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Merced

Steel, Brick, and Black Gold: A History of Colorado's Built Environment, 1880-1920

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Interdisciplinary Humanities

by

Angelica Naydeen Garcia

Committee in charge:

Professor David Rouff, Chair
Professor Aditi Chandra
Professor Sarah Deutsch
Professor Sean Malloy

2023

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2023

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures v

Acknowledgments vii

Curriculum Vita viii

Abstract ix

Introduction: Colorado's Built Environment 1

Chapter 1: The Early 19th Century Southwest 5

Chapter 2: Industry in Colorado 14

Chapter 3: Labor as an Impetus for Growth 33

Chapter 4: Colorado's Architectural Aesthetics, Functions, and Evolution 54

Chapter 5: Community and the Creation of Place within an Industrial Society 90

Epilogue 103

References 111

Appendix A: Images of Coal Mining Memorials 124

Appendix B: Images of Trinidad, CO European and Classic Architecture 127

Appendix C: Full Blueprint of the Boiler House for Furnace D 129

Appendix D: CF&I Minnequa Works Employee Records (Cards) 130

Appendix E: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Buildings in Colorado Today 132

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 2

Figure 1. Pikes Peak behind The Antlers Hotel from Pikes Peak Avenue 18
Figure 2. Denver's Welcome Arch at Union Station 21
Figure 3. Physical remnants of the "Barbs that Fenced the West" 22
Figure 4. Ariel view of Denver's stockyards, 1900s 23
Figure 5. A 1906 stereograph depicting Denver's state capitol building 25
Figure 6. Postcard depicting the CF&I steel mill in Pueblo 28

Chapter 3

Figure 1. A photo of the Ludlow tent colony (1914) 38
Figure 2. A photo of Pueblo's "Old Mexico" 40
Figure 3. The head stone and gravesite of Laura Bell McDaniel. 44

Chapter 4

Figure 1. Key from an 1893 Sanborn-Perris Fire Insurance Map. 60
Figure 2. Section of a 1916 Sanborn-Perris Fire Insurance Map 60
Figure 3. Denver's "old mint (1870-1890)" 62
Figure 4. Denver's Mint at its current location (1906-1910). 63
Figure 5. Denver's Masonic Temple (1889-1990) 64
Figure 6. Photos of Denver's Union Station. 66
Figure 7. Palmer Hall at Colorado College 69
Figure 8. The front of the Broadmoor Hotel (1919) 71
Figure 9. A stereograph showing riders at "The Gate" in the Garden of the Gods ... 72
Figure 10. Pueblo's Grand Opera House (1900) 75
Figure 11. Section of the boiler house's blueprint 77
Figure 12. A postcard depicting the steel mill 78
Figure 13. The YMCA in Pueblo 79
Figure 14. The Schneider Brewery building (1890-1910) 84
Figure 15. The First National Bank 85
Figure 16. Trinidad's Main Street 85
Figure 17. Trinidad Opera House (1905-1915) 86

Chapter 5

Figure 1. A photo of Mexico or Mexican Town 95
Figure 2. Another view of Mexico or Mexican Town 96
Figure 3. A picture in *The Chronicle News* depicting a woman showing off a roast she cooked in her new gas range oven 100

Epilogue

Figure 1. The new sign for Ezra steel next to the Steelworks Center of the West .. 107
Figure 2. Ghost sign in Trinidad ... 108
Figure 3. A sidewalk plaque in downtown Trinidad ... 109

Appendix A

Figure 1. The Lafayette Cemetery Commemorative Headstone ... 124
Figure 2. The Louis Tikas Memorial Statue ... 125
Figure 3. The Louis Tikas Highway sign, Ludlow, Colorado ... 126

Appendix B

Figure 1. Trinidad City Hall ... 127
Figure 2. Holy Trinity Catholic Church ... 127
Figure 3. The Bloom House ... 128

Appendix C

Figure 1. Full blueprint of the boiler house ... 129

Appendix D

Figure 1. Employment record (card) for Regino Lopez ... 130
Figure 2. Employment record (card) for Mariano Perez ... 130
Figure 3. Employment record (card) for Anebosio Rocha ... 131
Figure 4. Employment record (card) for Louis Valdez ... 131

Appendix E

Figure 1. “The Bin Man” with the steel plant in the background ... 132
Figure 2. The sign on the old Schneider Brewery ... 133
Figure 3. The abandoned Schneider Brewery ... 133
Figure 4. Trinidad’s abandoned opera house ... 134
Figure 5. The renovated interior of Trinidad’s First National Bank ... 134
Figure 6. View of the Garden of the Gods from the Visitor Center ... 135
Figure 7. Denver’s Union Station ... 135

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ABSTRACT

Steel, Brick, and Black Gold: A History of Colorado's Built Environment, 1880-1920

by

Angelica Naydeen Garcia

Doctor of Philosophy in Interdisciplinary Humanities
University of California, Merced 2023
Professor David Rouff, Chair

Increased immigration in the late nineteenth century and the boom of industrial capitalism by the turn of the twentieth century revolutionized the Southwestern region of the United States, most notably the state of Colorado. Furthermore, this boom diversified the region's people, capitalist industries, and strengthened political strongholds in the West, which hastened the establishment of the U.S.'s industrial, and urban infrastructures. The increase in population and industrialization of the state, prompted the evolution of Colorado's built environment, provoking the expansion of its cities and a transformation in architectural functions and aesthetics. These urban and spatial changes altered the usage and construction of Colorado structures, which fostered significant change within ethnic communities, specifically Mexican and Mexican American communities.

A critical analysis of these structural, architectural, and spatial changes illuminates the processes of urban growth and the consequences of industrialization. These consequences included, but were not limited to, the formation and perpetuation of a discriminatory racial ideology, which permeated the major labor systems of the region; the displacement of ethnic communities; and the instigation of violence for the sake of progress and monetary gain. Furthermore, the processes of industrial and architectural change disenfranchised Mexican and Mexican American communities by stripping them of their communal and spatial cohesion, while simultaneously trying to erase their culture and practices of everyday life. I argue these consequences and effects of industrial capitalism, along with the movement and formation of communities, and the dramatic and complex transition from rural enclaves to modernized cities and industrial complexes adversely affected the development, and survival of Mexican and Mexican American communities of Colorado.

I will delineate the indelible effects of industrial capitalism on Colorado's built environment and its ethnic communities by exploring the establishment and evolution of Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and Trinidad, between the years of 1880 and 1920. I will also analyze the tapestry of labor, community and space and their interconnections to show a holistic overview of how industrial capitalism shaped Colorado. By putting the transformation of the state's built environment at the forefront and using spatial relationships and spatial analysis as analytical tools, this dissertation reveals the histories of the rise of industrial capitalism, the everyday actions of people, the creation of interethnic relationships, and the formation of community to be mutually constitutive.

Introduction: Colorado's Built Environment

In 2018, on a warm June afternoon, a crowd of people gathered in the historic district of Trinidad, Colorado. They traveled to this small city to witness the unveiling of the newest commemorative statue in the city's Colorado Coal Miners' Memorial Park. The Louis Tikas Memorial Statue, commissioned by the Foundation of Hellenism in America, was unveiled, and honored with a performance by a Cretan dance group and a speech by Cecil E. Roberts, President of the United Mine Workers of America International.[1] The Louis Tikas statue joined two other commemorative statues, which celebrate the history of Colorado's coal mining industry.

The commission and unveiling of this memorial statue are part of the efforts to commemorate Colorado's industrial, labor, and immigrant history. Louis Tikas was a labor leader, a Greek immigrant, and a coal miner who was chosen to be the leader of the Ludlow tent colony during the Ludlow Strike of 1913-1914. He was killed for his efforts and for what he represented, but his life and legacy are alive in the present. Furthermore, this statue and its celebratory unveiling embodies the main ideas of this dissertation. Trinidad's physical landscape, its built environment, was changed as a direct result the processes and consequences of the region's industrial history. This dissertation aims to show how the transformations of Colorado's built environment can be utilized to understand how industrial capitalism impacted the state's, and largely the Southwest's, economy, ethnic communities, and physical development.

The American Southwest is well known for its unique natural wonders, tourist attractions, and distinctive cities. The communities, natural resources, capital, and political power of the Southwestern states were essential to the growth and evolution of the United States as a nation and a global power. The period between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, specifically from 1880 to 1920, was pivotal for the American Southwest with the rise of industrial capitalism, increased immigration to the U.S., and the Western migrations of wealthy entrepreneurs who invested in the region's growth. The Southwestern states greatly contributed to the complex and rich history of the region and the state of Colorado in particular, especially its natural resources, industries, and ethnic communities, which were essential for moving the country forward. This involved powering the country with the region's coal deposits, consolidating wealth in Denver, the state's capitol, and manufacturing steel for the nation's railroads. The extraction, production, and utilization of Colorado's natural resources and vast landscapes were the impetus for the state's economic, industrial, and demographic transformations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These transformations can be seen in the ways Colorado's built environment changed during the period. Specifically, the use of different and sturdier materials, the changes in function for industrial and community purposes, and the contestations over space prompted by increased interactions between people of varying nationalities and ethnicities.

[1] Philip Chrysoppoulos, "Murdered Greek Labor Hero Louis Tikas Statue Unveiled in Colorado," *Greek Reporter*, June 29, 2018, https://greekreporter.com/2018/06/29/murdered-greek-labor-hero-louis-tikas-statue-unveiled-in-colorado/.

Within this dissertation, I focus on the development in the state's rural areas, the founding and development of Colorado cities, and groups who utilized specific areas within urban settings. I also analyze popular architectural aesthetics, which remain today. The metamorphosis of the built environment, due to industrial changes, significantly affected Colorado's communities, specifically its ethnic communities. This dissertation argues the substantial consequences and detrimental effects of industrial capitalism, the movement and formation of communities, and the dramatic and complex transition from rural enclaves to modernized cities and industrial complexes negatively influenced the formation, development, and survival of Colorado's Mexican and Mexican American communities. Specifically, community, labor, and space, in Southern Colorado in particular, became organized around one single industry, the coal industry, which divided its society along ethnic and class lines in order to maximize extraction and profit at the most minimal costs.

In its mining heyday (1890s–1920s), Colorado was often ranked as the eleventh largest producer of coal in the United States and mined bituminous, sub-bituminous, coking, lignite, and anthracite coal. This coal was intended to feed the western railroads, the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company's (hereafter CF&I) steel mill in Pueblo, the state's powerful beet sugar industry, as well as general commercial and domestic consumers.[2] In order to provide vast amounts of fuel, the coal industry required a large body of laborers to mine and process coal. Many of these laborers were immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe and ethnic minorities. To keep profits high and cost low, coal company industrialists fostered feelings of animosity and isolation among its laborers to diminish and completely eradicate instances of organization and unionization.[3] This industrious and divided society served as the blueprint for the disproportionate development of Southern Colorado's labor force and ethnic communities. The efforts to divide, the peculiarities of the rise of industry, and the impacts on ethnic communities will be addressed through interdisciplinary, intersectional, and spatial lenses, which will analyze the complexities and processes of the founding, growth, and preservation of Colorado's cities and ethnic communities.

Four cities will be analyzed within this work: Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and Trinidad. The northern and central cities of Denver and Colorado Springs flourished with their reliance on diverse industries, which allowed for varied conduits of wealth. Denver became the capital of the Colorado Territory and its relation to the transcontinental railroad secured the city's regional dominance. Colorado Springs

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[2] Bob Rossi, "Syrian Families in the Colorado Coal Mining Communities," *NC State University*, September 23, 2021, https://lebanesestudies.news.chass.ncsu.edu/2021/09/23/syrian-families-in-the-colorado-coal-mining-communities/

[3] Historians and scholars of Colorado, the Southwest, and the industrialization of the American West address these aspects of labor, immigration, and the relationships between ethnic groups in an industrial society. Some works that provide insight into these histories include: Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979; Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008; Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on the Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940*, New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1987; and Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the making of Modern American.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011.

continued to flourish after its gold mining industry diminished in the late nineteenth century, as wealthy Eastern tourists flocked there for the desirable warm weather, natural aesthetics, and tuberculosis health resorts while wealthy patrons supported a growing collegiate community. Conversely, the southern cities of Pueblo and Trinidad relied on the coal mining industry, which reigned supreme over the region's politics and economy. Pueblo, about eighty miles from Trinidad, started as a trading post in the late nineteenth century, but grew in size and prestige with the founding of Colorado's steel industry, which served the railroads and was inextricable from the coal industry. Trinidad, stands on a historic plateau in a narrow valley above the Purgatoire River, is situated twenty miles north of New Mexico and was the economic hub of Las Animas County. The railroad and coal industries were the catalysts for the city's accelerated expansion with an influx of immigrants recruited for and looking for work.

Unlike in Denver and Colorado Springs where diversity of industry and economy fostered a diverse urban landscape, the company town model shaped the growth of the built environment in Pueblo and Trinidad. Employed as a mechanism to control labor, the company town model organized the landscape and normalized rigid segregation along ethnic and class lines, which impeded progress and stagnated development in Southern Colorado for decades. The region's cities and communities, were reshaped to fit within an industrial environment created by the power and influence of CF&I. The influence of this corporate hydra included the deformation of the natural landscape and space for profit, the transition from the rural to urban, the creation of personal and communal identities for the sake of solidarity and survival, and the formation and management of newer interethnic relationships prompted by the rise of the nature of coal mining. Although, powerful and overbearing, the influence of the coal mining industry over its laborers only went so far. The working and living conditions put forth by the coal companies prompted positive aspects in the lives of its laborers. Specifically, the opportunities for interethnic solidarity and collaboration, in the form of unionization and strikes.[4]

The history of Colorado's cities, urban centers, and architectural structures have neither been thoroughly connected to the people who inhabited and utilized them, nor to the industries which prompted their growth.[5] There have been individual studies of labor,

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[4] This dissertation utilizes the works of scholars who focus on the Southwest and Colorado generally, but also those works with a special focus on the industrial. The coal mining industry is a large actor in the history of Colorado and the works of scholars who analyze specific coal companies, and their influence are invaluable. These include: Fawn Amber-Montoya, *Making an American Workforce: The Rockefellers and the Legacy of Ludlow*, edited by Fawn-Amber Montoya, Boulder: University of Colorado, 2014; Thomas Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2008; Richard Clyne, *Coal People: Life in Southern Colorado's Company Towns, 1890-1930*, Denver: The Colorado Historical Society, 1999; Monica I. Garcia, "A History of Mexican and Mexican Americana in the Coal Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountain West, 1880-1928" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2012); and Johnathan H Rees, *Representation and Rebellion: The Rockefeller Plan at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company 1914-1942*, Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010.

[5] The analysis of the architectural and aesthetic transformations of Colorado's cities will be complimented with the methods and theories of scholars whose work focuses on space, place, architecture, and the urban. These include: Kim Dovey, *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Power*, London: Routledge, 2010; Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994; Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and

community, and the built environment within Colorado, and within the American Southwest more generally, but there have been few attempts to analyze the intersections of labor, community, and the built environment in order to reveal their profound connections. This dissertation fills this void in two ways. First, it traces the spatial consequences of the rise of industrial capitalism and the emergence of the coal industry, demonstrating the link between industrial capitalism and the transformation of the built environment. Second, it illustrates the ways these built environments, already transformed by industrial capitalism, in turn shaped communities and social relations. The challenge to religious and familial practices, the need for interethnic solidarity, and the destruction of spatial and communal cohesion in particular. Too often, the histories of Colorado have focused on one important theme at one time, such as the rise and fall of industries, or the tragedies of its labor strife, or the damage to the natural landscape. By putting the transformation of the state's built environment at the forefront and using spatial relationships and spatial analysis as analytical tools, this dissertation reveals the histories of the rise of industrial capitalism, the everyday actions of people, the creation of interethnic relationships, and the formation of community to be mutually constitutive.

This dissertation is organized into thematic chapters that analyze four Colorado cities, Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and Trinidad. Chapter one provides contextual, historical information about early nineteenth century Colorado and power and influence of Native American populations, such as the Comanche, Ute, Apache, and Cheyenne, on the formation of the Southwest. Chapter two analyzes the nineteenth and twentieth century industries present in Colorado, and further explores how they were established, how they evolved, and how they impacted the state's cities. Chapter three analyzes the history of labor in the Southwest, how the nature of labor evolved in the region and how labor transformed due to the industrialization of coal mining and steel production in Colorado. Chapter four analyzes specific structures in Colorado and explains how their functions, aesthetics, materials, and longevity are directly connected to the industrialization of the region. Chapter five demonstrates how the rise of industry and the changes in Colorado's built environment impacted ethnic communities, specifically Mexican and Mexican American communities. Moreover, the chapter shows how the processes of place making, community building, and the creation and upkeep of social relationships, ensured the strength and survival of these communities within an industrial society. The epilogue provides commentary on the period after the target time of this dissertation; it examines the effects of World War I and explains the fall of industry in Colorado after the 1920s. This chapter also examines the contemporary state of Colorado's built environment and the structures, which still stand today.

Heterotopias," *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité*, (1-9) 1984; Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991; and Edward Soja, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Chapter 1: The Early 19th Century U.S. Southwest

The United States Southwest is a large and unique region, encompassing a variety of different environments, flora, and fauna. The region's diverse landscapes include arid deserts, rocky mountain ranges, flat plains, thick green forests, and coastal beaches. The same processes that pushed up the Rocky Mountains also left behind rich deposits of valuable natural resources, including gold, silver, coal, water, lumber, and copper. The presence of these resources created the circumstances, which contributed to the formation of vast and complicated networks of trade and commerce. This unique, and at times unforgiving landscape, became the home of many important towns, cities, and communities.

This chapter will explore the political, economic, and demographic state of the American Southwest and Colorado before the period between 1880 and 1920. Specifically, this chapter will examine the consequences of colonialism, the processes of American empire, and the changing power dynamics, which shaped the Southwestern region. Native American tribes and groups dominated the political and economic landscape before the arrival of the Spanish and continued to assert their agency through Mexican and United States occupation. This chapter contains essential contextual information, but it will also emphasize the complexities of interethnic relationships and will provide a base for future information on the intense changes of Colorado's economic, social, and built landscape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Many Native American peoples, such as the Pueblos, Comanches, Navajo, and Ute, called the Southwest home long before the encroachment of Anglo-Americans. Before this incursion these native communities were subjected to the abuses and restrictions of explorers and conquerors from the Spanish Empire, who traveled into the Southwest region through Central Mexico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After the conquest of Mexico in the late 16th century, the Spanish turned their focus to the north in search of land, riches, and neophytes. They sought control of valuable commodities and desired to spread Catholic religious ideologies and practices throughout the Spanish empire. This provided the framework for native-colonizer relations through the nineteenth century.

Spanish explorers and religious missionaries traveled throughout the Southwest and claimed land as their own, they erected religious and military structures, and incarcerated native peoples to control the economy and growth of the region. Although, successful in the sense of control over the built and natural landscape, Spanish attempts of colonial rule did not always go as desired. The Pueblo peoples of New Mexico were subjected to Franciscan colonization and influence, which made the Franciscans virtual lords of the land; the Pueblos were organized into a theocracy.[6] The combination of ill treatment and the decades of famine, drought, and miniscule maize production prompted a violent uprising known as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The revolt lasted about nine days and ended with the ejection of the Spanish and the weakening of their control for more

[6] Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991, 46.

than twenty years.[7] The southern and coastal regions of Texas had mission-persidio complexes, which functioned as shared settlements of Spaniards and native peoples that provided defense and nourishment.[8] These complexes existed and were shared between natives and the Spanish, but they were not successful tools to establish control in the area. The native peoples of Texas rebuffed the Spaniards who offered little in the way of trade and strategic power in relations between other native groups, as the primary power relations in the eighteenth century "were not European versus Indian, but relations among native peoples."[9] These structures and consequences of colonialism were further impacted by the simultaneous socio-political transformations of the Southwest, which lasted from the seventeenth century well into the twentieth century.

The Spanish empire spanned the greater Southwestern region, but its headquarters was stationed in what is now central Mexico. Spain tried to control its northern territory with military outposts and strategic efforts to populate the land with soldiers and family owned "rancherias". However, these efforts were thwarted by regional and land problems, which included struggles over land use and ownership, access to resources, and the tensions born out of increased interethnic contact, most notably with Native tribes who had political and economic strongholds in the region. Notably, the Comanches were a dominant political force in the region throughout the eighteenth century. As historian Pekka Hämäläinen asserts, the Comanches "reduced the Spanish borderlands to a hinterland for an imperial system of their own."[10] In New Mexico, for example, the Comanches only catered to Spanish expectations in order to guarantee access to Spanish markets and made no effort to interfere with the "internal politics of the numerous local rancherías."[11] The Spanish had little control of its northern territories and its grip on the region eventually failed.

The long lasting political and social complexities of the Southwest region prompted instances of violence and struggle. These manifestations of the consequences of migration and colonialism are what historian Brian DeLay calls the "War of a Thousand Deserts."[12] In an effort to manage and survive the "War of a Thousand Deserts," alliances were secured to save lives, property, and footholds in the thriving Southwestern economy. Significantly, alliances between native tribes created vast economic and social networks. The Spanish-Navajo-Comanche treaty of the 1700s for example, was a burst of cross-cultural diplomacy, which reconfigured the cultural and geopolitical landscape of the Southwest by bringing together the region's major nations: the Spaniards, Comanches, Navajos and Utes.[13] This treaty was an effort to curb violence and focus on diplomacy and trade among the nations. Although the treaty brought peace to some, it isolated others, notably the Apaches who were "segregated from the tightening circle of

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[7] Ibid., 130, 134, 136.

[8] Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007, 127.

[9] Ibid., 6.

[10] Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, 69.

[11] Ibid., 135.

[12] Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, xv.

[13] Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, 124.

commerce, conciliation, and kinship [and] were shut out as enemies of all."[14] These efforts at peace and collaboration and the simultaneous exclusion of groups for the sake of survival underscores the complexities of the War of a Thousand Deserts. These struggles continued to encompass the region as major political shifts occurred in the early nineteenth century, such as Mexico's independence from Spain.

Mexican independence from Spain in 1821 put the region of the Southwest under Mexico's control. Native American relations, territorial, and economic struggles, which plagued the Spanish, made it difficult for Mexico to control its new northern territories. These issues were exacerbated with the increased migration of Anglo Americans in search of wealth, land, and opportunity to disseminate their superior and colonial ideologies. Increased interethnic interactions between Native powers, Mexican nationals, Spanish families, and westward moving Anglo Americans, resulted in outbursts of violence, because of political, social, and economic struggles. In the early 1830s, northern Mexicans had little protections against violent Native tribes and encroaching Anglo Americans. To keep their ranches, Mexican families and villages aligned themselves with the Comanches who shared concerns and struggles. Mexican towns and villages went to considerable lengths to receive Comanches with respect and hospitality, with local leaders on both sides pushing for the maintenance of a healthy and mutually beneficial relationship.[15] Despite these efforts of diplomacy and instances of peaceful interethnic relationships, the tumultuous war of a thousand deserts raged on well into the late nineteenth century.

The violent struggles that characterized the region would once again be transformed by the consequences of the 1846 Mexican American War. The patterns of violence in the region made it easier for the U.S. to calculate their war strategy and eventually win the war. The war ended in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which gave the United States Mexico's northern territories, this included the land encompassing today's Southwest. Mexico's defeat seemingly confirmed the superiority of the U.S.' morals and military might, which "promised to transcend internal divisions such as class and region."[16] The U.S. gained access to the Southwest's rich natural resources and used everything in its power to secure its hold on their manufacturing and production. As the U.S. expanded westward, the collective actions of industrialists, military personnel, religious followers, and laborers, perpetuated the nation's Manifest Destiny and colonial ideologies. This included land grabs, the security of a cheap and abundant labor force, and the cultivation and extraction of natural resources. These colonial actions were accomplished through the installation of railroads, the expansion of mining operations, the presence of Anglo-American families, the creation of public and private infrastructure, increased violence inflicted upon Native populations, and the creation and dissemination of racial hierarchies and ideologies.

The colonial presence of the U.S. was felt throughout the region and was visible through the construction of military structures, such as outposts, villages to house military families, and other industrial structures made for the sake of modernity. The

[14] Ibid., 124.

[15] DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, 60.

[16] Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 44.

presence and seeming importance of the U.S. military in the region was emphasized through its efforts to "improve" the region. The Army built roads and telegraph lines, planted hundreds of trees, and constructed small dams, sewage, and irrigation systems to utilize and control the water supplies they came across.[17] These structures juxtaposed Native architecture, which was viewed as primitive and useless by military personnel and city boosters alike. The efforts to construct military architecture in the Southwest was a colonial effort to erase Native populations' home and rights to the land and to assert the U.S.'s superiority over the landscape and everything it encompassed.

The perpetuation and exercise of American superiority increased throughout the Southwestern region after the Mexican American War. The ideals of American superiority were inextricable from the creation of racial hierarchies and ideologies, which were utilized to justify the disenfranchisement of and violence towards ethnic groups for the sake of westward expansion. The notion of race is not natural, it is an ideology, which has been reinforced due to the popular societal norms at a given moment in history.[18] It is important to note, the use of racial hierarchies and ideologies evolved overtime and ultimately replaced the intimate and familial processes of political and economic relationships present in the greater West in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As historian Anne F. Hyde explains, political power was firmly in the hands of local people, both Native and newer migrants, at the moment the United States began its official relationship with the Western region.[19] The reliance on a discrimination based racial ideology replaced this more intimate frontier of family as the locus of empire.

Furthermore, racial ideology in nineteenth and twentieth century America, evolved out of social and pseudoscientific inquiries, which were exacerbated with increased contact between Native Americans, Mexicans, Anglo Americans, enslaved African Americans and other ethnic migrants and immigrants. Racial discrimination and disparities in the Southwest served as the impetus for the formation of social, economic, and political borders, which normalized violence, exclusion, and oppression. The processes and consequences of racial discrimination differed throughout the Southwest and were not exclusive to one people or institution. The efforts to establish American superiority and to maintain a Manifest Destiny landscape are the most useful for thinking about the development of interethnic relationships in Colorado during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Specifically, the use of violence to take control and the use of the U.S. military to enforce American superiority and supremacy will be explained in the following section.

Colorado

The United States military was a main actor in upholding racial hierarchies and promoting discrimination in the nineteenth century Southwest. Military personnel across

[17] Janne Lahti, *Cultural Construction of Empire: The U.S. Army in Arizona and New Mexico*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012, 105.

[18] Barbara Jeanne Fields, "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review*, vol 1 no. 181, 1990 (95-118): 101.

[19] Anne F. Hyde, *Empires, Nations and Families: A History of the North American West, 1800-1860*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011, 5-6.

the Southwest implemented racial categories, constructed power relations, and established an American identity.[20] This identity contributed to the creation of myths and stereotypes about Native Americans, which portrayed them as savages, inferior, and murderous, while simultaneously deeming other races as unfit and undeserving to occupy the Southwest.[21] Vilifying the ethnic occupants of the Southwest facilitated their forcible and often violent removal from the land. Native spaces were taken over and repurposed to serve American colonial and economic goals; forts were constructed and occupied by western travelers and significant trade routes overrun by Anglo American entrepreneurs. According to the U.S. military, city boosters, and political leaders, Native groups served little to no purpose and were seen as obstacles to progress and modernity to U.S. industrialists and investors.

In nineteenth-century Colorado, Native populations obstructed military exploration and the founding of new territory. In the northern region of the state, in the greater Denver region, tribes such as the Arapaho and Cheyenne occupied much of the land. Land developers during the city's early development regarded Arapaho and Cheyenne ownership of the land as little more than a bothersome "technicality."[22] Treaties were negotiated with Native tribes, but the majority of interactions were carried out under the ethnocentric assumption that the Native American should and would succumb to Euro-American methods of living and assimilation, specifically farming, education, commerce, and religion. The struggles over land were heightened when prospectors found gold in the Platte River and Cherry Creek in the 1850s, which prompted greater population density and the construction of public buildings and spaces.[23] Gold miners, traveling businessmen, and squatters alike occupied the "vacant lot" where the great city of Denver would be and claimed it as their own.[24] Renowned settler and land developer, William H. Larimer, led a company of like-minded people and organized the Denver City Town Company in 1858, which paved the way for the city of Denver.[25] The gold rush helped the city of Denver grow and flourish as a city, but at the sake of the Native tribes who lost their land and livelihoods. As American historian Gunther Barth argued, "the amenities of new cities spurred on men in their pursuit of wealth through the exploitation of the land, and any people standing in their way were pushed aside without second thought."[26]

This instance of forcible removal by the U.S. military is not unique to Colorado and the Southwest region. The Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 was a consequence of American encroachment onto native lands in the Colorado territory. As previously stated, Anglo-Americans migrated en masse towards the west in search of wealth and opportunity. The U.S. military was no exception and laid claim to the land in the form of

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[20] Lahti, *Cultural Construction of Empire*, 4.

[21] Ibid., 55.

[22] Sarah M. Nelson, K. Lynn Berry, Richard F. Carrillo, Bonnie L. Clark, Lori E Rhodes, and Dean Saitta, *Denver: An Archaeological History*, University Press of Colorado, 2008, 3.

[23] Ibid., 3, 139.

[24] Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, University Press of Colorado, 1984, 8.

[25] Ibid., 8.

[26] Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1975, 125.

physical structures, such as military outposts and forts. The Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples were in the direct path of the U.S. Army when it moved through the Colorado territory in the 1840s. Essential Cheyenne and Arapaho resources were threatened by westward migrants, which led to raids and violent confrontations with travelers. To curb these struggles, an 1851 treaty was agreed upon between Native tribes and the United States, which provided peace between the tribes and the Americans.[27]

Honoring the 1851 treaty was difficult and struggles were exacerbated with no end in sight as gold was found near the Denver area. The discovery of gold prompted the influx of miners and settlers who opened businesses and established farms and ranches on the home range of the Cheyenne and Arapahos. Native leaders tried to keep peace and work on diplomatic overtures to find ways to coexist with Anglo-Americans and within their economy.[28] Efforts for peace and coexistence never materialized due to threats from rival Native tribes, the deaths of tribal leaders and American soldiers and settlers, retaliatory raids, and the violent actions of Colonel John Chivington, a main figure in the fights between the army and Cheyenne and Arapahos. Commanding officers in the U.S. army wanted to stop the killing on both sides, but Chivington refused to consider peace and exacted his revenge on supposed Cheyenne and Arapaho murderers.[29] Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples throughout these contentious times lived in camps where they survived by hunting and raiding settlements. These camps were often unsafe and at the mercy of the U.S. Army, and the Sand Creek camp was no exception. In November of 1864, the Sand Creek camp was surprised by Colonel Chivington's troops who "killed and mutilated about 150 and wounded many" others.[30] Violent events like the Sand Creek Massacre and others like it, consolidated and solidified the control Americans had in Colorado.

The central region of the state gained significant attention in the early nineteenth century, in the form of exploratory expeditions of its dominating Rocky Mountain peaks. In 1806, Major Zebulon Montgomery Pike led an expedition to explore this unfamiliar western landscape. Notably, Pike and his crew attempted and failed to climb one of the tallest, majestic peaks, which now bears his name and looms over what is now the city of Colorado Springs.[31] Pike's expedition had long lasting ramifications for the settlement of and struggles over the Southwest. His findings of Spanish settlements, military strength, natural resources, Native American tribes, and commerce allowed for opportunistic Anglo Americans to believe this land was ripe for trade and the taking.[32] A few decades later, the discovery of gold in the region allowed for the growth of this middle region and further displacement of Native tribes. The 1858 Pikes Peak gold rush prompted the construction of boom towns and cities like Colorado City and Manitou Springs. This progress was made possible by the removal of the Ute population, who were forced from

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[27] Loretta Fowler, "Arapaho and Cheyenne Perspectives: From the 1851 Treaty to the Sand Creek Massacre," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol 39, No. 4 (2015): 364-390, 366.

[28] Ibid., 372, 373.

[29] On June 12th, 1862, the Hungate family was found murdered near Denver. Their deaths added to the violence and retaliatory actions from both the U.S. military and the Cheyenne. Ibid., 381.

[30] Ibid., 385.

[31] Mark L. Gardner, "Introduction," in "To Spare No Pains: Zebulon Montgomery Pike and His 1806-1807 Southwest Expedition, A Bicentennial Commemoration," Pikes Peak Library District, 2007, 3.

[32] Ibid., 3.

their home in the Garden of the Gods, a popular nature park in today's Colorado Springs. A significant figure in the building of the central region was Civil War veteran and railroad capitalist General William Jackson Palmer. Palmer founded Colorado Springs and contributed to the growth of the state with his railroad and steel business. The promise of gold and adventure helped populate the area, but it was the influence and capital of Palmer, which ensured the region's appeal and profitability.

In Southern Colorado, plains and flat lands stretch all the way south until the Colorado-New Mexico border. This region is arguably the state's most important landscape because of its role in Southwestern trade, commerce, and industry, which helped shape the state and the country. Before the large nineteenth century westward migration of Anglo Americans, the region was the home to a variety of Native tribes, Spaniards, Mexicans, and Hispanos who lived amongst each other, traded with one another, and collaborated as part of one of the largest trade networks in the pre-industrial United States.

The city of Pueblo grew from Native and Spanish roots and was integral to the industrial growth of the region. Native tribes in this Pueblo area included the Apache, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, Pawnee, and Ute, all of whom traded with one another.[33] These tribes were eventually forcibly removed by Spanish colonizers, who in 1842, built the El Pueblo Trading Post, which functioned as a stopping point for traders and western travelers in southern Colorado. This is just one instance where Native trade routes were seized by encroaching travelers and replaced with structures meant to accumulate wealth and instill control in the west. In 1862, the County of Pueblo was established, becoming one of the original seventeen counties in Colorado. Shortly after the early city of Pueblo was formed from the consolidation of four towns: South Pueblo, Central Pueblo, Pueblo, and Bessemer.[34] The settlement of Pueblo, its trading post and the city itself, was an integral part of the networks of trade in the Southwest.

