



**“Among the Elites
of the Great West:”
Pueblo City Hall
and Memorial Hall**

Prepared by:

Jeffrey DeHerrera
Adam Thomas
Cheri Yost

List of Pueblo Government Leaders
Compiled by Weston C. Burrer

HISTORITECTURE, LLC

Prepared for:

City of Pueblo, Colorado

January 2014



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architectural history | preservation planning | digital preservation media



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On the cover. The icons of Pueblo: City Hall and Memorial Hall with the stacks of the Minnequa Steelworks in the background. *(Photo courtesy Pikes Peak Library District)*

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by Jeffrey DeHerrera, Lead Author

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INTRODUCTION

Inventing City Hall: The Civic Temple and Public Life

Pueblo's grand City Hall and Memorial Hall are unmistakable and compelling landmarks, indicating the very hinge point of downtown and visible from numerous vantages around the city. City Hall's crowning cupola is the keystone in Pueblo's skyline, wedged between the towers of commerce and the rusting hulks of the Minnequa Steelworks. These features provide an instant narrative of the city itself: its unique history, its diverse culture, its future. At night, the cupola blazes forth, cutting through the darkness as a beacon of enlightenment, marking the very place where the citizens of Pueblo interface and exchange with their government and each other, creating civic life. City Hall and Memorial Hall define that quickly diminishing category of places "belonging to everyone and yet nobody in particular," observes Peter G. Rowe. It is a place with "a civic orientation that is direct, palpable, and there for the purposes of reminding us both of who we are and who we might become."¹

Perhaps the most direct and palpable symbol of this civic orientation is not City Hall's cupola, but its front entrance. Here architect William W. Stickney expended much of his creative effort and focused the bulk of the otherwise rather austere building's decorative features, including classical details meant to evoke the democracies of Greece and the republics of Rome. This was no accident but rather the manifestation of a profound moment in the evolution of American city government. City Hall's main entrance marks the threshold of democ-

cracy and embraces in stone the idea of a government that is a part of—rather than apart from—the life of the city.

City Hall—the place, the space, and the idea—was a purposeful invention rather than the inevitable product of the force of history. "What Americans colloquially imagine as 'city hall' is a unique focal point of the everyday, ordinary experience of citizenship, a lay person's political practice that is seldom articulated in a formal or literary way," observes historian Mary P. Ryan. It was a building and a term "conjured up in the public imagination in the nineteenth century when it anchored the idea of government in a social space and shaped political expectations around a public meeting place, a hall." The building was intended to embody the city's fortunes and aspirations, to be its grandest secular building. As progress demanded change, many municipalities constructed new civic buildings based on old, revived ideals and architecture. The three-dimensional physicality of civic architecture paralleled the growing favorable sentiment of municipal government; new civic buildings were reminders of how seemingly perfect governments once existed and could emerge again.²

City halls first emerged in the United States during the era of the Jacksonian democrats (mid-1830s to 1854), who threw off the yoke of aristocratic representative republicanism in favor of direct democracy, embracing the common man. As Ryan points out, the seats of city government before this era often represented the interests of the crown or of elites, pur-

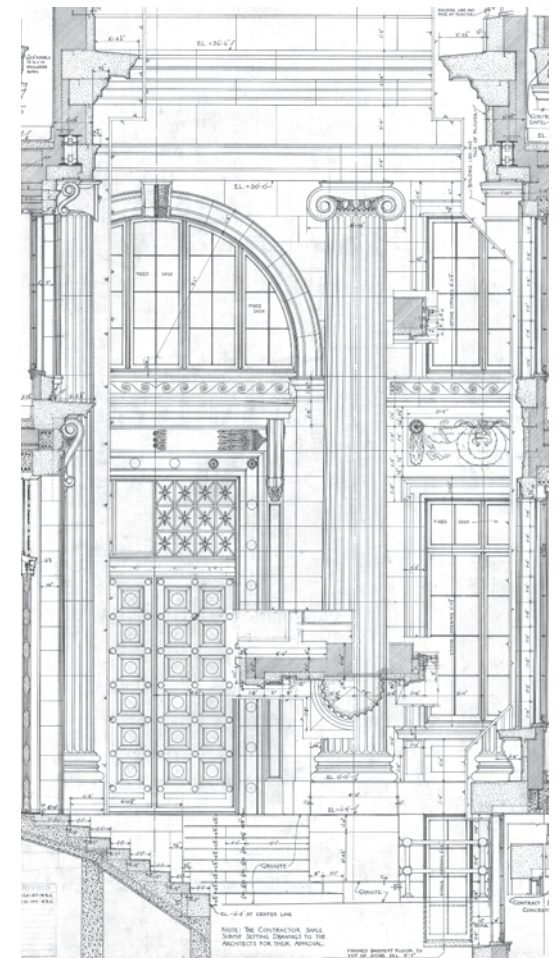


Figure i.1. Architect William Stickney's intricate design for Pueblo City Hall's principal entryway. (William W. Stickney; drawing courtesy of Charles Stickney and the City of Pueblo)

posefully setting the space of rulers apart from their subjects and the mundane life of the city. They were palaces and fortifications but not halls. Yet with newfound fervor for popular democracy combined with soaring populations, cities across mid-nineteenth-century America built new city halls that purposely removed spatial impediments between the citizens and their elected representatives, throwing open the mechanisms of government to public view.³

At the same time, these new city halls also included spaces for public gatherings unrelated to government, ranging from banquet halls and ballrooms to large theaters and auditoria. Americans made little distinction between highbrow and lowbrow culture or between political and leisure culture, sharing instead a sense of a civic culture. As historian Lawrence W. Levine points out “...[I]n the nineteenth century, especially in the first half, Americans, in addition to whatever specific cultures they were part of, shared a public culture less hierarchically organized, less fragmented into rigid adjectival boxes than their descendants were to experience a century later.”⁴ Thus elites and commoners mingled together in spaces ranging from taverns to city halls to enjoy entertainment that included Shakespeare, operatic arias, folksongs, and bawdy dancers. Moreover, minstrelsy and vaudeville were imbued with lessons of citizenship and nationalism that made city halls wholly appropriate spaces for their performance.

But the idealism of city hall was not to last. The political machines and bosses that dominated city government in the late nineteenth century gave city hall a bad name. The symbol of civic virtue transformed into the landmark of wickedness; “the façade became a mantle of corruption.”⁵

Yet the connection between leisure and citizenship as

well as nationalism grew stronger during this same era, reaching its zenith with the extraordinary world’s fairs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, in Chicago. Daniel Burnham and a his colleagues, representing the greatest architects of their generation, designed in the fair’s Court of Honor, also known as the White City, a Beaux Arts masterpiece of civic enlightenment. The collection of enormous buildings dripped in classical ornament and offered a utopian vision strikingly different from the grimy streets and corrupt city officials lurking beyond its confines.

Thus, as a new generation of reformers—the Progressives—took on city government in the early twentieth century, they looked to the White City as the physical paradigm for enlightened civic culture and renewed virtue. Between 1890 and 1920 Progressives sought to reform Gilded Age machine politics with more direct representation. For instance, Progressive reformers championed the Seventeenth Amendment, passed in 1913, which established the direct election of U.S. Senators rather than their selection through the state legislatures. Progressives sought to make government—particularly local, municipal government—more transparent, accountable, and accessible. At the same time, they desired to elevate and educate the citizen, fostering civic virtue and unity.

A cornerstone of the progressive effort was to reimagine the very city itself, through the City Beautiful movement, with wide boulevards, ample parks, inspiring public art, and centering on the civic center or city hall itself. In his Plan for Chicago, Burnham himself chose to stress the essentials of “order” and “unity,” the need to see the city “as an organic whole.” The Civic Center, “the keystone of the arch” of the entire

plan, was to be “a monument to the spirit of civic unity.” Progressives hoped that the rearrangement of the city streets, common spaces, and government buildings might spur a renaissance of public consciousness and public life.⁶ And it was thus in this spirit that William Stickney, in the waning years of the Progressive Era, designed City Hall’s principal entryway, a gateway to transparent government and an enlightened citizenry.



This document has been produced as part of the City of Pueblo’s mitigation agreement with History Colorado for the restoration of City Hall and Memorial Hall, per Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended. It consists of three major sections. The first chapter deals with the evolution of Pueblo’s city government. The second chapter traces the construction of and subsequent modifications to City Hall and Memorial Hall. The third chapter addresses Memorial Hall as Pueblo’s preeminent entertainment venue.



Figure i.2. Pueblo City Hall was still new in this 1920s-era photograph looking south along Grand Avenue. The Vail Hotel is in the foreground, at right. (Photo courtesy City of Pueblo)

CHAPTER 1

Civic Experiments: The History of Pueblo City Government

The history of Pueblo city government is a long narrative of incessant tinkering and experimentation. Puebloans struggled to find the right form of leadership and representation as they endured wrenching cycles of booms and busts while trying to navigate the latest national trends in municipal governance. Yet these efforts were often quite commendably successful, achieving remarkable stability while enduring economic, cultural, and political flux. At first, four separate towns negotiated their own forms of government but, with consolidation, had to find a common ground, which resulted in a mayor-council form of government that lasted for decades. Puebloans transformed their city government again with the 1911 charter, which implemented Progressive reforms, including a much simplified commission form of government. Following World War II, citizens rallied for a more corporate form of government, amending the 1911 charter to embrace a manager-council form of government, which placed an appointed manager in charge of the day-to-day functions of the city. Citizens codified this form of government in the 1952 charter, which itself has been the subject of tinkering and outright challenges to the present.

But even in the past, the citizens of Pueblo have been remarkably and actively engaged in perfecting their government. As more and more people settled in the fledgling frontier village of Pueblo, they realized they needed to establish some form of organized, local government. Home to a

handful of settlers since the late 1850s, the settlement operated with no local oversight or elected officials, existing merely as an unincorporated village on the expansive frontier of the Kansas Territory and later the Colorado Territory. The first local government to encompass the town was Pueblo County, established in 1862, one year after the creation of the Colorado Territory.

In the years following the Civil War the population soared and American cities “were more prosperous than ever before” and “were expending more money and employing more persons than in any previous period in history.” Pueblo was no exception. The population grew large and stable enough to incorporate as a town under the laws of the territory on March 22, 1870, accompanying the construction of several permanent businesses.¹

As the hub of western, mountain-bound trade from the north, south, and east, Pueblo entrepreneurs and would-be magnates recognized the “benefit to the city of united action in advertising the resources of the Pueblo region” and established the first board of town trustees upon organizing the town. Still a full two years before the arrival of the railroad or the first signs of construction at the steelworks, five aspiring politicians appointed themselves as the first trustees on the day of incorporation. They were a who’s who list of prominent Pueblo pioneers: James Rice, Henry H. Cooper, Henry C. Thatcher, Mark G. Bradford, and board president George A.

Hinsdale, who had been a lieutenant governor of the territory (and namesake of Colorado’s Hinsdale County). Their self-appointment appears largely ceremonial, though, as the first board did not establish any laws or policies, merely filling seats until a formal election.²

GOVERNING THE THREE PUEBLOS (AND BESSEMER)

This first board opened “The first election of officers for the town of Pueblo” on April 4, 1870. Pueblo’s weekly newspaper, the *Colorado Chieftain*, said of the election:

There were two tickets in the field, one denominated the “People’s Ticket,” and the other bearing the metropolitan title of “City Ticket.” The first was composed entirely of Republicans, as was also the latter, with the exception of two candidates. Considerable feeling was manifested during the day, but the election passed off quietly and with entire good nature. There were one hundred and ten ballots cast, which resulted in the election of the following officers all of whom ran on the “City Ticket,” except Messrs. Baxter and Cooper: Trustees—George A. Hinsdale, Lewis Conley, Sam McBride, C.P. Peabody, and O.H.P. Baxter. Town Clerk—Aug. Beach. Constable—J.F. Smith. Supervisor of Streets—H.H. Cooper.

