *(Jim Lindberg)*

▲ **Promoting Pueblo Modern.** Thanks to a mini-grant from the American Institute of Architects, the City already has a logo to promote its modern resources. *(City of Pueblo)*

P.1 "This Modern Matters" Campaign

The City should develop a simple, yet visually appealing, one-page information sheet to highlight the importance of postwar resources. Another one-page information sheet could show the "top 10" Pueblo Modern buildings. This document can be followed up with a webpage to help people get involved in preservation.

P.2 Excite Relators

Pueblo Planner Wade Broadhead identified the influence of local real estate professionals, stating "Realtors are managing the built environment." Mid-century houses can represent an interesting challenge for these professionals. To some prospective homeowners, postwar houses may seem too small or dated. However, the same houses, marketed to clients interested in the history and architecture of this period, can be very desirable for their open plans, relatively large backyards, and period design features. The City should present the Pueblo Modern context to realtors as one way to assist them in promoting and selling mid-century properties.

P.3 Pockets of Support

There are areas in the city, Eilers neighborhood for instance, where homeowners have a strong desire to learn and preserve twentieth century history. The City needs to support research, surveys, and designation in these neighborhoods—and on individual properties across the city. Telling the story of a city is admirable; telling the story of a street is powerful.

P.4 Iron-on Decals and Frisbees and Facebook

Some of the promotion tactics for Pueblo Modern can be found in history itself. For instance, when the Pueblo Mall opened in 1976, "the first 1,200 shoppers wearing Pueblo Mall t-shirts, created from the iron-on decal...received free logoed Frisbees." These are the kinds of marketing tactics to use when promoting Pueblo Modern. Thanks to supplemental funding from the local chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), the Pueblo Modern project already has its own logo suitable for a wide variety of promotional uses. Blending these methods with modern social media outlets allows the City to reach both "new" and "old" fans of Pueblo Modern—whether they are a young family just returning to Pueblo, empty nesters looking for a one-level ranch house, or mid century collectors.

Steward

Mid-century resources are the most threatened in the city, largely because they are the least valued. By recognizing the historic, economic, and aesthetic value of these properties, Puebloans can become stewards of these distinctive buildings and landscapes.

S.1 Sources for Modern Materials

For an era defined by mass produced and readily available materials, not all those materials are easily purchased today. The National Trust for Historic Preservation has developed a list of nationwide suppliers of appliances, steel cabinets, doorbells, Formica, linoleum, and steel windows (available at http://www.preservationnation.org/issues/modernism-recent-past/tools-resources/homeowners/resources-for-repair-of.html). Local history groups could work with local building suppliers, contractors, and architects to create a similar "buy local" list. Providing links to estate sales and antique dealers specializing in postwar goods is another way to promote the built environment.

S.2 Abatement

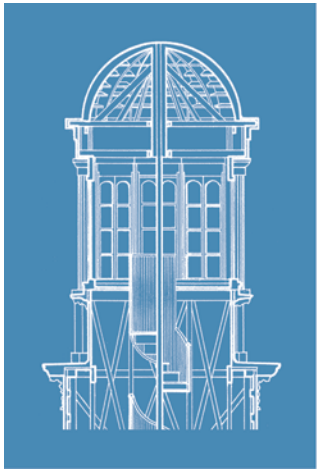
Asbestos was among the most celebrated of all postwar materials, used in everything from furnace tape to plaster and from house siding to battleship ceilings. Similarly, through the 1970s, lead paint was used in all applications. As their condition deteriorates, asbestos and lead paint require careful handling. The City can help facilitate local contractor training in hazardous material removal and disposal and connect property owners with local resources to maintain their buildings.

S.3 To Replace or Not To Replace?

A significant feature of many postwar buildings is a large expanse of windows, especially picture windows and corner steel windows. When these features deteriorate, a property owner must decide what to do: repair or replace. Three issues move owners toward replacement. First, newer windows in many cases are deemed to have superior insulating ratings. Second, few contractors are willing and able to repair original windows. Third, today's tax incentives focused on "greening" properties by replacing windows (and sending the original ones to the landfill) make newer windows more cost effective. The City and the HPC should help homeowners find the best solution on a case-by-case basis. A number of initiatives may support this decision making process regarding window repair or replacement. The City and HPC could: develop guidelines for steel and picture window replacement, provide sources for in-kind replacements of storm windows, familiarize the community with local contractors willing to do repairs, and promote local examples of sensitive window repair and replacements.

S.4 Save a Slice Program

It is not possible to preserve the entire Belmont neighborhood in its postwar glory. Still, in order to appreciate the postwar suburb and its setting, the City should help property owners preserve a block or two of representative homes in Belmont, Sunset, and Westview.



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