A significant trade network was the Santa Fe Trail, which ran from Missouri to New Mexico, and was used to transport commodities, ideologies, and people. This trade route, and many others like it, preceded the colonial powers of Spain and the United States, and its use established and transformed power relations in the region. Politically powerful groups such as the Comanche and Apache, prospered from this trade route with access to people, guns, horses, and foreign goods. In the nineteenth century, the U.S. military used this international highway to infiltrate the southwestern territories and perpetuate their control of the region's people and natural resources. Trinidad became a financially important city along the Santa Fe Trail and its First National Bank was utilized to house the wealth garnered from this trade route. Moreover, the Santa Fe Trail intersected with El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, which was the primary route between the colonial Spanish capital of Mexico City and the Spanish provincial capitals at San Juan de Los Caballeros, San Gabriel, and Santa Fe.[35] These trade routes allowed for the U.S. to have easy access to the people and resources of the Southwest and Mexico.

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[33] Charlene Garcia Simms, Maria Sanchez Tucker, Jeffrey DeHerrera, and the Pueblo City-County Library, *Images of America Pueblo*, Arcadia Publishing, 2017, 14.

[34] Ibid., 36.

[35] "National Park Service-National Trials," National Historic Trails Viewer, https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=24fc463363f54929833580280cc1a751

In the early 1800s, New Mexican settlers and the U.S. military settled into the Purgatoire River Valley just north of the Colorado-New Mexico border. These settlers encroached upon Ute and Apache land and facilitated the rapid advancement of the city of Trinidad, the growth of Las Animas County, and increased tensions among the Native tribes. A historical excerpt written by Judge George S. Simpson, an early settler of Southern Colorado, appeared in an 1871 Trinidad City Directory and detailed how Trinidad's residents "suffered all manner of indignities at the hands of the Ute Indians, under the leadership of the notorious chief, Ka-ni-ha-che." This account described how the Ute were "pestiferous nomads" who "hatched up some imaginary grievances" and labeled them as "savages [who] became more and more violent, practicing their depredations with impunity…" Colonel Alexander of the U.S. Army and his calvary came to the rescue in 1866 and tried to make peace with the Utes, but "the blood-thirsty thieves" could not be pacified. The Utes refusal to negotiate peacefully made Col. Alexander abandon his "Quaker arguments and [appeal] to the sabres and Sharpe's carbines of his men;" he gave the Utes a "terrible thrashing, killing many braves…".[36] Similarly to sentiments about Native Americans in the Denver area, the Ute's existence on the land was viewed as problematic and an impediment to the growth of southern Colorado's cities and political autonomy. The Ute were characterized as violent, destructive savages by the U.S. military, capitalist leaders, and government officials, who wanted to move them off the land and make way for urban growth and industrial operations. Conversely, in the eyes of political leaders and the public, those members of the U.S. military who fulfilled the country's manifest destiny and conquest of the Southwest, were hailed as saviors, thereby, justifying their violence against the Ute.

The devaluation of native land claims and the massacres in Colorado, near Trinidad and at Sand Creek, were common occurrences in the nineteenth century Southwest. The westward migration of Anglo Americans brought notions of American superiority and Manifest Destiny ideals, which further facilitated the creation and perpetuation of racial ideologies used to justify violence against minority groups. Furthermore, this ideology underwrote campaigns of native genocide, as historian Benjamin Madley emphasizes in an examination of California's native history. Madley shows how the genocide of California natives in the nineteenth century was the result of the "sustained political will," both at the federal and state level, which created the laws, policies, and the "well-funded killing machine" that carried out violence and further ensured its continuation.[37] Moreover, ethnic groups were labeled as impediments to progress and a hinderance to wealth, progress, and modernity the U.S. desired to bring to the Southwest.

To accomplish its colonial and capitalist goals, the U.S. seized control of the Southwest's natural resources, built structures with colonial and industrial purposes, and implemented industrial societies to garner as much wealth as possible from the production of natural resources. The U.S. military's seizure of Colorado, the making of treaties and massacring of indigenous peoples, and the implementation of a racial

[36] "Trinidad City Directories," https://trinidadpubliclibrary.org/trinidad-city-directories/, 1871, 398.

[37] Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016, 13.

hierarchy, made the control of Colorado's natural resources possible. Furthermore, the creation of a racial hierarchy helped organize labor under racial capitalism and transformed notions of property and power that made logging, ranching, and mining operations possible. The control of natural resources allowed for the construction of the transcontinental railroad, coal and precious metal mines were established, lumber and ranching operations flourished, and towns and cities were built to house laborers and to cater to wealthy citizens who wanted to enjoy the natural wonders of the Southwest. These industries, the people they employed, their impact on the natural and built environment, and their long-lasting legacies will be explored throughout the chapters of this dissertation.

Conclusion

Colorado's political, economic, and built landscapes that existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not develop at a single point in time. The state's transformations were the consequences of shifting political affiliations, the formation of new interethnic relationships, and the complicated and often violent consequences of colonialism that occurred well before the late nineteenth century. Before the twentieth century the Southwestern region was shaped by the power and influence of Native groups who had control over this vast landscape. Native groups, such as the Comanches, Apaches, and Pueblos, created complex trade and commerce routes; they collaborated with native and non-native neighbors to establish strongholds throughout the Southwest; and established themselves within changing political situations with the encroachment of Mexican and Anglo-American forces. The history of the Southwest is one of trade and exchange, of interethnic cooperation and negotiation for the sake of survival, and of complex political shifts whose consequences were felt well into the twentieth century. This chapter has provided a look into the complexities of the Southwest before the nineteenth century and has further shown how the state of Colorado would develop in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Chapter 2: Industry in Colorado

The numerous acres of land of the Southwest region were prime space for western migrants, industrialists, explorers, and wealthy investors who wanted to capitalize on the region's natural riches. The nineteenth and twentieth century industries, which called the Southwest home were based on the extraction and production of raw materials, the commercialization of nature and health, and were dependent on the ability to change nature itself to serve economic goals. In Colorado, the steel, coal mining, ranching, and tourist industries transformed the state's most important cities by increasing and diversifying their populations. The presence of these industries differed in the state's varied regions; the coal mining and steel industries had the biggest presence in the southern region of the state for example. These industries changed their built environments and fundamentally restructured its spaces, both natural and manufactured.

This chapter will analyze the industries present in Colorado in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Specifically, this chapter will explore their economic and spatial impacts. The railroad, coal mining, steel manufacturing, and cattle ranching industries transformed Colorado's natural and built landscape; they increased immigration and migration to the state and prompted the construction of new industrial structures. Moreover, this chapter demonstrates how these industries shaped the visual representation of the West, helped foster an identity for upper-class elites that celebrated growth and the accumulation of capital, and prompted the careful organization of cities and the construction of new and ornate structures.

Colorado Springs

The central region of Colorado, specifically the area on the eastern downslope of the Rockies referred to locally as the Front Range, was considered by Eastern travelers and Colorado natives, an ideal place to live, visit and vacation in the early twentieth century. Army lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike and his team surveyed the area in the early 1800s to understand this largely unknown part of the United States. During the early nineteenth century the U.S. government authorized various surveys of the greater western area. The purpose of these surveys was to understand the landscape and to note the kinds of the resources available to the U.S. The purpose for Pike's expedition was to gather intel on the Colorado region, and this survey was the impetus for both important Santa Fe trade and U.S. territorial and colonial expansion into the Southwest.[38] Today one of the mountain range's most famous peaks, Pikes Peak, is named after this military explorer to commemorate and celebrate his journey. Pike's westward trek provided detailed information about the U.S.' land acquired through the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. It is important to note, the region explored had ample natural resources, but was also thickly inhabited by Native American tribes. The Pikes Peak gold rush of the 1850s drew hundreds of people to the area in search of gold, employment, and economic opportunity. Gold mining prompted the establishment of Colorado City, a boom town

[38] Mark L. Gardner, "Introduction," in "To Spare no Pains": Zebulon Pike and His 1806-1807 Southwest Expedition, Pikes Peak Library District, 2007, 4.

complete with saloons, hotels, housing, and churches.[39] After this successful gold rush, the city of Colorado Springs was founded by Civil War veteran and railroad magnate General William Jackson Palmer in 1871. Palmer envisioned his city to be a "place of beauty, culture, and substance that would both benefit the body and spirit of its residents."[40]

As evidenced in its early city directories, Colorado Springs was a "pivotal center of all natural enjoyments, and the 'wise men from the east,' selected it as a resting place more for curative than commercial purposes, they wanted to promote pleasure leisure more than the production of trade or traffic.[41] The city was also hailed as a morally pure place, because there were "no saloons [or] bars in the city" and in the "deed of every lot and piece of ground thereafter" a strong provision was included, which stated: "That intoxicating liquors shall never be manufactured, sold, or otherwise disposed of, as a beverage, in any place of public resort, in or upon the premises hereby granted."[42] Colorado Springs was an ideal city to live and an optimal place for wealthy Easterners who desired to leave the cold, damp weather of the East. These depictions of Colorado Springs were indicative of the people who facilitated the growth of the city and promoted its lucrative tourist industry, reliant on the surrounding natural wonders, and ultimately shaped its built environment and the use of its natural landscape. To capitalize on the natural wonder of the region, high-end hotels were constructed, a natural park (the Garden of the Gods) was established for visitors' pleasure, health spas were opened and operated to treat and cure the sick, and well-to-do neighborhoods were constructed to house the privileged communities who called Colorado Springs their home. These structures and spaces were constructed with the finest and sturdiest materials, imported stone, marble, and brick, which were indicative of their significance within Colorado Springs.

The Pikes Peak region was home to thriving settlements and booster towns, but it also had unique and desirable natural wonders such as remarkable rock formations and hot springs. The town of Manitou, not far from Colorado City or Colorado Springs, was known for its soda and iron springs believed to heal the sick. According to an 1879 Colorado Springs city directory, "thousands of invalids of all classes [flocked] to Manitou" and nearly all of them found relief from their ailments, "particularly those suffering from asthma, throat and lung troubles, dyspepsia and general debility, are permanently cured."[43] The cities of Manitou and Colorado Springs continued to be heralded as a haven for health and an ideal place to live. An 1890 city directory claimed the area's weather invited a healthy lifestyle with its "dry, pure light air [and] cool,

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[39] Jan MacKell, "Laura Bell McDaniel: Queen of the Colorado City Tenderloin," *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, 54 no. 4, 2004 (48-57), 50.

[40] "History of CC's Buildings," Colorado College, https://www.coloradocollege.edu/basics/campus/tour/historic/introduction.html.

[41] "Directory of Colorado Springs, Manitou and Colorado City," (Colorado Springs: S.N. Francis Publisher, 1886), 54.

[42] Ibid., 58.

[43] "Colorado Springs, Manitou and Colorado City Directory! 1879-80" (Colorado Springs: W.H.H. Raper & Co., 1879), 5.

summer breezes", which could be enjoyed either in the summer or winter.[44] The weather was a major selling point in attracting those who wanted to heal from ailments and those who wanted to travel and take vacations in the great West. In addition to the beautiful weather, Colorado Springs offered natural wonders, which spurred outdoor recreational activities.

The eastern side of the Front Range has red rock, which juts out of the hard ground and green foliage to provide a stark visual contrast. These rocks are prominent in one of Colorado Spring's most popular and famous tourist spots, the Garden of the Gods. The park's distinct red rocks and interesting rock formations have captivated travelers and tourists for almost two hundred years. This natural park was once home to Native tribes such as the Ute, but these tribes were forced onto reservations in the 1870s, around the time when the railroad industry grew across Colorado and General Palmer founded Colorado Springs.[45] The imagined and physical absence of the Native population allowed for this natural space to become a tourist destination and aided in the perception of the city as one of class, health, and an overall pleasant place to live.

Charles Elliott Perkins, fellow railroad industrialist and Palmer's friend, purchased four-hundred and eighty acres of land in the Garden of the Gods, and wanted this land to remain in its natural state for the enjoyment of the general, non-native public.[46] After Perkins died in 1907, his children gave the land he owned to the City of Colorado Springs "where it shall remain free to the public, where no intoxicating liquors shall be manufactured, sold, or dispensed, where no building or structure shall be erected except those necessary to properly care for, protect, and maintain the area as a public park."[47] The use and allure of this natural space aided in the city's thriving tourism industry, which prompted the construction of hotels, areas of entertainment for visitors, and Victorian homes for those who could afford to live in Colorado Springs.

The Garden of the Gods Park is a spectacular wonder, which has been enjoyed by tourists since the late 1800s and continues to be a staple in tourist literature detailing what Colorado Springs has to offer. This park is great and wonderful, but it only exists because of the encroachment of Anglo-Americans onto Native lands. The Ute, a native tribe who occupied the Garden of the Gods and the surrounding area, were pushed from their home, and made to live on reservations. Additionally, the Garden of the Gods as a tourist attraction stands as a symbol of the commodification of nature and is a prominent class barrier. There are unspoken rules of exclusion, which are based on visitors' ability to physically travel and spend time in the park. These exclusionary factors based on class within the Garden of the Gods will be explored in further chapters.

The tourism industry in Colorado Springs changed the nature of outdoor activity in the region and helped build the city itself, which came in the form of new structures, such as hotels to cater to visitors. The area, which Colorado Springs inhabits, was

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[44] "Directory of Colorado Springs, Manitou & Colorado City for 1890," (Colorado Springs: S.N. Francis Raper & Co., 1890), 37.

[45] Garden of the Gods Visitor & Nature Center, "The Shaping of Garden of the Gods Park," *YouTube* video, 9:06, https://youtu.be/n-VNIfjLaSM.

[46] Garden of the Gods Visitor Center & Nature Center, "Garden of the Gods Park," https://www.gardenofgods.com/park-info/park-1/park-history.

[47] Ibid.,

sparsely populated, but as time went on and the city grew, it swallowed up the "little cow towns" established in the area; towns such as Ivywild, Roswell, and Ramona to name a few.[48] This growth was indicative of the city's wealth, which allowed it to grow. This wealth came from wealthy Easterners, capitalists, artists, and intellectuals, who wanted to vacation and live in Colorado Springs; it was said the city had more millionaires per capita than any other place in the country at the time.[49] Colorado College, established in 1874, became a key symbol of the city's prestige. The college is bordered by elaborate Victorian homes, which were once inhabited by families. These Victorian homes still stand today and are utilized by Colorado College students and affiliates. In tandem with the independent wealth from citizens, the tourism industry focused on the city and the surrounding area and provided the city with great revenue. This industry was inextricably linked to the perception of Colorado Springs as a haven for health and a modern city, evident in its tourist literature.

A 1906 tourist pamphlet titled, "Tourists Guide to Colorado Springs: Manitou Colorado City, and the Pike's Peak Region," highlighted Colorado Springs' accommodations for tourists, the beauty of its natural wonders, and emphasized its uniqueness in contrast to the East Coast and Mid-West. Colorado Springs maintained its natural beauty because it was the "only city in the United States which [prohibited] any manufacturing enterprise within city limits."[50] The sensation one experiences standing on top of Pikes Peak above thousands of miles of the earth's surface is surreal, it is an experience which "is cherished for a lifetime." Aside from Pikes Peak, no other point of interest is more widely known than the Garden of the Gods, with its "strange mounds and ridges of red sandstone" and the famous Gateway, its grandest feature. The pamphlet provided information on how to visit the sites and where to stay in Colorado Springs. The city boasted fourteen hotels, the Antlers being "one of the best and finest hotels in the State," and the Alamo, Alta Vista, and several others are "strictly first-class hotels."[51] This tourist pamphlet is just one example of the type of tourist literature, meant to promote Colorado Springs in the early twentieth century. This literature underscores the city's attempts to portray itself as paradise, while simultaneously further conveying how the tourism industry shaped Colorado Springs' built environment.

The promotion of the city's tourist attractions, the beautiful weather, glorious nature, and healthy atmosphere, aided in the city's growth by enticing capitalists and families to stay and make Colorado Springs their home. As highlighted in city directories, the population of Colorado Springs grew from about 5,000 in 1880 to approximately 50,000 in 1920. These new residents lived in Victorian homes in wealthy neighborhoods, sent their children to the city's prestigious Colorado College, and rubbed elbows with well-to-do tourists who stayed in five-star hotels like The Broadmoor and The Antlers Hotel. The Broadmoor, constructed between 1914 and 1918, by the Broadmoor Land and

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[48] Stephanie Waters, *Ghosts of Colorado Springs and Pikes Peak*, Haunted America, Arcadia Publishing, 2012.

[49] Matt Mayberry, "A Brief History of Colorado Springs," Colorado Springs Olympic City USA, https://coloradosprings.gov/cos-150/page/brief-history-colorado-springs.

[50] "Tourists Guide to Colorado Springs: Manitou Colorado City, and the Pike's Peak Region," Denver: The Clason Map Co., Colin B. Goodykoontz Papers, Western History Collection, 1920, 2.

[51] Ibid., 4, 13.

Investment Company owned by Willie Wilcox and James Pourtales, was a luxury resort.[52] The Broadmoor was a casino, a school for girls, and a world class resort, which continues to dazzle tourists and guests. The Antlers Hotel, opened in 1883, boasted modern conveniences, such as a hydraulic elevator, central steam, and gas lights; it also had a billiards room, music room, barber shop, a Turkish bath and a children's playroom.[53] This hotel was directly connected to the city's tourism industry because of its location, which aligned perfectly with Pikes Peak. Figure 1 is twentieth century photo that shows Pikes Peak behind the Antlers Hotel, which sits at the end of Pikes Peak Avenue (fig 1). The Antlers has been rebuilt a couple times throughout the years, but still lives up to its reputation as one of Colorado Spring's best hotels.

Figure 1. Pikes Peak behind The Antlers Hotel from Pikes Peak Avenue. Library of Congress https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ppmsca.18293/.

The city of Colorado Springs was a cultural oasis for a railroad magnate and grew into a flourishing city with the aid of its renowned tourist industry, which brought national and international visitors and enticed wealthy families to stay and live in the city. The city was surrounded by the mining industry, but industrial operations and manufacturing did not take place within its limits, like it did in Denver and Pueblo. The prohibition of industrial activities within the city allowed for Colorado Springs to boost its tourism industry and keep its structural integrity; essentially preserving itself as a peaceful and ideal city. Without the absence of industrial manufacturing and the development and ideals of its tourism industry, Colorado Springs would not have developed structurally as it did in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Denver

Southern Arapahos and Southern Cheyenne inhabited the area which would become the future site of Denver. As Anglo Americans moved westward, they encroached on native lands and pushed them out to claim the land as their own. When gold was found in the area in 1858, the United States voided the Treaty of Fort Laramie,

[52] "History," The Broadmoor, https://www.historichotels.org/us/hotels-resorts/the-broadmoor/history.php.

[53] "History of The Antlers," The Antlers A Wyndham Hotel, https://antlers.com/stay/history-of-antlers.shtml.

which promised Native tribes could hunt between the Arkansas and North Platte Rivers, and allowed settlers to occupy the land to mine the gold.[54] As mining prospects dwindled, the new city of Denver became a supply, service, government, and transportation center throughout the 1860s and 1870s.[55] The railroad industry, an important contributor to Denver's growth, transported goods and people in and out of the area. The wealth from gold mining, investors, the work of early pioneers, and the might of the railroads, allowed Denver to become a prominent city by the time Colorado became a state in 1876.

The U.S. railroad industry grew exponentially after the Civil War and continued to grow throughout the twentieth century. Like other capitalist industries in the Southwest, the railroads impacted how space was created in the region; it created its own spaces of power by manipulating time and land, which fundamentally shaped the Southwest into what it is now. The railroads were what William Cronon explains as "second nature," this technological advancement in travel was a part of the "artificial nature that people erect atop first nature."[56] Wherever they went, the rails brought "sudden sweeping change to the landscapes and communities through, which they passed."[57] Furthermore, the railroads and the train itself created what American historian Richard White calls a "hybrid space," which is both abstract and physical, and only came into being when "workers altered an existing landscape by driving a railroad through it."[58] The schedules and potential delays of trains created a relational space; a space, which shaped lives and ultimately changed time itself.[59] The railroad industry, in particular, not only changed space, but it helped destroyed it through the commercialization of space and geography. This is exemplified through Cronon's analysis of Chicago's meat packing industry. The whole point of corporate meat-packing was to systematize the market in animal flesh-to liberate it from nature and geography.[60] Geography and attachment to the land, no longer mattered, except as a problem in management; time had conspired with capital to annihilate space.[61] The natural landscape and natural spaces were transformed into spaces of profit and control, and were warped to accommodate the ideologies of expansionism, which became synonymous with wealth, power, and progress and was prolific throughout the Southwest.

The railroad industry changed space and the built environment of Denver in several ways. First and foremost, the railroads provided the wealth that facilitated the city's growth and development. In the span of approximately a decade, grand buildings and structures were built for housing, entertainment, and state government functions. The Tabor Opera House opened in 1881; Edbrooke's Masonic Temple was completed in 1889; the Arapahoe County Courthouse was finished in 1883; the Brown Palace Hotel

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[54] Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *A Short History of Denver*, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2016, 22.

[55] Ibid., 34.

[56] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West,* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991, xix.

[57] Ibid., 72.

[58] Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the making of Modern American,* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011, 144.

[59] Ibid., 150.

[60] Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 259.

[61] Ibid., 259.

opened in 1892; the Capitol building opened in 1894; and more saloons, hotels, and other major businesses were created too.[62] Even the four major railroads at the time, the Union Pacific, the Denver and Rio Grande, the Denver, South Park and Pacific, and the Colorado Central, had their own individual stations in the downtown area.[63] According to a 1900 city directory, the city continued to grow with new structures, which was directly tied to the progress and fostering of modernity during this period. The pages of this directory list new industries and business blocks, new apartment houses, new theatres, new schools, and new churches, which represented a progress "more important to a municipality than mere numbers of inhabitants."[64] Denver was a convergence point for several railroads, including the transcontinental line, and this one of the factors, which made Denver such an important commercial place. This sets the city of Denver apart from Colorado Springs and any other city in Colorado; its spatial ability to command and accommodate vast amounts of people, and not just people, but laborers who converged in this place, one of the most important crossroads of the nation.

The railroad industry spurred Denver's tourist industry, which, similarly to the city of Colorado Springs, prompted the construction of hotels, railroad stations, and structures aimed to cater to tourists. This aspect of the city's early history is highlighted by the erection of its Welcome Arch at Union Station; dedicated by Mayor Robert Walter Speer in 1906. The Welcome Arch was one of the first structures travelers saw when they departed their trains and entered the city. Speer proclaimed this arch was to stand in place for the "ages as an expression of the good wishes and kind feeling of our citizens to the strangers" who enter our gates.[65] The city of Denver wanted to welcome any and all tourists who visited the city and wanted to make sure the railroads continued to run through the city efficiently, hence the Welcome Arch and multiple train stations throughout the city (fig 2).

The welcome arch was a symbol of Denver's position as a significant crossroads for tourists and investors. However, the arch, and its welcoming message, was meant for those who had the capital to spend within the city and for those who had the financial means to be a part of the city's high society. This is evident in the treatment of the city's immigrant and disadvantaged populations, who were pushed from their positions within the city. Improvements in communication and travel allowed for out-of-state investment in the city and prompted the construction of industrial structures. By the turn of the twentieth century, factories, warehouses, and railroad yards displaced Denver's poor, who were moved into old neighborhoods, and were predominantly ethnic immigrants.[66] Denver's Chinese population grew steadily in the early twentieth century and the city had three Chinatown districts. These "Chinese districts were repeatedly pillaged" and many of the occupants were forced to leave the city.[67] The city's undesired populations were

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[62] Rhonda Beck, *Union Station in Denver*, The History Press, 2016, 12.

[63] Ibid., 13.

[64] "Colbert & Ballenger's 39th Annual Denver City Directory For 1911," (Denver: Ballengers and Richards, 1911), 14.

[65] "Acclaimed Western Photographs: Louis Charles McClure," https://history.denverlibrary.org/news/acclaimed-western-photographers-louis-charles-mcclure.

[66] Sarah M. Nelson, K. Lynn Berry, Richard F. Carrillo, Bonnie L. Clark, Lori E Rhodes, and Dean Saitta, *Denver: An Archaeological History*, University Press of Colorado, 2008, 149.

[67] Ibid., 149.

not meant to take advantage of the benefits of Denver's tourism industry, nor were they the target audience of structures like the welcome arch. The city's built environment was a set stage, where the triumph and superiority of U.S. conquest could be expressed.

Figure 2. Denver's Welcome Arch at Union Station. Denver Public Library Special Collections
https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll22/id/35897/rec/11.

The railroads boosted Denver's tourist appeal, but they also facilitated in the growth of its cattle industry, which was an essential and significant nineteenth and twentieth century capitalist industry in the Southwest. The cattle industry focused on raising cattle for meat and other goods, which involved the commercialization of nature and transformation of the natural landscape. Cattle ranchers fenced the land and created economic and social borders, which divided the land and physically changed the landscape. Barbed wires were used to pen in livestock and mark the boundaries of private property; the land and its resources were bound and divvied by profit seekers and industries. The physical remnants of this division can be seen in old, barbed wires, which can still stand in Colorado's landscape (fig 3). In lieu of fences, wood and concrete were utilized to anchor Denver's cattle industry in the heart of the city. Denver's the cattle industry started with a heavily traveled cattle drive. In 1866, Charles Goodnight and his partner Oliver Loving established one of the most heavily traveled cattle trails between Texas and the rail center in Cheyenne, Wyoming, called the Goodnight-Loving Trail.[68] John Wesley Iliff, a prominent cattle rancher, arrived in Colorado in 1859 and by 1868 had procured a contract to supply beef to the Union Pacific Railroad construction crews in southern Wyoming. The demand for beef increased with the creation of mining towns, which sprouted throughout the territory and by 1885, the cattle industry flourished in Colorado. Iliff was joined by another successful cattle rancher, John Wesley Prowers,

[68] "National Western Stock Show Properties Denver, Colorado, National Western Historic Preservation Study," Slaterpaull Architects, Inc., August 25, 2014, 7.

who introduced Hereford cattle to Colorado in 1871 and by 1881 owned 80,000 acres and controlled an additional 400,000 acres in his cattle enterprise.

Figure 3. Physical remnants of the "Barbs that Fenced the West." These barbs are displayed in the Ghost Town Museum located in Colorado Springs and provide visitors a visual display of the tool, which divided the land and physically changed the landscape for profit. Photo taken by the author.

The lives and success of these two cattle ranchers are examples of the power and influence of the cattle ranching industry to change the natural and built landscape in Colorado and throughout the Southwest. In Denver, the cattle industry necessitated the establishment of stockyards, which were large yards containing pens and sheds to keep and sort livestock. The city's cattle industry started in the downtown area, next to the South Platte River and minutes away from Union Station. The Denver Union Stock Yard Company was founded in 1881 in response to the expanding cattle industry and the railroad's arrival in Denver.[69] The company opened their stockyards in 1886 and soon after the Livestock Exchange Building, finished in the Beaux Arts Classical style, was constructed in 1898; these establishments, and the various structures, which followed, became the epicenter of the regions cattle and livestock industry (fig 4).[70]

These stockyards and exchange structures attracted large amounts of human and animal traffic to the downtown area. Seven days a week, 24 hours a day, trainloads of cattle, sheep, and swine arrived in the city to be sold and traded in the active

[69] Ibid., 7.

[70] "The Livestock Exchange Building," National Western Center, https://nationalwesterncenter.com/the-livestock-exchange-building/.

marketplace.[71] The arrival of livestock and the buying and selling of animals for consumption created a lively atmosphere, which surrounded the stockyards. This excitement over the selling of meat is exemplified by the first stock show in 1898, which featured the selling and consumption of buffalo meat. Featured as "the last great buffalo barbecue that will ever be given in the United States," large crowds crashed the event resulting in headlines like "STAMPEDE—Barbecue Crowd Gets Beyond Control."[72] *The Denver Republican* described the event; "Men rushed in pell mell to the maelstrom…forgetful for the time that they were humans, ignoring fainting women and brushing aside children…gaining intoxication from the scene and leaping into it like hungry wolves looking for a bone stolen from the wreck of the great barbecue."[73] Along with the construction of a large train depot, the city's thriving cattle industry transformed the downtown area into an exciting, bustling, and crowded industrial space, which was shared by buyers and sellers of cattle, immigrant laborers, and livestock.

Figure 4. Ariel view of Denver's stockyards, 1900s. The position of this industry is significant as it was constructed close to the railways and a major waterway. The presence of the stockyards prompted the construction of new communities and neighborhoods in the heart of Denver. "The Building," *National Western Center* https://nationalwesterncenter.com/the-livestock-exchange-building/.

The construction and success of the stockyards prompted the establishment of several meat packing industries in Denver. The first of these meat packing companies was the Colorado Packing and Provisions Company, established in 1892 and later became the Armor Packing Company.[74] Two additional meat processing facilities, the old Blayney-Murphy/Cudahy/Bar S complex and the Western/Swift Company, were both

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[71] "History of the Site," National Western Center, https://nationalwesterncenter.com/about/what-is-the-nwc/history-about-the-site/.

[72] "National Western Stock Show Properties Denver, Colorado," 8.

[73] Ibid., 8.

[74] "National Western Stock Show Properties Denver, Colorado," 7.

constructed in 1904.[75] Nineteenth century industries in the Southwest prompted increased laborer migration, they changed the built environment, and allowed for the building of social and communal relationships; the cattle and meat industry was no different in this regard. Along with the construction of stockyards and business structures, new minority communities and housing were established to house workers and their families. The communities of Elyria and Swansea for example, grew east of the stockyards and were home to mainly Slavic immigrant families whose members were industrial and meatpackers. These communities built schools, churches, and neighborhood stores, which were accessible and welcoming to the newcomers in the area.[76] The cattle industry shaped the heart of Denver and was the impetus for the creation of new neighborhoods, social relationships, and helped strengthen the city's immigrant populations.

The superior mobility and wealth of the railroad made Denver one of the most financially powerful cities in Colorado and the Southwest in the twentieth century. The mining industry spurred the growth of Denver and its subsequent railroad, cattle, and tourist industries, which prompted the construction of commercial, industrial, and housing structures. These industries were vital for northern Colorado and Denver and helped establish the city as the financial and political powerhouse of the state. This was accomplished through Denver's anointment as the state capitol in 1867 and the construction of its grand capitol building.

The struggle over determining the location of the state capitol began when the Colorado Territory was established in 1861. The seat of government in the Colorado Territory changed several times, but there were three primary contenders for the capitol: Denver, Golden, and Colorado City.[77] Denver's start as a gold mining town and its connection to the railroads made it an optimal choice to be the state capitol, and in 1867, resident Henry Codes Brown offered ten acres in the center of his property as a site for the capitol building. Colorado leaders accepted Brown's gift and quickly changed the city to highlight its capitol building; city leaders laid out new streets, named for war heroes, and fashionable neighborhoods were constructed and then occupied by the rich and powerful. The influx of wealth provided by the state's extractive industries funded the construction of the state's capitol building and ensured its classical design, which utilized the Corinthian order of architecture, one of the most popular of the Roman era, to convey Denver's greatness and overall "permanency and consistency in a representative government."[78]

The state capitol reminds every resident and visitor of Denver's importance to the state and its role in establishing its supposed superior governance through the physicality of its capitol building. The capitol building, through its aesthetics and its basic functions creates what architectural historian Richard A. Etlin calls "the deep structure of architecture." This phrase refers to the particular intense experience one has when

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[75] Ibid., 8.

[76] "Neighborhood History," National Western Center, https://nationalwesterncenter.com/about/what-is-the-nwc/history-about-the-site/.

[77] Derek E. Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol: History, Politics, Preservation*, University Press of Colorado, 2005, 8.

[78] Ibid., 20, 41.

coming into contact with a building or in its vicinity.[79] The citizens of Denver, and Colorado, assigned feelings of grandeur and permanence to the state capitol building, which has fostered a shared sense of superiority of having Denver being the seat of state governance. This superiority is conveyed through the European aesthetic of the capital building. American structures, which have specific functions connected to governance or finance, adopted European aesthetic features, such as columns, central pediments, and high domes at the top (fig 5).

Figure 5. A 1906 stereograph depicting Denver's state capitol building. Take notice of its European façade and columns, which convey order and strength. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/2018647158/.

Denver's state capitol building is just one notable structure, which visitors and tourists marveled over. Similar to Colorado Springs, the city of Denver took advantage of its environment and expanded its thriving tourist industry with the founding the city's park system in the 1870s, which grew from the 1920s on and centered around outdoor activities and appreciating nature in a specific tourist frame. In 1872, Mayor Joseph E. Bates recommended the city establish a parks system and in the same year, Congress ceded 160 acres of land, which became Congress Park.[80] Throughout the 1870s, parkways and land for park use were established and trees were planted alongside major thoroughfares, which transformed the brown prairie into a wonderfully green city.[81] Creating city parks and beautifying the city with greenery was one way for Denver to capitalize on people's desire to enjoy the outdoors.

During his time in office until 1912, Mayor Robert W. Speer sought to take economic advantage of Denver's surrounding natural beauty through recreational

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[79] Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994, xix.

[80] R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "The Instant City—The Gold Rush and Early Settlement, 1858-1892," https://www.discoverdenver.co/, 13.

[81] Ibid., 13.

opportunities.[82] Recreational activities became a vital part of Denver's diversified economy and soon the construction of Mountain Parks connected the city to its mountain hinterlands, fostering a rapidly expanding recreational empire, which would define the city and the region. In the first half of the twentieth century, Denver capitalized on the nationwide movement and desire for outdoor recreation and offered residents and tourists opportunities to hike, fish, camp, ski, and sightsee.[83] Wealthy residents and tourists, those with the time and money to enjoy the outdoors, spent money on hotels, recreational rentals, and services bringing in vast revenue. By promoting Denver as a hub for outdoor recreation and as a city, which greatly appreciated its surrounding natural beauty, the city profited from its reputation as the gateway to the Rocky Mountains. Furthermore, by promoting itself as a gateway, Denver imagined itself as a civilized environment that protected its inhabitants and allowed them to experience nature in a safe and controlled space.

Like Colorado Springs, Denver expanded greatly in the early twentieth century due to vast amounts of wealth, which imbued the region. Gold mining set the stage for unprecedented growth and revenue from the railroad and cattle industries in Denver. These industries boosted the city's tourist industry, which not only added to the city's prestige and contributed to its large size but solidified its reputation as the entrance to the Rocky Mountains. This reputation was born out of the city's founders and benefactors' efforts to control the region's natural resources and the removal of native tribes who lived in the region before their arrival. Similar to Colorado Springs, Denver became a playground for wealthy residents and tourists, which had the time and opportunity to enjoy the natural environment. Unlike Colorado Springs however, Denver's urban transformation has been categorized as quick and almost instantaneous.[84] The seemingly instant transformation of Denver into a powerful Southwestern city was due to the industrial powers, which it controlled and capitalized on; mining of precious metals, ranching and cattle raising, and the commodification of nature through the promotion of outdoor activities within its tourist industry. Furthermore, the instant growth of the city diversified its population with the influx of immigrant laborers and built up the Denver downtown area with construction of stockyards and new neighborhoods. These changes in the built environment and in the population will be seen in the southern region's cities.