Only Hinsdale remained on the board following the election; Cooper ran for, and won, the supervisor of streets position, while Rice, Thatcher, and Bradford received the fewest amount of votes among candidates. The same *Chieftain* article explained a light turnout due to “many citizens being absent from town” and that “Several persons residing outside of the town attempted to vote” unsuccessfully.³

With that first election, the citizens of Pueblo were upbeat about the future; yet those attitudes would change as an economic recession gripped the country by 1873. Post-Civil War inflation, an European economic recession, and speculative land investments crippled both the local and national econ-

omy. Nationally, “machine” or “boss” politicians gained control of the mechanisms of city government and power. Property values plummeted, denoting a drop in tax valuations and receipts. While localities collected diminishing property taxes, nationally the average “expenditures per capita of cities, villages, and townships increased from \$8.51 to \$14.44” between 1866 and 1876. American urban historian Ernest S. Griffith notes:

City expenses always tended to keep fair pace with their rising prices, but the effect seemed cumulative rather than rhythmical, and expenses seldom followed prices down until much later. Part of the reason for this lag was, no doubt, the inelasticity of the city services. Also, the city government hesitated to offend its supporters and friends by a reduction of the salary, or a cut in the number, of its employees in what was inherently a political situation. Such reductions were also harmful to the party machine.

Nationwide reaction to the economic troubles and corruption led many cities to transform from committee-type representation to a mayoral form, with a single person in charge and accountable.⁴

The City of Pueblo operated under the town board of trustees system for two additional annual elections beyond 1870. Seemingly in response to the economic recession and the changing national political scene at the time, the City of Pueblo transitioned from a board of trustees to a council-mayor form of representation. Additionally, the population of Pueblo almost doubled from 1870 to 1871 due to the anticipation of the railroad, marking an influx of new residents with varied ideas of civic governance. On April 7, 1873, Pueblo voters elected their first mayor, James Rice, and four accompanying aldermen: Aldermen George P. Hayslip, Oliver H.P. Baxter, J.J. Thomas, and Weldon Keeling. In doing so, Pueblo adopted

a city government popularized in the eastern United States during the 1850s; one elected representative was now accountable for the fortunes and failures of the small city.

The arrival of the railroad in 1872 brought a new, rival town south of the Arkansas River. General William Jackson Palmer and his associates developed South Pueblo to capitalize on the prospective prosperity his Denver & Rio Grande (D&RG) Railroad and its facilities would bring to area. Palmer and his associates platted and filed the town of South Pueblo with Pueblo County officials on December 13, 1872. Within a few months the town saw the appointment, by undisclosed means, of the first five trustees: W.P. Martin, Alva Adams, C.H. Lamkin, H.S. Seward, and board president J.D. Peer. South Pueblo incorporated as a town under the laws of the Colorado Territory on October 27, 1873.⁵

South Pueblo emerged at a moment when virtue, accountability, and representation in municipal government eroded significantly. The political scene in the American city continued to diverge from respectability to corruption throughout the next few decades. As Griffith notes: "Ethically speaking, the nadir of American city government was probably reached in the years between 1880 and 1893." Regrettably, without pinpointing an acute cause to the crumbling ethics, "the path to better municipal governance was long and difficult..." Population growth and the beginnings of economic recovery now afforded municipalities, and their leaders, the chance to expand services within their jurisdiction. The managers (some elected, some appointed, and some self-chosen) of America's cities and towns reveled in the growth of the American corporation, seizing on the powers of the latter to expand the range of the city and bequeathing a larger tax base. In Pueblo, the population propagated enough to append

a fifth ward to the town in 1875 and a sixth in 1880.⁶

South Pueblo, on the other hand, continued to operate under an appointed board of trustees, loyal to the Palmer syndicates, through 1880. Yet by 1881, the winds of change even swept through South Pueblo, as that year saw the town's first election of a mayor and eight aldermen, two for each of the town's four wards. Members of the first group of elected officials of South Pueblo were: Mayor Steven Walley; Ward 1 Aldermen R.C. Nicholson and F.W. Caulkins; Ward 2 Aldermen Joseph P. Hanna and Klaas Wildeboor; Ward 3 Aldermen J.M. Cline and Fred Rohrer; and Ward 4 Aldermen William Moore and James B. Orman. While the popular election brought new blood into South Pueblo's government, some Palmer plutocrats remained in power; at least four of these men—Wildeboor, Cline, Moore and Orman—all had established business dealings with the D&RG or Palmer's other enterprises.⁷

The incorporation of a third "Pueblo," the aptly named "Central Pueblo," occurred on June 21, 1882. Basically amounting to nothing more than a couple of city blocks surrounding the present-day intersection of Central Main Street and Richmond Avenue, Central Pueblo served as a tax haven for the businesses that served residents of Pueblo and South Pueblo located across the streets. The diminutive town elected its first officers upon incorporation: Mayor O.G. Chase, and trustees Henry Rups, M. Boedecker, J.D. Clancy, and W.E. Croasdale.⁸

CONSOLIDATIONS

Recognizing the many advantages and efficiencies of having one, united city to promote the area, the Pueblo City Council, the South Pueblo City Council, and the Central Pueblo Board of Trustees agreed on February 15, 1886 to consolidate the Pueblos and establish a single city government. Those

pushing for consolidation in Pueblo were in the vanguard of a burgeoning nationwide movement to combine and simplify city government, anticipating a wave of reform that culminated in 1898 with the consolidation of the five boroughs of New York City. The decision to consolidate Pueblo required a special election, held March 9, 1886. Voters of the three towns approved consolidation in a landslide. Pueblo voters approved the measure 788 to five; Central Pueblo voters approved the measure 131 to two; South Pueblo voters approved the measure 458 to eighty. Though South Pueblo voters cast the greatest number of ‘no’ votes, the eighty-five percent voting ‘yes’ validated a landslide. It should be noted, however, that the

number of ‘no’ votes in South Pueblo could indicate that Palmer’s railroad and land enterprises tried to influence the outcome, as many of the town’s residents worked for the D&RG or its business partners. The election separated the consolidated Pueblo into seven wards, each represented by two aldermen.⁹

With the D&RG’s dwindling influence in South Pueblo, another of Palmer’s enterprises, Colorado Coal & Iron (CC&I), established the town of Bessemer. CC&I surveyed the land for development in 1882, but incorporated the town July 15, 1886, and filed the plat August 12, 1886. The first established government of the Town of Bessemer consisted of Mayor J.S. Stewart, and trustees John Jelly, William Montgomery, H.S. VanKuren, Frank Rhodes, and F.R. Newton. Archival records are unclear as to whether this board was elected or appointed, but it does not appear that any of these men ever served in any political position in adjacent South Pueblo.¹⁰

The town of Bessemer organized as a city of second class in 1892 and subsequently changed its structure of municipal government. Now citizens elected a mayor, four ward aldermen, and four at-large aldermen. The booming population of Bessemer at the time demanded the municipal changes but any economic growth ceased with the Panic of 1893. The bottom fell out of the railroad building industry, of which the developers of Bessemer, the newly merged Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, served. Residents of Bessemer, many employed by CF&I, noticed a severe decrease in municipal services throughout the town. One hundred Bessemer residents delivered a petition to both the Bessemer board of trustees and to the city council and mayor of Pueblo asking for the annexation of the company town into greater Pueblo. No consensus supporting annexation emerged in either town, with heated protests en-

Figure 1.1. The town of Bessemer’s first council reflected its blue-collar professions: a roller at the mill, master mechanic, engineer, hotelier, brewery agent, and several bricklayers. (Photo courtesy CF&I Archives/Bessemer Historical Society)



suing in both. Irrespective of the protests, both the Bessemer board of trustees and the Pueblo city council ordered a special election in both towns to be held on March 18, 1894. Meanwhile an opponent of annexation, Pueblo real estate mogul Thomas J. Downen, filed an injunction in district court questioning the legality of a special election for annexation based upon an April 1893 court ruling. Without ever deciding on the injunction, the court dismissed the case three days prior to the election. The vote for annexation was not quite the landslide vote that the 1886 consolidation issue had been; Pueblo residents passed the measure 537 to 200, and Bessemer residents more narrowly passed it 212 to 176. Both towns certified the vote for annexation on March 21, 1894, with Bessemer becoming the eighth ward of the City of Pueblo, represented by two aldermen. As a result of annexation, the Bessemer neighborhood saw immediate improvements, including better street maintenance and new sidewalks.¹¹

CITY GOVERNMENT IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

The City of Pueblo operated under the mayor-council form of municipal government through 1911. However, in 1896, the city changed from two representatives from each of the eight wards to one representative from each. Turnover of elected officials throughout the 1890s and 1900s appears widespread. Few, if any, representatives served more than two respective terms. This trend mirrored that of national municipal politics at the time. Voters grew tired of the political “machine” and “had identified and more or less agreed upon certain goals: a strong mayor, civil service reform, the Australian [secretive] ballot, separate municipal elections, and supervision of the nominating process.” Griffith describes municipal politics through the early twentieth century:

Progress, temporary or permanent, had been made in all of these. While the election of reformers became more frequent, their re-election did not. The network woven by the self-seeking was too intricate for any one measure to break its power. Programs of structural reform were indeed appearing, and within striking distance of measureable adequacy...Conscience had reached the level of regarding integrity in government as necessary; conscience had not yet sensed its relevance to humanity beyond the level of private charity.

Nationally, voters initiated sweeping and comprehensive changes to the governance of the American city, changes which would reach Pueblo shortly following the beginning of the new century.¹²

By the turn of the twentieth century, America government and civic life was firmly in the grips of Progressive Era reforms. Named such for the progression of reform on all fronts of civic life—politics, economics, society, and culture—the Progressive Era ushered in



Figure 1.2. This collage depicts the many mustachioed candidates vying for Pueblo city offices in 1893. (Pueblo Chieftain, April 2, 1893, p. 16)

changes not only to the structure of municipal government but also to the way citizens interacted with the city itself. Now thought of as an institution for the betterment rather than just the rule of the people, the city flourished. It represented a junction of popular democratic representation and professional, highly trained technocrats. Frederic C. Howe, chronicler of the city revival, noted the change in sentiment of residents toward their cities:

I have been told that the city is hopeless. I do not believe that this is true. Rather I should say the city is the most hopeful of our institutions. The change in the past ten years is like a revolution. It is going on in every community, it is working in your city, even though you do not see it. I do not mean the graft prosecutions, the vice crusades, the movement to put bad men out of office and the good ones in. These are insignificant incidents. They are the outward and visible symptoms of something far bigger that is going on in every city in the land.

Citizens, in other words, should not fear their municipal government or the city itself. The city was now something that could be embraced, something of which to be proud.¹³

While reforming municipal government, the Progressives also launched a revival in grand, high classical architecture to represent this rebirth. Prior to the urban decline in the latter years of the nineteenth century, residents of the larger cities nationwide admired the tangible branch of their municipal government and extolled the construction of grandiose buildings. This sentiment returned during the Progressive Era. Residents once again began to notice their civic buildings and returned to them in order to house the operators and apparatuses of municipal government. Citizens rediscovered city halls, imagining them as centers of a new enlightenment and building them on a grand scale (as seen nationally in the introduction and will be explored locally in the next chapter).¹⁴

The Progressive Era not only demanded changes in the executive capacity of municipalities and the physical manifestations of governance, but also it demanded changing how the city itself developed. As explained by historian Jon A. Peterson:

City planning in the United States was born in the fifteen years prior to World War I. It was the direct offspring of Progressive Era urban reform and its expanded ideal of the public interest, as well as a culminating response to the rise of great urban centers dating back to the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Never before in the nation’s history had there existed an organized field of public endeavor devoted to the overall shaping of the physical city, especially the big, already built-up city. Yet reformers identified this task as a matter of great urgency and succeeded in making it a function of urban government in the United States. Prior to the outset of the twentieth century, demand for overall guidance of city growth had not been widely voiced. The shaping of population centers had been left to marketplace forces and to a host of governmental and institutional agents, acting on a piecemeal, additive basis. What planning had occurred for already built settings had involved fragments, not the physical whole.