Southern Colorado: Pueblo & Trinidad

The nineteenth and twentieth century extractive and tourist industries of Colorado have been emphasized as the impetus for the growth and transformation of the state's cities, so far, in this chapter. These industries and their influence are even more obvious in Southern Colorado, in its cities, natural landscape, population and in the creation and changes of its space, both physical and abstract. The southern cities of Pueblo and

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[82] Michael Childers, "A Gateway Into the Mountains: Denver and the Building of a Recreational Empire," in "Denver Inside & Out," Number 16, *Colorado History*, History Colorado: The Colorado Historical Society, Denver 2011, 88.

[83] Ibid., 89.

[84] Sarah M. Nelson, K. Lynn Berry, Richard F. Carrillo, Bonnie L. Clark, Lori E Rhodes, and Dean Saitta, *Denver: An Archaeological History*, University Press of Colorado, 2008, 219.

Trinidad were shaped by the wealth and power of the railroad, steel, and coal mining industries. These capitalist industries aimed to grow the nation through improving transcontinental transportation and providing the fuel for the movement of wealth and people across the country. The growth of Pueblo as a city was a direct result of the needs of the railroad industry and the establishment of a thriving steel industry. Trinidad was in the middle of rich coal fields, indirectly making it a coal city; the city acted as a stage for coal mining labor issues, it became an ideal location for the facilitation of business because of its location on the throughway going north into the state, and the city became a symbol of American triumph over the land.

The gold rush of the 1850s was significant for the Colorado territory as it grew its population and the wealth accumulated founded and spurred its cities. Some people who migrated to Colorado for the gold rush settled in the Pueblo area and established Fountain City east of Fountain Creek.[85] The city of Pueblo was soon established across the creek from Fountain City during the winter of 1859-1860. In 1862, just one year after the Colorado Territory was created, Pueblo County was organized, becoming one of the original 17 counties. The early city of Pueblo was comprised of four towns: South Pueblo, Central Pueblo, Pueblo, and Bessemer.[86] The city's growth started with agriculture and cattle, but steel became the main industry in the region when General William Jackson Palmer founded the Colorado Coal and Iron Company (CC&I) and established a steel mill in Pueblo in 1879. The fight for control over the extraction and production of natural resources for profit created complicated relationships amongst capitalist leaders and prompted infighting between industry leaders, which stagnated operations. In an effort to mitigate struggles over industrial and capital power, General Palmer in 1882 merged CC&I with the Colorado Fuel Company (CFC), controlled by John C. Osgood, creating the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (CF&I).[87] This merger created a powerful company, which fundamentally shaped southern Colorado in the twentieth century.

Pueblo and the surrounding area have a rich industrial history; the first major industry in Pueblo was smelting. Ore was smelted, or turned into metals, such as gold, silver, copper, lead, and zinc.[88] Joseph G. Mather and Alfred W. Geist, two businessmen who had smelting operations in Utah, brought smelting to Pueblo in the late 1870s. The first smelter opened in 1878, three years before the opening of CC&I'S mill in 1881.[89] The city of Pueblo, and its subsequent growth, was founded on the process of industry. The steel industry, which followed the first smelting operations would further transform the area's built environment, demographics, and communities.

The steel industry in Pueblo prompted the growth of the city to accommodate the people who migrated to the area. This included the inclusion of specific architectural aesthetics, which conveyed modernity and wealth. In particular, the use of European

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[85] Charlene Garcia Simms, Maria Sanchez Tucker, Jeffrey DeHerrera, and the Pueblo City-County Library, *Images of America Pueblo*, Arcadia Publishing, 2017, 13.

[86] Ibid., 13, 36.

[87] Richard Clyne, *Coal People: Life in Southern Colorado's Company Towns, 1890-1930*, Denver: The Colorado Historical Society, 1999, 5.

[88] Eleanor Fry, *Smelters of Pueblo*, Pueblo County Historical Society, 2000, 1.

[89] Ibid., 2-4.

aesthetics, such as Victorian and Italian styles, accomplished this goal. The city sported new structures made of brick and crafted with Victorian designs, which were notably assigned to housing structures and business buildings. Like Colorado Springs and Denver, there were prominent neighborhoods with Victorian homes. There was also company housing for steel mill workers, often organized along ethnic and class lines, which were simpler in design and aesthetic. Housing for steel workers were occupied by families of German, Slavic, Mexican, Italian, and other ethnic immigrant groups who made up the majority of steel workers. The growth of Pueblo centered around the founding and running of the steel mill, which was instrumental in crafting the city's identity. Pueblo was referred to as the "steel city" and the mill's towers became synonymous with the Pueblo landscape; the steel mill became part of the city's physical identity. The celebration of industry and Pueblo becoming a modern city, can be viewed in early twentieth century depictions of Pueblo's steel mill. One specific example is a colorful 1909 postcard, which depicted an artist's rendition of the steel mill, complete with billowing black smoke in the sky (fig 6). The steel industry changed the physical space of Pueblo, by inserting an industrial structure, influencing how the city was perceived and how its citizens saw themselves as significant characters in the narrative of Colorado's history and evolution.

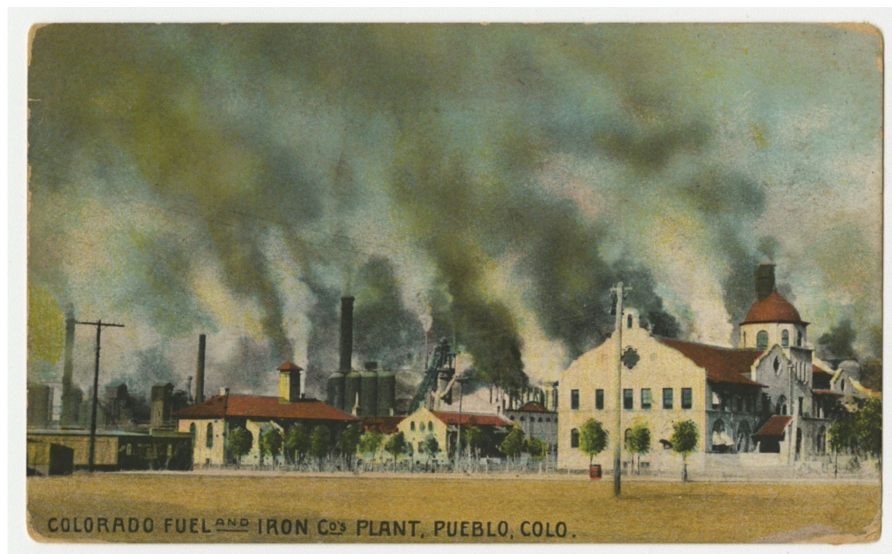

Figure 6. Postcard depicting an artist's rendition of the CF&I steel mill in Pueblo. https://www.historycolorado.org/story/2019/07/24/wish-you-were-here-colorful-colorado-postcards-and-visual-history-colorado.

This change in Pueblo's space, and largely southern Colorado's space, is significant to the research questions this dissertation aims to address. Space is the stage on which life is played out; it is malleable and ever present. There are a variety of spaces and their connections to one another, and their manipulations are essential for the many facets of everyday life. As conveyed by Henri Lefebvre, there are an indefinite multitude of spaces contained within one another: geographical, economic, demographic,

sociological, ecological, political, commercial, national, continental, and global.[90] Specifically, these spaces include, but are not limited to, the use of structures, the upholding of societal norms, the tracking of time, creating the means of control, and the production of necessities. Some of the most important aspects of space are concepts of social space, the intersections of space and power, and representational spaces. Social spaces and spaces of power are integral to the perpetuation and solidarity of representational spaces, which have specific meanings to a variety of people, organizations, and communities. Representational spaces are spaces of inhabitants and users, which have been assigned non-verbal symbols and signs by said users.[91]

These three types of spaces are perpetuated through a city's architecture, specifically through those structures, which convey a city's wealth and power through their functions and aesthetics. Pueblo's Grand Opera House for example, opened in 1890, provided a luxury entertainment experience for its residents and travelers. With the success of its steel industry and the arrival of the railroads, Pueblo in the later nineteenth century was on track to become a leading metropolis in southern Colorado. Known as "the Pittsburg of the West," investors believed an opera house would be the last bit in making Pueblo a full-fledged modern city catering to those cultured populations.[92] Much of the West and Southwestern region was viewed as empty, savage space, despite the presence of powerful and influential Native American tribes, and the presence of modern structures was needed to bring order to the land. This is why the city of Pueblo, situated in Native then Hispano land, was compared to the city of Pittsburg, a successful and modern Eastern city. The Grand Opera House burned down in the 1920s, but its presence and European aesthetics created a representational space, which highlighted Pueblo's entrance into a community of modernized cities, which dotted Colorado's landscape. Opera houses, and places of high-culture entertainment, were built to cater to wealthy and largely Anglo-American patrons. These structures upheld the ethnic and class lines, also created in Colorado Springs, Denver, and Trinidad, which separated immigrant steel workers and businesspeople and their families who thought they belonged in such an opulent space. Perpetuating the "Angolan commitment to theater," which can also be seen in Trinidad, fed into the notion of the West as a haven and new structures and cities as extensions of progress and modernity.[93] This aspect of architecture, creating representational spaces and promoting Manifest Destiny ideals of spreading progress can be seen in Trinidad, Colorado's southernmost city.

Before Trinidad became a city, the area was occupied by native tribes, such as the Ute and Apache, and was a major stopping point on the important Santa Fe Trail. Between the 1850s and 1860s, the area was settled by Hispanos who traveled north and found the fertile land and the Purgatoire River appealing. The city of Trinidad began as a traditional plaza community and its residents relied on herding and agriculture to sustain themselves.[94] Plaza communities in the Southwest, were organized around the formation

[90] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1991, 10.

[91] Ibid., 39.

[92] April D. Knudsen, "Alder and Sullivan's Pueblo Opera House," (Bachelors Thesis, Colorado State University at Pueblo, Colorado 2012) 11.

[93] Ibid., 8.

[94] Clyne, *Coal People*, 4.

and upkeep of social and familial relationships. Structures were formed around a central outside area, like a plaza, which fostered daily gathering and interaction. As capitalist industries grew in size and influence, plaza communities were erased to instill individualism and to prevent communal organization. The significance of the erasure of plaza communities will be explored further in the next chapter about labor in Colorado and the Southwest. Trinidad grew amongst the coal mines and coal towns established by the coal mining companies, mainly CF&I, which controlled the majority of coal mining operations in southern Colorado. The coal mining and railroad industries, shaped Trinidad's reputation as an essential city among the coal fields and helped its self-image as a city for business and an optimal place to visit and spend time.

The rise in the railroad and coal mining industries in southern Colorado rapidly changed the city's urban landscape, as it increased the presence of ethnic laborers, traveling businesspeople, and skilled architects who built structures for entertainment and business in Trinidad. *The Chronicle*, one of Trinidad's oldest city newspapers, emphasizes Trinidad's ideal location and potential as a commercial city by celebrating its optimal weather, grand structures, and numerous financial opportunities. The *Chronicle* proclaimed the southern region's weather was ideal, as the warm climate was "tempered by the cool winds of the snowy range…"[95] Much like in Colorado Springs and Denver, Trinidad's climate is highlighted as just one of the city's beneficial characteristics. Whereas the climate was tied to outdoor recreation and appreciate in Colorado Springs and Denver, the weather was directly tied to business in Trinidad. The Southern region of Colorado did not have unique mountain formations, nor did it have many opportunities for outdoor recreation for tourists. Instead, Trinidad focused on how the weather would impact business, entrepreneurs, and economic opportunities made possible by the coal industry. The city of Trinidad had "handsome business structures, palatial private residences, commodious and elaborate public buildings…[and] opportunities for the establishment of mills ad factories." "Financially, Trinidad has exceptional advantages [as] it is the headquarters for the largest coal mining district in the world."[96] The coal mining industry, which flourished in southern Colorado due to the region's rich and abundant coal beds, made Trinidad a financially and industrially important city. This importance is emphasized by how the city grew and what kinds of structures were built and commissioned, such as the railroad stations, which connected the city to the rest of Colorado and the rest of the nation.

The Santa Fe Railroad founded a station in Trinidad in 1878, and brought laborers, families, architects, and entrepreneurs to the city.[97] Well-known architects transformed the city's architectural aesthetics, by designing and erecting stone and brick buildings, some of which still stand today. There are many different buildings within the city, but they share similarities in structural materials and aesthetics. They were made with sandstone, brick, adobe, stones, and were often designed with Romanesque and Victorian styles. Just one example is the Trinidad Opera House, which was built in 1883

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[95] "City Council," *The Chronicle*, August 1, 1898, 2.

[96] Ibid., 2.

[97] Glenn R. Scott, "Historical Trail Map of the Trinidad 1 x 2 Quadrangle, Southern Colorado," Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department Pamphlet to accompany Geologic Investigations Series I-2745, 2001, 15-16.

by Henry Jaffa and Sullivan Jaffa, two prominent Colorado businessmen. The building materials for this structure were adobe brick and stone, with some of "the finest incised sandstone to be found in the city".[98] Like in the city of Pueblo, an opera house was a symbol of high entertainment, and it reinforced ethnic and class boundaries within the city; the opera house was meant to entertain business professionals who had the opportunity to frequent theatre productions and orchestras. The use of natural resources, especially the quarried stone, aided in buildings' messages of the domestication of the west, which was a common theme in nineteenth century American architecture.[99] Their presence, along with the spatial position of Trinidad itself, displayed the city's and territory's wealth within the isolated landscape of southern Colorado.

The European and Classical styled architecture of Trinidad fostered an American identity, which conveyed modernity and sophistication through the taming of the landscape with grand buildings. This identity is reflected through the built environment, as architecture is a key element in the transmission of cultural identities from one generation to the next.[100] Moreover, it is important to remember this identity was created through the destruction and replacement of Native and Hispano space and architecture. Native tribes were displaced through aggressive tactics and violence, and Hispano plazas and housing were replaced with "modern" structures. Trinidad's architecture also created representational spaces, which provided the specific meaning of Anglo-American superiority and a solid American identity to those who gazed upon and utilized its buildings, by conveying these non-verbal symbols and signs through its European aesthetics. Trinidad's identity as a modern, American city has been fostered by its many examples of historic architecture, which has remarkably survived into the twenty first century.[101]

The desire for a transcontinental railroad prompted the foundation and growth of many of Colorado's cities. The railroad industry boosted the state's tourism and cattle industry while simultaneously allowing for the implementation of architectural aesthetics, which in turn impacted the formation of space in Colorado's urban environments. Specifically, in Pueblo and Trinidad, with the help of the mobility of the railroads, the steel and coal mining industries provided the manpower and wealth to change their landscapes to perpetuate an industrial might and foster an American identity. What made the Southern region of the state unique from the central and northern regions, was its sole reliance on industry for its wealth and growth. Colorado Springs and Denver had varied sources of income, such as gold and silver mining, the cattle industry, and an ample tourist industry, which prompted the construction of grand hotels, health resorts, stockyards, and bustling neighborhoods. Pueblo and Trinidad on the other hand, relied on the production of steel and the mining of coal, which needed a smelting plant, housing for

[98] Willard C. Louden, "The Historic Buildings of General Trinidad," survey conducted through the City Demonstration Agency by the Trinidad Historical Society (1972), 105.

[99] Irene Cheng, Chares L. Davis II and Mabel O., *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present*, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2020, 103.

[100] Meltem Yilmaz & Meltem Maz, "Architectural Identity and Local Community," *Ekistics*, 73 no. 436/441 2006, (140-146): 142.

[101] For examples of Trinidad's European and Classical architecture see Appendix B.

laborers such as coal mining camps, and the use of specific European aesthetics to seem modern and on par with Colorado Springs and Denver.

Conclusion

Capitalist industries were present throughout the state of Colorado and succeeded in their economic and imperialist goals. This chapter has outlined the different types of industries present in nineteenth century Colorado, but their impact on the natural and built landscape is what is most significant. Specifically, the commodification of nature, the changes in city plans, the construction of new industrial structures, and the use of European aesthetics to visually establish American dominance over the landscape. The rise of an industrial society transformed the American Southwest and shaped its architecture, demographics, space, and the natural landscape. Native American tribes were forcibly removed and were met with violence as their presence on the land was an obstruction to the mining of precious metals and coal. Native and Hispano spaces and architecture were replaced by industrial structures and European aesthetics. Colorado Springs and Denver capitalized on the commodification of the outdoors and natural wonder, while Pueblo and Trinidad relied on the steel and coal industries for their wealth and growth. Furthermore, the cattle, steel, coal mining, and tourism industries, increased Colorado's population and diversified its cities as immigrant and migrant labor was needed for their survival. The presence of new groups and families prompted the construction of new neighborhoods and created new spaces for community connection. The railroads changed everything around them; people were able travel vast distances in a short time, the notion of time became inextricable from the arrival and departure of trains, and valuable commodities were transported transnationally. The industries in these four cities allowed for the growth of an American identity, one that was the result of a spatial conquest of early indigenous and Hispanic places. The creation of representational spaces, strides in the commodification of nature through outdoor tourism opportunities, and the building of elaborate and industrial structures categorized Colorado's nineteenth and twentieth century cities. How these industries impacted the built environment and the people who lived in Colorado on a micro-scale will be explored in further chapters.

Chapter 3: Labor as an Impetus for Growth

The social, economic, and industrial development of the American Southwest in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries depended on the work of the laborers who toiled endlessly and their families who made daily sacrifices. The study of labor in the Southwest is complex and incorporates the interactions between a wide range of diverse peoples. The characteristics of industrial capitalism, specifically the ill treatment of laborers, low wages, and the desire to garner as much wealth as possible with little cost, are important factors when labor in the Southwest is connected to its built environment and the formation of community. The nature of labor and the ethnic composition of the working class was dependent on the region and the type of industry present. In Southern Colorado, for example, there were large populations of Hispanic and European descent who worked in the region's many coal mines. This chapter will focus on how the characteristics and consequences of industrial capitalism, such as the pervasion of racial segregation, violent struggles over labor rights, and the creation and upkeep of spaces of power and spatial realities, changed the built environment while considering the impacts of the struggles over space, racial tensions, the impact of gender, and the memorialization of the activism within an industrious society.

Work and labor in the Southwest changed over time as the landscape was altered due to its inhabitants. Before the advent of industrial capitalism in the last decades of the nineteenth century, labor in the Southwestern region principally involved farming and pastoralism, which provided trade goods and nutrition for Native American and Hispano inhabitants. In the seventeenth century, for example, during the early years of Spanish colonization, the Pueblo people were responsible for the payment of tribute to Spanish governors. These payments took the form of vital commodities, such as clothing and maize, in a land of little abundance.[102] In order to build and maintain their prodigious animal wealth during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Comanches implemented a mixed economy of hunting and pastoralism.[103] This shift facilitated a strict gender and age based division of labor, which increased the subordination of women.[104] The nature of work and labor shifted again in the late nineteenth century with the growth in the extractive, agricultural and pastoral industries.

The coal and steel industries allowed railroads to connect the country and were vital to Colorado's economic development and financial strength. Other Southwestern states instrumental in the agricultural and mining boom included Utah, Texas, New Mexico, Nevada, and California. The railroad was one of the most important factors for American westward migration and settlement of the Southwest. Railways enabled the circulation of colonial commodities throughout the imperial core (the U.S.) and even more importantly, they made possible the large-scale export of financial and industrial capital throughout the Southwestern states.[105] This point is critical to the history of

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[102] Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964, 4.

[103] Pekka Hámáláinen, *The Comanche Empire*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, 241.

[104] Ibid, 243.

[105] Manu Karuka, *Empire Tracks: Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad,* University of California Press, 2019, 40.

westward expansion and the Southwest. Without the railroads, commodities, people, and ideologies would not have infiltrated this region as quickly or efficiently as they did in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The U.S. transcontinental railroad system had its start during the Civil War and was justified by military need. The Pacific Railway Act of 1862 prompted the construction of major railways as a move to preserve California and the West for the Union.[106] By the 1870s, railroads connected the U.S. in every direction and facilitated the creation of financial networks. These networks aided in the formation of borders, physical, economic, and cultural, and further aided in increasing difference among ethnically and phenotypically diverse people. This exaggeration of difference would be prevalent within Colorado's industries. The development of a railroad in a given location changed everything around it, including the natural geography, the laborers who built its rails, and the spaces it inhabited.

The railroad industry utilized its ability to control time and motion to influence Southwestern space. The construction of some railway lines was the result of taking advantage of potential financial opportunities. As William Cronon explains, railroads followed preexisting geographical markers, such as rivers and valleys, to reach existing harbors and towns, which offered the "largest concentrations of prospective customers for freight and passenger traffic."[107] This overlay of an industrial landscape over a pre-existing Native landscape fundamentally changed existing economies and built environments. New structures and cities were built in response to increased railroad paths, mountains were blown up to make an easier path for railway tracks, and the American bison were almost hunted to extinction in the nineteenth century to ensure trains would not be hindered by their presence. The railroads and the train also itself created what Richard White calls a "hybrid space," which was both abstract and physical, and only came into being when "workers altered an existing landscape by driving a railroad through it."[108] Furthermore, the schedules and potential delays of trains created a relational space, which shaped lives and ultimately changed time itself.[109] The natural landscape and natural spaces were transformed into spaces of profit and control, and were warped to accommodate the ideologies of expansionism, which became synonymous with wealth, power, and progress.

The capitalist industries that emerged in the nineteenth century grew in size and influence in the twentieth century, changed the nature of labor and how laborers impacted the built environment. The performance of labor diversified as it changed from mainly pastoral and agricultural work to handling raw ore for steel, descending into the earth to extract coal, and traveling the region to establish rail lines. The extraction of natural materials and the production of valuable commodities required a large, dependable workforce, which increased and diversified Colorado's population. Immigrant and migrant laborers traveled and settled throughout the state to work and live within the

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[106] Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the making of Modern America,* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011, 17.

[107] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991, 74.

[108] *Railroaded*, 144.

[109] Ibid., 150.

thriving industrial society. These diverse workforces erected homes, established families, unionized, and held strikes to change their working and living conditions. The changes in labor prompted the creation of spaces of power, both physical and not, which were actively contested by laborers and capitalist leaders. The spaces of power within these industries, allowed for the segregation of workforces, prompted interethnic collaboration among laborers, and fostered labor organization and activism. This chapter will explore how labor in Colorado transformed from pastoral work to the labor of activism; how laborers lived and struggled within an industrial society by enduring dangerous working conditions and making social connections; and how the struggles over spaces of power impacted the state's built environment.

Labor and Industry in Colorado

The mining of precious metals and coal prompted the foundation and growth of Colorado's most important cities. The cities of Denver and Colorado Springs started as settlements for gold and silver mining, but quickly evolved into cosmopolitan and tourist cities. As they grew, neither city relied on the mining industry as much as the cities in southern Colorado. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Denver became more cosmopolitan with a diverse workforce and job opportunities. The city became the nexus for national and international financial and political workings as it was the state capitol, had a national mint, and was conveniently connected to the rest of the country with the large amount of train traffic it saw. Similarly, Colorado Springs began as an area settled by miners and other laborers who migrated to the region to take advantage of the gold found near Pike's Peak. Colorado Springs' mining-boomtown outfit was removed with the introduction of the railroads and the influence of General William Jackson Palmer's capital. The city gained a reputation as a health haven and tourist town, which shaped its labor opportunities and built environment.

The northern and middle regions of Colorado did have significant industries, which provided a variety of jobs and helped shape the state and its cities. However, southern Colorado and its coal mining industry is the most important factor in the growth of Colorado and largely the Southwest. The coal mining industry was dependent on largely an immigrant labor force, whose work labor powered the region, state, and rest of the country. Coal was a valuable commodity, it powered the railroads, warmed homes, and aided in the smooth operation of other industries throughout Colorado. Southern Colorado did not develop in the ways the north and middle regions did, which is a direct result of the control and power the coal mining industry had. Industrialists deemed an abundant, controllable, and segregated labor force was needed for the profitability and success of coal mining; this notion will be explored in the rest of this chapter. The development of the industries and labor of each Colorado city explored in this dissertation happened simultaneously in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which makes for a complex and rich history.

In southern Colorado, the railroad industry was inextricably linked with its steel and coal mining industries. Railroad corporations set up isolated coal towns in Colorado

and it was their locomotives that consumed most of the coal dug up from the ground.[110] Railroads were essential to moving coal and people throughout the United States. Railroad capitalists closely monitored coal extraction and production, which transformed the state's population, demographics, industrial economy, and physical landscape. New railroad stations were constructed in major cities; diverse populations of people traveled throughout the state to relocate and work in new areas; commodities, such as coal and cattle, were transported by rail and feed and power the country.

William Jackson Palmer, the founder of the city of Colorado Springs, established the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad, along with his partner, Dr. William Bell.[111] In order to build his railroad and the steel rails it needed, Palmer founded the Colorado Coal and Iron Company (CC&I) and built a steel mill in Pueblo, Colorado. As the coal industry expanded and garnered considerable wealth for the industrialists, Palmer merged his company with John C. Osgood's Colorado Fuel Company to enhance his financial position (CFC).[112] The merger of the two companies created the industrial behemoth Colorado Fuel & Iron (CF&I). In 1905, the company was handed down to John D. Rockefeller Jr., who at the time controlled about twenty-three mines and nine coking plants in the state of Colorado.

Coal was found in the northern and southern regions of Colorado, but the largest amounts were in southern Colorado. High-quality beds of coal were discovered in today's Las Animas, Huerfano, and Fremont counties, which helped power some of the most influential railroads.[113] There were three main coalfields located in southern Colorado, which the "big three" companies ruled, Colorado Fuel and Iron, Victor-American, and Rocky Mountain Fuel.[114] In 1902, John D. Rockefeller Sr. bought control of Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation, the largest steel and coal producer in the West at the time.[115] These companies implemented living and working restrictions in the coalmines and coal towns, which created unsafe working conditions, caused unrest with the coalminers, and prompted labor organization and unionization. Furthermore, the railroads helped build the coal industry, but it was the technological advancement in coal mining tools which increased the production of the coal industry in Colorado. Advancement in technology meant the extraction of coal was faster and more efficient. Before the implementation of dynamite and drilling holes, coalminers utilized picks and shovels to scour coal form exposed seams on canyon walls. By the early twentieth century, coalminers used more

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[110] Ibid., 54.

[111] "William Palmer: Engineer, Soldier, Founder of Colorado Springs," Colorado Virtual Library, https://www.coloradovirtuallibrary.org/digital-colorado/colorado-histories/beginnings/william-palmer-engineer-soldier-founder-of-colorado-springs/.

[112] Richard Clyne, *Coal People: Life in Southern Colorado's Company Towns, 1890-1930* (Denver: The Colorado Historical Society, 1999), 5.

[113] Ibid., 7.

[114] Thomas Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2008, 235.

[115] Howard Zinn, "The Colorado Cole Strike, 1913-1914." In *Three Strikes: Miners, Musicians, Salesgirls and the Fighting Spirit of Labor's Last Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 12.

elaborate operations, such as small-gauge rail lines, tippling systems for dumping coal from train cars, and deep tunneling.[116]

Although there were advancements in coalmining technologies, humans and animals were still needed down in the mines. The majority of Colorado coal hid beneath the earth. The process of digging and drilling into the earth, riding down in makeshift elevators, and working underground was dangerous and time consuming. Men and boys woke at dawn and rode down in cage carriers to enter a network of underground tunnels, each leading to rooms held up by wooden timbers. Once in these rooms, miners would strike and hack at the rock walls with handpicks; helpers would shovel the loose coal into waiting railroad cars pulled by mules. Due to the cramped space underground, miners would constantly work on their sides or on their knees, never able to straighten up properly.[117]

The advancement in coalmining technology and the need for coal around the country increased the demand for labor. The coal mining industry needed the capabilities of human coal miners in order to extract as much coal as possible. This is one of the reasons why the coal industry remained one of the last sectors to experience the full impact of mineral-intensive industrialization.[118] The coalmining industry in Colorado was ethnically and racially diverse and consisted of men and women from throughout Southern and Eastern Europe and North America. The majority of coalminers were Slavic, Italian, African American, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, Austrian, Croatian, Mexican and Mexican American. Laborers from these diverse backgrounds worked down in the mines and lived in coal camps and surrounding towns. Tensions arose among these different communities as they lived and worked in close proximity to each other; competition for job opportunities, resources, and living space prompted racist and discriminatory within these ethnic communities. Mine bosses and managers utilized the tensions among miners to promote animosity through practices of uneven pay and unequal opportunities for upward mobility. For example, coal miners earned very little money and in 1913, miners reported companies paid them 40 to 60 cents for each ton of coal they loaded. This translated into a daily wage of no more than $3.50, but Mexican miners were paid even less.[119] By differentiating pay among ethnic miners, coal mining management created divisions, which they hoped would foster hostility and prevent effective organization and communication. The response to unequal pay and unfair treatment will be explored later within the realm of labor activism.

Southern Colorado's built environment was unique in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; soft and industrial architecture were present throughout the reign of the coal and steel industries. Soft architecture, mainly impermanent structures, were prominent in mining camps in the form of tents and shacks, which were put up wherever coal was found and could be extracted (fig 1). When the coal camps were first established, miners built their own housing. They threw together shacks using packing

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[116] Scott Martelle, *Blood Passion: The Ludlow Massacre and Class War in the American West* (Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 17.

[117] Zinn, "The Colorado Cole Strike," 10.

[118] Andrews, *Killing for Coal*, 93.

[119] Karin Larkin, Randall H. McGuire (eds), *The Archaeology of Class War: The Colorado Strike of 1913-1914*, (University Press of Colorado, 2009), 38.

crates, scrap boxes, corrugated metal sheeting, flattened tin cans, and sometimes mud and rock they found in the surrounding canyons.[120] At first, there were clusters of shacks near the mines, which were inhabited almost exclusively by men. In the early nineteenth century, coal companies did not invest in permanent structures or infrastructure for coal miners as coal mining, and the demand for coal, was seasonal. Coal miners would migrate to and from the coal mines, because of this mobility, coal companies did not build permanent structures. As the coal mining industry grew in size, however, additional structures were needed to accommodate a larger population of miners and their kin.

As more people became a part of the coalmining industry, saloons and company stores were built to fill basic needs.[121] CF&I provided some housing, which came in the form of built towns on the grid pattern, with wide streets, individual frame houses centered on individual lots and no central square.[122] Other industrial buildings dominated the landscape as well, such as schools, jails, saloons, churches, bathhouses, and hospitals.[123]

Figure 1. A photo of the Ludlow tent colony (1914). This is an example of the kind of soft, impermanent architecture prevalent in early twentieth century southern Colorado. https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll22/id/33339/rec/13.

In addition to these soft structures, permanent industrial structures were established in southern Colorado to process and manufacture industrial materials such as steel. As noted earlier, William Jackson Palmer founded the Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad, and seeking ways to minimize expenses and maximize profits, decided to produce steel rails. To fulfill this need, a steel mill was erected in Pueblo, Colorado. The Pueblo steel mill, comprised of three blast furnaces, two five-ton converters, blooming and rail mills, merchant iron mills, cast iron pipe foundry, carpenter, and

[120] Larkin and McGuire, *The Archaeology of Class War*, 40.
[121] Martelle, *Blood Passion*, 18.
[122] Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on the Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940*, New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1987, 90.
[123] Larkin and McGuire, *The Archaeology of Class War*, 39.

machine shops, pattern shop, power plant, and water system.[124] This steel mill occupied a large area of Pueblo's space, and it became a central figure in the city's identity and reputation. The furnaces would blast out plumes of black smoke, which was a visual symbol of the Pueblo's success as a manufacturing city. Eventually the steel mill would be under the control of CF&I, which increased its production and work force exponentially.

The steel industry in Southern Colorado flourished in the 1890s with an upswing in steel demands, which created a shift in the region's workforce demographics and labor demands. In 1890, about 800 men were employed in CC&I's mines, coke ovens, and quarries, and an equal amount were employed at Pueblo's mill.[125] This steel mill needed an abundance of laborers, and the promise of work attracted a diverse range of peoples who worked in the steel mill and settled in the Pueblo area. Under CF&I's ownership, the labor force of the steel mill increased, with forty percent of its 15,000 workers manufacturing steel.[126] This increase in workers also increased Pueblo's population as they had families and opportunities for other jobs within the community and city, such as useful trades, increased. Italians, Croatians, Slovenians, Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Germans, Greeks, Japanese, Hispanic Americans, and African Americans, for example, and immigrants from other areas and migrants worked for CF&I in Pueblo's steel mill.[127] These steel workers and their families populated the city of Pueblo and prompted its growth. Some steel workers brought their wives and children, while others came alone, which created incredibly diverse communities within the city and specifically in the spaces provided by the steel industry and the mill itself.[128] There was company housing for steel mill workers, however, living spaces in Pueblo were often organized along ethnic and class lines. As depicted in a 1910 photograph of a Mexican American neighborhood, there was a housing section labeled "Old Mexico", which housed predominantly Mexican and Mexican Americans (fig 2). The title and description of the image conveys not only the organization of people in Pueblo at this time but provides considerable information on the living conditions for steel workers and their families.

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[124] H. Lee Scamehorn, "John C. Osgood and the Western Steel Industry" Arizona and the West, 15 no. 2 1973: (133-148), 138.

[125] Clyne, *Coal People*, 5.

[126] Ibid., 5.

[127] Gregory Howell, "Colorado Fuel & Iron: The Largest Consolidated Steel Mill West of the Mississippi," http://www.gregoryhowell.com/colorado-fuel-iron-company.

[128] "Colorado Fuel and Iron Company."