Progress, measured by the planned growth and development of the city, shaped citizens’ views of their cities. Not only was a city home, but also it was a source of pride. Pueblo and cities across the nation razed dilapidated and unsightly buildings and replaced them with the paradigms of Progressive planning: orderly construction consisting of mostly separate residential and commercial areas; ample city parks; broad, well-maintained streets; and added municipal services. Planning and development were now the domain of college-educated professionals, not the haphazard efforts of capitalists or property owners.¹⁵

Most importantly for the built environment, the Progress-

sive Era birthed the City Beautiful movement. After the house-cleaning of municipal government, citizens began cleaning the physical appearance of their city's streets. Historian William H. Wilson explains the City Beautiful movement:

The heyday of the City Beautiful movement, from about 1900 to 1910, saw middle- and upper-class Americans attempt to refashion their cities into beautiful, functional entities. Their effort involved a cultural agenda, a middle-class environmentalism, and aesthetics expressed as beauty, order, system, and harmony. The ideal found physical realization in urban design. Public and semipublic buildings, civic centers, park and boulevard systems, or extensions and embellishments of them, were the tokens of the improved environment....The goal beyond tangibles was to influence the heart, mind, and purse of the citizen. Physical change and institutional reformation would persuade urban dwellers to become more imbued with civic patriotism and better disposed toward community needs.

Expressly, trash moved to landfills, streets were paved, streetlights lit the sidewalks, and the raising of livestock and industry became limited to only certain less-desirable geographies. The relatively new cities of the American West embraced the City Beautiful movement with fervor. At the forefront was Denver, with its stunning civic center and broad, park-like boulevards. But Denver was not alone in Colorado: Pueblo constructed its own civic center, City Hall and Memorial Hall, to articulate the City Beautiful ideal. Nothing, it seemed, could impede potential, apart from cost. If fashioned as once envisioned, City and Memorial Hall would have identified the city center with a master-planned park space and recreational opportunities. As constructed, Pueblo City and Memorial Hall still afforded citizens leisurely activities in a building adjoining the center of municipal government.¹⁶

Nationwide, municipalities began holding charter con-

ventions to steer away “from ‘strong mayor’ charter proposals, to the city commission form” of municipal government. A never-before-seen era of bureaucracy and checks-and-balances emerged in city government. Supposedly, gone were the days of lax accounting and monetary indiscretions—of bosses and machines. Now, municipal government focused on accountability—accountability of department heads and committees overseen by commissions or a council-manager plan; the people of Pueblo chose the former.¹⁷

1911 CITY CHARTER AND AMENDMENTS

The tidal wave of Progressive Era politics crashed into Pueblo a decade into the twentieth century. The City of Pueblo held its first charter convention on June 1, 1911, with the city adopting the charter on September 19, 1911, to be effective in 1912. The Progressive Era came full circle into Pueblo politics as “the commission form of government...was the pre-eminent municipal expression of the short ballot during the Progressive Era,” which the city adopted. The commission form of municipal government, as perceived, instituted accountability in the hands of a few elected officials by “uniting in the same officials the legislative or appropriating agency and the executive or spending medium.”¹⁸ Even the difference in the title of the office, from alderman to commissioner, was notable. “Alderman” traces its roots to the Anglo-Saxon ealdorman, a nobleman or royal official with authority over other people but accountable only to the king. On the other hand, a commissioner was one in a position of trust fully accountable to those who gave him his authority; in the case of Pueblo voters gave commissioners their authority.¹⁹

Pueblo voters elected five commissioners in the fall of 1911, one for each of the now five wards of the city, with one

of the commissioners acting as president. The term “president” here does not denote authority, however. Similar to the president of the United States Senate, the president led council meetings and only enacted resolutions and ordinances passed by a majority of council, as the position was largely ceremonial. It did not take long though for citizens to realize that five was not an ideal number of commissioners. On November 6, 1913, voters approved an amendment, effective in 1914, to the charter that reduced the number of commissioner from five to three due to “a constant three-two split of the five man commission. Three of the commissioners voted against the other two on practically all measures.” Nationally at this time, the majority of other municipalities operating under the commission form employed five commissioners, though rarely a jurisdiction would exceed seven.²⁰

Never satisfied with inefficient and ineffective government, Pueblo voters amended the city charter seven times by 1929. Stymied by the Great Depression, tinkering with municipal government slowed during most of the 1930s. The three-man commission began to fall out of favor in the eyes of many Puebloans by 1938, however, as several residents and civic-minded groups began studying the council-manager form of municipal government. The movement accelerated through 1942, when the local Taxpayers’ Association brought a petition to the commissioners calling for a city manager and nineteen city councilmen. The commissioners brushed aside the petition, rejecting it due to an insufficient number of signatures. It took the Taxpayers’ Association three years to submit another petition calling for the same action, but commissioners once again rejected it for the same reason.²¹

Realizing the commissioners would not abolish their positions based merely on petitions, the Taxpayers’ Association

called for a citywide election to establish another charter convention. Commissioners, armed with a state statute that required signatures of fifteen percent of voters in the last gubernatorial election rather than the city’s rule of five percent to call a special election, again rejected the petition. Precluded by “reactionary commissioners who were anxious to hold on to their jobs at the expense of good government,” the Taxpayers’ Association took its petitions to district court, which upheld the petition’s validity in 1948. Simultaneously, the United Labor League circled a petition calling for seven amendments to Pueblo’s charter as well as a proposal to convene another charter convention. It seems that Pueblo citizens were learning that they could fight city hall.²²

INSTITUTING COUNCIL-MANAGER GOVERNMENT

City commissioners finally relented and set October 8, 1949, as the deadline to submit petitions for the election on November 8. This deadline did not sit well with the local Labor League as the organization believed the commissioners were effectively eliminating thirty-one days available for gathering petitions. Nonetheless, organizers collected 4,113 signatures when only 1,375 were needed. The Labor League presented the petition on October 6 to the city clerk, who validated it on October 13. Pueblo voters adopted all seven amendments and the proposal for a charter convention. The results of the election were on par with the national municipal scene, as the commission form of government evolved “into the city manager plan in the majority of instances” and the council-manager plan “came to be the favored form of government for medium-sized cities.”²³

The evolution of the city manager was a legacy of lingering Progressive reforms, which left the everyday management

of municipal government's myriad functions in the hands of an army of full-time, professional technocrats. The part-time, elected commissioners, the ones beholden to the citizens, found it increasingly difficult to manage these technocrats. Thus, looking to the management structure of America's astoundingly successful corporations, city commissioners saw themselves as a corporate board of directors, serving the best interests of the citizens rather than of the shareholders. In a corporation, the board of directors hires a corporate executive officer, a single person responsible for carrying out the board's vision for the company and for making the day-to-day decisions, and ultimately, the individual accountable for the success and failure of the business. The city manager served in the same capacity.

As called for by the election results, city commissioners set December 27, 1949, as the day to elect the fourteen district city councilmen and January 17, 1950, as the day to elect twenty-one charter delegates; the results of both elections were at the hands of the voters. It appears chaos ensued for the remainder of 1949, as over 100 council hopefuls filed petitions with the city clerk to appear on the ballot. Additionally, a newly announced group, the Pueblo Civic Taxpayers Association, submitted a petition to the outgoing commissioners on December 16, eleven days before the election, appealing for a halt to the election. District court dismissed the petition on December 24, ruling the court "had no jurisdiction in the case of the city's election," now only three days away. Undeterred, the Pueblo Civic Taxpayers Association filed a *quo warranto* suit in district court on January 3, 1950, to prevent the councilmen-elect from taking office; the court denied the Association once again on the same grounds as the previous suit.

Pueblo's newly elected city council entered office on Jan-

uary 7, 1950. Council elected William L. Warner president at its first meeting on January 9 and appointed him as interim city manager as well. Also at its first meeting, council reappointed longtime city clerk Mary E. Weaver to her position; council also designated Weaver as interim finance director in order for the city to meet its financial obligations while in its transitional period. On January 26, council named John Oliver Hall as city manager on a permanent basis. Hall started his career in municipal management at Nowata, Oklahoma, at the age of twenty-three, becoming the youngest city manager in the United States. In the four years prior to arriving in Pueblo, he was city manager for Muskogee, Oklahoma. A full-time professional now managed the City of Pueblo. It is also in 1950 that a woman first served as an elected or appointed city official: Georgia E. Farabaugh represented District 10.²⁴

Pueblo voters selected the twenty-one charter delegates as planned on January 17, 1950, and the convention opened one week later on January 24. One of the biggest issues debated by delegates was the number of councilmen. Delegates discussed "all sorts of proposals" but settled on nine electorates: five district councilmen and four at-large. Near the end of the convention in April, the Pueblo Labor League, a driving force in getting the charter on the ballot the previous fall, acted to abolish the convention due to the inclusion of what it felt were many "objectionable clauses" in the proposed charter. Among them: the elimination of civil service as an effective control of city personnel, the overwhelming number of councilmen, the enactment of a law declaring the interference of a councilman in the city manager's appointments a misdemeanor, and a clause allowing the police chief to appoint officers to non-governmental agencies. The League especially despised the last clause because one interpretation would



Figure 1.3. The citizens of Pueblo elected Georgia F. Farabaugh as the city's first female councilmen in 1950. (Pueblo Chieftain)



Figure 1.4. John O. Hall, seen here in 1981, became Pueblo’s first city manager in 1950. His term was both effective and tumultuous. (Pueblo Chieftain)

allow companies and corporations to bring in nonlocal strike-breakers and even Pinkertons. Convention delegates defended all issues raised by the League, but the public sentiment wavered nonetheless. When the new charter at last came to a vote on April 18, 1950, the citizens of Pueblo defeated it by 528 votes.²⁵

Recognizing this moment of weakness in city hall, the three ousted commissioners pushed hard to get their jobs back. The united former commissioners delivered letters to all local banks on July 18 urging them to refuse to honor warrants issued by the new city administration. The former commissioners contended that only the city clerk and the city controller could endorse drafts under the city charter, not the city manager; the former commissioners also contended that the amendment allowing the signature of the city manager on drafts was unconstitutional. Not wanting to turn away the business of the city, the banks, in a concerted effort, refuted the arguments of the former commissioners.²⁶

A keystone in city administration threatened to loosen and fall on January 17, 1951. Revered city manager John Hall notified city council that he was considering taking the same position for the city of Niagara Falls, New York. Hall’s main issue was salary: Niagara Falls offered him \$15,000 annually while Pueblo paid \$12,000. The next day, Hall informed council of his decision to resign unless Pueblo offered a comparable raise in salary. According to the local press, most citizens believed Hall deserved a raise if the city finance director could prove that Hall actually saved the city money compared to the previous administration. When finance director A.G. Chamberlain announced his findings only a few days later the results were overwhelming. In the 1949 fiscal year, before the appointment of a full-time city manager, commissioners exceeded the city

budget by \$60,000; only a year later, in 1950, Hall managed to create a budget *surplus* of \$60,000.

Despite proving his value to the city and citizens of Pueblo, city council, at a special meeting on January 20, 1951, voted against a pay raise for Hall. Council also contemplated appointing one of three new candidates vying for the job, but the day following the special meeting Pueblo residents flooded council’s mailbox with over 150 notes and letters demanding a salary increase for Hall. Council also received word the day following that Niagara Falls had upped the ante and now offered Hall a salary of \$16,000 for 1951, \$17,000 for 1952, and \$18,000 for any subsequent years. Council called a special meeting for January 24 to review Hall’s offer from Niagara Falls. But the city manager spoke as the first order of business at the meeting, preempting council and abruptly resigning. Dismayed, council immediately offered Hall an annual salary of \$15,000. As discussions at the meeting persisted, Hall rejected the \$15,000 yearly offer but decided to remain in his position at his current salary of \$12,000.²⁷

The strained relationship between Hall and city council endured throughout the term of Hall’s employment. The *Chieftain* reported that “Hall [did] not see eye-to-eye with the new council administration since it took office in January [1952]. His position with the first group of legislators was not a plush job, but it did not appear to be as thorny as the present.” Specifically, Hall recommended to council the suspension of two high-ranking police officers, Chief J. Arthur Grady and Captain Everett C. Horne. He charged that both officers negligently inspected uniforms and accepted unwarranted additional pay from the city. Council acted upon Hall’s recommendations and suspended both officers in a private council work session. Chief Grady received a sixty-day suspension and Captain

Horne received a thirty-day suspension; the *Chieftain* reported Grady “up to that time had a clear 45-year record of police service.”²⁸

Both Grady and Horne publically denied the charges, while a third officer joined the fracas. Captain Roy Harper filed a lawsuit against Hall, claiming he (Harper) should have been the acting police chief during Grady’s sixty-day suspension. Within his authority as city manager, Hall did not appoint one single captain; instead he rotated three captains through the position. Harper took his case to the local posts of the Disabled American Veterans and Veterans of Foreign Wars, who charged that Hall discriminated against war veterans. Both posts passed resolutions protesting Hall’s appointment as city manager on those grounds.²⁹

By mid-March 1952, District 7 city council representative Milo J. Flanders asked for an official council hearing on behalf of Captain Horne. Council “immediately” repealed its previous convictions of Horne and ruled him eligible to return to work. This reprieve came at the end of the thirty-day suspension, however, and council took no action regarding Chief Grady’s suspension. Members of council, apparently unwilling to work with Hall any longer, circulated a “secret” petition amongst themselves reportedly amassing an eight-member majority asking for Hall’s resignation or his dismissal. Council had the chance on March 17 to repudiate the petition against Hall, but voted eight to five to formally accept it.³⁰

Hall penned a letter in his defense on January 6, 1952, explaining his side of the story. The *Chieftain* published the letter as part of an article nearly four months later, on April 4. Hall wrote:

There is one story of the past two years, a rather sordid tale to which we can now write ‘finis,’ with the

coming of the new council. It is the story—loose official attitudes toward gambling. The story has never been fully told, and probably never need be, but the public has been well aware that something was wrong.

When the form of (city) government was changed in November, 1949, the gambling element did not know what to expect, things were really pretty well closed up, and the police were giving the matter more than usual attention.

I had not been city manager for two weeks, however, before some members of the city council (1950–1951 administration) were pressuring me to loosen up. This I refused to do, which naturally led to a certain amount of strained personal relationships between those councilmen and me.

The matter kept getting hotter until in September [1951] it culminated in an attempt to reduce my salary on an effort to force my resignation. The public, while not fully informed, was sufficiently aware of the motives that it expressed its hearty disapproval. Fortunately, during the year we obtained unexpected assistance from the outside.

The local racketeers were flexing their muscles and becoming bolder as they began to pick up support here and there, and prospects—from their point of view—were looking brighter. But in Washington the senate crime committee shocked the whole nation. In other states and cities the corruption resulting from toleration of gambling came to light.

The local gamblers valiantly tried to stem the tide of sentiment against them but it was too great. During all this, the (Pueblo) chief of police was requested by at least one councilman not to pay any attention to the city manager, that the majority of the council wanted to loosen up. To have a member of the (1950–51) council wrongfully go around the manager to a department head to request violation of the law is obviously a bad situation—from everybody’s viewpoint but that particular councilman and the special interests he represents.

Under these circumstances one thing and one thing only kept matters under reasonable control-

and that is public opinion. Public opinion in general was reinforced by the organization of the Pueblo crime commission and aided by alert press and radio services....

The *Chieftain* article ended exactly as shown above. Apparently, Hall explained more but the newspaper decided to cut the letter short. The *Chieftain* later reported, on April 4, 1952, that, “The resignation of City Manager John O. Hall ended the first lap of Pueblo’s still neophyte council-manager form of government.”³¹

Coincidental timing or not, Hall remained manager of the City of Pueblo until the beginning of April 1952, at which time he accepted a position with the United States Department of State, in Quito, Ecuador; when the city advertised the position in the International City Manager’s Association newsletter, the salary was posted between \$10,000 and \$12,000. While in training for the State Department, a federal grand jury subpoenaed Hall concerning what the *Chieftain* labeled “Pueblo’s and Southern Colorado’s underworld.” Archival records do not indicate the exact subject of the subpoena, though the grand jury was in the midst of “probing Colorado crime” and likely involved the gambling mentioned in Hall’s letter. Hall flew to Denver from Washington, D.C., and appeared before the grand jury on May 12, 1952.³²

POSTWAR TRANSPARENCY

Despite the feud between Hall and council, municipal government became much more open and transparent following World War II. City council embarked on a public relations endeavor unlike any Pueblo had ever seen. Previously, commissioners and mayors administrated city affairs without much culpability or public oversight. City council set out to change that by opening up the city’s books to anyone inter-

ested. The city manager now published the City of Pueblo Annual Report in a form interesting to read and devoid of the boring balance sheets published mainly for the commissioners by the city controller. The letter from the city controller at the front of the 1949 Annual Report amounted to merely one sentence and noted just how boring the format happened to be: “In accordance with Article VI, Section 3, of the City Charter, I herewith submit for your consideration [the commissioners] the thirty-eighth Annual Report of the financial operations and transactions of the City of Pueblo for the year ending December 31, 1949.” That also happened to be the only complete sentence in the entire forty-four page report. The city controller showed no interest in presenting the report to anyone other than the commissioners, as it amounted to nothing more than statutory compliance.³³

But the city manager published the 1950 City of Pueblo Annual Report in complete contrast to the previous year’s report. Now, the cover of the report included a photograph of City and Memorial Halls, a reminder to the report’s new public audience of just exactly where accountability could be found within the municipal government. In the letter at the front of the Report to city council, City Manager John O. Hall wrote:

Submitted herewith is the Manager’s annual report for the fiscal year 1950, together with certain other information and facts about Pueblo’s City Government.

The purpose of this report is to inform the citizens of this community of City Hall activities of the past year and to provide a basis for an intelligent appraisal of the management provided by their officials.

It is especially fitting that such a report should be made at the close of the first year of Council-Man-

ager government and it is hoped that the accomplishments herein recorded justify the action and faith of the public-spirited citizens who brought the new government to Pueblo...

I wish to express my appreciation for the splendid and admirable spirit of the entire community and for the privilege of serving as your City Manager. Also, I wish to express my appreciation for the outstanding work of Leo Hill, Administrative Assistant to the City Manager, in the preparation of this report, and to the department heads for the excellent annual reports from their departments.

The city manager appeared appreciative and gracious, rather than acquiescent. Manager Hall also listed the benefits of the new municipal government that was only in effect for the previous nine months:

1. More Policemen
2. More Firemen
3. New Dog Pound
4. Improved police and fire transportation
5. Additional traffic lights
6. Street naming
7. First Aid Ambulance
8. Stepped up street repair and construction
9. Park Kiddie Rides
10. Mt. Park Playground equipment
11. Improved finance administration
12. Centralized purchasing
13. Auditorium redecoration
14. Council chamber improved

Of the benefits, Hall concluded:

It was obvious at the outset that the program outlined was an ambitious one. The efforts of the entire community were immediately placed into motion to guarantee its success. Probably, the greatest accomplishment of the new city government was the tax reduction effected in setting up the 1951 budget. The largest tax reduction in 20 years, perhaps in the history of the city—a reduction of 1.4 mills, or approximately \$55,000, was provided for the taxpayers of Pueblo. This tax decrease was made in the face of an \$87,000 increase in city employees [sic] salaries,

\$20,000 increase in the prices of materials and supplies, \$15,000 for carrying the additional firemen and policemen for the whole year, and with no cut in the services being rendered to the public.

The city manager developed a system of transparency and never-before-seen accountability for Pueblo. The city was now a municipal business, accountable to its citizens and not politicians or the machine.³⁴

Hall also developed a public relations program to keep the citizens of Pueblo informed of the workings of their city government throughout the year. Hall explained: "One of the largest problems facing local public officials at the present time is the problem of keeping the public informed as to the activities of their government. Much of the public distrust and suspicion of local government is a result of misinformation or lack of information." In order to keep "distrust" and "misinformation" to a minimum, Hall invited local reporters to meet with him and the city department heads an average of twice daily throughout 1950. Dedicated space in the *Pueblo Chieftain* and *Pueblo Star-Journal* daily newspapers more than doubled as a result of the meetings, with the editors of both newspapers conceding, "We used to go to City Hall with a crowbar to get news, but now we get it with a scoopshovel." To those ends, Hall invited reporters to study departmental records and report anything they felt was newsworthy; the *Chieftain* even printed a column devoted to the dealings of city council.³⁵

Additionally, Hall hosted a weekly Sunday radio program. During the program, the city manager interviewed city council members and various department heads, explained new city policies and practices, and briefed listeners on the city's dealings within the past week. Furthermore, Hall developed a system in which citizens bringing requests and complaints to

Figure 1.5. This iconic photograph of City Hall, with the distant stacks of CF&I's Minnequa Steelworks, graced the cover the 1950 City of Pueblo Annual Report. City council and administration used this report and subsequent publications to improve the transparency of local government. (Photo courtesy Pikes Peak Library District)



his office would be notified by postcard about to which department and individual the complaint was referred; the city mailed a second postcard when the complaint was addressed, asking the reporting citizen whether he or she approved of the fix. In this way, Hall made all city employees culpable to the citizens of Pueblo.³⁶

1954 CITY CHARTER

The city of Pueblo continued the council-manager form of municipal government under the amended 1911 Charter for four years before citizens and interest groups clamored for a new charter specifically tailored to council-manager government. In early 1954, elected delegates once again convened in a charter convention. Just as in 1949, the proposed charter was not without its critics. On Saturday April 3, 1954, three days before the special election, an “unsigned dodger” circulated leaflets door to door. The anonymous pamphleteer complained that the proposed charter unfairly penalized small construction contractors, that city council could authorize the issuance of bonds to pay outstanding bonds without a citizen’s election, that council was unfettered in its ability to enact a two mill tax levy if deemed necessary, that the proposed seven-person council was too small and did not properly represent the citizens, and that it represented a pay raise for members of city council. The distributor of the leaflet summarized exactly what he thought of the proposed charter toward the bottom of the document:

MORE TAXES MORE TAXES MORE TAXES
MORE TAXES MORE TAXES VOTE NO VOTE NO

Other vocal citizens raised more issues with the proposed charter, including the creation of a “high salaried” Director of Public Works position and, once again, the disposal of civil

service protection for city department heads. Opponents specifically attacked this last provision, stating it would “bring increased fire insurance rates” since the fire chief would not be under civil service protection.³⁷