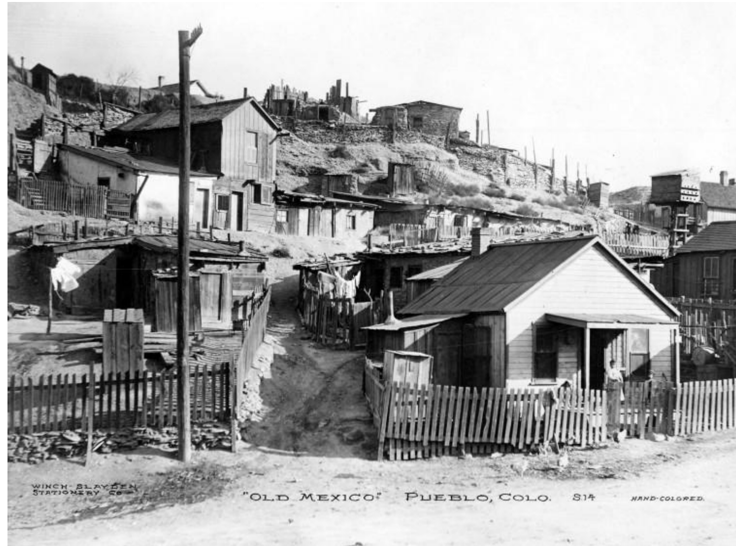

Figure 2. A photo of Pueblo's "Old Mexico." https://www.loc.gov/item/2003666688/.

The coal, steel, and railroad industries transformed southern Colorado's economy, built environment, and spaces. Impermanent architecture, like mine camps and tents, and industrious structures, like the CF&I steel mill, were built and utilized by the laborers who extracted and manufactured the region's precious natural resources. These are just two examples from southern Colorado of how labor and industry impacted its built environment. Furthermore, these industries created new spaces and morphed existing spaces for the sake of profit. Space was racialized and shaped based upon class. Take the above photo of "Old Mexico" for example, not only was this space (the cluster of homes) racialized, but it's status as an ethnic neighborhood conveys it is of "lower class." This cluster of homes was in opposition to the structures in the city of Pueblo, which were made of brick and steel, and lined manicured, paved streets. This space was only for those who were outside of the Anglo-American norm; ethnic foreigners, from the "old country" who were of the working class.

Women's Labor and Struggles Over Space

Labor in Colorado and throughout the Southwest did not solely center on the extraction and production of natural resources. Labor in nineteenth and twentieth century Colorado was gendered, which involved the completion of different tasks and impacted the built environment in a different way; men had mostly industrial jobs, while women took care of the home, were sex-workers, reared families, and created and kept community ties. Women's labor was essential for the survival of their communities and consequently the Southwest's capitalist industries. Women harvested and made food for their families and communities; they solidified social ties by visiting neighbors and ensured the upkeep of religious traditions; and they supplemented household incomes by becoming domestic and sex workers. Women's work aided in the survival of the industries they came into contact with, by supplying a healthy supply of bodies for labor,

and challenged the perceptions of gender within Colorado's urban centers and industrial spaces, by financially contributing to their households.

Women maintained social connections, which solidified their community, through social visits and taking care of those who were in need.[129] Mothers and wives handled their families' finances and made specific decisions on what groceries to purchase and businesses to get their supplies, which was also an essential part in the formation of a town.[130] Preparing food and making sure it was available for their working male counterparts ensured constant income. This was especially important for miner families, "a healthy, well-fed miner worked hard and got paid," and a wife who did not provide the required nourishment jeopardized her family's survival.[131] Female work was not just in the home. Women also worked as cleaners, maids, sex-workers, factory workers, ran boarding houses and served as midwives. The work these women performed stimulated local economies and helped shape women's influence in labor throughout the Southwest. Throughout the mining camps of Texas, Montana, Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming, red light districts were formed when women turned to sex work as a viable source of income.[132] In addition to these types of labor, women also participated in the work of labor activism because of the low wages, dangerous working conditions and the harsh treatment of their husbands, brothers, sons, and fathers. In the early twentieth century, Colorado saw multiple instances of labor strife, in which women played an important role. During a 1903 coal strike, for instance, a crowd of women "attacked a Mr. Hightower, who was supervising the demolition of company housing from which striking miners had been evicted."[133] Women's activism within the Southwest changed the nature of activism and shaped gender norms within industrial spaces.

Women's place within these labor spheres created tensions when outside forces tried to control the nature and morality of their labor. These tensions were prominent in social spaces, which involved the interactions between people of different ethnicities, religions, and experiences. Social spaces in the Southwest were defined by the westward expansion of the U.S., the impacts of capitalistic industries, and especially the moral and religious ideologies, which were brought by migrating Anglo Americans to dictate how families should be reared and managed. These social spaces can be analyzed through spatialization, a theoretical framework coined by Setha Low, which aims to uncover the cultural meanings embedded in the built environment. Urban and homely spaces, for example, reflect the "cultural order through a complex culture-making process in which cultural representations are produced, manipulated, and understood."[134]

This notion is exemplified through the story of the abduction of Irish orphans from Mexican homes within an Arizona copper mining community. Historian Linda Gordon provides readers with an in-depth analysis of the 1904 "great Arizona orphan

[129] Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*, 49.

[130] Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Abduction*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999, 64.

[131] Clyne, *Coal* People, 77.

[132] Monica I Garcia, "A History of Mexican and Mexican Americana in the Coal Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountain West, 1880-1928" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2012), 71.

[133] Clyne, *Coal People*, 86.

[134] Setha M. Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture,* University of Texas Press, 2010, 36, 50.

abduction," which had its roots in discriminatory attitudes towards ethnic Mexican residents. Irish orphans were brought to a remote Arizona mining camp and placed in the care of Mexican Catholic families. Anglo American residents of the camp, however, were outraged at this "interracial transgression" and formed a mob to "take" back the children. Racial prejudice was the justification for this frightening display of vigilantism, which can be seen through the condemnation of Margarita Chacón, a foster parent to two orphans. Chacón was a teacher and church leader, but her supposed connections to those of African American descent deemed her and her household unfit for the Irish orphans. Not only was her racial heritage an issue, but the overall incapability of Mexicans to take care of themselves, let alone additional children, further justified this abduction. The possemen believed they "knew the Mexicans" and "conceived of themselves as wanting only the best for the Mexicans;" taking the orphans off their plates.[135] The Anglo American residents of the mining camp took children out of Mexican homes for their own well-being, as the home is important to cultural and social development. Racial discrimination was at the heart of this struggle over the homely space, as the children's "whiteness" would be compromised if they grew up in a Mexican household. Spatialization shows how the home or homely spaces were essential to the production and understanding of cultural representations and further explains the complexities of this instance of child abduction.

Hispanic women in the Southwest dominated space within the home, family, and in their communities, by raising children, teaching the next generation, harvesting, and making food, and ensuring the upkeep of religious traditions. The creation and solidification of these social spaces ensured structure within Hispanic communities and required the daily practice of "human interactions and specific calculated strategies."[136] These interactions and strategies made up the actions of daily life, such as talking with neighbors, assigning chores, going to work, celebrating special occasions, and the maintenance of familial ties. Religion for example, specifically Catholicism, was an important factor in the solidarity and longevity of Hispanic families and largely coal communities who practiced within the Catholic faith. Religion became a common denominator and unifier amongst coal miners and their families, especially among women. Women organized religious holidays, funerals, wakes, assisted widows and elders, and supplied their fellow coal communities with food and other needed resources.[137] However, their status and social space were threatened with the influx of Anglo American businesspeople and families.

Female Protestant missionaries in particular, sought control over the education, health, and religious practices of Hispanic communities. As evidenced in sociological writings, such as Colorado Fuel & Iron's newsletter "Camp and Plant," the organization of Hispanic households and family rearing was deemed inferior. In a 1903 edition titled "Mexicans and Their Customs: Who These People Are and How They Live," the Mexicans of Southern Colorado were described as simple people who had a "primitive

[135] Gordon, *The Great Arizona Abduction*, 155, 156.

[136] Michel de Creteau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, Translated by Steven Rendall, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, 30-36.

[137] Garcia, "A History of Mexican and Mexican Americans," 64.

standard of living."[138] For instance, the Mexican woman, who only knew how to use an adobe oven, would not know how to use a modern oven; she "might lift all the lids from [it] and build a fire in the oven."[139] The perpetuation of this harmful dichotomy of what was deemed primitive and modern allowed for negative stereotypes of Mexican women, homes, and families to justify their disenfranchisement. The role Hispanic women had in their social spaces, in their religious practices and in their homes, were challenged due to Anglo American efforts to assert their own ideas of what they deemed appropriate uses and characteristics of space in social interactions, religion, and in the home. This can be seen in the Great Arizona abduction and in the ways Protestant figures tried to overtake the religious health of Hispanic communities. These assertions of Anglo authority over these spaces shows how Mexicans, and Hispanic people, were perceived as incapable of being modern or were unable to be part of a society, which valued narrow and racist views of femininity, gender, and what was "proper living."

Dominant ideals of appropriate social space were seen throughout the state, specifically in areas with a prominent sex-work industry. Sex-work in the Southwest and in Colorado was prominent in mining camps and in cities with large laboring populations. The struggles over social space within this area of women's work involved upholding and enforcing notions of morality and religious ideals, which played out in boom towns and growing cities. In the middle region of the state, the Pike's Peak gold rush of the 1850s was the impetus for the founding of Colorado City, a bustling town, complete with hotels, saloons, schools, churches, homes, and a red-light district.[140] The struggle over the morality of social space is evident through the story of Laura Bell McDaniel, a prominent figure in Colorado City's red-light district.

Bell surfaced in Colorado city in 1888 and soon became known as the "Queen of the Colorado City Tenderloin," and was also known for owning one of the best brothels in town. Bell was no stranger to the city's vice district as she moved residences several times and was in close proximity to its heart. Bell lived a seemingly normal life, she had a husband, children, numerous friends, and enjoyed a large, supportive family who lived near her residence. She performed considerable charity work, like tipping newspaper boys a silver-dollar, which earned her the reputation as a "whore with a heart of gold." As a businesswoman Bell faced plenty of competition and even had problems with her employees. In 1903, Bell once again moved residences, which may have been forced by police pressure, since Bell made a court appearance on charges of prostitution in June of that year. Bell's affiliation with sex-work and Colorado City's vice district came to a climax when in 1909, the mayor "issued a warning that all prostitutes had ten days to get out of town." This warning was a direct threat to Bell's livelihood and the livelihood of many women who worked in the industry. The disdain for an "immoral" lifestyle was emphasized when, after the mayor's threat, three mysterious fires burned down most of

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[138] "Camp and Plant," *Camp and Plant*, Vol. 4, September, 19, 1903, no. 10, 223. Steelworks Center of the West, https://www.steelworks.us/education/primary-sources/camp-and-plant/camp-and-plant-volume-4/.

[139] Ibid., 223.

[140] Jan MacKell, "Laura Bell McDaniel: Queen of the Colorado City Tenderloin," *Montana The Magazine of Western History*, 54 no. 4 (2004): 48-57, 50.

the red-light district.[141] Perhaps the fires, their targets and timing, were of mere coincidence or accident, but their location suggests they were a direct message of the desire to rid the city of people like Bell. Viewed through spatialization, Laura Bell's life and the attempts to control an "indecent" physical environment, exemplifies the struggles over social space and reveals the cultural understanding of "acceptable" women's work, and the morals tied to this specific urban setting. Despite Bell's reputation, her economic success and influence solidified her legacy and ensured the preservation of her name. Bell's gravesite is marked by a headstone detailing her name and the names of her family; her grave can be visited today in Colorado Springs' Fairview Cemetery (fig 3).

Although Bell's life and her position as a prominent figure in the Colorado City's sex-work industry was viewed negatively by city officials, attitudes towards sex-work were not the same across the Southwest. The struggle over the morality of space, specifically women's space, is complicated by the view of sex-work as "normal" or "honest" work, something not to be wholly vilified, but accepted. This notion can be seen in the copper mining camps of southern Arizona. Men worked in the mines, but their pay alone could not support a family when the cost of living outweighed wages. Women in these camps sewed, became maids, ran boarding houses, and washed clothes for extra income. Some even took in "tricks;" these women were seen as both disreputable and honest working women by the community.[142] These women worked in this "undesirable" space, but their work provided for their families and community, making the morality thrust upon women's space and work, more flexible.

Figure 3. The gravesite of Laura Bell McDaniel can be visited today in the Fairview Cemetery in Colorado Springs. Photo taken by the author.

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[141] Ibid., 51, 52, 53.
[142] Ibid., 130.

In the early 1900s, Denver's red-light district was viewed unfavorably by city elites and officials. However, this undesirable urban space was not so violently attacked as Colorado City's red-light district. Denver's red-light district started as an ethnically diverse working-class neighborhood where families lived and worked. According to the 1870 census, the area included 378 men, 185 women, and 369 children, but with each new census, the number of women increased within the area, and the number of men and children decreased.[143] Although Denver had established laws making prostitution illegal within its city limits as early as 1859, this "vice district" survived and thrived until 1913 when it was finally closed down. The city of Denver profited from its red light district, which was why it lasted fifty five years and the city ignored its own laws. Building owners usually charged "women of the tenderloin three to four times higher rent than they did to average citizens;" women were charged $15 to $25 a week, and madams who rented a house to use as a brothel paid up to $3,000 a month.[144] The survival of Denver's red light district was not about keeping vice out of the city, as there was not a real attempt to stop it, but its place within the city was about the upkeep of the culture of growth and commerce. Even though Denver was already a thriving city at the time with potential for greater growth, it still garnered wealth wherever it could find it, even in brothels and in the realm of sex work.

Women's labor ensured the survival and growth of the Southwest, its industries and built environment. The nature of their labor was challenged by differing religious ideologies, notions of morality, and views on gender, which directly impacted the formation of social spaces within the home and in urban centers. The nature of labor in nineteenth and twentieth century Colorado shaped a variety of spaces, that included social spaces and spaces of power, which directly tied to industrial capitalism and the characteristics of activism.

The Labor of Activism and the Struggles over Spaces of Power

A unique and essential kind of labor performed in nineteenth and twentieth century Colorado was the labor of activism. This type of labor involved the cultivation of relationships across ethnic lines, a risk to lives and livelihoods, and the creation and upkeep of spaces of power. Spaces of power, both literal and not, were created because of the rise in industry, and were founded on vast networks of banks, business centers, major productive entities, and industrial innovations.[145] The capitalist industries in Colorado created spaces of power through the construction of industrial structures, the enforcement of racial discrimination among their workforce, and the herculean efforts to stop labor activists from organizing.

The coal mining industry in southern Colorado required a large workforce, which came in the form of ethnic laborers, migrants, and immigrants, who flocked to the Southwest in search of employment and opportunities for economic and social mobility.

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[143] Cheryl Siebert White, "Denver's Disorderly Women," *In Denver Inside & Out*, History Colorado: The Colorado Historical Society, Denver 2011, 52.

[144] Ibid., 51-53.

[145] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1991, 53.

This predominately ethnic work force was ruled by a “colonial labor system.” The colonial system in the Southwest segmented the workforce along ethnic lines and systematically maintained them in a subordinate position.[146] The recruitment of these workforces and their subsequent segregation created a specific spatial reality, which allowed for the wielding of different kinds of power; the power to segregate, the power to leverage differences and racism into control and depressed wages. The industrial society of the mines in southern Colorado was embedded in a rural society with a working class of cowboys and field hands, smallholder herders, and farmers, and a rural bourgeoisie of large Anglo American ranchers and merchants.[147] The presence of a predominantly white ruling bourgeoise allowed for white miners to differentiate themselves from “uncivilized,” ethnic miners, and prompted a willingness to side with coal owners and management against unionizing and striking miners.[148] A willingness to side with coal owners was not just about racial difference, it was also about opportunities to secure higher wages and better positions within the mining industry. This mindset developed out of the malleable meanings, classifications, and boundaries of whiteness in the U.S. present from the 1840s through the 1920s as described by historian Matthew Jacobson. The influx of European immigrants and “undesirables” prompted a growing nativist perception of these laborers as social and political threats.[149] Anglo or white miners were different from European and other ethnic laborers because they were not foreign, nor were they on the wrong side of the “whiteness spectrum.” This is what made the colonial labor system effective in its ability to divide and discriminate, with the intersection of economic inequality and racial ideologies.

The perpetuation of racial superiority included most significantly the practice of classifying certain jobs as suitable for non-minorities, which left the most dangerous and undesirable jobs for minority workers.[150] The vast majority of coal mining accidents and deaths occurred in southern Colorado, where the largest coal deposits and most ethnically diverse workforce were located. Conditions below the earth were dangerous; there were mine explosions, threats of collapse, and poisonous gasses. Miners almost never saw the sun; they woke up before the sun rose and emerged from the mines after it had set; they essentially lived and worked in the dark.[151] The less than favorable conditions of the coal mines infiltrated the homes and personal lives of miners and prompted instances of interethnic collaboration.

The deadly consequences of this colonial labor system and the overall treatment of miners and their families was the impetus for labor activism among coal miners. Laborers gathered, created unions, organized strikes, and tried to negotiate for higher wages, safer working conditions, and better living arrangements. This movement prompted the formation of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the

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[146] Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979, 39.

[147] Larkin and McGuire, *The Archaeology of Class War*, 44.

[148] Ibid., 44.

[149] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998, 41.

[150] Ibid., 43.

[151] *Ludlow: Greek Americans in the Colorado Coal War*, directed by Leonidas Vardaros (Apostolis Berdebes Non-Profit Co., 2016), documentary.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The UMWA was founded in 1890 when they joined with the Knights of Labor.[152] The IWW was founded in 1905 and functioned as a confederation, an umbrella organization for miners and thousands of other men and women whose union, ethnic, and political groups joined it.[153] The process of organization and the structures, which housed union meetings and rallies created spaces of activism. There were spaces of a different kind of power, which were the antithesis of the offices and homes of coal mining management and owners; they nurtured and cultivated the work of activism. The organizational actions that followed the creation of these entities, were often met with resistance, violence, and indifference in the Southwestern states.

The Ludlow Massacre and the Columbine Mine Massacre are just two examples of labor activism in Colorado's coal mining industry. Each instance involved violent and deadly clashes between strikers and the state and were the result of miners and industrialists struggling and fighting over their place within the spaces of power they inhabited. Coal miners and their families wanted increased safety measures for miners underground, better living conditions in the camps, and agency within their own lives. In the early 1900s, the state of Colorado produced reports of the activities and production of its coal mines and their employees. These reports provided valuable information about the dangerous conditions of the mines, specifically how and when miners died. The majority of miners who died underground were from Southern Colorado, where the largest coal deposits were located. These miners were killed by falling rocks, collapsed mine roofs, explosions caused by sparked radiators, and they were crushed between mine carts. Conditions on the surface were not much better; miners were electrocuted by side cars, killed by powder explosions, struck by derailed cars, and fell down into mine shafts.[154] Death was common in the coal mines as well as life altering injuries, such as the loss of a limb. These deaths and injuries plagued mostly minority miners since they were given the most dangerous jobs.

There were multiple strikes throughout the Colorado coalfields in the early 1900s, but the most violent and devastating strike occurred in Southern Colorado between 1913 and 1914, in Ludlow. The Ludlow Strike, or the Ludlow Massacre, is infamous for the violent clash between striking miners and the Colorado National Guard and private armed guards, the role of CF&I's president John D. Rockefeller Jr., and for the brutal deaths of women and children. As with other coal strikes, miners demanded better pay, safer working conditions, and the right to organize as they pleased. Southern mine operators refused to spend money to ensure the safety of the men who worked hundreds of feet below the earth's surface.[155] The coal companies, Colorado Fuel & Iron, the Victor-American Fuel Company, and the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, wanted to mitigate the industrial violence they foresaw, and hired private guards to patrol over the coal

[152] "United Mine Workers of America History," https://umwa.org/about/history/.

[153] Phil Mellinger, "How The IWW Lost its Western Heartland: Western Labor History Revisited," Western Historical Quarterly, 27 no. 3 (1996): 303-324, 306.

[154] "Thirteenth Biennial Report of the State Coal Mine Inspector, 1907-1908," State reports of the Colorado coal mines, 1907-1908, Box 2, Rocky Mountain Fuel Co. Papers, Archives of University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries, Colorado, 79.

[155] Howard Zinn, Dana Frank, and Robin D. G. Kelley, *Three Strikes: Miners, Musicians, Salesgirls and the Fighting Spirit of Labor's Last Century,* Beacon Press: Boston, 2001, 16.

camps and its residents. Local and professional men were hired and deputized by the sheriff of Huerfano County. The Baldwin Felts Detective Agency of West Virginia, known for their penchant for violence in labor strikes, were called upon for their specialization violently in breaking coal strikes.[156] These hired gunmen took part in the raiding and burning of the Ludlow tent colony, and the murder of its inhabitants.

The treatment of miners as expendable, the death of a union organizer, and ignored miners' demands and concerns prompted the Ludlow Strike. A massive explosion occurred in 1910 at the Starkville mine, where forty miners died, and rescuers were kept out of the mine during the daylight, as not to cause panic.[157] Four weeks later another explosion occurred at a Delagua mine, which belonged to the Victor-American company, and killed eighty-two miners. On August 16, 1913, Gerald Lippiatt, an organizer for the United Mine Workers, was killed in the streets of Trinidad.[158] The combination of these events led to the great migration of miners in the winter of 1913, when miners and their families packed their belongings, left coal company housing, and settled in the Ludlow tent colony, about twelve miles north of Trinidad. The migration and upheaval of laborers is one "labor" of labor activism. These miners uprooted one space of power and transformed it into a new space of power: a tent colony. This new space, a soft and temporary one, challenged the old and it became a space just for miners and their kin. The inhabitants of the Ludlow tent colony elected Louis Tikas, a Greek miner, as their leader and liaison. Overall, the strikers "seemed to overcome the divisions of more than twenty ethnic and racial identities," and further cooperated with each other within their domestic lives.[159] If they were to survive, they needed to trust and rely on one another in solidarity in their fight for labor and human rights. Although valiant, their strike and efforts to stand against the coal company was met with terror and death.

On the morning of Monday, April 20, 1914, a large explosion awakened the Ludlow tent colony. Men, women, and children ran from their tents as they desperately tried to outrun the machine gun fire they heard and yearned to find a safe haven from the encroaching gunmen. After the tent colony was riddled with bullets, it was set ablaze by the Colorado National Guard. On April 21, 1914, a telephone linesman walked through the destroyed tent colony and found a pit under one of the tents.[160] He lifted its iron cover and found the charred, swollen bodies of eleven dead women and two children.[161] The unfathomable news of the Ludlow Massacre spread across the country and the world. Miners throughout the state of Colorado were outraged over the deaths of their own and several mines were burned down.[162] This tragedy was not the last massacre to occur in the Colorado coal fields; a little more than a decade later another large strike took place in the northern coal fields.

In the 1920s, the northern town of Serene and its corresponding Columbine Mine, were imbued with tension as unionized miners, from the Industrial Workers of the World

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[156] Larkin and Randall, *The Archaeology of Class War*, 45.
[157] Zinn, Frank, and Kelley, *Three Strikes*, 21.
[158] Ibid., 21, 14.
[159] Larkin and Randall, *The Archaeology of Class War*, 49.
[160] Zinn, Frank, and Kelley, *Three Strikes*, 7.
[161] Ibid., 7.
[162] *Ludlow: Greek Americans in the Colorado Coal War.*

(IWW), grew more active and outspoken. The activities of the unions were highly scrutinized as labor activists were labeled as violent foreigners, "anarchist," or "Bolshevik."[163] Placed outside of American society, these agents of labor activism were spatialized as outsiders, as people antithetical to the U.S. The same concerns of safety, better pay, and the right to organize plagued the miners and families of the Columbine Mine. Notably, some of the worst mine catastrophes happened within less than a decade of one another; in 1917, 121 miners were killed at the Hastings mine explosion; in 1919, 31 miners were killed by explosions in the Oakdale and Empire mines; in 1922 and 1923, twenty-seven miners were killed at the Sopris and Southwestern mines.[164]

In addition to these significant mine disasters, the daily deaths and the coal companies' indifference to the high mortality and injury rates of its coal miners, incited the strike in the north. Approximately 113 coal mines across Colorado were closed in 1927, which left a mere thirteen coal mines in operation.[165] Throughout the state, coal miners, a vast majority Mexican and Mexican Americans, struck and union members were incessantly harassed by police; they were jailed and inflicted with violence. The strike was called on October 18 by the IWW and an estimated 6,000 miners left the Columbine mine to strike.[166] Mass gatherings of striking miners and their families shut down the mine and blocked the town of Serene from being accessed. According to Frank L. Palmer, an IWW speaker, on "Monday, November 21, some 600 members [marched to the] Columbine mine, as they had gone every workday morning for three weeks, singing and laughing, happy in the success of a strike which had left only one mine in the whole district operating."[167] An act of spatial contestation, striking miners used their numbers and groups to challenge the spaces of power made by the presence of the coal mines. The jovial mood quickly turned into one of fury and sorrow as Colorado state policemen relentlessly and purposefully open fired upon these strikers. At least five people were killed, and others were seriously wounded; all were striking miners.[168]

The Columbine Mine Massacre, like the Ludlow Massacre, was a violent clash between Colorado state militia and striking miners, including men, women, and children. Thought to be incompetent and passive, coal miners from the Columbine Mine organized the strike of 1927. In order to weaken the unions and get a stronger grip on their workforce, coal companies sent company spies into their mines. These spies gathered intel on union leaders, meetings, and organized strikes. Initial reports from the Columbine Mine in the summer of 1927, revealed company spies did not believe the IWW was "capable of organizing a strike or garnering the support of coal miners."[169] As the strike continued and the number of supportive miners increased, these spies were proven wrong. The Columbine Mine Massacre was not the last instance of violent labor strife in the Colorado coal fields: two striking miners were killed in Walsenburg two

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[163] Perry Eberhart, "The 1927 Columbine Mine Massacre: Trouble in Serene," http://www.lafayettehistory.com/the-1927-columbine-mine-massacre-trouble-in-serene/
[164] Sam Lowry, "Colorado Miners' Strike and Columbine Mine Massacre, 1927," https://libcom.org/history/1927-colorado-miners-strike-and-columbine-mine-massacre
[165] Ibid.,
[166] Garcia, "A History of Mexican and Mexican Americans," 121.
[167] Frank L. Palmer, "War in Colorado," *The Nation*, CXXV, no. 3257 (December 1927): 623.
[168] Ibid., 623.
[169] Garcia, "A History of Mexican and Mexican Americans," 121.

weeks later, and there were numerous instances of attacks on miners in picket lines and union halls.[170] The owner of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company at the time, Josephine Roche, brought an end to the Columbine strike several weeks after the massacre, by declaring the "company union was to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor" and recognizing the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) afterwards.[171]

The labor activism, which occurred throughout Colorado's coal mining industry was a long and arduous fight for labor and human rights. This labor struggle also highlighted the struggles over spaces of power in Colorado's labor sectors. Laborers and their families wanted agency within their lives and the industries they served, but industrial capitalists were unwilling to ensure proper safety measures, better housing, fair employment opportunities, and provide higher wages for difficult work in order to garner as much profit as possible from mining operations. The iron grip the coal companies had over Southern Colorado politics and the lives of its employees, ignited strikes, unionization, and violent confrontations. The memory of the sacrifices and actions of activists, miners, and their families changed the state's urban landscape through the erection of monuments, statues, and cemeteries, which immortalize their stories.

The Memory of Labor

The stories and actions of Colorado miners, families, unionists, and activists have been remembered in monuments, within cemeteries, and through signs, which have been placed in historic spaces throughout Colorado. Their place in public is important and underscores the continued efforts to preserve and better remember Colorado's immigrants, miners, ethnic communities, and labor activists. Moreover, these monuments serve multiple functions; not only do they commemorate labor and labor activism, but they also provide points of interest for tourists. Cities like Trinidad capitalize on their impact on Colorado's history to boost their appeal to visitors and travelers alike. The labor and sacrifices of the men, women, and children who died in Colorado's coal fields have made their mark on the state's history by demonstrating the horrid treatment and exploitation of a workforce thought to be dispensable and the power of a capitalist industry to transform a landscape in a matter of a couple decades. There are multiple historic sites, which need to be taken into consideration when exploring how labor changed Colorado's urban landscape through memorialization. Often, memorials offer a designated place to grieve a trauma, but Colorado's labor memorials are not just about trauma and violence.[172] They celebrate the people behind the massacres and serve as a reminder, a lesson about the consequences of industrial capitalism. Furthermore, they offer great examples of how memory and labor can alter the built environment through their physical presence.

The cities of Trinidad and Lafayette exemplify how the memories of labor and labor activism have impacted their cities. The city of Trinidad, a prominent Southern Colorado city, has been an important stage for coal monuments and state history. To

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[170] Lowry, "Colorado Miners' Strike and Columbine Mine Massacre, 1927."

[171] Ibid.,

[172] Jennifer K. Ladino, *Memorials Matter: Emotion, Environment, and Public Memory at American Historical Sites*, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2019, 13.

increase its tourism, the city revamped its downtown area and made efforts to educate the public about its local history. In the city's historic district, the Corazon de Trinidad, there are three statues proudly standing next to each other: the Coal Miner's Canary Statue, the Southern Colorado Miners' Memorial, and the Louis Tikas Memorial Statue. These statues celebrate those who worked in the mines, labor leadership, and exhibits how Colorado's history is retold and disseminated. The Coal Miner's Canary Statue was erected in 2010 by the Trinidad-Las Animas County Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and the Southern Colorado Coal Mines Memorial and Scholarship Fund Committee. This memorial has a large canary sitting above a ceramic bird bath, within a large metal bird cage. The statue honors the animals employed to save miners' lives when they were sent into the mines to detect toxic gasses. The Southern Colorado Miner's Memorial was erected in 1996 and is a large square monument, with four obsidian facades. Etched into the black stone are the names of miners who worked in the surrounding mines; names such as Frank Milavec, Thomas Hay, Juan Rafael Lovato, Fred Salvatori, William Komora, and John Dekleva. On top of this large block are three miners who are forever shoveling coal into a waiting cart. This monument demonstrates the intense labor performed in the mines and magnifies the diversity of Colorado's coal miners.

The newest monument to join Trinidad's historic district is the Louis Tikas Memorial Statue. With a crowd of Greek Americans, union members and leaders, and members of the Hellenic Foundation of America looking on, this statue was unveiled in 2018.[173] The plaque on Louis Tikas' statue is in English and Greek and provides facts about Tikas; where he was born, what he did, and how he died. It reads Louis Tikas was a "labor union organizer leader and hero. A Greek immigrant who gave his life for the cause of American workers." Louis Tikas stands, smartly dressed, in a blazer with combed hair; there is what appears to be a portfolio in his left hand and his right arm raised, as if he is addressing a crowd; he wears a soft expression and appears to be smiling. Tikas stands as a well-kempt, calm, and organized individual, which is a stark contrast to the harsh early twentieth-century stereotypes of Greeks, miners, and unionists. Today he stands, both literally and figuratively, as a reminder of the actions, influence, and sacrifices of miners, Greeks, and immigrants within Colorado's coal fields.[174]

Situating Tikas' life and role as a labor leader in the contemporary through a statue serves multiple functions. Firstly, it memorializes the activism and labor of Colorado's coal miners, and secondly, it adds to Trinidad's overall appeal to potential tourists. The coal mining memorials and statues are in the heart of the city and provides additional interesting tourist destinations. Visitors to the city travel inward to discover the parts of the city's rich history and the memorials stand in plain view. The memorials do provide historical information and their existence proves a desire to educate the public. However, they play a key role in Trinidad's capitalization on its own history and its place within the history of Southern Colorado's coal mining industry.

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[173] Της Ελένης Σακέλλη (Eleni Sakelli), "Αποκαλυπτήρια για το άγαλμα του Λούη Τίκα στο Μεμόριαλ Παρκ του Τρινιντάντ (βίντεο)," (Unveiling of the statue of Louis Tikas in Trinidad Memorial Park (video), Εθνικός Κήρυξ (The National Herald) June 29, 2018

https://www.ekirikas.com/archive_news/arthro/apokalyptiria_gia_to_agalma_tou_loyi_tika_sto_memorial_park_tou_trinintant_binteo-161762/.

[174] For a picture of the Tikas Statue, see Appendix A

In the city of Lafayette, there is a headstone dedicated to the victims of the Columbine Mine Massacre in the Lafayette Cemetery. The headstone is clean and decorated with images of a mine shaft in the front and a miner in the back. The front states: "Dedicated 1989 by Local Historical Society and Labor Organizations." The back of the headstone states: "Lest we forget, at dawn on November 21, 1927, six union miners were killed at the Columbine Mine fighting for a living wage and a measure of human dignity. Five are buried here: Jerry Davis (1906-1927), John Eastenes (1893-1927), Frank Kovich (1885-1927), Nick Spanudakhis (1893-1927), Mike Vidovich (1892-1927); the sixth, Rene Jacques (1901-1927) is buried at the Louisville Colorado Cemetery." At the foot of this headstone are colorful faux flowers, some are even in an IWW cup, left to honor those who died at the hands of the Colorado state militia.[175] Unlike the statues and memorials in the city of Trinidad, the headstone remembering these miners is not a focal point for city tourism. Instead, it sits in a cemetery and knowledge of its location is only know if one actively searches for it.

The statues, memorials, and headstones throughout Colorado's cities stand as symbols of the past. Within the landscape, they are markers for significant events, which shaped the state and the surrounding area. Stories are told and visitors to these types of memorials are encouraged to reflect upon the history conveyed, but there are limits to these places and objects of memory. These memorials are mostly accessible to those who have the means to visit them. These sites require some sort of vehicle transportation, ability to read, and comprehension of the English language. Additionally, their presence serves multiple functions; they are meant to teach and memorialize, but they are also city adornments to increase tourism. Monuments and commemorative statues are meant to elicit critical thinking about a historical event and place, but they also increase the visual appeal of an urban space allowing the capitalization on specific points of interest. Moreover, these monuments and statues firmly place Colorado's labor conflicts within the past.

Conclusion

Labor in the American Southwest, and specifically the laborers, were integral to the region's growth and survival in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Furthermore, its presence and influence of its workforce shaped the region's built environment. The change in labor practices and workforce demographics during this period is indicative of the changing sociopolitical stance of the region. As the U.S. moved westward, it brought with it the people and tools to build an industrial society, which was established to serve the capitalist industries of the Southwest. In Colorado, the coal mining and steel industries transformed the natural landscape, prompted the creation of industrial structure, permanent and not, for the production and extraction of valuable materials. Their capitalist structures changed the nature of labor and perpetuated discriminatory racial ideologies; and their presence shaped social spaces and spaces of power by influencing gender norms and the policing of morals and prompting labor activism.

[175] For a picture of the headstone in the Lafayette Cemetery, see Appendix A

Women's labor in particular was important for the survival of Colorado's industries as they aided in keeping the workforce healthy and plentiful. Women within mining camps for example, made food, ensured the health of their male counterparts, reared families, and created social bonds within their communities. The social spaces women held, in the home and not, were challenged by Anglo American ideals of morality and femininity and discriminatory racial ideologies. These challenges occurred within the home, in regard to child rearing and religious practices, and outside of the home where women worked as domestic and sex workers. Viewed through the theory of spatialization, the space of the home and upkeep of morals within public spaces were important. The protection of a stable home and a moral society was essential and was often justified with racist ideals, which can be seen in the child abduction of Irish orphans from Mexican homes and the burning down of the vice district in Colorado City.

Today, labor in Colorado can be seen in its urban landscape with the physical remnants of labor structures, cemeteries with headstones of laborers, and the monuments and memorials detailing the actions and lives of unionists and activists. The monuments and memorials, which keep the memory of labor in Colorado, disseminate knowledge of the past and invite onlookers to critically think about how and why labor activism occurred throughout the state. These objects of memory do aim to educate, but they have multiple purposes. Memorials provide cities with points of interest, which attracts tourists and increases a city's overall tourist appeal. The city of Trinidad, for example, has a dedicated section within its heart to coal mining memorials; statues that celebrate coal miners and labor activism of the twentieth century. The struggles for labor rights and the violence that surrounds them are remembered through these public monuments, but not every story or event is told. The presence of labor monuments, however, memorialize the sacrifices of labor activists and stand as symbols of the kinds of changes, which occur with labor organization. Many monuments serve as tourist sites, but this does not mean the historical information they provide is invalid or any less important. Moreover, there are ghost towns abandoned by the coal companies, repurposed buildings and covered up landmarks; there are lost and discarded cemeteries with dirty, broken, and weathered headstones, some with names simply etched onto them; and there is the land itself whose flat lands, jagged rocks, flowing grasses, blacked ground, and hollowed out mountains and hills tell the stories of the past.

Chapter 4: Colorado's Architectural Aesthetics, Function, and Evolution

The crux of this dissertation is the exploration of the architectural, aesthetic, and functional evolution of Colorado's nineteenth and twentieth century built environments. Furthermore, this dissertation aims to show how the transformation of Colorado's built environment and the growth of its cities act as windows into the changes of the state's nineteenth and twentieth century population, natural landscape, demographics, and industries. This chapter considers Southwestern architecture to encompass the structures built and transformed from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and Trinidad have a myriad of buildings and structures, which have functional, aesthetic, and historical worth, but this chapter cannot capture all of their greatness. Instead, specific structures, such as train stations, opera houses, industrial structures, and financial buildings will be shown to exemplify each city's architectural aesthetics and growth. This chapter argues these structures, their material, function, existence, and preservation, directly connects to the influences of industrial capitalism, the perpetuation of American superiority, and the need to disseminate ideologies of wealth, power, and prestige.

Before the exploration of specific structures, it is beneficial to explain the methodologies and theories which will be utilized throughout this chapter. Firstly, the city, its encompassing structures, and urban spaces, will be thought of as an archive. Viewing the city as a plethora of information about the past allows for analysis to go beyond the physicality of structures; the knowledge of this deeper information prompts penetrating questions about why and how certain structures existed. Secondly, the idea of a buildings having "deep structure" will be utilized to understand the types of experiences created within and around certain structures. This concept will be addressed with analysis of what emotions or feelings financial, industrial, and leisurely structures and spaces evoke. Lastly, the creation of place and the power of place will exemplify how structures, their aesthetics, functions, and construction, impact daily life and how their presence and use prompt certain actions and social policies.

Professor Michael Sheringham claims the built environment can be an invaluable source of past and present information. He argues the city itself is a memory bank of an "accumulation of events that are converted into symbols in the collective memory of the inhabitants."[176] In this sense, the city, and any urban amalgamation of built structures, is a historical archive. Archiving is an "archaic nonhierarchical disorder" and an everchanging "dynamic process that combines heterogeneous timescales, scrambles origins and mashes up elements from different horizons."[177] The built environment of the Southwest is a prime example of this with multiple instances where heterogeneous timescales left architectural debris from various cultures, economies, and communities.

[176] Michael Sheringham, "Archiving" in *Restless Cities*, ed by Matthew Beaumont and Gregory Dart, London: Verso, 2010, 10.

[177] Michael Sheringham and Richard Wentworth, "City as Archive: A Dialogue Between Theory and Practice," *Cultural Geographies in Practice*, 23 (2016): 517-523, 519.

The architectural archives of the Southwest continued to change and be morphed by the rise of industry and an industrial society; a society created and sustained with the work and efforts of an ethnically diverse labor force who organized to resist, moderate, and challenge capitalism. These industrial changes prompted the construction of boom towns and cities, the building of industrial structures, and the creation of residential areas for laborers. These new structures and urban spaces enriched and added to the spatial deposit, which was already present in the region.

The buildings of the Southwest often conveyed specific meanings and created symbolic spaces. Architecture creates specific domains for human activity and interaction, and further creates space, which affects all who interact with it.[178] The feeling and experience one has moving in and through architecture can be thought of as the "deep structure" of architectural space. This concept of the "deep structure" can be applied to larger urban spaces, such as the city and neighborhoods within the city, and is useful for understanding the impacts of Southwestern architecture aesthetic and the space it created. These experiences are made from the perception of specific buildings constructed to invoke specific feelings and convey direct messages. For example, elegant city buildings and cultured homes invoke feelings of security, pride, and awe, while concrete, fences, and gated entrances convey messages of dominance, control, and exclusion. Furthermore, these buildings, both public and private, work together within an urban setting to create a "space of clarity," which establishes the structures' character.[179] Architecture in the Southwest created meaningful spaces, which were meant to illicit specific emotions, for specific groups, within an urban landscape. For example, financial structures provided spaces that fostered feelings of comfort and stability to capitalist leaders while their presence simultaneously exemplified stark inequalities for the laboring class.

The emotional responses to architectural space help to create social spaces, which allow for the creation and implementation of tradition and culture. The meaning of these social spaces is the product of social translation, transformation, and experience.[180] Spatialization, a theoretical framework explained by Setha Low, can be utilized to understand these meanings, which aims to uncover the cultural meanings embedded in the built environment.[181] Urban spaces, for example, reflect the "cultural order through a complex culture-making process in which cultural representations are produced, manipulated, and understood."[182] Spatialization can be applied to the unique nineteenth and twentieth century spaces throughout the state of Colorado in order to gain a better understanding of the meanings assigned to them.

Analysis of the creation of place and the everyday actions of people within their built environment are essential to understanding the impact of the changes in Colorado's

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[178] Richard A. Etlin, *Symbolic Space: French Enlightenment Architecture and Its Legacy*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994, xviii.

[179] Ibid., xix, 13.

[180] Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory,* London: Verso, 1989, 79-80.

[181] Setha M. Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture,* University of Texas Press, 2010, 36.

[182] Ibid., 50.

architecture on the state's communities. Place, its creation and functionality, is inextricable to characteristics of sociality, which includes the ways people socialize and associate with one another, whether individually, in families, or within communities. Place is unique from space in its "intensity," or its connection to the very human aspects of movement and emotion, which connects to the spatial in everyday life.[183] As historians John M. Findlay and Richard White explain, the construction of place is a spatial reality constructed by people…a transformation of space into something specific and limited.[184] The participation in cultural traditions, the solidification of community ties, individual choices within social interactions, and the interaction with one's built environment shape place.

These characteristics of place are what gives place its power within an urban setting. The "power of place," as explained by Dolores Hayden, is the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture peoples' memory and their shared time in the form of a shared territory.[185] The creation of place and place making are processes where people or communities assign specific meanings, personal and cultural, to the landscape and spaces they occupy. This can be accomplished through physically staking claims to the land, forging relationships through shared experiences, emphasizing the importance of memory and remembering, and reinforcing cultural and societal norms and traditions. Moreover, Michel de Certeau's work on the practices of everyday life and social strategy will be useful for exploring the individual and communal creations and negotiations of place within Colorado's nineteenth and twentieth century industrious society. The creation of place in the American Southwest impacted the formation and survival of communities, everyday personal choices and actions, and the interpersonal relationships of the ethnically diverse populations. This important community aspect of the creation and negotiation of space will be explored in the following chapter.

Architecture of the American Southwest

As this dissertation has demonstrated, the American Southwest is a vast, diverse, and complicated region. The region's natural characteristics prompted the construction of structures, which provided the shelter and place for the creation and survival of communities. Architecture in the Southwest, its aesthetics, function, and spatial arrangements, has been impacted by the multiple layers of colonialism present throughout its history, which started with the intrusion of the Spanish empire into the region. It would behoove the reader to consider the earliest imperial-driven transformations of Native architecture, because it is fundamental to the history of architecture in the Southwest and is essential for understanding the evolution of the built environment over time. Before the incursion of the U.S. and implementation of dominant European aesthetics, Southwestern architecture was predominantly native architecture, with native structures, functions, and aesthetics. They were constructed with native resources and

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[183] Kim Dovey, *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Powe*, London: Routledge, 2010, 3.

[184] Richard White and John M. Findlay, eds, *Power and Place in the North American West*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999, x.

[185] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995, 9.

techniques, which allowed for easier living in a unique landscape. Religious and domestic structures in particular, were changed with the incursion of colonial forces, which can be seen in the territories of New Mexico and Colorado. Although colonialism changed many native societies, there were instances of societal mixing and cohabitation. For example, Spanish control over the Southwest promoted the creation of new architecture and the mix of architectural styles. This is evident in the construction of the California missions and military structures in southern Texas.

In sixteenth century, New Mexico, the Spanish encountered several native villages with both residential and religious architecture. These Pueblo structures were made of mud and adobe materials; residential structures were blocky, multi-level, and could house multiple families.[186] The same materials were used to fashion semi-underground pit houses, which were religious spaces known as the kiva.[187] In an effort to control the landscape and its people, the Spanish merged their architectural customs with native construction. This occurred with the building of residential, religious, and military structures. In New Mexico, the Spanish combined regional mud building traditions with Spanish-Moorish adobe brick construction techniques, which created the distinctive elements of Santa Fe architecture, which exists in the present day.[188] The "form of [the] mission-presidio complexes [in south Texas] reflected their function as shared settlements of Spaniards and Indians," which were utilized for defense and subsistence.[189] The structures in these complexes, like chapels, Spanish and Indian quarters, granaries, and nearby civilian homes and military barracks, were of "*jacal* construction; thatched huts that could be made variously of straw, mud, and adobe," which was a common construction method for native groups in the area.[190] Native styles and architectural structures still prevailed throughout the Southwest despite Spanish influence and control, because they were useful for living in such a varied climate and unique landscape. The native architectural marvels have survived into the twenty-first century and have been helpful in not only understanding how colonialism shaped nineteenth and twentieth century architecture but remembering native culture through its architecture. The amalgamation of native and Spanish architecture and aesthetics is an important aspect of the history of architecture within the Southwest.

These structures, and the built environment in general, can be a cache of information and function like an archive. Southwestern cities, towns, unincorporated areas and structures, each with their own aesthetic and functions, serve as an archive. The processes of change, destruction, and reshaping of native architecture through Spanish colonialization is significant to this chapter because they were indicative of the first capitalist intervention on the landscape. This intervention is continued and strengthened with the rise of industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century. Although, there were

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[186] Marc Simmons, *Albuquerque: A Narrative History*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982, 28.

[187] Ibid., 28.

[188] Benjamin King Shacklette, "Syncretistic Vernacular Architecture: Santa Fe, New Mexico," In *The 2011 ARCC Architectural Research Conference Lawrence Technological University,* 2011, 645-659, 646.

[189] Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007, 127.

[190] Ibid., 128.

regional differences of how this occurred, the relationship between change, control, and the search for profit hold true throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Architecture in Colorado: Denver

Spanish colonialism was prevalent throughout the Southwest, but its presence and legacy in its regions differed. As a result, there were places where there was less impact from the forces of Spanish colonialism. This was true for northern Colorado, its front range, and the city of Denver. Denver grew exponentially through the early twentieth century due to the vast amounts of wealth garnered from mining operations, affluent professionals, who wanted a piece of the fertile West, and the immigrant populations who were drawn in by opportunities for economic mobility. As evidenced in the city's directories, Denver had grown fast with hundreds of new names, new businesses, and neighborhoods. Between 1911 and 1920 the city's population grew from about 220,000 to at least 270,000. The number of names and listings even made the 1920 Corbett & Ballenger's 48th Annual Denver City Directory "too bulky and unwieldy to handle."[191] As noted in earlier chapters, Denver's structures in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had commercial, political, and tourist functions; notably the Welcome Arch and the capitol building. The city also had many significant neighborhoods, which housed wealthy families and the immigrant, working, and general lower classed individuals and families. The city's spaces and architecture grew and were transformed due to interethnic interactions, and confrontations, which spurred economic and political tensions and policies ultimately shaping one of Colorado's most dynamic cities. This section will start with a broad focus on the overall changes Denver's structures, and it will then consider specific examples of how and why Denver's architecture changed.

Before the discovery of gold in the South Platte Valley, the landscape was occupied by Native tribes, which tried to survive and cohabitate with encroaching Anglo Americans. However, violent confrontations grew out of increasing tensions brought on by the fight over land and resources. As the urban area steadily grew, the wilderness was lost; the land was cut up into city lots and the "destructive swath of the instant city" reflected overall American attitudes towards nature.[192] The desire for growth and the commercialization of precious natural resources demanded the destruction of the wilderness; Americans pursued the wealth found in the West and pushed aside anything and anybody who was in the way without a second thought.[193] The natural landscape and natural spaces were transformed into spaces of profit and control, and were warped to accommodate the ideologies of expansionism, which became synonymous with wealth, power, and progress. The discovery of gold in Colorado demanded the creation of crude structures to house miners, trails for wagons and horses, and the infrastructure to support a growing population.

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[191] *1920 Corbett & Ballenger's 48th Annual Denver City Directory*, Denver: The Gazetteer Publishing & Printing Company, 1920, 13.

[192] Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1975, 125.

[193] Ibid., 125.

The increased migration of fortune seekers prompted the founding of three small towns, which were eventually incorporated into the city of Denver. The towns of Auraria, Denver City, and St. Charles City had largely temporary populations, who lived in cheap, wooden, and equally temporary buildings.[194] Denver's architectural growth and transformation in the latter half of the nineteenth century was impacted by natural disasters and interethnic confrontations. Fires and floods frequently plagued the area, and few temporary buildings survived. Wood and the construction of wooden structures were forbidden in Denver's business district and the majority of the city's structures were made of brick after the destructive fires of 1863 and 1864. This fear of destruction by fire is emphasized by early fire insurance maps, which show what kinds of buildings existed and whether they were fire-proof. The key of an 1893 Sanborn-Perris Fire Insurance Map for Denver shows a specific color for "Fire Proof Building(s)," which exemplifies Denver's move towards the construction of more stable and fire-proof buildings (fig 1). The singular purpose of these insurance maps was to graphically depict fire risk to help set and justify insurance rates. The continued use and distribution of these kinds of maps show and track Denver's continued story of spatial change. More than ten years later, a 1916 Sanborn-Perris Fire Insurance Map shows the use of cement floors, incorporation of pilasters for structural integrity, and the use of wood for industrial manufacturing of tires (fig 2). The comparison between these two fire insurance maps highlights the spread and expansion of fireproof buildings and materials over time.

This move to more permanent architecture was beneficial to the city's survival and was made possible by the large amounts of brick clay found in pockets adjacent to the city. In addition to the concerns of the dangers of the natural environment, the minds of Denverites were occupied by seemingly violent "Indians." Settlers and entrepreneurs settled in the Denver area and encroached on native territory. Natural resources were drained and dissipated, and native peoples, specifically the Cheyenne, were driven from the living and hunting territories. The Cheyenne, much like other native peoples, were seen as roadblocks to the advancement of a modern, Anglo-American society. Interactions between the Cheyenne and settlers resulted in violent exchanges as tensions rose over the control over the landscape and resources. In the 1860s, fears of raids and violence impacted building structure and aesthetics. The desire to constrict the size of the city and "to band together", led to the construction of smaller windows, the interior display of guns and gun racks, and the use of a "warm orange-red…brick, [which was thought to be] attractive on the parched, treeless plains" to project order and security.[195]

[194] Richard R. Brettell, *Historic Denver: The Architects and the Architecture, 1858-1893*, A Publication of Historic Denver, Inc., 1973, 1.

[195] Ibid., 2, 3.

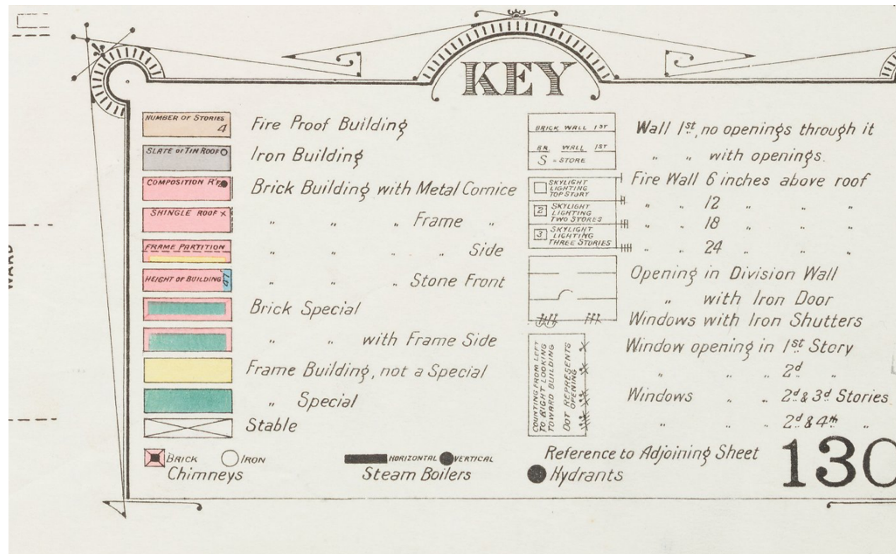

Figure 1. This is the key from an 1893 Sanborn-Perris Fire Insurance Map showing the color for fireproof buildings. University of Colorado Boulder, Boulder, Colorado. https://ark.colorado.edu/ark:/47540/wg3x1t88534d.

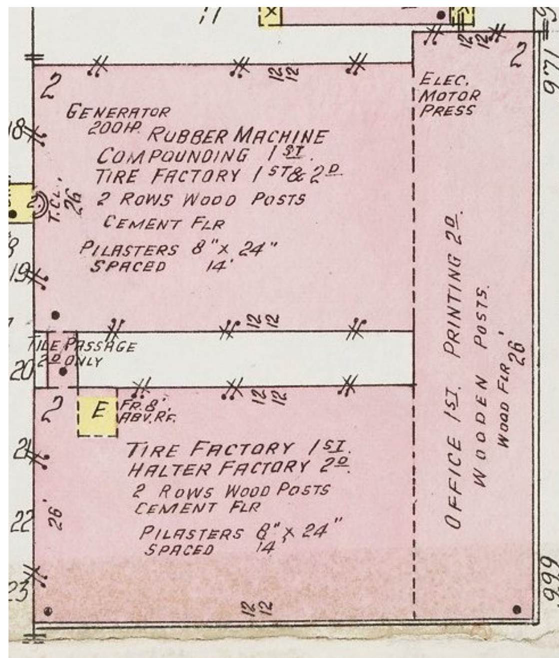

Figure 2. This section of a 1916 Sanborn-Perris Fire Insurance Map shows the use of cement floors, wood, and pilasters for a tire factory in Denver. University of Colorado Boulder, Boulder, Colorado. https://ark.colorado.edu/ark:/47540/wg3x1t88534d.

From the 1880s on, Denver's architecture would characterize its reputation as a civilized, modern city with its use of brick, steel, and concrete. The profits from gold and silver mining and the success of the railroads fueled Colorado's stone industry and provided Denver with the materials to build some of its greatest buildings at the end of the nineteenth century.[196] The wealth acquired helped spur an increase in building up Denver, but the economic crisis, known as the silver crash, in 1893 halted construction. Denver's economy at this time was heavily dependent on its silver, but a combination of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 and the overabundance of silver caused its value to drop, which prompted the closure of Denver's banks; citizens lost their wealth; and stone production and construction projects came to a sudden halt.[197] Before the halt of construction due to the Silver Crash, Denver gained many grand buildings, which illuminated the city's accumulation of wealth, catered to wealthy travelers, celebrated Western culture, and provided space for social organizations. These buildings, their aesthetics, and functions, are indicative of Denver's exponential growth and the economic and industrial changes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The United States Mint manufactures and transports the country's coins, as well as stores the Treasury Department's cache of gold and silver. As the U.S. expanded in the nineteenth century and the amount of precious metals increased, mint branches were established across the nation. In 1835, Congress passed legislation to establish three new branch Mints located in Charlotte, North Carolina, Dahlonega, Georgia, and New Orleans, Louisiana; Charlotte and Dahlonega processed gold into coins, while New Orleans minted both gold and silver coins.[198] The gold rushes in California and Colorado prompted the founding of new mints in San Francisco and Denver; Congress approved a branch Mint in Denver in 1862.[199]

Before its indoctrination as an official mint, the facility was an assay office where miners would bring their gold for melting, refining, assaying, and casting into bars.[200] Denver's mint has had two structures and locations within the city. The first building was located at 16th and Market Streets; it was a two-story building, complete with a crenellated parapet, double-hung sash windows, a flagpole, an arched portal with hood molding, chimneys, and dentils (fig 3).[201] This first version of Denver's mint was significant because of its materials; it was fireproof, sturdy, orderly, and the antithesis of frontier shacks. This financial building was a feat at the time it was built, but its second evolution was even greater.

The Mint's present location, at West Colfax Avenue and Cherokee Street, was purchased in 1897.[202] The Mint was made of fine stone and took about five years to

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[196] Jack A. Murphy, *Geology Tour of Denver's Buildings and Monuments*, Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1995, 16.

[197] Ibid., 16-17.

[198] "History of the U.S. Mint," Last Updated, January 13, 2022, https://www.usmint.gov/learn/history/overview.

[199] Ibid.,

[200] "U.S. Mint Denver Facility," Last Updated, March 22, 2022, https://www.usmint.gov/about/mint-tours-facilities/denver.

[201] "United States Mint, Old," Item Description, https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll21/id/13107/rec/51.

[202] Murphy, *Geology Tour*, 28.

complete. The Gothic Renaissance building was expanded using a stone facing of Colorado and Maine granite. Tennessee marble forms the window trimmings, whereas Vermont marble is used in the interior. The base of the perimeter fence on the north and east sides of the Mint is coarse-grained Pikes Peak Granite (fig 4).[203] Denver's second mint was made with finer and more precious materials. The stone utilized for this second building were imported from outside the area and from local Pikes Peak stone. The building's outer appearance also included more arches than the first mint, indicating a stronger attachment to modern, European aesthetics and ideals. These materials and heightened style conveyed state pride while linking Denver to a new type of capitalism present in the early twentieth century. Furthermore, the new stone materials, more expensive and harder to acquire, proved Denver's inclusion in a different, more formal financial system and more robust federal government.

Figure 3. Denver's "old mint (1870-1890)." Denver, Colorado. https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll21/id/13107/rec/51.

[203] Ibid., 28.

Figure 4. Denver's Mint at its current location (1906-1910). Notice lighter color of the building and the use of more arches. Denver, Colorado. https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll22/id/77845/rec/85.

The two versions of Denver's mint building were made of strong, everlasting materials, which indicated Denver's fears of fire, but also its dedication to perpetuating itself as safe and stable. The purpose of the mint was to manufacture and store the city's and country's wealth, and it is this purpose, which contributes to the structure's deep structure. The stone materials and European aesthetics of the building convey a sense of order, security, and importance. The construction of a mint in Denver proved its potential as a large, cosmopolitan city and its role as the financial city in Colorado. Moreover, its location, just down the road from the state capitol building, increased its spatial importance within the city. Today, the mint still has its European characteristics, but the building has been expanded due to increased manufacturing demands and the rise in tourists' desires to see the building.

The increase of a unique and varied population in urban centers prompted the creation of organizations, which served community and philanthropic purposes. One such organization, which grew exponentially in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the order of Freemasons, or generally the Masons. The Masons had begun to exert a tremendous force on American society by the late 1880s. Notably, in 1880 there were over 9,000 lodges in the United States, which catered to this social organization.[204] The Order of Ancient, Free, and Accepted Masons was established in Denver in 1858 and included among its members "many of Denver's founding fathers and most prominent citizens."[205] Denver's Masonic Temple, on 16th Street and Welton, was designed by one of Denver's leading nineteenth century architects, Frank E. Edbrooke, who was a Mason

[204] Lynn Dumenil, "Masonry Revealed: An Introduction to Nineteenth-Century Masonry" in *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930*, Princeton University Press, 1984, 13.

[205] "National Registry of Historic Places,"10.

himself.[206] The financial power and influence of the Masons was exemplified by the Masonic Temple's place "on a busy corner in downtown Denver" where it stood next to important financial and commerce buildings.[207] Furthermore, the presence of this kind of social organization conveyed the stability and fraternity, which could be fostered in Denver, and secured the city's ability to attract social stability new capital, commerce and industry.[208]

This idea is highlighted and emphasized through the building's exterior aesthetics. The exterior walls are red-orange Manitou sandstone from El Paso County and the foundation blocks are made from Pikes Peak Granite.[209] Similar to the mint, the Masonic Temple is made from local stone, which helps validate the sense of state and city pride and links the building, and the organization, to Pikes Peak, a symbol of American strength. The upper stories visible from the 16th Street Mall have six arched balconies in smooth cut sandstone and the larger arched windows are in rough-hewn sandstone (fig 5). In 1984, this historic structure was "ravaged" by a "disastrous" fire and renovations involved placing a new steel frame inside the original sandstone walls, "essentially creating a new building within the old one."[210] The Masonic Temple building was and still is a symbol of Denver's diversity and of the city's financial power, which it holds so dear. These notions are ever present in the lives of Denverites who pass this building on their way through one of the busiest sections of the city.

Figure 5. Denver's Masonic Temple (1889-1990).
https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll21/id/8537/rec/4.

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[206] Murphy, *Geology Tour,* 48.
[207] Brettell, *Historic* Denver, 44-45.
[208] Barth, *Instant Cities*, 161.
[209] Murphy, *Geology Tour,* 48.
[210] Ibid., 48.

One of the most important industries, which helped Denver specifically grow in size and in wealth, was the railroad industry. As highlighted in earlier chapters, the railroads were instrumental for Colorado's economic growth and the industrialization of the nation as a whole. The railroads, and their subsequent railroad stations, connected Denver to the rest of the state and country. The railroad helped change Denver's built environment by bringing the wealth needed to build its grand and famous buildings. The city even erected a Welcome Arch to celebrate the railroads and welcome travelers who choose to stay in the city coined "the Gateway to the Rockies." In 1870, the first train arrived in Denver and in 1879 the Union Depot and Railroad Company was founded by Walter S. Chessman, prompting the construction of Denver's first Union Depot.[211]

Construction of the Union Depot began in 1880; it was five hundred three feet in length and sixty-five feet in width, it had two and a half stories, and was capped with a tower one hundred eighty feet tall.[212] Stone for the building came from many places throughout Colorado; builders utilized the state's varied natural resources. This railroad station was physically impressive, in height and size, and it is the most ornate structure out of the examples explored in this section. This can be seen in the color of its stone; the major portion of stone was a pink colored lava stone and was a rhyolite tuff obtained from the Madge Quarry, which served the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad from 1872 to 1900.[213] The depot opened in 1881 and its location at the northwest end of Seventeenth Street pleased landowners because the street quickly became Denver's most urbane land with the city's most exclusive private club, the Denver Club; its finest office building, the Equitable; and its best hotel, the Brown Palace Hotel.[214] Unfortunately like many of Denver's early structures, the Union Station was struck by a fire in 1894, which burned a large part of the interior of the building (fig 6).[215] The structure's rebuilt form keeps the impressiveness of the first building, as seen in its size and newly built tower evident in Figure 6. The Union Depot, its materials, spatial power, and reconstruction conveys Denver's solid connection to the transcontinental railroad, which was essential and key to linking the city to the rest of the country.

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[211] David Hicks, *Denver History Illustrated on Post Cards*, ATP Publishing Co., 1980, 34.

[212] Ibid., 35.

[213] Kenton Forrest and Charles Albi, *Denver's Railroads: The Story of Union Station and the Railroads*, Golden: Colorado Railroad Museum, 1981, 21.

[214] Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, University Press of Colorado, 1984, 46.

[215] Ibid., 35.

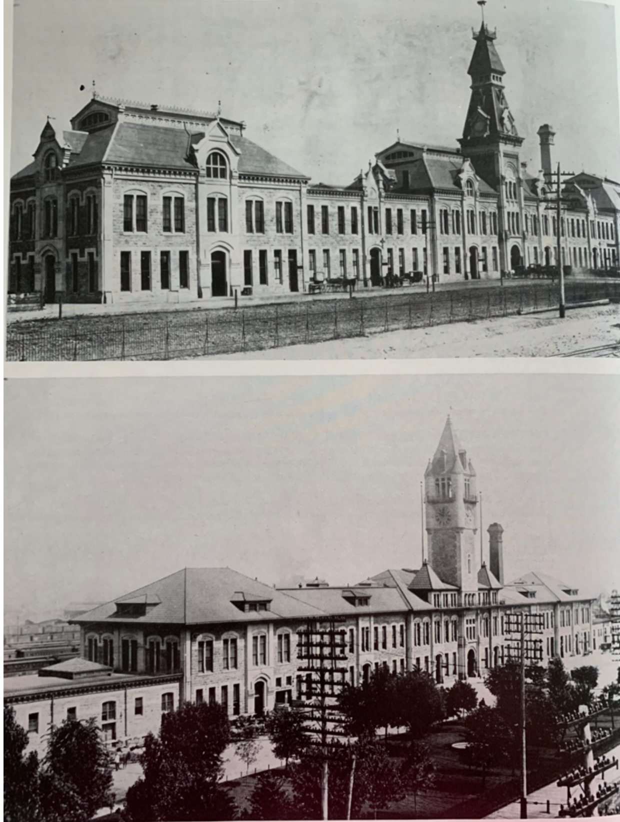

Figure 6. Photos of Denver's Union Station; the top picture is the original depot, and the bottom picture is the reconstructed building after the 1894 fire. Kenton Forrest and Charles Abli *Denver's Railroads: The Story of Union Station and the Railroads*, Golden: Colorado Railroad Museum, 1981.

The Union Depot, and any railroad station, stood as a symbol of Denver's incorporation into a rapidly modernizing nation. Industrialization of the American Southwest would not have been possible, nor as successful, if it was not for the accessibility and mobility of the railroads. A city with a train was automatically put a notch above other cities that did not have access to the railroad; they were modern, civilized, and had the means to accommodate the power the railroads would bring. The railroads functioned as deliverers of people, commodities, wealth, and ideologies, which were also implemented as tools of control and domination. As Manu Karuka highlights, these aspects of control and dominance were characteristics of railroad colonialism. The railroads and the railroad depots and stations, which followed, were signs of the taming of the West. The construction of these buildings, the materials utilized and their overall designs, perpetuated the wealth and power western cities, and broadly the U.S. government, possessed.

Furthermore, these union stations, especially Denver's Union Depot, helped create powerful places in Colorado and the Southwest. Dolores Hayden explains the power of place as the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture peoples' memory

and their shared time in the form of a shared territory.[216] The place of Denver's Union Depot held power in the sense citizens shared a single structure, which helped grow the city. The presence of the Union Depot helped Denverites to create place, which involved the assignment of specific meanings to the depot; the meanings of wealth, progression, accessibility, connection, opportunities to travel and all the things the railroad could have offered. Moreover, the construction of place is a spatial reality constructed by people and it demands a transformation of space into something specific and limited.[217] The space of the train depot was turned into a place with the specific purpose of bettering the city and allowing its wealth and power to grow with the influx of commodities and people.

Denver, one of the West's instant cities as historian Gunther Barth would surmise, expanded rapidly in the late nineteenth century, and produced grand buildings such as the U.S. Mint Denver Branch, the Masonic Temple, and Union Station. These buildings and many other just like them, represented the city's wealth, influence, stability, modernity, and connection to the rest of the country. The city also represented the goals and ideologies of Americans' move westward; land was developed, natural resources were dug up and commoditized, vast amounts of wealth were garnered and anybody who stood in the way was moved aside. The growth and transformations of Denver's architecture and aesthetics is unique in its rapidness, but not for what it represented, which will be shown throughout this chapter.

Colorado Springs

The central region of Colorado was hailed as an ideal place to experience the beauty of the natural world and heal from illness. Pushed right up against the southern part of the Rocky Mountains, Colorado Springs was established on the backs of the small towns that called the region home. The city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries catered to wealthy citizens and tourists who wanted to live and play in a clean and dry city with a comfortable climate. Colorado Springs promoted itself as a cultured city, complete with European styled homes, grand hotels, and ample opportunities for outdoor activity. The architecture of Colorado Springs, its functions, and messages, are indicative of the reasons why the city was founded. Colorado Springs was founded by former Civil War veteran General William Jackson Palmer, who wanted to create the ideal city. Palmer envisioned a place of beauty, which would benefit citizens' body and spirit. This belief in the ability to create an urban oasis prompted the construction of what Michel Foucault terms a heterotopia. Heterotopias are at once real and unreal; they are sites, which relate with all other sites, but in a way as to "suspect, neutralize, or invent the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect."[218] There are many characteristics of a heterotopia, but the most applicable to this section is the aspect of "opening" and "closing" and exclusivity. Heterotopias can seem to be open to everyone, but this is only an illusion; everyone can enter heterotopic sites, but there are always

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[216] Hayden, *The Power of Place,* 9.

[217] White and Findlay, eds, *Power and Place in the North American West*, x.

[218] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," *Architecture/Mouvement/Continuité*, (1-9) 1984 3.

hidden exclusions.[219] The structures analyzed in this section have this significant heterotopic characteristic, which emphasized Palmer's vision for his city.