The charter delegates and like-minded citizens defended the proposed Charter of 1954. Defenders of the charter noted that the two-mill tax levy was not absolute; council could invoke it for future civic projects. Also, defenders noted, that since the proposed charter called for four council districts and four at-large members, citizens would now each vote for four council members, not just one as in previous elections. Defenders explained further that the pay increase from \$3,700 to \$8,700 for city council members would be a grand total of \$9,100 due to the decrease in the number of members. Lastly, defenders clarified that removing the fire chief and other department heads from civil service protection would result in “absolutely no penalty” for property owners when purchasing fire insurance according to the Mountain States Inspection Bureau, in Denver, which determined the rates.³⁸

Pueblo voters descended on the polls on April 6, 1954, either to accept or reject the proposed charter. The approval of the charter was a clear victory, but far from a landslide; 8,632 (fifty-five percent) voted in favor of the charter while 7,093 voted against it. In fact, the charter failed to carry the vote in twenty-three of the forty-four precincts. The charter set August 10, 1954, as the day for Puebloans to select their four district councilmen and three at-large councilmen. To ensure at least one member of council had some experience, the charter called for staggered council terms. Concerning the first council of the 1954 charter, the at-large representative and two district representatives with the fewest number of votes served one-year terms while the remaining members served

four years; council terms numbered four years for each subsequent municipal election, with elections slated for the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November in odd-numbered years.³⁹

Delegates of the charter convention called for the transition between charters to "be smooth and orderly," with no disruption of municipal government. The adopted charter called for City Manager Russell W. Rink to enact all provision of the charter by July 1, 1955. Rink appointed all department heads to their previous positions, leaving the new department of Public Works Director to be named later as that position required "a professional engineer." As the charter reduced the number of council districts from fourteen to four, the city clerk and two individuals appointed by council were tasked with redrawing council districts based on registered voters in the November 1953 election; all districts were to be contiguous "and

the number of registered voters shall not be greater than 15 per cent between the district with the highest number of registered voters and the district with the lowest number." Additionally, the adopted charter retained all persons serving on the civil service commission, but required city council to establish the salary of the commission's officers.⁴⁰

Interestingly, at the August election, Pueblo voters retained six incumbent councilmen while the seventh member, Marion F. Hunter, served as president of the 1952 city council before resigning. Pueblo voters saw no reason to "clean house" in this election, as the focus was on developing a charter amenable to the council-manager plan rather than removing corrupt politicians from office. The three members receiving the fewest number of votes and facing reelection the following year were Hunter, Michael Occhiato, and Richard F. Hobbs; voters retained all three at the November 1955 election.⁴¹

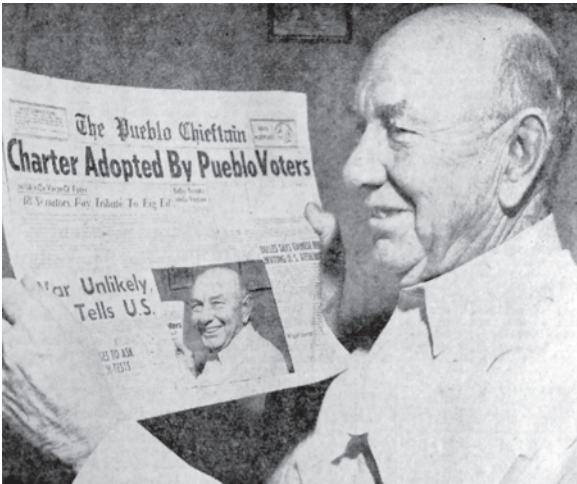


Figure 1.6. President of the 1954 charter convention, John M. Holmes looks satisfied at this wonderfully staged "preview" of the Chieftain's front page, following the results of the April 6 election. (Pueblo Chieftain)

Figure 1.7. In the August 10, 1954, election, citizens of Pueblo chose the first six members of city council under the new charter, as seen here on the front page of the Chieftain from August 11. (Pueblo Chieftain)

Six Retain Seats On City Council

Here Are Winners In Tuesday's City Council Election

Name	District / Status	Notes
C. J. BURRESS JR.	District 1	Incumbent
MARION F. HUNTER	District 2	Incumbent
MRS. GEORGIA FARABAUGH	District 3	Incumbent
MIKE OCCHIATO	District 4	Incumbent
FRED VOSS	At Large	5,248 votes
CHARLES H. BOUSTEAD	At Large	4,594 votes
RICHARD F. HOBBS	At Large	4,181 votes

Ballot Count Shows Races Were Decisive
 Voters of Pueblo named six incumbents and a former mayor to the new seven-member City Council at a special municipal election Tuesday.
 Elected were:
 District 1—C. J. Burress Jr., 1,366 votes.
 District 2—Marion F. Hunter, 1,063.
 District 3—Mrs. Georgia Farabaugh, 1,512.
 District 4—Mike Occhiato, 1,308.
 At large—Fred Voss, 5,248; Charles H. Boustead, 4,594; Richard F. Hobbs, 4,181.
 All but Hunter are incumbents.

TINKERING WITH GOVERNMENT

But politics are cyclical and so was Pueblo government. In September 1969, a group of students from Southern Colorado State College, now Colorado State University-Pueblo, began examining a transition to a strong-mayor form of municipal government. The group, Associated Students of SCSC, believed the strong-mayor to be “superior” to the council-manager plan, but archival records do not indicate the group’s reasoning. The students planned to submit petitions calling for amendments to the 1954 charter, but were denied by the city attorney’s office because article 1, section 2 of the charter states: “The Municipal Government provided by this Charter shall be known as the ‘Council-Manager Government,’ and shall not be changed except by Charter Convention upon majority vote of the qualified voters.” Realizing the extended timeframe to achieve enough support to call a charter convention, the group ceased its efforts. The brief movement did succeed in getting city council’s attention, as every council member expressed disappointment over the proposed change.⁴²

Less than a year removed from the 1983 collapse of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Corporation, which resulted in a catastrophic local unemployment rate of over twenty percent, a group of citizens named Mayor: the Official Responsible to Everyone (MORE) pushed for a strong-mayor form of municipal government. The poor local economy ignited a movement to stop what mayoral supporters called “thirty years of drift and decline,” “leaderless drift,” and “entrenched stagnation.” MORE encourage voters to “show the courage to make our own future instead of having it decided by seven part-time politicians and one hand picked [sic] super bureaucrat.” Ironically, in a poster circulated by MORE, the group stated “With

the election of a Mayor, the City Council’s powers actually will be enhanced since they will be relieved of executive duties and be able to concentrate on their legislative duties. Council will be able to override a Mayor’s veto by five votes. Thus the checks and balances essential to our democracy. Will be assured [sic].” Chairman of MORE Frank Lynch, III, also stated “the mayor could be an aggressive and powerful asset in the campaign to lure businesses to Pueblo.”⁴³

Opponents of the strong mayor form of municipal government countered several of MORE’s claims. City councilman Isaac Duran, member of the opposition group Coalition for Good Government (CGG), disputed that a strong mayor could bring economic prosperity back to the city, stating “government does not have all the answers to economic troubles.” Duran also reminded the public that during studies for the formation of the Pueblo Economic Development Corporation, municipalities nationwide “stressed that the private sector has to be the leader on the campaign to bring in businesses.” Duran also speculated that since the root of MORE’s arguments centered on the local economy, that “businessmen would dominate local politics.” Intriguingly, this strong-mayor movement called for an amended 1954 charter, something deemed illegal fourteen years earlier but seemingly not mentioned during this election season.⁴⁴

Puebloans descended upon the polls November 8, 1983, to decide the city’s next form of municipal government and results broadcast that night noted the next form would be the same as the previous. A total of 14,830 citizens voted against the amendment and only 7,676 voted in favor of it—a resounding two-to-one defeat. CGG member Roger Brandt said of the victory: “It basically gets down to the fact that people don’t want to give unlimited power to one person. This pro-

Sharing City Hall: The Pueblo Regional Planning Commission

Beginning on July 1, 1960, the Pueblo Regional Planning Commission (PRPC) brought “the advantages of continuity and singular jurisdiction over the entire urbanizing area.” The PRPC established itself immediately as a truly comprehensive and regional governmental entity serving the City of Pueblo and the surrounding area. The PRPC viewed future growth not as ever-increasing disorder but as something that could be controlled and subjugated to diminish or even eliminate any potential problems. With proper planning, the PRPC argued, Pueblo could prosper as a regional commercial and industrial center. Thus the Colorado State Legislature created the PRPC, and the commission initially operated under a budget with relatively equal funds provided by the City of Pueblo, Pueblo County, and the United States federal government. The commission consisted of fifteen members: five appointed by the Pueblo City Council, five appointed by the Pueblo County Commissioners, and five appointed by the ten previously appointed members. Three members faced an expiring term every year, one from each appointed group, assuring twelve experienced members served the commission at all times.¹

The PRPC’s first fiscal year called for the completion of three projects. First, legislators and local officials first challenged the commission to develop “base maps” identifying the built environment within its jurisdiction and accompanying zoning and use types. Second, the commission surveyed the land use within the county. Third, the commission charted the population and economy. Some of this work, the PRPC conceded, was extant data, though it was scattered about many different agencies. With the completion of these three initial steps, the PRPC aimed to publish an all-encompassing plan for future growth in the Pueblo area.²

The PRPC began publishing its collected data as a series of technical reports in 1965. In September 1968, the commission printed its first comprehensive statistical report. The untitled document amounted to 240 pages and encompassed population, finance, employment, real estate, utilities, sales, agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, education, social factors, governments, taxation, services, tourism, climate, and weather. The report represented just over one-quarter of the commission’s total databank. The PRPC prided itself on transparency, and as such, any interested parties could view the report or order personal copies.³

The PRPC’s reports became so popular by 1973 that the organization began publishing its own technical journal *Pueblo Design Quarterly*. The journal oftentimes included splashes of statistics but also incorporated articles concerning “the conservation of Pueblo’s natural environment and the enrichment by design of her man-made environment.” The initial audience for the journal appeared quite large; the commission mailed 5,000 copies of the first issue. Additionally, the PRPC staff grew about this time. In addition to the fifteen commissioners, the PRPC employed ten professionals as well as an executive director. The number of employees grew to fifteen in 1972, while the organization moved from a smaller space in the Pueblo County Shops and Roads Building, at 314 East Seventh Street, to larger, renovated quarters on the third floor of City Hall.⁴

By the end of 1978 the PRPC employed a full-time staff of twenty-seven professionals, up from only nine the previous year. The commission’s budget that year amounted to \$579,056 and \$639,268 in 1979. The commission spent much of the budget these years developing a comprehensive growth and development plan for the greater Pueblo region. The plan consisted

of two major elements: the urban area around Pueblo and the rural county. The highlight of the soon-to-be-published plan, the PRPC believed, was the inclusion of aerial survey maps that could be scaled to detail as small as one inch equaling 100 feet. After analyzing land use, environmental concerns, the local housing situation, transportation, and parks and recreation in the ensuing months, the PRPC scheduled to publish the plan during the summer of 1979.⁵

Unknown delays pushed the publication date to late 1979 and on December 10 the *Pueblo Chieftain and Star-Journal* printed a special section devoted to extolling the benefits of the Pueblo Regional Comprehensive Development Plan. Noting that “planning for Pueblo’s future will cost little, but not planning for the future could be extremely expensive” the write-up publicized the importance of the Plan by asking the reader:

- Do you wonder how Pueblo might look in the future?
- How can Pueblo grow and still accommodate a high quality of living?
- How can the public avoid paying for things that are not wanted or needed?
- What can be done to avoid duplicating past problems?

Of course, the Plan answered all of these questions. Yet the outcome of the PRPC’s endeavor was not without its critics, with one county commissioner stating the “plan would be little more than a ‘darn book’ if not implemented.”⁶

Prosperity appeared short-lived however, as the PRPC experienced a budget shortfall as well as dissent from among the financial contributors by September 1981. County commissioners at the time pushed to divert a portion of their provisions to set up an autonomous county planning staff. One member of the PRPC theorized, “The talk around the courthouse is that the county commissioners expect most of Pueblo’s future development to be in the county. So their decision is not based on cost benefit, but on control. They want to control those planning decisions with their own staff.” Additionally, Pueblo City Council delivered its own portion of the discourse with talks of amalgamating the PRPC and the Pueblo Human Resources Commission the next year. Ultimately, the City chose to continue with the two commissions, and the County delayed its scheme to create its own planning department. The PRPC staff at the time dwindled to twelve and a half positions.⁷

The crystal ball of the Pueblo Regional Planning Commission shattered in 1984. After extensive discussions between city and county officials, Pueblo City Council resolved in October to dissolve the PRPC in January 1985. The *Chieftain* stated that the resolution “would give regional planning responsibilities to the county department and leave inner-city development to the municipal group.” Both the City and the County were expected to cooperate under identified planning ideals. Employees would be divided between the two local governments, with the City employees working in the Department of Planning and Community Development. Unfortunately, the dissolution came at a period of severe economic upheaval in Pueblo, occurring only a few short years after the steel market collapse and resulting rise in local unemployment. More profoundly, the dissolution of the PRPC suggested that the local economy was in such dire straits that no standardized, regional planning was necessary for the foreseeable future.⁸

¹ Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, “Regional Planning for Pueblo Report Number One” (Pueblo Regional Planning Commission, October 15, 1960), Robert Hoag Rawlings Library Special Collections, Pueblo Regional Planning Commission Clipping Folder.

² Ibid.

³ “240-Page Report Has Been Completed,” *Pueblo Chieftain*, September 13, 1968.

⁴ “Planning Unit Mails 5,000 First Editions of Journal,” *Pueblo Chieftain*, March 29, 1973; “Planning Commission Moves To Quarters at City Hall,” *Pueblo Chieftain*, undated, Robert Hoag Rawlings Library Special Collections, Pueblo Regional Planning Commission Clipping Folder.

⁵ Tom McAvoy, “Busy PRPC Staff Grows to 27,” *Pueblo Star-Journal*, November 24, 1978.

⁶ Pueblo Regional Comprehensive Development Plan,” *Pueblo Chieftain and Star Journal*, December 10, 1979; Joyce Valdez, “Area Leaders Study Plans for Schools, Parks, Farms,” *Pueblo Star-Journal and Sunday Chieftain*, September 23, 1979.

⁷ Tom McAvoy, “City Officials Support 2 Commission Staffs,” *Pueblo Chieftain*, September 10, 1981.

⁸ Sword, Loretta, “Bramble to Offer Planning Changes,” *Pueblo Chieftain*, October 18, 1984; Sword, Loretta, “Council Moving toward Planning Changes,” *Pueblo Chieftain*, October 19, 1984.

Underlaid image is from the PRPC’s “Pueblo Model Cities Applications (Comprehensive Plan Technical Working Paper T-25).”

posal went too far in that regard.” MORE chairman Frank Lynch, III, obviously disliked the results but especially loathed the opponents of the proposed amendment, stating: “They bought an election... [I]t’s obvious that we didn’t have any money. I’m disappointed, but not angry. Those who won were the folks with the oar in the water... and they lied a lot.” Lynch also showed dismay for Pueblo’s outlook, declaring that the council-manager form of municipal government “is guaranteed mediocrity.”⁴⁵

A separate, unidentified group pressured city council to abolish the city manager position again in 1993. Firefighters’ union chief Dave Blagg led the group, who were “not ready to identify themselves.” Blagg brought several concerns to council for the group, namely that the city subsidized a budget deficit in the operation of Walking Stick Golf Course in 1992 but could not afford raises for city employees; that council did not consult with city employee unions for city manager Lew Quigley’s recent performance review; that council decided to ask voters to approve raises for city employees when “voters never voluntarily agree to pay city workers more;” and that council “had failed to hold Quigley and his staff accountable” on unidentified issues. If city council did not agree to remove the city manager, the group noted, they were prepared to petition citizens for a charter amendment that would establish a “city manager retention vote or a mayoral position.” The group appears to have dropped the issue. There was no amendment question on November’s ballot; Quigley served into 2000.⁴⁶

The first recall election of the council-manager era of Pueblo’s municipal government occurred in 2003. Upset at city council’s enactment of a complete indoor smoking ban for Pueblo businesses in December 2002, the group Puebloans for Common Sense Government sought to recall the four coun-

cilmen who voted in favor of the smoking ban. Specifically, the group circulated petitions calling for a ballot question in the next general election to let citizens decide the ban and also circulated petitions to recall: District 4 representative Ted Lopez, Jr., at-large representative Mike Occhiato, District 1 representative Robert Schilling, Jr., and at-large representative Dr. Bill Sova. Puebloans entered the polls on May 20, 2003, and were asked, based on their particular district, to vote “yes” or “no” in regards to the recall and then select amongst the sixteen challengers in regards to a replacement. If a citizen failed to vote “yes” or “no” then his or her vote for a replacement became invalid. When the city clerk released the voting results that night, there was only one political casualty: District 4 representative Ted Lopez, Jr. Occhiato, Schilling, and Sova all retained their seats, while being joined by newly elected Ray Aguilera. Lopez appears to have been the only member of Pueblo elected leaders to have ever been recalled, though other members had been replaced due to resignations or deaths while in office.⁴⁷

In 2007, a third group, Committee to Assess Local Mayorship (CALM), began meeting to discuss the advantages and disadvantages that a change in Pueblo’s municipal government to the strong-mayor type of elected leadership could bring. The bipartisan group met informally for over a year with students at Colorado State University-Pueblo before officially filing as a political committee with the city in December 2008. The group’s interpretation of the strong-mayor type of leadership effectively swapped the city manager appointed by city council with a mayor elected by the citizens of the city. The mayor would have veto power over council, which would remain unchanged at seven members. CALM member and Pueblo District Attorney Bill Thiebaut believed the proposal

created “a system of checks and balances and represents a more democratic process than the current setup in which a city manager serves at the will of council.” In response to CALM’s proposal, city council appointed a blue-ribbon commission to “head-off” the group’s efforts and generate reasons to remain under the council-manager form of government. The commission returned to council with a report in May 2009 that recommended “that the city turn one of council’s three at-large seats into a mayor’s position. That mayor would continue to be one of the city’s seven voting council members, but would oversee all council meetings and work closely with the city manager during the mayor’s four-year term;” the commission termed this option a weak-mayor form of leadership.⁴⁸

CALM circulated petitions throughout the summer of 2009 and delivered them to the Pueblo city clerk’s office on August 3, complete with 4,614 signatures. The city clerk’s office rejected 1,488 signatures during the middle of the month, leaving CALM to collect at least an additional 236 signatures the weekend before the August 17 deadline, a quota the group met. Meanwhile, city council elected to put its weak mayor proposal on the November 2009 ballot as well, but left the election of a mayor off the ballot until 2011. During that year’s election season, CALM organizers expressed to the public that Pueblo “deserve[d] a full-time leader. A city manager has no political base and only needs to keep the support of City Council. That’s not the kind of government that produces leadership” and that “council would have more power under [the proposed strong-mayor] plan because it would have the authority to confirm or reject any appointments by the mayor.” Opponents of the strong-mayor plan countered “that a mayor would be able to make policy decisions in closed-door meetings that are not subject to the same open-meetings law that

council works under” and that a strong mayor would “have too much power.” When the city posted the results of the November 3 election, voters decisively defeated both the strong-mayor proposal by a margin of two-to-one and the weak-mayor proposal four-to-one.⁴⁹



The winds of political change have blown through Pueblo’s various city halls throughout the history of the city. The earliest “representatives” were often no more than the convenient and loyal appointments of capitalists and powerful politicians at the territorial or national level. But with the consolidation of the Pueblos and Bessemer, citizens directly elected their aldermen who, in turn, had to be more responsive to the voters. The reforms of the Progressive era made Pueblo’s government more open and direct, but enlarged its bureaucracy with technocrats and eventually required the managerial talents of a skillful executive, as the city transformed itself again into a council-manager form of government. All the while, much of government became more transparent and accessible.

Although the structure of Pueblo’s municipal government has changed a total of four times throughout the city’s history, the changes appear to have been calculated by informed citizens rather than knee-jerk reactions to poor or ineffective leadership. Commendably, citizens recognized when their current system malfunctioned and called for necessary reforms. Local political organizers have historically studied varied forms of municipal government and petitioned for what they believed would be a change for the better. Whether in victory or defeat, these citizens have exercised their right to participate in their government and agitate for reform.

CHAPTER 2

“A Credit to the City:” Building City Hall and Memorial Hall

The early history of Pueblo’s city hall—or more precisely *the Pueblos’* city halls—is complicated. The City of Pueblo, as it exists today, resulted from the consolidation or annexation of four distinct municipalities: Pueblo, South Pueblo, Central Pueblo, and Bessemer. Voters in Pueblo, Central Pueblo, and South Pueblo approved consolidation on March 9, 1886, and the Colorado General Assembly approved the measure the following month. The consolidated City of Pueblo now encompassed the former town of Pueblo, north of the Arkansas River; the miniscule, tax-dodging town of Central Pueblo, roughly the area between the present-day City Hall and Santa Fe Avenue; and South Pueblo, which encompassed the present-day Union Avenue Historic District, the Blocks, and Mesa Junction. Elected representatives from each area approved the Articles of Consolidation, which included Article One: “The name of the consolidated city shall be Pueblo,” and Article Six: “The City Hall of said consolidated city shall be erected therein at some point not farther north than Second Street, in the present city of Pueblo, and not farther south than the Arkansas River.”¹

EARLY CITY HALLS

Each of the three Pueblos and Bessemer constructed or rented its own town hall prior to consolidation. From 1870 until 1882, officials in the town of Pueblo rented various office and meeting spaces in which to conduct their official business and operated a jail jointly with Pueblo County. In 1881, Pueblo

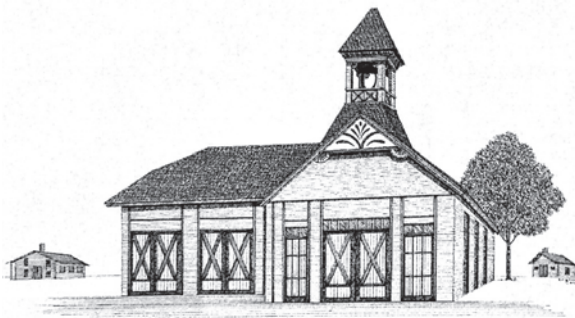
aldermen commissioned architects F.W. Cooper and a Mr. Anderson, whose first name could not be determined, to design a building that would cost no more than \$10,000 to construct. It was to be paid for by a bond issue approved the previous year and was located at 616-618 North Main Street. The building, as constructed in 1882, included city hall proper, a fire station, and jail. The *Pueblo Chieftain* described the typical nineteenth-century commercial building, with some classical embellishments, as “a handsome two story brick building, with cut stone trimmings, 24x88, fronting on Main street [sic], a tall and handsome dome surmounting the same.” Cooper and Anderson included a combined hook-and-ladder bay and hose house opening on the front elevation, with meeting rooms and changing rooms at the center of the building for the fire station, and a jail, with its entrance at the alley on the first floor. The second floor, also with its entrance at the alley, included city council chambers, offices for the city marshal and water superintendent, and police headquarters. Firefighters used the dome crowning the building to dry their hoses. Keeping within the boundaries of the bond issue, the architects estimated the cost of construction would be between \$9,000 and \$10,000.²