A part of this vision included the founding of an educational institution, Colorado College, which tied Palmer, the local community, and the Congregational Church together. Colorado Springs promoted itself as a health haven and a place to get away from the big city; although not as big as Denver, it was just as appealing. Colorado Springs was hailed as a dry and respectable city, which separated it from large urban and industrial cities like Denver, Pueblo, and Trinidad. Colorado Springs, like these other cities was formed from the riches of mining and harnessing of natural resources, but it did not solely rely on the riches from the earth to grow and ensure its longevity. The resources of rich citizens and travelers prompted city growth and the construction of hotels, schools, and places for entertainment. The importance of the education and spirituality of the city's future citizens was emphasized through the founding of Colorado College. Founded in 1874, Colorado College was a coeducational institution, which relied on the investments from wealthy easterners to remain open and function. Between 1880 and 1917, the college gained fourteen permanent buildings and managed to secure an enrollment of roughly seven hundred students.[220]

The materials used for the college's buildings were mainly stone, which was harvested locally and gave the buildings a reddish-brown look similar to brick. For example, the first residence hall for students, Hagerman Hall (1889), was a Romanesque Revival style building constructed of peachblow sandstone. Palmer Hall, which still stands today, was a massive building made from peachblow sandstone and it housed the science departments of the college and reflected the latest thinking at the time in laboratory and lecture hall layout.[221] Colorado College was one of the jewels in Palmer's Colorado Springs Crown. The peachblow sandstone was a locally sourced material, which not only provided the buildings with a unique color, but it conveyed a sense of pride in the state of Colorado. The European style of the buildings is evident of the efforts to appear modern and civilized, and these characteristics are also evident in the function of these buildings. The goal was to create a campus looked like an elegant or ivy league school, which would put it on par with Eastern colleges. They were constructed for the specific purpose of providing higher education to both men and women who would help the city grow and to explore the unknown. Colorado Springs then was one of the early cities, which would help change the future of the state and nation through its educated population, through the establishment of Colorado College (fig 7).

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[219] Ibid., 7.

[220] Colorado College, "History of CC's Buildings," Last updated December 17, 2020, https://www.coloradocollege.edu/basics/campus/tour/historic/introduction.html.

[221] Ibid.,

Figure 7. Palmer Hall at Colorado College, Colorado Springs. Notice the radiant color of the peachblown sandstone in the morning sun. Photo taken by author.

The Colorado College was significant to Palmer's dreams and goals for the city of Colorado Springs. Its place within the city and its reputation can be assessed through spatialization, a theoretical framework, explained by Setha Low, which can be used to understand and uncover the cultural meanings embedded in the built environment.[222] Urban spaces reflect the "cultural order through a complex culture-making process in which cultural representations are produced, manipulated, and understood."[223] The function and layout of a college conveys a sense of betterment and sophistication, which comes with the perceptions of higher education. There were multiple buildings with the sole purpose to educate students and to help them achieve a college degree. The presence of a college also perpetuates a sense of wealth and opportunity for upward social mobility. The cultural meanings behind Colorado College include these ideas, but it also expresses the realities of exclusivity and privilege, which were at the core of Palmer's urban vision.

In addition to its strict adherence to being a modernized and civilized city, Colorado Springs also hailed itself as a health haven. The favorable climate and dry air seemed to alleviate the symptoms of sickness and even cured serious illnesses. This attracted people from around the country and world to the city and the increase in travelers increased the demand for comfortable accommodations. The tourist industry was essential for Colorado Springs' popularity and helped construct some of the most famous hotels in the state. One such hotel was the Broadmoor Hotel, which was a luxurious and massive hotel. The Broadmoor Hotel was built in the early 1900s and had several buildings, a bowling alley, a two floor piano bar, a lake, and a golf club.[224] The

[222] Low, *On the Plaza*, 36.
[223] Ibid., 50.
[224] Kailyn Lamb, *Ghosthunting Colorado*, Clerisy Press, 2016, 108.

foundation of the hotel was directly connected to the supposed healing properties of the area of Colorado Springs.

In 1880, Willie Cox, a tuberculosis patient, traveled westward to find a cure for his illness and to seek fortune.[225] Cox formed a partnership with a Prussian Count named James Pourtales, who also sought romance and fortune in the west, and together they formed the Broadmoor Land and Investment Company. This company established the original Broadmoor Casino and Cheyenne Lake, but it burned down and investors built a second casino and small hotel; this second hotel went into receivership and was turned into The Broadmoor School for Girls, a private boarding school.[226] On May 9, 1916, Spencer Penrose, an entrepreneur from Philadelphia who made his fortune in gold and copper mining, purchased The Broadmoor Casino and Hotel site, approximately 18 acres, along with 400-acres of adjoining land.[227] Penrose not only revived the Broadmoor Hotel, but he established lasting tourist attractions, which ensured the area would get visitors who would stay, enjoy themselves, and spend their money. He built the Pikes Peak Road and sponsored the first Pikes Peak Hill Climb, an auto race to the peak, inviting auto racers from around the country to compete. He then established Cheyenne Mountain Zoo in 1926; the zoo is currently one of the finest privately owned zoos in the country and has the honor of being the zoo at the highest altitude in the country.[228]

The Broadmoor Hotel is a large complex and is known for its many amenities, aesthetics, and landscape architecture. Like in many towns and cities in Colorado and the Southwest, modern and European styles were used for buildings to convey a sense of modernity and strength, it was a style adopted by so many cities and towns, it was essentially American. The Broadmoor hotel was no different in this regard. Penrose modeled the hotel after the "great [European] alpine hotels of the 19th century" as he intended for the hotel to be the "unrivaled Grand Dame of the Rockies."[229] Penrose hired prominent architects and landscape architects for the building and its grounds; priceless pieces of furniture and artwork were imported directly from both Europe and Asia; even a dismantled pub from England was shipped and reassembled inside The Broadmoor (fig 8).[230]

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[225] "History of the Broadmoor," The Broadmoor, https://www.historichotels.org/us/hotels-resorts/the-broadmoor/history.php.

[226] Ibid.,

[227] "The Broadmoor Colorado Springs: The Broadmoor's Past Is Legacy of Fame and Countless Memories," *Rangelands*, vol 15 no 5, 1993, 211.

[228] Ibid., 211.

[229] "About the Architecture," The Broadmoor, https://www.historichotels.org/us/hotels-resorts/the-broadmoor/history.php.

[230] Ibid.,

Figure 8. The front of the Broadmoor Hotel (1919). Notice its grand landscape architecture, which greeted visitors and hotel guests. “History,” The Broadmoor. https://www.historichotels.org/us/hotels-resorts/the-broadmoor/history.php.

The elaborate ornateness of the hotel existed in its interior and exterior. Its architectural design borrowed heavily from the aesthetics of the Italian Renaissance and its iconic exterior of pink stucco enabled The Broadmoor to blend in seamlessly with the surrounding mountains of Pikes Peak. Similar to Colorado College, the hotel’s ability to blend into its natural surrounding indicated a sense of belonging; its unique and appealing materials showed it was made to be a part of the landscape, it belonged in Colorado Springs and in the state of Colorado. Inside, guests encountered a wealth of beautiful architectural features, which included a gorgeous ceiling over the main lobby’s mezzanine created by a team of 100 Italian artists depicting two masterfully painted images of dancing cherubs. In addition to the architecture, the landscape of the Broadmoor highlighted the area’s love of the outdoors and nature. The landscaping and flowering gardens encouraged guests to experience several different types of landscape and the European theme throughout the resort.[231] Currently, there are over thirty-five acres of these gardens, which incorporate thousands of flowers and scattered pots and hanging baskets of plants around the hotel.

The Broadmoor Hotel was the product of people taking advantage of favorable climates and the chance to gain wealth from the opportunities the Southwest offered. This luxurious hotel was a symbol of what kind of city Colorado Springs was in the late nineteenth century and what it aspired to become. The city’s size and location were ideal factors to foster a close knit community of wealthy citizens who welcomed tourists and who lived apart from the urban and industrial. The hotel’s European architectural style matched the significant structures in the city and perpetuated all those ideologies, which projected American might, strength, and greatness. This aesthetic choice is reflective of the nineteenth century architectural norms in the Southwest, which represented

[231] Ibid.,

differences in race and ethnicity and bolstered national pride, Anglo American supremacy, and classic Manifest Destiny thinking.[232] European styles were synonymous with American ideals and greatness and what Anglo-Americans aspired to be, which was why it was present throughout the greater western United States, a land sought to be conquered and tamed.

These ideals, which dominated the Southwest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, are poignant with the presence of Colorado Springs' biggest and most popular attraction, the Garden of the Gods. The Garden of the Gods is not a building, nor does it have much architecture within its boundaries, but this piece of land is significant for what it represents and how it defined Colorado Springs and cemented it as a tourist city in the late nineteenth century. Even before it became a big tourist site, the Garden of the Gods attracted attention from western travelers who marveled at its unique rock formations (fig 9). This specific natural space was bound by profit seekers and those who wanted to protect and preserve nature. This seemingly contradictory natural space is an example Foucault's heterotopia. The Garden of the Gods is a heterotopic site, which requires permission and demands those who enter to perform certain gestures.

Figure 9. A nineteenth century stereograph shows riders at "The Gate" in the Garden of the Gods. Digital Collection: "U.S. West: Photographs, Manuscripts, and Imprints," DeGolyer Library, SMU Libraries. https://digitalcollections.smu.edu/digital/collection/wes/id/2732/rec/9.

This exclusivity and expectation of proper behavior or gestures is directly connected to the function of the Garden of the Gods; it is a tourist attraction, a protected natural space meant to entertain and to be profitable. Only those with the financial ability and flexibility to enjoy leisure time in a nature park have the privilege to "enter" the

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[232] Kenny Cupress, "The Invention of Indigenous Architecture" in *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present*, ed. Irene Cheng, Charles L. David II and Mabel O. Wilson, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2020, 188

Garden of the Gods. This notion is what makes Colorado Springs significant, the very existence of the Garden of the Gods sets a precedent for how a civilized, modern American city should look like and what it should promote. Denver may be perceived as the "doorway to the Rocky Mountains," but it does not have its own divine garden for its citizens and tourists to play in. Conversely, Pueblo and Trinidad were smaller industrial cities, which relied on the extraction of coal and the production of steel; the landscape they occupied did not have large amounts of unique red stone nor a famous imposing mountain.

The architecture of Colorado Springs reflected General Palmer's idealist vision of a beautiful and cultured city. The use of European styles and the use of local materials showed the rest of the state how American this city was and how much it managed to conquer in the west and the land itself. It also conveyed a sense of belonging and the Manifest Destiny idea of having a right to the land. This right manifested in the construction of grand, impressive structures, which celebrated wealth and an adherence to modernity. The tourism industry was essential for Colorado Springs, and it prompted the construction of hotels and various tourist attractions. The Garden of the Gods was taken from native tribes and turned into a space of profit; it became a heterotopia, which could only be accessed by the affluent and those who would really appreciate its natural beauty. The founding and development of Colorado College, the Broadmoor Hotel, and the Garden of the Gods was proof of Colorado Springs' response to the nineteenth century's rise of an industrial society, which it did not want. Instead, the impacts of the rise of industry were most evident in southern Colorado.

Pueblo

Like Colorado Springs and Denver, Pueblo started its path to becoming a city with the discovery of gold and the introduction of the railroads. In 1862, just one year after the Colorado Territory was created, Pueblo County was established, making it one of the original 17 counties in the state.[233] The arrival of the railroads prompted the construction of the city's Union Depot, located just north of downtown Pueblo, and helped populate the city. The city's population grew with the railroads and the establishment of the city's main nineteenth century enterprise, the Colorado Coal and Iron Company (CC&I), which would later become Colorado Fuel & Iron (CF&I). This can be seen in the city's directories, which tracked the increase in the names recorded and the overall population. Between 1889 and 1915 Pueblo's population grew from about 28,000 to about 58,000.[234] This increase in population would help Pueblo become one of the most important manufacturing cities in the West.

The increase in population and a firm establishment of industry in Pueblo prompted the construction of prominent neighborhoods, industrial structures, buildings to foster community, places for entertainment, and other buildings, which provided the necessary infrastructure and support for a growing city. These structures included, but are

[233] Charlene Garcia Simms, Maria Sanchez Tucker, Jeffrey DeHerrera, and the Pueblo City-County Library, *Images of America Pueblo*, Arcadia Publishing, 2017, 36.

[234] *The R. L. Polk Directory Co.'s Pueblo City Directory, 1915*. Colorado Springs: R. L. Polk Directory Co. Publishers, 1915, 13.

not limited to, hospitals, an "insane asylum," churches, grocery stores, schools, hotels, brothels, and various manufacturing shops. Pueblo experienced an industrial and building boom in the late nineteenth century, which produced neighborhoods with mansions and Victorian styled homes and cottages.[235] Places of entertainment, such as parks, lakes, and even an amusement park were also built. Specifically, this section will explore Pueblo's Grand Opera House, the CF&I steel mill, and the YMCA building. These structures will be shown to indicate the city's inclusion, and celebration, in the rise of industrial capitalism in Southern Colorado.

One of the most popular places of entertainment, and the ultimate advantageous symbol of the industrial boom in Pueblo, was its Grand Opera House. Hailed as one of the finest opera houses in the West, Pueblo's Grand Opera House opened in 1890 and stood proudly at the corner of Fourth and Main Streets. The characteristics of entertainment in the Southwest shifted from traveling bands of entertainers to performers practicing in established structures like theaters and opera houses. Opera houses specifically, sprouted up across the country by 1870 and were often coveted by communities and praised by communities and architectural critics.[236] Constructed by the architectural firm of Alder and Sullivan, the Pueblo Opera House's exterior design is reminiscent of Florentine buildings from the Renaissance period, complete with skillful stonework and use of high relied ornaments. The renowned Chicago based architectural firm of Alder and Sullivan had immense influence on the "modern American landscape" and when Pueblo experienced their industrial boom the city turned to the firm to "bring civility to their trans-Mississippi town." The interior was as equally extravagant as its exterior; the main colors throughout the opera house were salmon, ivory, and gray blue with gold illuminating everything. Pueblo's Opera House was a grand and ornate place for entertainment, but its structural design also functioned to celebrate the city and its surrounding landscape. This was achieved through the construction of an observation tower. The 131-foot tower acted as an observation deck, which allowed for unobstructed views of the city, and nearby mountains, including Pike's Peak to the northwest and the Wet Mountains and the Sangre de Cristo Range to the southwest (fig 10).[237]

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[235] Simms, Tucker, and DeHerrera, *Images of America Pueblo*, 120.

[236] April D. Knudsen, "Alder and Sullivan's Pueblo Opera House," Dissertation, Colorado State University at Pueblo, May 2012, Pueblo, Colorado, 8.

[237] Ibid., 6, 16, 17, 18.

Figure 10. Pueblo's Grand Opera House (1900). History Colorado, William Henry Jackson Collection. https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll21/id/7857/rec/1.

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, architecture creates specific domains for human activity and interaction, and creates space, which affects all who interact with it.[238] The feeling and experience one has moving in and through architecture can be thought of as the "deep structure" of architectural space.[239] The Pueblo Opera House's deep structure was influenced by the building's intricate and awesome exterior and interior designs. The extravagance of the exterior stonework and the opulent colors of its interior was meant to make patrons feel like they entered and inhabited a space of luxury. Furthermore, patrons were meant to equate this extravagance with the city of Pueblo, and largely Colorado, when they ventured up into the tower and had the opportunity to view the city and the landscape. This was another place for wealthy people to experience the majesty of Pikes Peak, the Rockies, and the nature of the West.

Pueblo's Opera House was an impressive building of entertainment, and its construction was only possible through the success of industry. One of the major factors in Pueblo's growth was the establishment of the steel industry in the city. General William Jackson Palmer founded the Colorado Coal and Iron Company (CC&I) and established a steel mill in Pueblo in 1879 to provide the necessary materials for his railroads. In 1892, General Palmer merged CC&I with the Colorado Fuel Company (CFC), controlled by John C. Osgood, which created the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (CF&I).[240] CF&I had almost complete control over how Southern Colorado developed structurally around spaces of industry. For example, in 1915, the Pueblo steelmaker owned all property, land and buildings, in fourteen of the twenty-four communities which

[238] Etlin, *Symbolic Space*, xviii.
[239] Ibid., xix.
[240] Richard Clyne, *Coal People: Life in Southern Colorado's Company Towns, 1890-1930*, Denver: The Colorado Historical Society, 1999, 5.

conducted steel and mining operations.[241] The corporation built and maintained all structures within its boundaries, and even rented land to those employees who preferred to build their own residences. Doing so allowed CF&I to "avoid the high cost of erecting homes for employees."[242] The company may have wanted to avoid costs when it came to the living structures for its workers, but it poured funds and resources into its industrial structures, especially those that turned a greater profit.

The steel mill, which processed mining material like coke and ore to make steel, was one such industrial structure. Pueblo's steel mill, also known as The Bessemer Works, was comprised of three blast furnaces, two five-ton converters, blooming and rail mills, merchant iron mills, a cast iron pipe foundry, carpenter and machine shops, a pattern shop, the power plant, and a water system.[243] In the early 1900s, the steel plant was reconstructed and revamped; under Osgood's direction more than twenty-five million dollars was expended in the construction of "blast furnaces, converters, open hearth furnaces, and mills for the fabrication of rails, merchant steel, sheets, tinplates, rods, wire, and nails."[244] The purpose and function of the mill drove its design and the types of materials utilized for its construction. According to CF&I company blueprints from 1901, wooden purlins, brick, concrete, glass, and different types of iron were used to ensure the mill's frame could support its processing. One map, which details the Boiler Houses attached to Furnace D, provides a clear look into the efforts put into ensuring the longevity of the mill.[245] The cross section of the boiler house shows the use of wooden purlins, lattice stouts to support the floors of the structure, steel louvres to control air flow, and an explicit note stating, "Structural work to clear all steam piping…" (fig 11). All these intricate details about the structure of the steel mill speak to the importance of the mill to the city of Pueblo. The steel mill made Pueblo the "Pittsburg of the West" and its construction and continued upkeep was important to the upkeep and wealth of the city during the height of its manufacturing. This is indicated in the complexity of its blueprints and the amount of time and care that went into their creation and preservation.

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[241] H. Lee Scamehorn, *Mill & Mine: The CF&I in the Twentieth Century*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992, 83.

[242] Ibid., 83.

[243] H. Lee Scamehorn, "John C. Osgood and the Western Steel Industry," *Arizona and the West*, 15 no.2, 1973 (133-148), 138.

[244] Ibid., 146-147.

[245] To view the full blueprint for the Boiler House, see Appendix C.

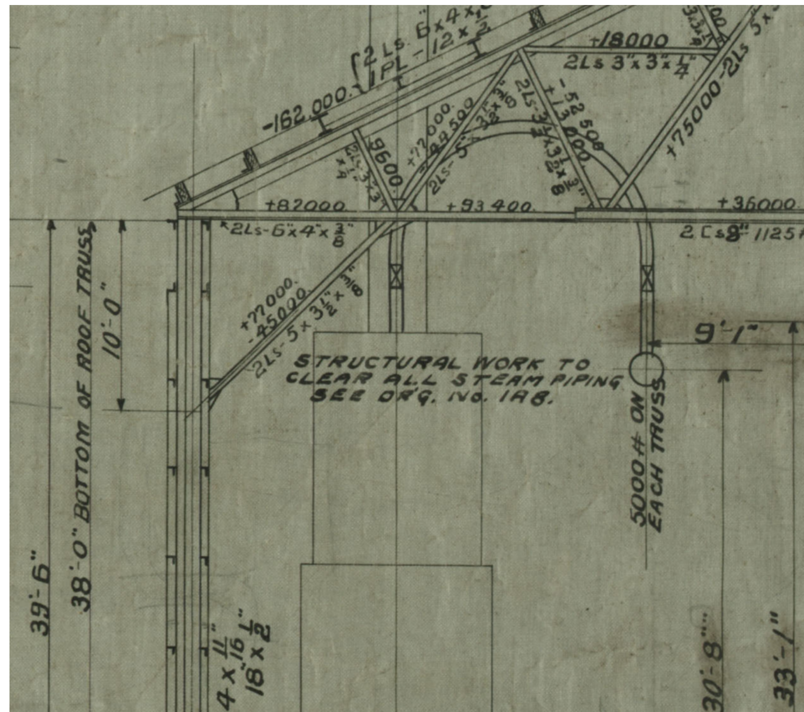

Figure 11. View of the statement regarding the boiler house's structure. Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. *Boiler House Furnace-D*, 1901, Schematics, Charts, Blueprints, Patterns and Maps Record Group, CF&I Archives.

The steel mill was aesthetically impressive for its tall smoke-stacks, which blew black smoke into the sky and became the ultimate symbol of an industrial and prosperous city. The mill's deep structure was directly impacted by these smokestacks and their smoke. Citizens of Pueblo and travelers who stopped by interacted with the mill, whether they wanted to or not. The steel mill's function was obvious and in the faces of those who experienced its overbearing presence. Feelings associated with industry, anxiety about time, the pride of completed work, and the fatigue of physical labor, were a part of its deep structure. There are dozens of postcards from the early 1900s, which depict the city of Pueblo, but specifically highlight the CF&I steel mill, its smokestacks, and the black smoke. The history of picture postcards can be dated back to the Franco-Prussia War of 1870-1871, but gained popularity in the U.S. during the early twentieth century.[246] A picture postcard is incredibly valuable and unique in its accessibility; they gave Americans an opportunity "to appreciate the representation of main streets, commercial attractions, popular landmarks, institutions, and public spaces of towns and cities."[247] The dissemination of these picture postcards allowed for the rest of the nation to see and celebrate the city of Pueblo as a thriving industrial city and these images cemented its image as the "steel city." The mill's towers became synonymous with the Pueblo

[246] Daniel D. Arreola, *Postcards from the Rio Bravo Border: Picturing the Place, Placing the Picture, 1900s-1950s*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013, 45.
[247] Daniel D. Arreola, *Postcards from the Sonora Border: Visualizing Place Through a Popular Lens, 1900s-1950s*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2017, 6.

landscape; seen from miles around, the Pueblo steel mill became part of the physical identity of Pueblo (fig 12).

Figure 12. An example of a postcard depicting the steel mill, its smokestacks, and black billowing smoke. "Penny Postcards from Colorado," http://www.usgwarchives.net/co/pueblo/postcards/ppcs-pueblo.html.

The growth of Pueblo was inextricably tied to the rise of industry in the region. Under the control of CF&I, steel production, and coal mining, in the area increased exponentially which changed the nature of labor in Southern Colorado. This change in labor prompted new interactions between capitalist leaders and the laborers they employed. Nineteenth and twentieth century labor relations and struggles in Southern Colorado mainly revolved around the coal mining industry which reigned supreme in the region. As noted in an earlier chapter, coal miners fought for their human and labor rights, which resulted in numerous, sometimes violent, strikes and attempts at unionization. The infamous Ludlow Massacre (1914), which occurred in a tent colony near Ludlow, prompted the formation of a company social plan, which aimed to improve the lives of coal miners under CF&I.

John D. Rockefeller Jr., the owner of CF&I at the time of the massacre, introduced the Industrial Relations Plan, which "emphasized the need to improve life in the coal-mining communities of southern Colorado."[248] This plan incorporated a variety of measures to improve life and included a documentation of coal camps by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) to report the social and physical betterment of CF&I employees, their families, and overall camp life. The YMCA document, the Towson Report, illustrated employees needed to have "more access to recreational activities in order to live a more enriching lifestyle" which would bring "less

[248] Fawn Amber-Montoya, "Field Days, YMCA, and Baseball: CF&I's Industrial Representation Plan of 1914 and Gender Relations in Southern Colorado Coal-Mining Camps," in *Making an American Workforce: The Rockefellers and the Legacy of Ludlow*, edited by Fawn-Amber Montoya, Boulder: University of Colorado, 2014, 104.

dissatisfaction with the company and reduce the threat of strikes." The report called for the establishment of YMCA buildings throughout the camps and encouraged miners to participate in athletic activities.[249] CF&I arranged for the construction of numerous buildings for the national YMCA and one such building was founded in Pueblo.

Construction of the YMCA building in Pueblo, or the "Steelworks Y" began in 1917 and opened to the public in 1920.[250] The "Y" boasted an Auditorium, built to seat more than 1,200 people, a full gym, billiards room, bowling allies, a library equipped with reading rooms, a soda fountain, and an elaborate banquet and ballroom.[251] This YMCA building was a four-story flat-roof brick building with Classical features adorning its exterior. Unlike some of the buildings, which have been examined in this chapter, this building was made of brick with no notable local materials (fig 13). The materials used for the Y made it seem stable, but it had no strong connection to the surrounding landscape. This is evident when compared to the Grand Opera House, which used its tower to visually experience the city and landscape, and the Steel mill, which was made from the same materials it produced. The deep structure of this building pointed towards functional uses and recreational activities for the working class, which also highlighted the differences in class among the buildings in this section. The Opera House was the structural manifestation of Pueblo's elite who displayed their wealth through entertainment and tried to connect themselves to a sophisticated metropolitan culture. The Y was built specifically for the working population, a group who could not afford to be a part of such an "elite" culture.

Figure 13. The YMCA in Pueblo, Colorado. "YMCA," Steelworks Center of the West. https://www.steelworks.us/the-museum/special-hall-exhibits/ymca/.

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[249] Ibid., 104.

[250] Simone Lenzini and Marion Massey, "Steel Works YMCA: The Legacy of Building Health, Happiness and Fellowship," "Introduction", updated December 11, 2014, https://scalar.usc.edu/works/steel-works-ymca-/index.

[251] Ibid.,

As CF&I lost their power and influence in the region, due to a change in the need for industrial products and new labor legislation, there was no longer a need for the YMCA building nor its efforts to try and better the lives of coal miners and their families. In 1949, CF&I sold the "Steelworks Y", and the new owners were unsuccessful in keeping the social services and activities, which were offered by CF&I; the building was ultimately dismantled in 1962 and its brick materials were sent to neighboring cities like Denver, Colorado Springs, and Armarillo.[252] The demise of the Y changed the urban plan of the city and left a void in the amount of services the city could offer to its citizens. The Steelworks Y, perhaps more than any other building in Pueblo, was a symbol of the complexities and the rise and fall of industry in Southern Colorado. It was created in direct response to a violent labor strike involving CF&I leadership and coal miners, and its demise was inextricably linked to the downfall of the company's grip on the region.

Pueblo's growth in the nineteenth century was tied to the wealth of the railroad industry and the rise of the steel and coal mining industries. Specifically, the city grew due to the presence of its famous steel mill; it attracted immigrant and migrant labor and it proved to investors of the city's potential to be a leading manufacturing city of the west. This is emphasized by an 1880 description of the city's manufacturing possibilities: The city's "excellent water power and close proximity to coal beds, where ordinary and coking coal can be found in abundance, will necessarily point to this place as a desirable location for manufacturers. [Furthermore,] the smelting and refining of ores and precious metals will form the great industry of the future."[253] The deep structure of each building in this section highlights their significance in Pueblo's industrial story. The Opera House prompted feelings of opulence, which was constructed for the city's elite; the steel mill elicited feelings associated with production and industry with its large presence and visible evidence of manufacturing (the billowing smoke); and the Y was simple and sturdy, but its function and construction highlighted large class differences between Pueblo's elite and working class. Pueblo's success as an industrial and manufacturing city promoted the construction of these significant buildings and the city's connection to the rise of industry in Southern Colorado imbued these structures with unique functions and architectural aesthetics.

Trinidad

The city of Trinidad stands on a historic plateau in a narrow valley above the Purgatoire River; it is situated twenty miles north of New Mexico and was the economic hub of Las Animas County in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This region has a rich history of trade and commerce, which was strengthened with the founding of the Santa Fe Trail. This important Southwestern trade route saw the transportation of people, commodities, and ideas throughout the Southwest, from New Mexico to Missouri. This transportation route planted significant roots for the economic

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[252] Simone Lenzini and Marion Massey, "Steel Works YMCA: The Legacy of Building Health, Happiness and Fellowship," "Deconstruction," updated December 11, 2014, https://scalar.usc.edu/works/steel-works-ymca-/conclusion?path=index.

[253] Hon. Prof. Worrall, "Pueblo, Past, Present and Future," in *Pueblo and South Pueblo, Colorado Directory*. Atchison: R.T. Dean & Co., 1879, 17.

evolution of the Southwest. Like most trails in the region, the Santa Fe Trial started as an amalgamation of animal trails and popular Native throughways. As time went on and travelers to the west increased, there was a need for a larger, standard route. Eventually, the Santa Fe Trail accommodated the travel and commercial needs made possible by road builders, government assistance, and the building of the railroads.[254] The introduction of the railroads in the Kansas City area in the 1860s made the Santa Fe Trail easier to travel and eventually incorporated Trinidad into its route.[255] The increased mobility of commodities and wealth tied Trinidad to the financial national networks, which put in on par with cities like Denver, Colorado Springs, and Pueblo. Furthermore, the railroad industry connected Trinidad, to the rest of the state and allowed for the ideas of American superiority and domination to design its city.

In the 1860s, Hispano families from New Mexico traveled north and settled near the Purgatoire River. Along with an increasing population of Anglo-Americans, these families helped populate the area and establish the city of Trinidad. The city had an agricultural and pastoral beginning and was originally a plaza community. Structures in the city's early days were a mix of adobe and plaster buildings and frame constructions, which showcased the city's mixture of Mexican, Indigenous, and American residents and influences.[256] The increase in coal mining operations and the eventual industrialization of coal mining changed the landscape surrounding Trinidad and influenced the way the city grew in the early twentieth century.

Coal mines and coal mining equipment sprung up from the ground and coal camps dotted the isolated landscape. Although not within the city of Trinidad, the architecture of the coal camps is significant to the history of the built environment in Southern Colorado. When the camps were first established, miners built their own housing. They threw together shacks using packing crates, scrap boxes, corrugated metal sheeting, flattened tin cans, and sometimes mud and rock they found in the surrounding canyons.[257] CF&I provided some housing, which came in the form of built towns on a grid pattern with wide streets, individual frame houses centered on individual lots, and no central square.[258] The spatial characteristics of this type of company housing centered on individualism and an aversion to community, which was a consequence of the rise in the coal industry's influence and control. In addition to housing, other industrial buildings dominated the landscape such as schools, jails, saloons, churches, bathhouses, and hospitals.[259] The architecture of coal mining in Southern Colorado also incorporated soft architecture, which came in the form of tents. One of the best-known coal tent camps was the Ludlow tent colony, which was established due to the circumstances of the Colorado

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[254] Glenn R. Scott, "Historical Trail Map of the Trinidad 1 x 2 Quadrangle, Southern Colorado," Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, 2001, 1.

[255] "Travel the Trail: Map Timeline 1866 – 1873," National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/safe/learn/historyculture/map-timeline-3.htm.

[256] Morris F. Taylor, *Trinidad, Colorado Territory*, Pueblo: O'Brian Printing and Stationary Co., 1966, 115.

[257] Karin Larkin and Randall H. McGuire, *The Archaeology of Class War: The Colorado Strike of 1913-1914*, University Press of Colorado, 2009, 40.

[258] Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*, *Culture, Class, and Gender on the Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940*, New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated 1987, 90.

[259] Larkin and McGuire, *The Archeology of Class War*, 39.

Strike of 1913-1914. This was the largest tent colony of the time, which housed about five hundred striking miners and their families, totaling at about twelve hundred people, who lived in tents or tent homes.[260]

An important aspect of the architecture of the coal camps is the aspect of spatial control. The housing provided and destroyed by the coal companies was organized in a way to encourage individuality and separation. This is in stark contrast to the plaza, which was a norm in early Southern Colorado, especially among Mexican and Hispano communities. Plazas are an architectural expression of social freedom and provide spaces to foster cultural identity, solidarity, and community.[261] In order to mitigate organization, especially labor unionization, CF&I built their housing on a grid pattern and eliminated the spatial opportunity for unsupervised interaction. Additionally, as a form of retaliation against labor organization and strikers, coal companies would level hundreds of "shacks" and "shanties" in the southern coalfields and replace them with new company approved housing.[262] By physically destroying domestic structures used by coal miners, structures that provided spaces to potentially foster individuality and prompt organization, coal companies were exerting their power over the spatial realities of their employees and ensuring opportunities to challenge them were wiped out. As it grew, the city of Trinidad's spatial transformation reflected the ideologies of industrial expansion and domination over the land, which is highlighted through the dissipation of the city's plazas, significantly the Garcia Plaza.

The Garcia Plaza of Trinidad was the home of many late nineteenth and early twentieth century ethnic families and laborers. Trinidad city directories show the names, occupations, and residences of a large number of Hispanic/Mexican peoples who lived in Garcia Plaza. Trinidad's 1905-1906 city directory is the last directory that mentions the Garcia Plaza as being a place of residence. This follows the trend of the destruction of the plaza and the ideals attached to this architectural space. The Garcia Plaza may not have been destroyed at the time its name stopped being recorded, however, the move away from the use of this architectural space in particular, matches the trend of replacing communal spaces with those that adhere to industrial goals of uniformity and production. As time went on, the Garcia Plaza slowly faded into Trinidad's surroundings and its only physical legacy is the remnants of a cemetery. Today, the small and overgrown Garcia Cemetery houses the graves of many ethnic nineteenth and twentieth century peoples. Trinidad played an important role in the coal mining industry in Southern Colorado as it was the home of numerous miners and their families and was the focal point of labor strife.

City officials hailed Trinidad as a business city and an optimal city to stay in for traveling professionals and permanent residences. Trinidad is the smallest city explored in this dissertation, but taken together, its structures convey the ideals held by late nineteenth and early twentieth century city builders. The buildings of Trinidad were made of stone, brick, and had Classical and European exteriors, which was the antithesis of its

[260] Scott Martelle, *Blood Passion: The Ludlow Massacre and Class War in the American West*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007, 80.

[261] Low, *On the Plaza*, 32.

[262] F. Darrell Munsell, *From Redstone to Ludlow: John Cleveland Osgood's Struggle Against the United Mine Workers of America*, Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009, 105.