Even before the town of Pueblo constructed a city hall, the town of South Pueblo constructed its own city hall on “C” Street between Union Avenue and South Main Streets in 1873, over a year after officially incorporating. This was the oldest formal town or city hall in any of the three Pueblos and was lo-



Figure 2.1. The original South Pueblo City Hall was the first formal city hall building among the three Pueblos and was situated on C Street, between Main Street and Union Avenue. It is picture here in 1927. (Pueblo Chieftain)

Figure 2.2. The first Bessemer Town Hall was a small building that somehow housed the municipal court, jail, fire house, and community meeting room. (Pueblo County Historical Society, Pueblo Lore, October 2008)



cated directly across the alley from the present-day Phil's Radiator tavern. The one-story brick building housed the South Pueblo City Council chamber and offices for the town clerk, town treasurer, and town engineer. The volunteer fire department and hose carts occupied the northwestern portion of the building while the town marshal, jail, and municipal court filled the portion of the building behind the fire department. The judicial functions were only accessible through an alleyway entrance.³

Residents and businesses organized and incorporated the town of Central Pueblo on June 21, 1882, and constructed a town hall shortly thereafter. The minute town constructed an equally minute town hall: a narrow, one-story adobe building with one entrance on the front (southeast) elevation and one entrance at the side (northeast) elevation. Somehow, city

council chambers, the town clerk's office, the magistrate's office, the town marshal, and a jail cell all squeezed into the building. The edifice was addressed as 117 Central Main Street; its present-day location would be in the middle of the street now known as City Hall Place, oriented toward Central Main Street.⁴

As article six of consolidation required the construction of a new city hall, officials of the consolidated City of Pueblo chose a site addressed as 125 Central Main Street, directly north of the old Central Pueblo town hall. City officials dedicated the consolidated city hall in 1889, three years after the affirming vote. An unknown architect designed the three-story brick building in the Second Empire style and designated three distinct areas of the interior for city government offices, the police department, and the fire department. The first and second floors of the center section of the building housed offices for the city clerk, city treasurer, city attorney, city engineer, streets supervisor, and the mayor. The third floor was reserved for the offices of city aldermen, city council chambers, and public meeting space. The judicial branch of local government occupied the southern section of the building, with the desk sergeant, day captain, magistrate, municipal court, and jail on the first floor. Police department offices, a property room, and the night captain occupied the second and most of the third floor. A small wing at the rear elevation of the building provided jail cells for female inmates. The northern section of the building hosted the fire department. A horse-drawn hose company, steam pumps, and department operations offices originally occupied the first floor, while additional offices, a dormitory, kitchen, and storage areas filled all of the second and portions of the third floors. Stables sheltered the department's horses on the north side of the building, and subse-

quent garage additions housed additional pumps and carriages, also on the north elevation. When the city acquired its first motorized fire engines in 1911, the department enlarged the garage doors and completed another addition for the department's fleet maintenance.⁵

Only months after their neighbors to the north voted for consolidation, residents of the Bessemer area, in the shadow of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company's (CF&I) Minnequa Steelworks, organized and incorporated the Town of Bessemer on July 15, 1886. Citizens of the fledging town constructed their first town hall shortly afterward at the southeast corner of present-day East Abriendo Avenue and Central Avenue. The siding-clad, wood-frame building housed Bessemer's municipal court, jail, fire station, city council chambers, and a community meeting room.⁶

By 1890, the town of Bessemer had contracted with local architect George W. Roe to design a larger and much more accommodating town hall. Roe planned a brick building with white stone trim, two-stories tall, and an above grade basement. The Bessemer police department and jail occupied the basement, while the offices of the city clerk, city treasurer, and city engineer shared the first floor with the fire department and its equipment. Roe reserved the third floor for city council chambers, an auditorium, and a meeting room. The architect estimated the cost of construction for the city hall to be \$10,000, but the finished price tag nearly doubled that figure, with CF&I likely footing the bill.⁷

Figure 2.3. Architect George W. Roe designed this handsome edifice, at 1207 East Evans Avenue, as the second Bessemer Town Hall. When the cost of construction soared, CF&I likely footed the bill. It is pictured here in 1938. (Photo courtesy Pueblo City-County Library District)





INADEQUATE ACCOMMODATIONS

Back in Pueblo proper, the *Chieftain* reported in 1907, merely eighteen years after the 1889 city hall was constructed, that "city council [felt] that a new city hall [was] greatly needed." At that time, the public works committee of city council began conferring with Pueblo county commissioners to "discuss the matter from every standpoint." Although no outcomes from the meeting or meetings was reported, both the city and county officials "believe[d] that by joining forces a handsome structure [could] be erected, while if the city and the county each erect a building they will be of but moderate size." This notion ultimately proved unwarranted, as seen by the grandeur and immense size of the separate city and county buildings still in use today.⁸

Though there was no consolidation of city and county government under one roof, the grumblings of city officials for a larger, more adequate city hall continued into 1910. The *Chieftain* reported on March 5 that "Pueblo is probably to have a new, modern, imposing city hall. At least the city council last night took the first steps toward the erection of a municipal building in keeping with the city's progress." (The reporter, most likely, did not know how important the use of the word "probably" was in his story, as initial construction of the next incarnation of city hall was still seven years away.) The estimated cost of such a structure would be "in the neighborhood of \$100,000, which would insure [sic] a building that would be a credit to the city." City Alderman Norbert Zink brought forth a resolution, passed unanimously, to name a committee to over-

Figures 2.4 and 2.5. This photo depicts the much-derided 1889 Pueblo City Hall, on Central Main Street, in 1937. Note the northeast elevation of Memorial Hall in the background, at left. The inset drawing shows a more idealized view of building in better times. (Photo courtesy Pueblo City-County Library District; drawing from Pueblo County Historical Society, Pueblo Lore, October 2008)

see the feasibility of constructing what the newspaper christened a “building [that] would be one of the finest in the state, if erected, and will in all probability be erected in an entirely different section of the city from where the present dilapidated structure now stands.” The newspaper also quoted Alderman Zink: “The present city hall is old-fashioned and decidedly inadequate for the needs of a progressive city like Pueblo is now. We will have two modern hotels, a Y.M.C.A., new business blocks and other great and vast improvements, not to mention the millions of dollars to be spent at our doors on the gigantic irrigation projects, and Pueblo should have a city hall that will reflect credit upon the city.”⁹

Ten days later, on March 15, the *Chieftain* continued to agitate its readers. At the previous night’s council meeting, Alderman Zink brought forth, and council once again passed unanimously, “a resolution declaring the necessity for a new

city hall building.” This time, the council even carried the approval of the board of public works, a municipal entity obliged to care for and maintain buildings, not replace them. The *Chieftain* now proclaimed of the project:

It is planned to erect in Pueblo a city hall that will be a credit instead of a disgrace to the city. It is planned to have it cost in the neighborhood of \$200,000 to \$300,000 and have it face one of the main streets of the city instead of being located where as at present it is almost inaccessible to those who are not thoroughly acquainted with the central portion of the city, and a Chinese puzzle to all who are not absolutely familiar with the surroundings.

The *Chieftain* continued as to the condition of the 1889 building:

The old building is said to be practically ready for condemnation. At last night’s meeting of the council Building Inspector Fred Mahoney informed the council that the floor was becoming so weak that the

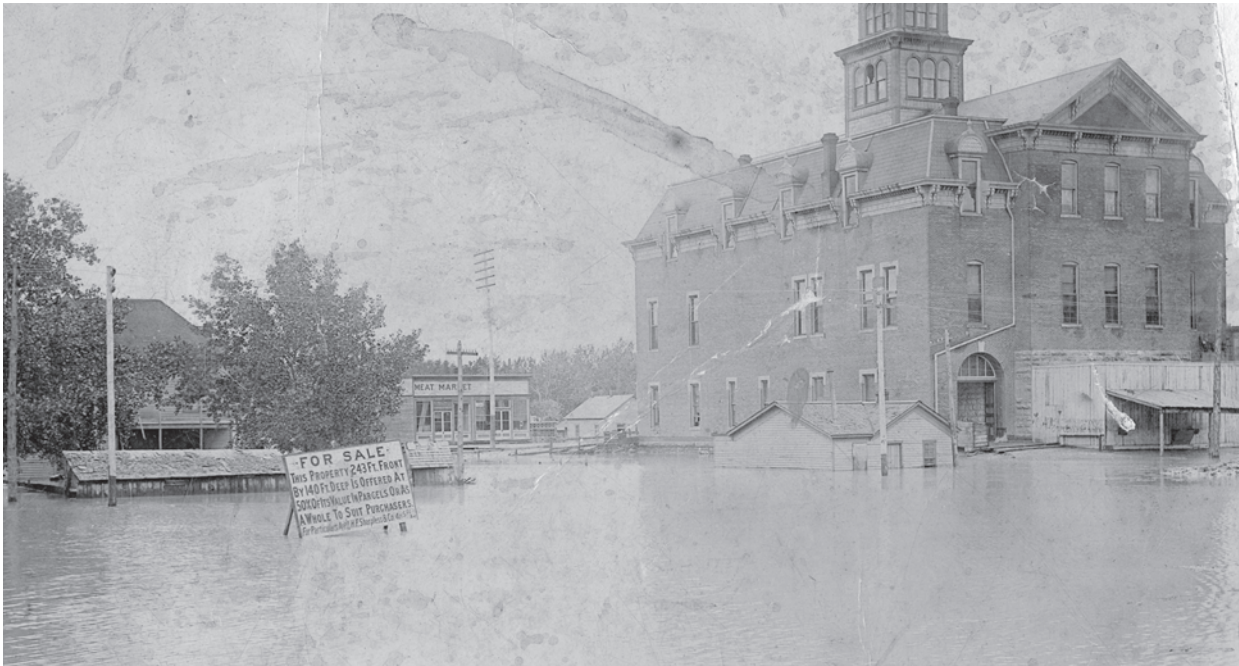


Figure 2.6. Selling lots seems unlikely as Arkansas River floodwaters inundate the area around the 1889 Pueblo City Hall in this view of the rear of the building, looking southward toward Central Main Street. Note the tall, wood cupola crowning the edifice. (Photo courtesy Pueblo City-County Library District)

city fire department might be precipitated into the basement at any time, while the brick walls are cracked so that the structure no longer is considered water proof. The police and fire departments are clamoring for more room, the records are considered unsafe [at] any place in the building.

It is unknown on what the *Chieftain* based its construction estimates, but it is peculiar how the cost doubled then tripled in ten days. There was no mention again of the \$100,000 figure, and the entirety of city council and the mayor were seemingly all on board for construction to begin at any cost. Interestingly, the newspaper fails to include the opinions of Pueblo’s citizens as to the cost of or even the need to replace City Hall.¹⁰

With seemingly no end to the exuberance of this embryonic civic construction project, the *Chieftain* reported the mayor’s sentiments toward the 1889 building and its still evolving successor. Problems would arise at every element of the process of construction. The headline on March 16 read: “City Hall A Disgrace Declares Mayor Fugard: Will Do Whatever He Can to Secure Erection of new Structure for Pueblo.” The lead article that day basically amounted to avowing Mayor Abraham Lincoln Fugard’s extolling sentiments:

A mammoth civic center for Pueblo, around which might be grouped the new down-town hotel, the Y.M.C.A., a new city hall, a public plaza, containing lawns and a fountain and numerous other good things which would be of benefit to the city as a whole, wouldn’t that be the greatest boost you ever heard of for this city? I tell you, Denver has got the right idea, but we have got the location and all we need now is a few more ideas such as combined with vigorous efforts and enthusiasm, have made the building of two new hotels and a Y.M.C.A. possible, and which I am sure will result in the construction of a new city hall[,] a new bridge across the Arkansas, the improvements at City Park, and the numerous other things which are rapidly making Pueblo a city among the elites of the great West. You can’t quote

me too strongly in favor of public improvements. I want them. We must have them and for a starter I intend to put my shoulder to the wheel and see what can be done in the way of getting a new city hall. That old structure is a disgrace. It is in frightful condition and the money we are spending annually to keep it together and to keep the rains out would soon build a new hall. Now that the county building is so nicely under way it is no more than fitting that the city keep abreast with the times and I will be working to devote my time and energy toward that end whenever it is needed.