Hispanic and Indigenous past and matched the sense of modernity and order it tried to perpetuate. It also made the city stand out from the natural landscape; the city itself stood as a symbol of civilizing the land because it was able to grow and be successful in "Indian country" towards the end of the nineteenth century. This notion was inextricable from Trinidad's ability to be a "great and grand" city, which was dependent on its ability to be a "residence city." The city claimed to conquer the land and create suitable homes for residences in its daily newspaper, an important source of local and national information. Many issues of *The Chronicle News*, Trinidad's main newspaper, from the 1880s to the 1920s, claimed the city had "handsome business structures, palatial private residences, commodious and elaborate public buildings, fine water works…[and] splendid public schools…"[263] Through its architecture, and the celebration of its ability to stand alone in a varied landscape, Trinidad was able to highlight its success and overall significance to the rest of Colorado.

Several of Trinidad's significant buildings helped with this goal in their purpose and in their exterior designs. Completed in 1888, the Schneider Brewery is an example of Tuscan or Italian hill style architecture and was one of the largest buildings in Trinidad.[264] A common aesthetic for buildings in this chapter, and throughout the Southwest, is the use of European features to add a look of sophistication to the city or region; Trinidad was no different. The Schneider Brewery Company played a significant role in the development of Trinidad as a it was large "dealer" in real estate; it was responsible for the construction of numerous buildings in the city; and it supplied hot water to several buildings in the city (fig 14).[265] In terms of infrastructure and the appeal of Trinidad as a residency city, the supply of hot water was significant. In the early 1900s, running water, and hot water especially, in such an isolated region was a luxury. This structure not only provided a valuable commodity, its "pure and silky" beer, but its existence bettered the city if Trinidad, proving its claims as an optimal city to visit, to do business in, and to live permanently.

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[263] *The Chronicle News*, Trinidad, Colorado, Vol IX, no. 157, August 6, 1898, 2.

[264] Willard D. Louden and Ronald Passarelli, "The Historic Buildings of Central Trinidad," National Registry of Historic Places, 49.

[265] Ibid., 49.

Figure 14. The Schneider Brewery building (1890-1910). History Colorado, Aultman collection, http://digital.denverlibrary.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15330coll21/id/6092.

Trinidad's knack for business and commerce was cemented with the founding of the First National Bank. Founded in 1875 by businessman and community leader Frederick D. Wight, the bank began on the Santa Fe Trail and found a permanent place in Trinidad.[266] The First National Bank building, designed by the architectural firm, Bulger and Rapp, was erected in 1892 and this Victorian Romanesque stone building's exterior boasted attractive Roman arches of varying sizes (fig 15).[267] The bank stood at a busy intersection in the heart of the city and was a staple in the business community. This is evident in an early twentieth century photo, which looks down Main Street and captures multiple business signs, the city's opera house, and the side of the First National Bank towards the end of the street (fig 16). Moreover, the First National Bank emits feelings of security and longevity, which is important for a structure, which holds money. Like Denver's mint, this financial structure is obviously made of stone and looks modern and sophisticated with large, European arches adorning its sides. Both the Schneider Brewery and First National Bank buildings utilized European styles and sturdy materials, which helped foster Trinidad's reputation as a business hub and perpetuated a sense of classical stability and elegance. These notions were on display for all and were essential for the city to prove its significance within the landscape of industrial Southern Colorado.

[266] "A proud history of serving our community!" The First National Bank in Trinidad, https://www.fnbtrinidad.com/about-us/history.

[267] Ibid., 103.

Figure 15. The First National Bank building. Photo taken by the author.

Figure 16. This twentieth century photo shows Trinidad's Main Street. There are multiple business signs, and the First National Bank sits towards the end of the street, on the right side of the photo; it is the building with the highest point. Denver Public Library Special Collections. https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll22/id/1925/rec/25.

The city may have been known for its business ventures, but it also had places of entertainment and leisure. Like in Pueblo, Trinidad had an opera house called The Trinidad Opera House, or the Jaffa Opera House. Brothers Sam, Sol, and Henry Jaffa opened Trinidad's first opera house in 1882 to great fanfare and it hosted plays, brass bands, public speakers, and other events until its closing in 1906.[268] This building was made with adobe brick and stone facing, and arguably has the finest incised sandstone to be found in the city (fig 17). The opera house was more than just a place for entertainment and enjoyment, it signified Trinidad's place among Colorado other popular cities; it conveyed the city's true incorporation into the nineteenth and twentieth century American urban system, which tried to establish themselves amongst rising capitalist industries. Furthermore, the Opera House's position within the city pointed towards its significance to those wealthy residents who could afford to attend plays and concerts. The Opera House stood right next to the First National Bank, which can be seen in Figure 16. The proximity to a structure connected to money, to the wealth of the Trinidad, added to the Opera House's spatial power; it was a place meant for those who had money, for those who saw themselves thriving and a part of a higher class.

Figure 17. Trinidad Opera House (1905-1915), Denver Public Library Digital Collections, https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll21/id/11366/rec/5.

Trinidad in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries wanted to distinguish itself from the landscape and the coal mining industry while simultaneously perpetuating the dominant Anglo-American ideologies of bringing modernity and civilization. This was accomplished through the establishment of stone and brick buildings, which exhibited their European and Classical styles. Trinidad is a prime example of how a city

[268] "Trinidad Opera House," https://www.historycolorado.org/trinidad-opera-house.

acts a historical archive, which Professor Michael Sheringham explains clearly. The built environment, Trinidad's structures taken together, is an invaluable source of past and present information. Sheringham argues the city is a memory bank of an "accumulation of events that are converted into symbols in the collective memory of the inhabitants."[269] These events are the founding of the Santa Fe Trail, the arrival of the railroads in Trinidad, the industrialization of coal mining, and the architectural choices made to make the city look modern, civilized, and American. The creation and preservation of these symbols of expansion and modernization are a result of the rise of industrial capitalism in Colorado and the Southwest. Furthermore, they are a part of the collective memory of Trinidad's citizens and tourists who look upon surviving structures and the historical monuments and plaques, which sit at the heart of the city.

Trinidad, like Denver, Colorado Springs, and Pueblo, utilized European, or supposed sophisticated, styles to adhere to a standard of architecture needed to establish American might and influence in the Southwest. Although Trinidad did not want to be perceived as totally industrial, like Pueblo, its growth was directly tied to the rise of the coal mining industry in Southern Colorado. Trinidad's buildings were symbols of the economic changes to Southern Colorado, specifically the rise of industry. This can be seen in all three buildings analyzed in this section. The Schneider Brewery made beer and was a big component in the buying and selling of land in and around Trinidad. The First National Bank held the funds of Western travelers, entrepreneurs, and Trinidad's citizens and businesspeople since its construction. The Opera House was a space for the wealthy to entertain themselves while flaunting their higher social status.

Conclusion

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the rise of capitalist industries and an industrial society. In the Southwest and in Colorado these changes boosted the economy, which increased immigration, diversified labor, helped solidify, and prompted the construction of both luxury and functional structures. The cities of Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and Trinidad gained new structures during this era, whose aesthetics and purposes were inextricable from the goals and ideologies of the rise of industry, American superiority, and the triumph over nature. These notions are evident when the theories and ideas of "deep structure," "the city as an archive," and heterotopias are considered.

The buildings, which have been explored in this chapter are just a few of many but are prime examples of how the change in Colorado's economy and the rise of capitalist industry can be viewed in the changes in its built environment. The construction, function, and aesthetics of each of these structures have layers of expansionist ideals, civic pride, exclusionist practices, and ideas of what it a modern city should be, which taken together tell the story of American exceptionalism, the celebration of industrialization and progress, and the exclusion of the working, and largely ethnic, class. This is most evident in Colorado Springs' heterotopias. Colorado College and the Broadmoor Hotel both mark the landscape and serve as points of civic pride, and both of

[269] Sheringham, "Archiving" in *Restless Cities*, 10.

are incredibly exclusive, even more so than the Garden of the Gods. These real and unreal spaces and structures helped Colorado Springs be an ideal city, a health resort, a garden free of the dirt and grim of industry, both real and not. The creation of this haven-like city came with a price of exclusivity; these spaces were always meant for those with the means, usually those wealthy few who occupied a higher class than ethnic and working minorities.

Each city examined in this dissertation is an archive, complete with impressive nineteenth and twentieth century buildings. Each building explored in the chapter has significant "deep structure" and evoke strong and specific feelings out of those who view or interact with them. Building materials and aesthetics impact these feelings and vary among each structure. Financial buildings, such as Denver's mint and Trinidad's First National Bank building, were made with stone or marble, and had European features. These structures held and protected great wealth and had to emit feelings of security and safety to those who had their money stored in these buildings. The steel mill in Pueblo, an industrial structure, emitted feelings connected to progress and manufacturing with its tall smokestacks and large plumes of black smoke, which could be seen anytime during the day. The steel mill, its mere presence, also instilled pride in those who lived and worked in the city. These structures functioned as they were intended, but also had real influence over the feelings of people who interacted with them.

The four cities examined in this chapter still have many of their nineteenth and twentieth century structures, but their functions, aesthetics, and overall upkeep differ. The U.S. Mint Denver branch building, the Union Depot and the Masonic Temple building still stand in Denver and still function in their original capacity. The Union Depot, however, has been redesigned, revitalized, and stands today transformed from its original nineteenth century form. In Colorado Springs, the Broadmoor Hotel, Colorado College, and the Garden of the Gods are still integral components of the city's representation as a tourist destination and an optimal city to call home. The industries of the northern and central regions of Colorado have succeeded in preserving these structures and ensuring their continued useful purposes.

Structures in the cities of Pueblo and Trinidad, however, were not as well preserved and are no longer in use, which was a direct result of the sudden rise and eventual fall of the steel and coal mining industries. In Pueblo, the Grand Opera House and the CF&I YMCA building no longer stand; the opera house was destroyed in a fire and was never rebuilt while the latter was torn down. The CF&I steel mill's larger manufacturing functions were abandoned when the company stopped many operations in the 1940s, and its larger production capacity was no longer needed. Today the steel mill stands on the side of the I-25, along with surviving CF&I Administrative Offices, which function as the Steelworks Center of the West. When CF&I stopped its larger steel productions and coal mining operations, the cities of Pueblo and Trinidad became stagnated in their growth.

Coupled with the loss of the largest industry in Southern Colorado and the detrimental ramifications of the Great Depression, the small city of Trinidad was able to keep most of its historic architecture. Many structures were abandoned, but they were not torn down, largely because there was no one to tear them down; the city was too poor to be destroyed. The Great Depression era devastated many cities and towns across the

country, but the lack of stable income during this time saved valuable historical evidence in Southern Colorado. Today, Trinidad looks very similar to how it did in the early twentieth century. The Schneider Brewery, the Jaffa Opera House, and the First National Bank building all stand today, but the bank is the only building of the three, which functions as it did in the nineteenth century. There are several brick and stone buildings, which make up this historic city, and they all provide information on late nineteenth and twentieth centuries' economic prosperity, industrial growth, and increase in populations.

Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and Trinidad were significant players in the urban and industrial development of the Southwest. The construction and architectural design of their industrial, leisurely, and financial structures are a direct result of the rise of industrial capitalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and provide a look into how this region became a part of the larger processes of domination over the land and the pursuit of capital power.

Chapter 5: Community and the Creation of Place within an Industrial Society

The formation and growth of the Southwest, its industries and built environments, would not have been possible without the region's diverse communities. The motivations, labor, sacrifice, cooperation, and everyday actions of people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century American Southwest created an economic and political landscape, which determined the growth of the United States and ensured its place as a global superpower in the following decades. This chapter explores the formation and survival of the Southwest's ethnic communities. Specifically, I highlight how Mexican and Mexican American communities in nineteenth and twentieth century Southern Colorado utilized placemaking, the action of strategy, and community as sources of strength and survival. The centrality of gender to the innerworkings of community and place making will also be analyzed and shown to be one of the main factors in solidifying relationships and cementing communal ties. This will be accomplished by illuminating the role industrial capitalism had in the formation and survival of these communities and the ways it affected the creation of place. The very human actions of community building and placemaking cemented social ties and helped mitigate the consequences of the rise of industry in Colorado that included, but were not limited to, harsh working conditions and cultural and physical isolation.

As emphasized in this dissertation, the Southwestern region has been home to diverse groups of people who encountered one another as a result of changing socio-economic and political circumstances. These changes were largely due to the consequences of Spanish colonialism, which prompted years of political unrest, a transformation of the region's economy, and increased contact with people of differing nationalities and ethnicities. Native American tribes, Hispanos, Mexicans/Mexican Americans, Spanish, Anglo-Americans, and European immigrants lived and learned to survive in this fluid and ever-changing landscape. These changes continued with the second wave of colonial conquest, which came with the United States' focus on resource extraction and an extension of industrial capitalism. Colorado's rural settlements and villages evolved into towns as populations increased in the nineteenth century; this growth increased exponentially into the twentieth century. As seen in the previous chapter, this urban evolution in Colorado was due to commercialization of nature and the wealth garnered from extractive industries, which procured and manufactured precious materials. The natural resources of Colorado, and the actions of those who sought to control them, was the impetus for the state's growth and the increased diversity of its nineteenth and twentieth century communities.

The increase in Colorado's diverse populations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a result of the rise of industry, notably the railroad and mining industries. The city of Denver was established by fortune seeking miners, western travelers and tourists, and funded by wealthy entrepreneurs who wanted to capitalize on the wealth of the surrounding area. Mining operations and the wealth they produced aided in the solidification of Denver's population, status as a powerful city, and secured its role

as Colorado's state capitol. The city's urban and industrial areas' reputation attracted migrant and immigrant labor; in the 1880s, smelters, railroad shops, and the city's booming construction industry gave jobs to Swedes, Italians, Poles, and other Eastern Europeans. Growing numbers of Japanese, Greeks, and Hispanics came in the early twentieth century, as did thousands of German-Russians who first settled in Russia and then moved to the U.S.[270]

In the central region of the state, the city of Colorado Springs became home to wealthy residents, curious tourists, and a variety of laborers who worked to make the city live up to General Palmer's vision of a high-class, cultured urban paradise. Before Colorado Springs became a city, its land and the surrounding area was occupied by small communities and towns filled with entrepreneurs, miners, sex-workers, agriculturalists, ranchers, and other notable figures. This mainly rural area and its small towns with few residents were consolidated and swallowed up by Colorado Springs as it grew in size and prosperity in the early twentieth century. The city itself was home to varied communities; Mexican, Japanese, Anglo-American, African American, and European immigrants.

As these cities grew between 1880 and 1920, both Denver and Colorado Springs attracted laborers of varied nationalities, ethnicities, religions, skills, and creed. Compared to southern Colorado, the population of Mexicans/Mexican Americans in the state's northern and central regions was sparse during this pivotal time period. They mined for precious metals, manufactured steel, and cultivated the agricultural products in these regions, but the majority of the Mexican/Mexican American populations were concentrated in Southern Colorado where their labor and bodies sustained the large operations of the coal mining industry. The rest of this chapter will focus on Southern Colorado and the Mexican/Mexican American communities who lived there and how their personal and professional interactions and choices provided them with the strength to live and thrive in an industrial society.

Theoretical Frameworks

The main arguments of this chapter revolve around the human aspects of living and surviving within a capitalist industrialist society. It would be beneficial to discuss the frameworks and ideas of place making and strategy to understand how Mexican/Mexican American communities survived such a harsh society. There were a variety of ethnic communities who migrated to and lived in Southern Colorado during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition to Mexican/Mexican American miners and steel workers, there were Greeks, Italians, Japanese, Polish, Germans, Austrian, and African Americans. These communities had men, women, and children who lived, worked, died, and organized together. To live and survive in a new, challenging environment, these communities learned how to live and work beside each other, which included creating place within their environments and using the notion of strategy to navigate relationships.

The creation of place and place making was a way to foster communal ties and to uphold culturally important traditions in the midst of isolation and turmoil. The processes

[270] Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis,* University Press of Colorado, 1990, 181.

of making, creating, and negotiating place incorporates the everyday actions and choices people make to survive in a complex society. These normative and personal actions constitute what historian Sarah Deutsch calls strategy, which was utilized by communities in the Southwest to adapt to difficult situations and relationships.[271] Additionally, Michel de Certeau explains strategy as the calculation or manipulation of power relationships, which reduce "temporal relations to spatial ones through" an analysis of specific "ways of operation within specific social units or groups."[272] Essentially, the use of strategy or the attention to specific "ways of operation" within nineteenth and twentieth century Southwestern communities allowed for its members to create interethnic relationships, strengthen social and communal ties, and traverse difficult interactions, which occurred in the personal and labor spaces.

Place, its creation and functionality, is inextricable from the characteristics of sociality, which includes the ways people socialize and associate with one another, whether individually, in families, or within communities. Place is unique for its connection to the very human aspects of movement and emotion, which connects to the spatial in everyday life.[273] The participation in cultural traditions, the solidification of community ties, individual choices within social interactions, and the grasp on societal, racial, and economic norms shape place. Additionally, the creation of place and place making are processes where people or communities assign specific meanings, personal and cultural, to the landscape and spaces they occupy. Place, or places, are human creations, they provide order and transform to an abstract space and transform it into something specific.[274] Hispanic populations created place in Southern Colorado through the maintenance of cultural and familial traditions. However, their everyday life and sense of place was challenged with the incursion of migrating Americans and others who held opposing views on family, religion, and gender. The active creation and negotiation of place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries helped western expansionists claim territory for their own, aided in the establishment of community identity, included the exclusion of groups deemed inferior, and increased the struggles of gender norms within social interactions.

Southern Colorado

Spanish colonial rule in the Southwest transformed the region's economy and negatively impacted its native populations. Natural resources were drained, and commodified, native populations were decimated by disease and enslaved, and new systems of trade and commerce were created to ensure the circulation and accumulation of wealth. Moreover, political borders were drawn and redrawn at the behest of Native, Mexican, Spanish, and Anglo-American powers. The changes in the economic and political realities of the region resulted in violent clashes between those who sought

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[271] Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on the Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940,* New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated 1987, 10.

[272] Michel de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, Translated by Steven Rendall, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

[273] Kim Dovey, *Becoming Places: Urbanism/Architecture/Identity/Powe*, London: Routledge, 2010, 3.

[274] Ibid., x.

wealth, power, and control. These violent struggles over land, territory, and resources were exasperated with the consequences of Mexican independence and the Mexican American War and U.S. colonial conquest.

After its independence from Spanish colonial rule, Mexico struggled to keep a hold on its northern territory, the Southwestern region, and tried take control of the critical sectors of its economy.[275] Many were left in precarious situations and to survive this tumultuous period, Mexicans in the north established communities based upon shared survival. Ranches forged and maintained social, economic, and familial connections to other ranches in the area through trade, strategic marriages, and a form of fictive kinship called "compadrazgo" (co-godparenthood). Mexico's struggles to control its northern territory and the aftermath of the Mexican American War helped shape Anglo-American confidence about the justification of its inevitable, aggressive territorial expansion.[276] The violence and struggles after Spanish colonial rule, left the Southwestern region disorganized and defenseless, and contributed to the Americans' ease in their control over the region.

As highlighted by Ramón A. Gutiérrez, fellow historian Reginald Horsman argues when "Anglos" expounded their expansionist ideology, they claimed they were divinely destined to greatness and world power, and routinely blamed whatever sufferings they inflicted on others to the racial inferiority of their victims and not to their own ruthlessness.[277] The U.S. military moved westward and brought with it Anglo American settlers and Manifest Destiny ideals of racial superiority, which prompted the construction of complicated racial hierarchies. Notions of racial difference were equated with status and important distinctions among ethnic populations were made for political and economic reasons. The traders of northern New Mexico, for example, had well-established trade relationships with Comache, Apache, Ute, and Pueblo peoples; these native tribes offered, among other items, beads, and trinkets.[278] However, the New Mexican traders and communities thought themselves no less white than their U.S. trading counterparts, based on a shared sense of difference from "other" indigenous peoples. The traders distanced themselves from native peoples based upon a racial hierarchy, which stemmed from the racial ideologies held by American colonial rule. This mindset influenced the ways in which the U.S. traveled westward and how capitalist industries impacted the ways the Southwest developed.

The Hispanic populations of the Southwest traveled throughout the region in search of economic opportunity as the region's industrial operations increased. As historian Albert Camarillo asserts, the northern and western frontiers of the Southwest continually and consistently expanded and this expansion facilitated the migration of peoples in search of new employment opportunities in the Southwestern states and led to

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[275] Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, 24.

[276] Ibid., 56, 303.

[277] Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991, 338-339.

[278] Sarah M. Nelson, K. Lynn Berry, Richard F. Carrillo, Bonnie L. Clark, Lori E Rhodes, and Dean Saitta, *Denver: An Archaeological History*, University Press of Colorado, 2008, 124.

the formation of new communities.[279] In Southern Colorado, the Hispanic population grew from the New Mexican families and individuals who migrated north from the New Mexican Territory in the 1860s. These nineteenth century communities helped build the urban and economic landscape of Southern Colorado. The cities of Trinidad and Walsenburg, for example, formed around Hispanic villages.[280] These Hispanic communities relied on farming, ranching, and herding for their main sources of income, but the close proximity of mines allowed them to participate in mining during the winter months.[281] Moreover, the mobility opportunities of the railroad and the introduction of a new Anglo economic framework allowed for the exploitation of the coal deposits in southern Colorado, which created new ventures for Hispanic wage labor.[282] Industrialization of coal mining and the establishment of steel production increased labor opportunities, which prompted the increase in Southern Colorado's Hispanic/Mexican population and subsequently the region's urban landscape. Mexican/Mexican American communities not only built and sustained the bourgeoning Southwest economy, but they were instrumental in the development of numerous working class communities throughout the region, which ranged from urban "Mexican towns," migrant shack towns, boxcar communities, and colonias to mine camps.[283]

Mexican/Hispanic communities settled and migrated throughout the region to participate in the mining, steel, agricultural, and railroad industries, which needed their labor to garner wealth. As explored in the labor chapter, these industries relied on the abundance of cheap ethnic labor, which was controlled through a colonial labor system. This system was endemic in Southern Colorado's industries and based wages and the types of jobs upon ethnicity and nationality perpetuating racist ideologies about the superiority of white laborers. In the late nineteenth century, the heaviest concentration of Hispanics and Mexican/Mexican Americans in Colorado were in the southern region. The number of Hispanics in Denver and Colorado Springs increased in the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the increase of industrialization in both cities. Pueblo and Trinidad, however, had a predominantly Mexican population before the industrialization of the region, as highlighted in the 1879-1880 Pueblo city directory, which noted Pueblo's population in 1861 was "composed chiefly of Mexicans…"[284] In the Trinidad area, Mexican residents traveled north from New Mexico for better agricultural and pastoral opportunities. As the mining industry grew, Mexicans worked in the mines seasonally to supplement their agricultural work and wages. Trinidad grew from a Mexican plaza community; the plaza was a prominent urban layout, indicated by early city directories and the prevalent use of the Garcia Plaza as a living place for most of the city's Hispanic and laboring citizens. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the presence of the Garcia Plaza in town records disappears in the early twentieth century, indicating

[279] Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans in California*, Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co, 1990, 1, 33.

[280] David A. Wolff, *Industrializing the Rockies: Growth, Competition, and Turmoil in the Coalfields of Colorado and Wyoming, 1868-1914*, University Press of Colorado, 2010, 75.

[281] Ibid., 75.

[282] Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*, 32.

[283] Monica I Garcia, "A History of Mexican and Mexican Americana in the Coal Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountain West, 1880-1928," PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2012, 3.

[284] *Pueblo and South Pueblo, Colorado Directory*. Atchison: R.T. Dean & Co., 1879, 7.

the rise and perpetuation of dominant American and capitalistic ideals. Spatially and urbanely, Trinidad evolved into an American city, which tried to leave behind its Hispanic and plaza past.

The steel and coal mining industries in Southern Colorado attracted increased numbers of immigrant and migrant ethnic laborers who settled and helped build up the cities of Pueblo and Trinidad. A large part of this labor force was Hispanic, specifically Mexicans and Mexican Americans who established permanent communities and made a long-lasting impact on the landscape. In Pueblo, there were a variety of neighborhoods, which were established in response to the founding of the steel mill. One such twentieth century community was known simply as "Mexican Town" (fig 1).

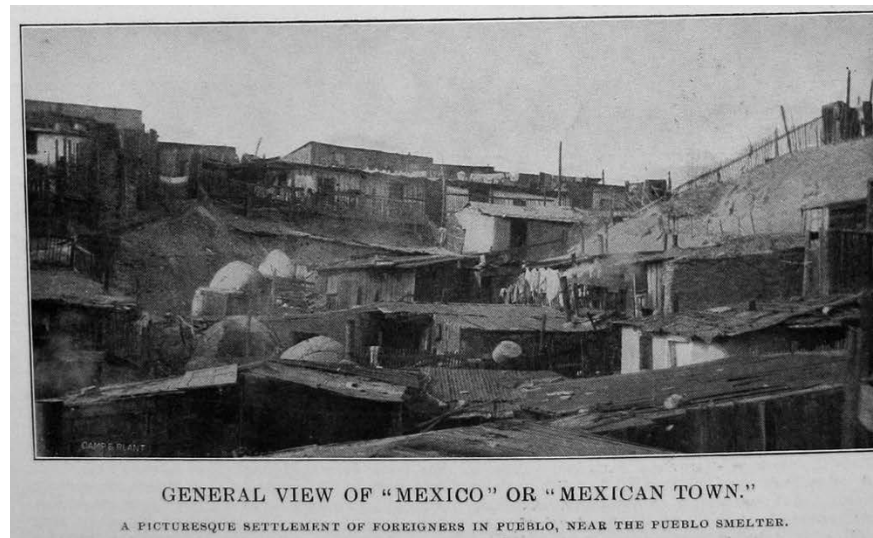
GENERAL VIEW OF "MEXICO" OR "MEXICAN TOWN."
A PICTURESQUE SETTLEMENT OF FOREIGNERS IN PUEBLO, NEAR THE PUEBLO SMELTER.

Figure 1. A photo of Mexico or Mexican Town in a 1903 publication of CF&I's Camp and Plant. This photo highlights this "town" as a space for foreigners in Pueblo. Camp and Plant, Vol. 1V, Denver and Pueblo, Saturday, September 26, 1903, No. 11, 245.

This community was described in a 1903 publication of Colorado Fuel & Iron's, Camp and Plant, which was published weekly by the CF&I Sociological Department. Its purpose was to inform employees about the various activities and happenings at the company's steel mill, coal mines, iron mines and quarries.[285] The 1903 article described the neighborhood, once populated almost exclusively by Mexican and Mexican Americans, as "one of the last relics in what is now a busy manufacturing city of the days when Pueblo was a frontier village and trading post (fig 2)."[286] The company specifically labeled this living space as "Mexico" or "Mexican Town" to emphasize difference among its workforce and largely Pueblo's population. The language of the description of "Mexican Town" is problematic; the description of "a picturesque settlement of foreigners in Pueblo" simultaneously exoticizes and removes residents' from Pueblo's

[285] "Camp and Plant," https://www.steelworks.us/education/primary-sources/camp-and-plant/.
[286] Camp and Plant, Vol. 1V, Denver and Pueblo, Saturday, September 26, 1903, No. 11, p. 245, 247.

"normal" citizens. The town was outside of the time and space of the American landscape; with its ethnic population and shack-like architecture, this town was both typical and foreign. Additionally, deeming the town as a relic, or the last relic, placed Mexicans, and largely Mexico, stuck in the past and conveyed they had no future. This is a common tool of empire, to silence "other" communities and encapsulate them into the past, negating their presence and future. This was not the reality of this urban space or of its inhabitants. "Mexican Town" had a thriving community and became home to several successful businesses: "In the early days of 'Mexico,' Bill Barron and Toribio Archuleta ran the most successful and best patronized dance hall and saloon. Mexicans for miles around Pueblo used to come in every night."[287]

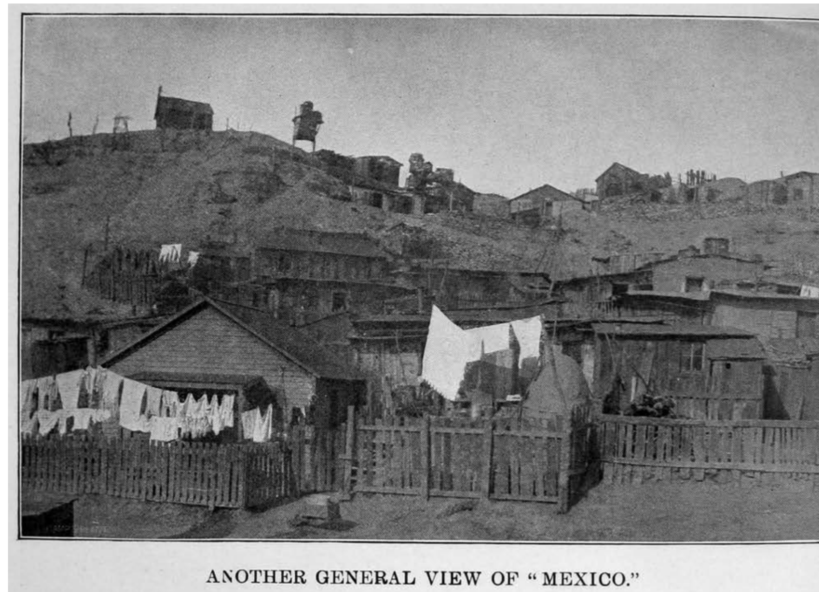
ANOTHER GENERAL VIEW OF "MEXICO."

Figure 2. Another view of Mexico or Mexican Town. Camp and Plant, Vol. 1V, Denver and Pueblo, Saturday, September 26, 1903, No. 11, 246.

As noted earlier, the city of Trinidad, and the majority of Southern Colorado, was populated by Hispanic populations who migrated north from New Mexico in the early nineteenth century. The industrialization of coal mining in Southern Colorado increased the numbers of Mexican/Mexican Americans who lived and traveled throughout this area. This can be seen in coal mining employee records. By 1916, Mexicans/Mexican Americans constituted 607 of the 2,601 Colorado Fuel and Iron employees in the Trinidad District, the company's largest concentration of mines. By the 1920s, the largest minority group in both the mines and the steel mill were Mexicans/Mexican Americans. This increase was a culmination of the effects of the Mexican Revolution and the lure of better-paying jobs north of the border. CF&I had a distinctly diverse workforce. Unlike its eastern mining and steelmaking competitors, CF&I relied on the labor of a unique mix

[287] Garcia, "A History of Mexican and Mexican Americans," 26.

of races and ethnicities, especially the Mexicans and Mexican Americans who lived in and around southern Colorado.[288]

The importance of Hispanic labor in Colorado, and largely the Southwest, can be seen in the employment records of miners and steel workers. CF&I provided cards as employment records; the cards tracked laborers' previous work experience, closest family, age, nationality, weight, address, and dates of employment. These employment records, or employee cards, provide information about the amount of work Hispanic populations performed throughout Colorado in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of these cards, but only four will be highlighted here. These employment cards are for those who worked in Pueblo at the Minnequa Works, but show they had previous employment throughout Colorado. Regino Lopez, Mariano Perez, Anebosio Rocha, and Louis Valdez, all worked in some capacity for the steel mill, but they also worked as farmers and miners; they worked for the Denver Rio Grande and Santa Fe Railroads, and in the "beet fields."[289] Although a small snapshot into the work history of these laborers, it shows how important Mexican/Hispanic labor was in Colorado and emphasizes their role in supporting Colorado's industries.

Similar to labor records, the records of spiritual life and traditions indicate the concentration and movement of Mexican/Mexican American communities within Southern Colorado. They also highlight the concentration of community life in the city of Trinidad. This can be seen in the baptismal and burial records of Trinidad's Holy Trinity Catholic Church. Founded in 1866, the Holy Trinity Catholic Church was first made from adobe but was replaced by a stone structure that combined the Gregorian and Romanesque styles. This significant structure became the spiritual and communal hub of the city and catered to its large Hispanic population. These records not only demonstrate the long-standing and growth of Hispanic populations in Southern Colorado, but it also shows the change in the use of certain urban spaces and the influence of the coal mining industry in changing the social and built landscape of the region.

The church's burial records from 1892 and 1925 show the use and subsequent abandonment of Trinidad's Garcia Cemetery. Referenced as "Garcia" or "Los Garcia," those few buried in this cemetery were labeled as "Mex" or "Mexican," and either lived or died in Trinidad.[290] There is no mention of burials in the Garcia cemetery after 1915, which corresponds with the disappearance of the Garcia Plaza from city records as a place of residence in Trinidad. Additionally, the church's baptismal records from 1901 to 1910 provide the names of families and where they resided. Between 1909 and 1910 the majority of Hispanic/Mexican families who had baptisms at this church came from and around the coal mines throughout Southern Colorado; they traveled from Gray Creek, Cokedale, Hastings, El Moro, Primero, Sopris, Starkville, Segundo, Troy, Engleville, Morely, Aguilar, Berwind, Hoehne, Ludlow, Tobasco, the Bloom mine, Cañon City, and

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[288] Jonathan H. Rees, *Representation and Rebellion: The Rockefeller Plan at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company 1914-1942*, Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010, 89.

[289] For pictures of the employment records, see Appendix D.

[290] "Holy Trinity Catholic Church, Record of Burials, 1892-1908," Trinidad, Colorado, (Trinidad Carnegie Public Library, Trinidad), microfilm.

Deluga.[291] Settlements such as Starkville, El Moro, and Sopris were close to Trinidad, but Cañon City was the farthest and was about 120 miles north of Trinidad. These families were likely connected to the coal mining industry one way or another and utilized the well-established Holy Trinity Catholic Church for their traditional and religious needs.

The use and subsequent abandonment of the Garcia Cemetery and the prolific use of the Holy Trinity Catholic Church points to the spatial struggles, which Mexican/Mexican American communities faced within the mining industry and in Southern Colorado. The Garcia Cemetery was utilized when the Garcia Plaza was populated but was left to crumble after the plaza was no more. The centrality of the Holy Trinity Catholic Church to the spiritual health of Southern Colorado's Mexican/Mexican American communities is evident in the movement of people who traveled from throughout the state to have their baptisms performed in Trinidad. This church, and largely the traditions of Catholicism, linked these communities together locally and across great distances. Moreover, the use of this church also highlights the lack of spiritual spaces that were available in Southern Colorado during this time period, which ensured the migration of people around the region. Trinidad not only grew to become a center for the coal mining industry, but it evolved to become an anchor for Mexican/Mexican American communities.

Gender

The processes of place making, and the creation of place fostered communal ties and aided the upkeep of culturally important traditions. The success and lasting impacts of these processes in Southern Colorado's laboring and ethnic communities were due to the social work of women. Social work meaning the rearing of families, creating, and upholding relationships, and organizing and holding religious festivities. Opposing ideals of gender, femininity, and what was considered modern fueled contestations of the use and creation of spiritual and familial spaces and the general preservation of community. This is especially true when Mexican/Mexican American communities were faced with west-bound Anglo-Americans and Protestant missionaries.

Significantly, within the familial unit, women upheld cultural and familial traditions in Mexican/Mexican American communities. However, their place within these realms were challenged when notions of religion and "modern living" became a focal point for Anglo-American and religious migrants. Protestant missionaries wanted to impose their notions of womanhood, religion, and life on the region's families, and specifically targeted women of color. These missionaries confronted ethnic communities with their beliefs, notably Hispanic communities. In New Mexico for example, the power of priests and the overall status of Hispanic women within the Catholic religion, were challenged by female Protestant missionaries, who eventually allotted themselves the roles of social control and cultural bearers through the schools they built and ran.[292] As noted in historian Monica Perales' work on Smeltertown (a Mexican community created by laborers who worked for the American Smelting and Refining Company in El Paso,

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[291] Holy Trinity Catholic Church (Trinidad, Las Animas County, Colorado), "Baptisms, 1901-1910," Microfilm, Book #14, Roll #2.

[292] Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*, 78.

Texas) these types of schools targeted the youth and taught young women domestics trades and how to make their households "more American."[293] Missionary efforts sought to interrupt the influence Hispanic women had within their communities and to weaken Hispanic community ties and relationships, in order to better control these communities.

Gender, specifically the role of women, was an important factor in place making and the survival of Colorado's nineteenth and twentieth century Hispanic communities. Women's work and presence stabilized the economic and social aspects of a community, which helped maintain the basic structural components of their Southwestern societies.[294] Furthermore, women helped their villages and towns thrive; they patronized hardware stores, fabric stores, grocery stores, and raised money for church events, weddings, funerals, and fiestas.[295]

In Trinidad specifically, Mexican/Mexican American women maintained their homes and earned money by working within the city. An 1888 Trinidad city directory provides information on where women worked and emphasizes their contributions to the city as a whole. Josefa Garcia was a dressmaker; Josepha Jaramillo was a school teacher; Mrs. Victoria Lopez was a washer; and Maria Rivera was a laborer.[296] Furthermore, these women and their occupations give insight into their spatial patterns and everyday lives. They lived in Trinidad, left their homes to go work; they made clothes, taught children, washed, and were general laborers throughout the city. They gathered in their places of work and arguably interacted with each other as many of these women had the same or similar professions and addresses.

Women's participation in cultural traditions, the support of community identity, and a communities' agency over their lives is also part of the creation of place. This is what women did, they created and sustained community through their work in their private homes and their patronship at public establishments. For example, nineteenth and twentieth century directories and newspapers of Trinidad held numerous cleaning, health, and home advertisements, which specifically targeted women. Women maintained their family's consumer and economic power within the household. In an 1898 edition of *The Chronicle News*, a Trinidad newspaper, a smiling woman in a frilly apron proudly shows off a roast she had just cooked in a "Gas Range" oven (fig 3). This Trinidad Gas Company advertisement targeted women, who presumably headed and cooked for their household, and urged them to get rid of the "old-fashioned method" and use a gas oven, which would make it "so easy to regulate" the temperature of whatever was cooking.[297]

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[293] Monica Perales, *Smeltertown: Making and Remembering a Southwest Border Community*, University of North Carolina Press, 2010, 198.

[294] Ibid., 54-61.

[295] Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Abduction*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999, 64.

[296] W. H. Whitney, *Directory of Trinidad, Colorado for 1888*, Trinidad: Advertiser Steam Job Print, 1888.

[297] "To Have a Roast Done To a Turn Use the Gas Range," Trinidad Gas Company, J.J. Copper, Mgr. Trinidad, Colorado, *The Chronicle News*, Wednesday, August 10, 1898, 4.

Figure 3. The picture in *The Chronicle News* depicting a woman showing off a roast she cooked in her new gas range oven. "To Have a Roast Done To a Turn Use the Gas Range," Trinidad Gas Company, J.J. Copper, Mgr. Trinidad, Colorado, "The Chronicle News," Wednesday, August 10, 1898, 4.

Women were not only important to their communities, but their work and presence also aided in the permanence and success of Colorado's industries. The company-owned coal camps were ethnically and culturally diverse and thus dictated not only the miners', but women's roles in constructing social networks linked to community formation. Coal mining camps were established near the mines, far from urban or settled areas. Facing isolation, women had little opportunities for supplemental income and social advancement. To provide for themselves and their families, they scavenged and bartered for food, practiced midwifery, and partook of other female centered activities. These female activities centered around participating in cultural traditions, such as religious festivities. Religion was a common denominator and unifier amongst various ethnic coal miners in the coal camps, many of which shared the same religion. Slavs, Mexicans, Italians, and Hispanic New Mexicans for example shared the same Roman Catholic religion.[298] On holy days, multiethnic residents of the coal camps would come together and exchange ethnic foods, form common bonds, play together, share labor grievances, and watch their children, who were integrated in the company run classrooms.[299]

The relationships these industrial communities fostered and the processes they shared for creating place helped them survive in an isolated, grueling landscape. As Perales explains, the creation of place and the community formation, which followed, allowed laborers to mitigate the power of the companies they worked for, whose

[298] Katharine Dawson, "Coal, Community, and Collective Action in McKinley County, New Mexico 1900-1935." Thesis (Ph.D.)—Binghamton: State University of New York, 2004, 95

[299] Garcia, "A History of Mexicans and Mexican Americans," 65.

influence touched every aspect of their lives. A company town was bound by the existence of its accompanying industry, but it was the interconnectedness of the people who lived there, which created a central identity, strengthened communal ties, and ensured the survival of said community.[300] In southern Colorado, mining camp residents were brought together by a sense of community and family, which was strengthened through shared hardships and experiences. Their labor activism aided in their interconnectedness, which also had a significant gender component. Women lived in mining camps, and they too experienced the hardships brought on by the coal mining company. Women occupied labor and activist spaces; traditional gender roles gave way to the exigencies of the struggle against a common enemy, where women were fighters and equal to men during strikes.[301] Unionization, and the aspect of coming together for a common cause, helped create place within mining communities. The presence and social work of women helped cement these communal and labor ties, pointing to the importance of gender within the process of place making and the community strength in Southern Colorado.

The creation of place was a significant factor in solidifying relationships and strengthening communal ties within Hispanic groups. Place making within an industrial society prompted complicated obstacles, such as contestations of familial and spiritual spaces and overbearing policies of the coal mining industry. Mexican and Mexican American communities in Southern Colorado faced these struggles, but the presence and roles of women were significant factors in community strength and longevity. Amidst the hardships of living and working within an unforgiving landscape, women kept the financial health of their families, enforced the social bonds of their communities by organizing and participating in religious traditions, and actively participated in labor activism alongside their male counterparts. Women's presence and social work ensured the formation and strength of Mexican/Mexican American communities throughout Southern Colorado's industrial period.

Conclusion

This dissertation has attempted to demonstrate how the consequences of industrial capitalism touched every aspect of everyday life, the creation of place, the formation of community and interethnic relationships, through an exploration of the construction and evolution of the aesthetics and functions of structures within Colorado's built environment. The consequences of industrial capitalism coupled with the transformation of the built environment impacted Colorado's demographics and the formation of its ethnic communities. The rise of industry and the increase in job opportunities prompted the increased diversity of Colorado's labor force in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These migrants and immigrants traveled throughout the Southwest and Colorado.

Mexican/Mexican American communities in particular, were prevalent in Southern Colorado where they worked in the agricultural, mining, ranching, and pastoral

[300] Perales, *Smeltertown*, 4, 58.
[301] Garcia, "A History of Mexicans and Mexican Americans," 86.

industries. Notably these communities toiled in the coal mines and faced dangerous working conditions, racial discrimination, and geographical isolation. These hard living and working conditions were mitigated with the processes of creating place and creating and enforcing communal ties. This included the upkeep of familial and cultural traditions, the continuation of social networks, which were upheld by women, and the participation in interethnic relationships and collaborations, especially during labor activism. The success and lasting impacts of these processes in Southern Colorado's laboring and ethnic communities were due to the social work of women. Women reared families, created, and upheld relationships among different groups and families, and organized religious festivities. Women's work and presence also stabilized the economic and social aspects of their communities, which helped maintain the basic structural components of their Southwestern societies.

The Southwest was formed due to the interactions of people of varying ethnicities, class, religious affiliations, and nationalities. The relationships formed from these interactions aided in the extraction and production of the region's natural resources. Colorado's population and natural resources were significant factors in the growth and stability of the region and largely the United States. Colorado's nineteenth and twentieth century industries prompted the diversity of its growing population, the building of grand structures and cities, and solidified American might in the West. However, these changes and feats would not have been possible without the lives and labor of those who toiled in these industries. Train tracks had to be lain down, cattle needed to be rustled and slaughtered, steel needed to be manufactured, and coal needed to be extracted from the earth. This industrial work was complete by a largely ethnic and immigrant workforce who traveled to Colorado in search of opportunity and economic mobility. The work and sacrifices of these hard-working people made Colorado wealthy and powerful. Mexican and Mexican American communities and laborers largely occupied Southern Colorado and were some of the most important players the state's growth. Without their presence, physical labor, activism, and processes of place making to strengthen their communities, the story of industrial capitalism in Colorado and the Southwest may have unfolded differently. Ultimately, the story of industrial capitalism in Colorado is one of the people who made its success and long-lasting existence possible.

Epilogue

This dissertation has explored the changes and impacts of Colorado's built environment from 1880 to 1920. Within these forty years, Colorado's cities grew in size, their populations diversified, and their respective industries matured and produced valuable commodities. This growth would not last, as the productivity of Colorado's industries changed after the 1920s due to changes in national labor policies, global economic downturn, and decreased need for certain resources. Notably, the Great Depression of the 1930s and the fall of Colorado Fuel & Iron's major operations negatively impacted Colorado's economic growth. Specifically, the waning of the influence of the state's coal mining industry stagnated Southern Colorado's urban growth. Although Colorado's economic and structural evolution had a large boost between 1880 and 1920, it did not abruptly end after 1920. The conclusion of this dissertation's story demonstrates the consequences and fragility of industrial capitalism when external pressure disrupts its flow. This ending chapter will explain the later years of the nineteen twenties and will conclude with commentary on the contemporary state of Colorado, which will emphasize its continued connection to its industrial past.

WWI and the Waning of Industry

The early twentieth century saw the continued growth of the American Southwest and the important role its industrial society had in maintaining and ensuring the nation's strength and durability. This strength was tested when the United States become entangled in international affairs during the First World War. Known as the War to end all Wars, World War I brought the U.S. onto the global stage and the country's participation ensured its future as a global powerhouse. The war started in 1914, and the U.S. supplied Allied forces with materials in the beginning of the war but remained neutral until 1917. President Woodward Wilson asked Congress for the approval to go to war in April of 1917 after repeated incidents of submarine warfare and the exposure of the Zimmerman Telegram. The post-war era brought economic prosperity to the home front, but the nation's internal struggles, notably the struggles with race relations and labor strife, never subsided.

The characteristics of the capitalist industries, which have been examined in this dissertation, included the accumulation of a largely ethnic, cheap, and controllable workforce. This workforce was the lifeblood of Colorado's industries, but they endured low wages, dangerous working conditions, and dismal living conditions. Violent and disastrous labor struggles and their aftermath were not desired, and efforts were made by U.S. government, to improve labor conditions. Employment representation plans (ERPs) were established to provide laborers some rights, agency, and bargaining power. World War I had a dramatic effect on the number of these employee representation plans operating in the United States. Under pressure from President Wilson administration's National War Labor Board (NWLB) and its chair, former president William Howard Taft, 120 American firms introduced shop committees (another name for ERPs) during the war to satisfy demands that they "bargain" with employees to prevent strikes from

disrupting the war effort.[302] The NWLB advocated the use of employee representation to facilitate communication between employers and employees in an effort to avoid strikes that might damage the war effort.[303]

The changing national policies on labor and labor strife, such as the organization of the ERPs, continued from the war through the 1930s, and contributed to the downfall of industry in Southern Colorado. The coal mining industry especially, was negatively impacted by policies, which gave more agency to laborers. The coal mining industry relied on a manageable and exploitable workforce to mine coal with little expenses. In the early nineteenth century, coal miners and their families were subjected to dangerous working conditions and dismal living conditions, and they did not have significant opportunities to have their struggles heard and changed for the better. With the passing of national, protective labor laws, the coal mining companies could no longer impose destructive working conditions upon its laborers to the degree they could during the peak of their industrialization. Without the ability to treat their workers however they wanted, the coal mining industry in Southern Colorado gradually dissipated.

As explored in the chapter about labor, violent and troublesome struggles over the conditions of labor and the fight for human rights plagued Colorado's coal mining industry. There were numerous strikes, deadly clashes between laborers and police, and harassment of union organizers and members. These incidents occurred throughout the state, but their frequency decreased as the 1920s turned into the 1930s. The last great labor uprising in the Colorado coal fields was ultimately a defeat for the coal miners of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company; the strike ended in May 1928 with none of the striking miners' demands met.[304] The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was broken by the strike and never regained their stronghold or prominence in the Colorado coal fields again. The owner of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company at the time, Josephine Roche, understood a need for the unions within her mines; she recognized the United Mine Workers of America and declared the company union be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.[305] Eventually, the unionization efforts of Colorado miners were recognized in the 1930s under the New Deal labor legislation. A part of the new legislation was the 1935 Wagner Act, which outlawed company unions and granted workers the right to unionize and to create a system of guidelines and regulations for union organizing and strikes.[306] This was a positive move forward in terms of labor relations in the U.S., but from the late 1930s on, the operations of Colorado's coal mining industry diminished; mines were shut down, coal camps and towns were torn down or abandoned, and large numbers of the mining families moved to surrounding cities.

The start of the downfall of the coal mining industry in Colorado, specifically the wanning of CF&I's power and influence, dated back to the 1920s. CF&I had difficulty

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[302] Jonathan H. Rees, *Representation and Rebellion: The Rockefeller Plan at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company 1914-1942*, Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010, 81.

[303] Ibid., 81.

[304] Monica I García, "A History of Mexican and Mexican Americans in the Coal Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountain West, 1880-1928," University of California, Santa Barbara, December 2012, 131.

[305] Ibid., 131.

[306] Karin Larkin and Randall H. McGuire, *The Archaeology of Class War: The Colorado Strike of 1913-1914*, (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009), 60.

competing with newly discovered petroleum-based products from Texas and Oklahoma, which threatened the great dependence on coal for fuel. The market for steel rails, the CF&I's most important product at the time, declined in 1921 as cars and trucks began to seriously compete with railroads for the first time in U.S. history. By the end of the decade, however, the firm's profits spiked in reaction to cuts in its coal operations and a stronger market for rails. CF&I began to modernize its Pueblo steel mill for the first time in twenty-five years, and the company experienced record earnings in the first quarter of 1930. Later in the decade however, the company's steel business dropped sharply, which was a result of the advent of eastern and foreign competition in its traditional market for the first time in the company's existence. Eastern and foreign steelworkers were paid substantially less than CF&I steelworkers; and thanks to a combination of desperation and improvements in transportation, companies from both areas had begun to poach on CF&I's market in the western United States.[307] Due to these factors, continued labor strife and the changing nature of the country, CF&I lost its stronghold in Southern Colorado and most of its larger operations were stopped.

Colorado Today

Today, the cities of Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo and Trinidad, their architecture and size, is a direct result of the economic, demographic, and political, changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Between 1880 and 1920 the state, and the country, experienced unprecedented growth in its urban centers and populations. Furthermore, the rise of capitalist industries increased immigration and migration, and changed the nature and creation of interethnic relationships and interactions. These four cities in Colorado are significant in the state's architectural, ethnic, labor, and economic history. The structures within these cities had specific functions and aesthetics, which reflected the rise of industry and the perpetuation of dominant ideologies at the time. These Manifest Destiny ideologies highlighted the supposed superiority of Anglo-Americans and the belief in the United States' right to move westward. Moreover, combined with the politics of expansion, the practice and dissemination of these ideologies resulted in U.S. colonialism and imperialism. The structures which came from this era of Manifest Destiny, westward migration, and the rise of industry in Colorado, were made of local materials, stone, brick, concrete and had European and Classical styles. These structures also helped industrialize the Southwest and provided the means for the country to grow its global power and influence. Thanks to preservation efforts, the perseverance of sturdy materials, and the mercy of nature itself, there are many historic structures, which still stand throughout Colorado. Some buildings discussed in this dissertation even still function in their original capacity and continue to instill pride in residents and to impress those who stand in their presence.[308]

Denver is still a large, urban city and functions as the finance and political center of Colorado; its state capitol building and the park it sits in is indicative of this. The Mint, not far from the Capitol building, still produces coinage and stands as a monument to

[307] Ibid., 184, 186.
[308] For pictures of nineteenth and twentieth century buildings in Colorado today, see Appendix B.

Denver's role as a guardian of wealth and financial power. Downtown Denver holds many historic structures, which are symbols of Denver's past and instant growth. The Masonic Temple and refurbished Union Depot, both of which still function in their original capacities, are just small parts of Denver's the industrial, ethnic, and labor history. These three structures, their materials, uses, and aesthetics, all point to the shifting social, economic, and political norms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Similar to Denver, the historic structures and spaces of Colorado Springs have survived into the twenty-first century. Colorado College, the Broadmoor Hotel, and the Garden of the Gods are still open and accessible. The original nineteenth century buildings of Colorado College are still used to house and educate the next generation of scholars. The Broadmoor Hotel still caters to those who can afford to stay in its luxurious rooms and enjoys its many amenities. The Garden of the Gods has an educational center and gift shop; a wide variety of nature trails; paved roads for car travel; and a mission to improve the "quality of Garden of the Gods Park by gathering resources and providing grants that protect the park."[309] All of these structures and spaces have kept their inherent exclusive characteristics and still function as engines for the city's tourism industry. Moreover, there still exists class and educational barriers, which are reinforced in their functions. The development and longevity of Denver and Colorado Springs is indicative of the continuity of their built environments and the stability of the powers, which shaped these cities.

Southern Colorado's development and current state are inextricably tied to the transformations prompted by the rise of industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In Pueblo and Trinidad there are structures and spaces which highlight and celebrate each city's historic past and connection to the steel and coal mining industries. These include historic districts, memorials, preserved and abandoned architecture, old, unkempt cemeteries, and ghost signs. For clarification, ghost signs are old advertisements usually on the sides of painted on the sides of buildings or plastered on build boards. These signs emerged from the commercialization of roadside tourism, which inundated the nation's Main Street business districts by the early twentieth century; advertisers erected large billboards, beside railroad tracks and streetcar tracks, and painted advertisements on the side of popular buildings to grab peoples' attention.[310] All of these urban materials create an archive, which tells a story of economic prosperity and industrial growth.

Pueblo may not have its Grand Opera House nor its steel YMCA, but the steel mill still stands, and steel production still exists in the city. At its peak, the steel mill represented the success of Pueblo as a manufacturing city and became a staple in its visual representation and the wide circulation of picture postcards. Today, the steel mill continues to instill pride in the citizens of Pueblo; it elicits pride in steel, the city of Pueblo, and the state of Colorado. The steel identity fostered in the twentieth century is still alive today within the steel laborers and their families who still have close ties to the steel industry. Contemporary steel workers equate steel production and CF&I to "an American thing" and not just a "Southern Colorado or Pueblo thing," and further convey

[309] "Home" Garden of the Gods Visitor Center, https://www.gardenofgods.com/.

[310] Chester H. Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995, 5.

their pride in being steel workers.[311] The steel mill still operates under Evraz Plc, one of Russia's largest steel and mining companies.[312] The company has made its presence known in Pueblo with new signs and a goal of "making the world stronger" through steel production (fig 1).

Figure 1. The new sign for Ezra steel on a historic building right next to the Steelworks Center of the West. The sign reads "Evraz Rocky Mountian Steel, making the world stronger." Photo taken by the author.

The pride in the city of Pueblo is echoed in the preservation efforts of the city's oldest and historic spaces. Notably, there have been efforts to preserve the memories and stories of Salt Creek, a Mexican American community, which was established alongside the steel mill in the nineteenth century. The Salt Creek Memory Project, and many others like it in Colorado, aims to record and preserve the past, and bring the community together, revitalize or maintain its collective spirit, and foster a sense of togetherness.[313] This project has collected valuable interviews from current and former residents of Salt Creek, which detail living conditions in the neighborhood, family histories, and cultural traditions. Additionally, there have been efforts to preserve the city's cemeteries and the stories they tell. The Roselawn Cemetery is meticulously manicured and is home to significant figures who helped build Pueblo and largely Southern Colorado. This cemetery even has a historic section, which has some the oldest graves in the city. The Pueblo Pioneer Cemetery, the city's first official cemetery, is worn down and has many broken and missing graves. This cemetery may not be as aesthetically appealing or

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[311] "Forging of the West" http://www.gregoryhowell.com/colorado-fuel-iron-company.

[312] Sue McMillin, "Pueblo's steel mill is an American success story. And it's owned by Russians," *The Colorado Sun*, March 14, 2022, https://coloradosun.com/2022/03/14/pueblo-steel-mill-war-ukraine-russia/.

[313] "Reliving Their Own History: The Importance of the Neighborhood Memory Projects" History Colorado, https://www.historycolorado.org/story/colorado-voices/2019/03/22/reliving-their-own-history-importance-neighborhood-memory-projects.

desirable, but efforts have been made to preserve the remaining gravesites, some of which hold people important to the early history of Pueblo. People like Carlos Otero who came to Pueblo in 1873 and was a jeweler, tuba player and chief of the Pueblo Volunteer Fire Department.[314]

Trinidad is a unique city, because it has numerous historic buildings from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These buildings have either been abandoned or repurposed, but most still have their original stone and brick work and look like they did more than a hundred years ago. This is because the city of Trinidad was literally too poor to tear down; it had no money to hire people to harvest its structures' stone and brick. This has allowed for the city's historic spaces and characteristics to survive. Some of its ghost signs for example, have survived; one such sign advertises a clothing company selling shirts, pants, and overalls for laborers. The sign is painted over a brick wall and depicts six men, dressed as laborers, playing tug-o-war with a pair of jeans, presumably to show how durable they were (fig 2).

Figure 2. Ghost sign in Trinidad, CO. Photo taken by the author.

In the past fifteen years, the city of Trinidad has boosted its efforts to preserve its history and celebrate its connection to the coal mining industry. The Corazon de Trinidad is the city's historic district in the heart of the city, which has plaques on the sidewalks detailing the area's history and a small square with coal mining memorial statues (fig 3). As previously mentioned, there are three statues proudly standing next to each other: the Coal Miner's Canary Statue, Southern Colorado Miners' Memorial, and the Louis Tikas Memorial Statue. These statues celebrate the animals which helped coal mining operations; the ethnically diverse population of coal miners who worked tirelessly for the

[314] Mary Jane Talbott, "Pueblo Pioneer Cemetery: Restored but…" January 13, 2017, *The Pueblo Chieftain*, https://www.chieftain.com/story/opinion/2017/01/14/pueblo-pioneer-cemetery-restored-but/9239043007/.

coal companies; and memorializes the labor organizational efforts of coal miners, specifically famed labor leader Louis Tikas, who was killed during the Ludlow. Massacre.

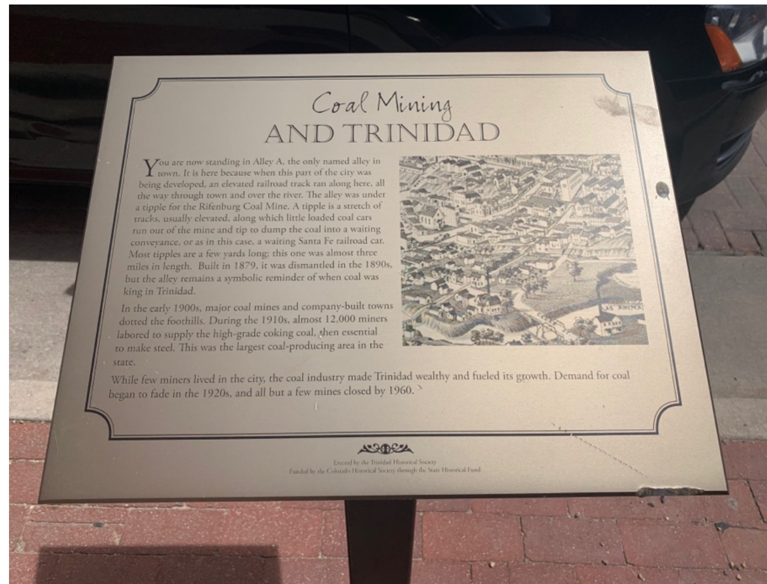

Figure 3. One sidewalk plaque, which details Trinidad's connection to the coal mining industry. Photo taken by the author.

Conclusion

The aesthetics, structure, and evolution of the cities of Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and Trinidad are a direct result of late nineteenth and early twentieth century transformations of Colorado's economy, which further transformed the state's demographics and communities. These transformations were prompted by notions of Anglo-American superiority, westward expansion, the availability of precious natural resources, and the increase in the interactions of peoples of different ethnicities and nationalities. The racial tensions and ethnic complexities born out of increased contact between different groups prompted the simultaneous creation and warping of space and place. The kinds of spaces included familial, gendered, leisure, and labor spaces, which were created through the everyday actions of laborers, women, capitalist leaders, and other citizens.

Colorado's cities would not have developed into their contemporary states without these peoples and communities, their labor, sacrifices, and desires. Notably the lives, actions, and stories of Colorado's ethnic communities within the history of the state's built environment, have not been given proper attention or analysis. The spaces they inhabited and the ways in which they utilized urban structures aided the growth and shape of the state's rural and industrial areas. This is especially true of southern Colorado, where community formation and solidarity worked in tandem with capitalist

industries to form its unique urban spaces. Mexican and Mexican American histories in Colorado can be seen through the physical remnants, which reference historical events such as the Ludlow Massacre of 1914.

The architecture and grand cities of Colorado did not pop up out of thin air, they were carefully crafted and built to serve specific functions of industrial capitalism and westward expansion. Their grandeur was supplemented with Eastern wealth, but their construction and survival into the contemporary was only possible through the help of a wide range of people of varying ethnicities and nationalities. This dissertation research is a window into the future of the study of Colorado's, and largely the Southwest's, built environments. By putting the transformation of the state's built environment at the forefront and using spatial relationships and spatial analysis as analytical tools, this dissertation reveals the histories of the rise of industrial capitalism, the everyday actions of people, the creation of interethnic relationships, and the formation of community to be mutually constitutive. The work of this dissertation intervenes in this body of regional work by providing a spatial and urban element to the history of the growth and formation of the Southwest. Colorado has always been more than its towering mountains, snowy attractions, and natural wonders. Colorado is a state filled with untold stories of laborers, architects, immigrants, families, capitalist leaders, and the insatiable desire to craft places and spaces to attract praise and admiration. Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and Trinidad are old, historically rich cities. Their old sidewalks, Victorian homes, brick structures, old cemeteries, abandoned mines, and historic memorials allows one to see Colorado's historic and contemporary transformations. This dissertation has been an attempt to connect the past to the present through the exploration of the innately human creation of architecture.

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Appendix A: Images of Coal Mining Memorials

Figure 1: The Lafayette Cemetery Commemorative Headstone. Photo taken by the author.

The names of the six miners who died during the Columbine Mine Massacre on the memorial headstone in the Lafayette Cemetery, Lafayette Colorado**.**

Figure 2: The Louis Tikas Memorial Statue. Photo taken by the author.

Today Louis Tikas is immortalized in the heart of Trinidad, Colorado.

Figure 3. The Louis Tikas Highway sign, Ludlow, Colorado. Photo taken by the author.

In addition to his statue in Trinidad, Louis Tikas has a stretch of road named after him. Visitors see this sign before venturing on a country road to the Ludlow Memorial Monument.

Appendix B: Images of Trinidad, CO European and Classical Architecture

Figure 1: Trinidad City Hall. Auraria Library, Denver CO. http://digital.denverlibrary.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15330coll14/id/2069.

This stone building has notable Classical elements, especially its four Ionic columns at its entrance.

Figure 2. Holy Trinity Catholic Church. History Colorado. https://www.historycolorado.org/location/trinity-church-trinidad-holy-trinity-catholic-church.

This historic stone church was first an adobe building but was refurbished and given Gregorian and Romanesque styles.

Figure 3. The Bloom House. “Trinidad Historical Architecture.”

Built in 1882 by Frank Bloom for his family’s residence, the Bloom House was constructed in the Victorian style. It was built of brick and the exterior was influenced by French architecture as exemplified by its metal covered mansard roof, the paster cornices and rosettes, and its ornamental woodwork of its porch.

Appendix C: Full Blueprint of the Boiler House for Furnace D

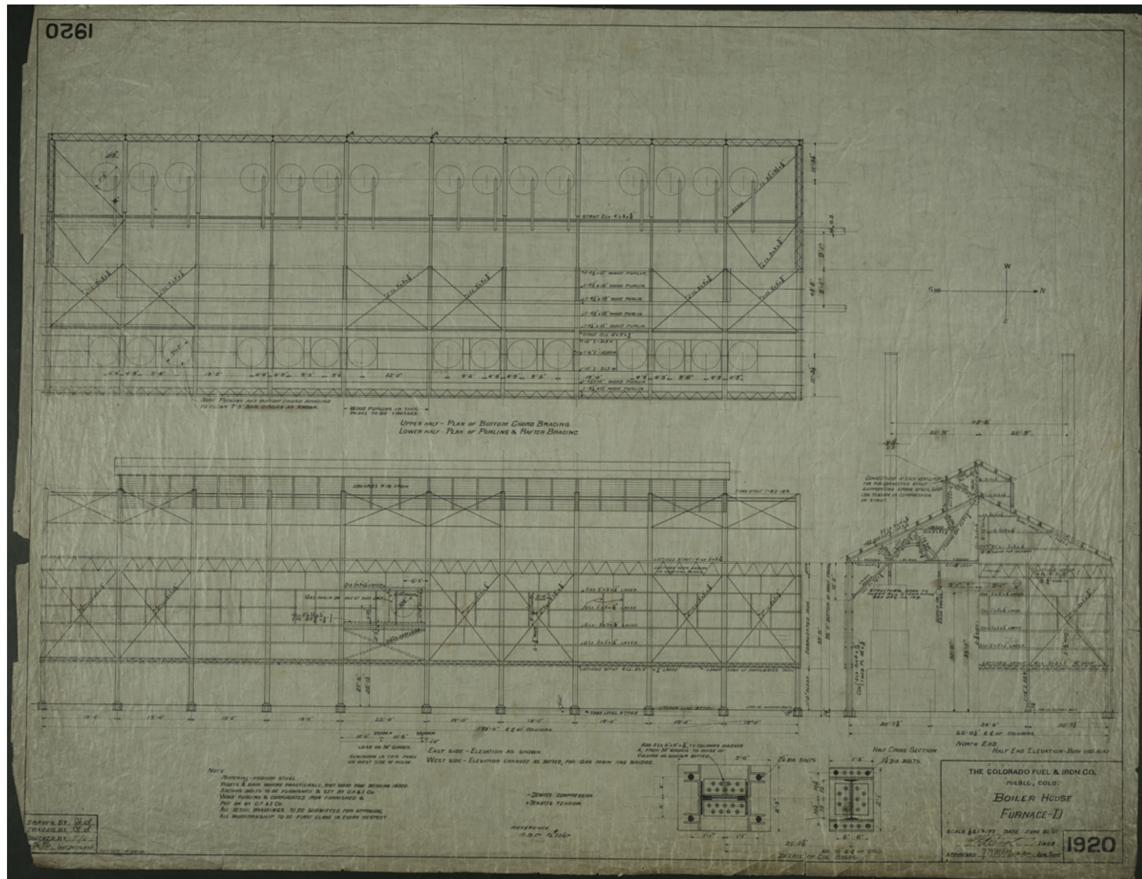

Figure 1. Full blueprint of the boiler house. Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. *Boiler House Furnace-D*, 1901, Schematics, Charts, Blueprints, Patterns and Maps Record Group, CF&I Archives.

Appendix D: CF&I Minnequa Works Employee Records (Cards)

Figure 1. Employment record (card) for Regino Lopez. *Colorado, Steelworks Employment Records, 1887-1979*, Ancestry.com. (database on-line). Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016.

Lopez had no previous employment because he just arrived from “Old Mex(ico).”

Figure 2. Employment record (card) for Mariano Perez. *Colorado, Steelworks Employment Records, 1887-1979*, Ancestry.com. (database on-line). Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016.

Perez worked for the Santa Fe Railroad and as a miner.

Figure 3. Employment record (card) for Anebosio Rocha. *Colorado, Steelworks Employment Records, 1887-1979*, Ancestry.com. (database on-line). Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016.

Rocha worked for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad and as a driver in the "beet fields."

Figure 4. Employment record (card) for Louis Valdez. *Colorado, Steelworks Employment Records, 1887-1979*, Ancestry.com. (database on-line). Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016.

Valdez worked as a farmer in Kansas City, Missouri.

Appendix E: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Buildings in Colorado Today

Figure 1. “The Bin Man” with the steel plant in the background, Pueblo, Colorado. Photo taken by the author.

Standing behind the Steelworks Center of the West, “The Bin Man” is a relatively new statue, which honors Pueblo’s steel plant and its workers who labored in an unforgiving industry. The steel plant, seen in the background, still stands today and is a unique sight along the Interstate 25.

Figure 2. The sign on the old Schneider Brewery. Trinidad, Colorado. Photo taken by the author.

Figure 3. The abandoned Schneider Brewery, Trinidad, Colorado. Photo taken by the author.

Figure 4. Trinidad's abandoned opera house, Trinidad, Colorado. Photo taken by the author.

Figure 5. The renovated interior of Trinidad's First National Bank, Trinidad, Colorado. Photo taken by the author.

Figure 6. View of the Garden of the Gods from the Visitor Center, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Photo taken by the author.

Figure 7. Denver's Union Station. "Denver Union Station," Tripadvisor, https://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g33388-d130318-Reviews-Denver_Union_Station-Denver_Colorado.html.

Denver's Union Station continues to draw crowds of tourists and train travelers with its grand architecture and dinning, shopping, and living options.