Seemingly, nothing was outside the realm of possibility to a mayor momentarily caught up in the City Beautiful movement. In only eleven days, the idea snowballed from a \$100,000 city hall to a \$200,000 or \$300,000 city hall to civic plaza of seemingly limitless cost.¹¹

Yet the city of Pueblo was still in its awkward, immature teen years during the 1910s. While the city boomed in the first few years of the twentieth century, by 1910 growth had slowed to a snail’s pace. Regionally, Pueblo’s largest employer, Colorado Fuel & Iron, failed to address adequately labor unrest, which eventually erupted into the bloody Coal Wars and the Ludlow Massacre. Globally, the onset of a massive war brought any grumblings for a new city hall to an abrupt and complete halt. Pueblo taxpayers probably became skeptical of the city hall project, as well. Pueblo County officials proceeded ahead with the construction of the county courthouse on Tenth Street with an initial estimated cost of \$400,000; when construction wrapped up in 1912, the cost skyrocketed to \$750,000. However unfair, county commissioners governed from expansive new chambers, while city council postponed its next housewarming party.¹²

Before the dust had settled from the construction of the county courthouse, Pueblo city council and the *Chieftain* con-

tinued to remind the city's taxpayers about the need for a new city hall and auditorium. The newspaper reported on June 11, 1912, that, "There are fifteen or twenty buildings on Union avenue [sic] between the Santa Fe tracks and the Arkansas river deemed unsafe, unsanitary and dangerous to life by the committee [consisting of the city fire chief Samuel H. Christy, city building inspector and local architect George Roe, and city engineer D.P. Gaynor]. Although no action was taken yesterday, the attitude of the commissioners was that the buildings should be condemned and placed in proper condition." The newspaper continued, "Several of the structures are old and dilapidated, being among the first ever built in Pueblo." The condition of the buildings along Union Avenue was important to city officials since they occupied the preferred location for a new City Hall building and most of the lots had already been built upon.¹³

The *Chieftain* continued to cheerlead sporadically for a new city hall for three years, albeit at a much slower pace than the flurry of articles of 1910 and 1912. By January 24, 1915, the newspaper felt "warranted in saying that public sentiment is decidedly favorable to the proposition" of funding and constructing a new city hall. The sentiment within the city appeared optimistic, in that the local economy was "at the bottom of the trough of the wave of industrial depression." The daily news source justifiably noted, "it [was] possible to make public improvements at a cost much less than would be possible at a time when labor and building material were in greater demand, and our wage earners and others need the money more than they would need it under more favorable circumstances."¹⁴

But reality outweighed optimism. City officials and employees, as well as the *Chieftain*, seemingly softened their

staunch support for the construction of the civic building by 1915. At the beginning of that year, city employees with offices in the existing City Hall on Central Main Street had ceased "complaining of their quarters" and conceded that "they might easily continue to do business where they [were] for many months to come." Coincidentally, the *Chieftain's* editorial board at that time now merely favored "a modern office building and one that will be an ornament to the city and in keeping with its surroundings. There is no need, however, of extravagance in design or cost." Even more, the newspaper seemingly opposed the enhancements of the City Beautiful movement that mayor Fugard championed in 1910, stating, "We are not in favor of any country square effect, with lawns and shade trees." The *Chieftain* further argued for the frugality of the building, granting that the daily was "not ready to give unequivocal approval to the plan for a municipal auditorium," and "that feature of the plan is one that should be carefully considered and discussed before a decision is reached for or against it." Even though the *Chieftain* thought "the building [on Central Main Street] [was] a discomfort to every citizen who enters it upon public business and a disgrace for every stranger who sees this home of the city government," the building was adequate enough that "the city jail, and the central fire station might well remain for a number of years in the present old building." This "old building" had yet to reach its thirtieth birthday and would remain standing another forty years until it was razed and replaced by the Pueblo City-County Health Department building in 1955.¹⁵

The *Chieftain* echoed its stance for an economical city hall in an editorial a few weeks later: "Pueblo is justly proud of its new courthouse, but this city is not in a condition where it would be wise to build for city purposes a building of the courthouse type. To propose such a plan would be to insure

1915 City Hall Committee Resolution

The committee approved the following resolution:

WHEREAS, it is generally admitted that the present city hall and auditorium facilities in Pueblo are in no way in proportion to the population, commercial importance or requirements of the city, nor commensurate with similar accommodations in other cities of equal size, all of which operate to handicap Pueblo in various ways, and,

WHEREAS, it is conceded that a suitable city hall and auditorium can be constructed now at a lower cost than for many years to come, thereby obtaining for the city a suitable public building at a minimum cost, at the same time giving employment to Pueblo laboring men and patronage to Pueblo business firms, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this meeting that the city commissioners of Pueblo should proceed immediately to take such steps as are necessary to obtain a suitable city hall and auditorium, the total cost of which including the land, building, furniture and fixtures should not exceed the approximate sum of \$250,000 and that the same should be started and completed within the shortest time possible.

[sic] defeat for it.” Incidentally, the newspaper reported that “The people of Pueblo”, not the *Chieftain*’s editors, “want a city building that will serve the purpose for which it is intended, and that will be sufficient for the city’s needs now and for a reasonable number of future years. They also want a building that will be an ornament and a credit to the city, but they do not want an extravagant outlay for grounds or architecture that would be out of proportion to the business needs of the city and to the taxpaying ability of the citizens.” The newspaper additionally noted, “On the other hand Pueblo cannot afford to build too cheap a building, and it would be business sense to wait a few years rather than to put up a building that would not be sufficient for the needs of the city or that would not be a credit to the city.” With no clear consensus between city officials, city employees, the *Chieftain*, and the constituents of the city of Pueblo, it appeared another entity would have to push the project.¹⁶

And that entity emerged. A group of “forty prominent business men and tax payers of the city” met at the Vail Hotel February 4, 1915, to discuss the seemingly lingering issue of the construction of a new city hall and auditorium. This informal committee listed the advantages of constructing the new, dual-purpose building as “giving employment to wage earners, the local benefit of entering upon a policy of development, and the advertising to be gained for the city at a time when the eyes of the east are turning toward the west, seeking opportunities for investment and industry.” There was no opposition to construction expressed amongst the attendees. Architect George Roe, who attended the gathering, presented preliminary drawings of a four-story structure with thirty offices and meeting rooms and an adjoining auditorium. Roe estimated the cost of construction at \$164,000: city hall to cost

\$83,000 and the auditorium to cost \$81,000. A majority of attendees believed Roe’s building to be too small, but favored the location of the building adjacent to the Arkansas River.¹⁷

Puebloans continued to push the issue, on August 23, 1915, presenting city council with a petition supporting the construction of a new city hall and auditorium. City council minutes do not recognize the bearer of the petition; however a *Chieftain* article a few months later, on October 10, stated that the “2,500 names attached to the petition which has been presented to the city council were easily secured, and the project had been endorsed by the Pueblo Commerce club, the Trades’ assembly, the Real Estate Exchange and the Rotary club [sic].” Yet city council did not act upon the petition, merely acknowledging and filing it.¹⁸

But the *Chieftain* continued to advocate for the new municipal buildings throughout October of 1915. The daily mentioned the buildings no less than ten times that month in entries ranging from news articles, to editorials, to public notices. While there were no new arguments in support of the construction of a new city hall, the *Chieftain* reprised its maintenance and inadequacy arguments against the 1889 building. The newspaper reported:

During the past few years thousands of dollars have been spent in an effort to make [the 1889 City Hall] answer the requirements of the municipality. The interior has been rearranged time and time again, partitions have been torn out and replaced, departments have been split up and then again others have been consolidated in a vain attempt to force the old building to house the government. Municipal court has been located everywhere from the third floor to its present location in a little cramped space at the rear of the police department, the women’s quarters of the jail has been moved around until it now is situated in a reconstructed stable portion of the building, the police headquarters has

been moved from one cramped location to another, and now finally efforts are being made only to hold the city's system together until the proposed new municipal building can be erected. Even the roof and sides of the old structure leak to such an extent that the records no longer are safe from the elements, to say nothing of the possibility of burglars or fire. It has been painted neither inside nor out for years, each succeeding administration hoping that the next would see the erection of a new building.

The *Chieftain* article failed to explain whether the city budget did not permit the maintenance of the 1889 building or if city administration merely allowed the building to fall into disrepair in order to construct a replacement. It appears likely that the maintenance problem was a culmination of factors, including Progressive Era ideals for civic buildings.¹⁹

But a new city hall came a step closer to reality on November 2, 1915, when Pueblo citizens voted for a \$300,000 bond issue to fund the construction of the new municipal government building and auditorium. The *Chieftain* reported the morning after the election, “the city hall bonds got a majority of 523 [votes], according to unofficial returns,” marking a clear majority amongst voters and taxpayers. The official tally came in at 1,575 votes for the bond measure and 1,077 against it, a majority of votes 498 approving.²⁰

THE RIVER SITE

Next, city council prepared its agencies for the condemnation of property at the favored building site, a truly herculean task. At its January 10, 1916, meeting, city council resolved to instruct the City Engineer and City Attorney to “prepare... a description of the different lots, pieces, and parcels of land on the east side of Union Avenue, between the two story Vail Building and the river and on the West side of Central Main Street, between the City Hall Building and the river, and... to

commence proceedings immediately to condemn the land herein before mentioned as a sight [sic] for the proposed City Hall and Auditorium.” This proposed “river site” was but one of four sites recommended by a citizen's advisory committee. A second proposed site “extended from the [David] Barnett & [Moses] Franklin building north to the Colonial theater [where the present-day Senior Resource Development Agency (SRDA) building stands].” “A third site proposed by Former Governor Alva Adams is the block in Victoria avenue [sic] between Grand avenue and Union avenue [the present-day Sister Cities Plaza],” while “a fourth suggestion included all the ground between the Vail building and the river.” City council seemingly favored the river site as it never initiated condemnation proceedings on any of the other proposed locations.²¹

Yet even before groundbreaking—and even before the city acquired a site and building plans for that matter—some Puebloans were already grumbling about the cost and the potential for the project to run over its budget. The citizen's advisory committee, by the end of January 1916, objected that “the amount raised by the bond issue is too small for the combined purpose of obtaining a site and erecting a suitable building which would be a credit to the city.” The committee estimated that by the time condemnation proceedings concluded and the city finally compensated landowners for their properties, land acquisition alone would total \$100,000, leaving merely \$200,000 for engineering, architectural supervision, and construction. Forecasting a deficit, the committee went so far as to suggest city council raise property taxes by one mill for two years to generate \$60,000 in additional construction revenue. The committee even favored the tax increase over postponing site acquisition and construction until more funds could be raised.²²

But the limited budget was not the only problem; even as condemnation proceedings continued the site selection seemed less than settled. In January 1916, “civic beauty expert” and landscape architect Irving J. McCrary presented his findings. The city hired McCrary, a frequent consultant in Denver’s City Beautiful scene, to help develop a Pueblo beautification plan as well as propose the location for the new civic buildings. McCrary specified that a location on Grand Avenue best suited the buildings as it was one of the principal streets into the heart of the downtown, though the *Chieftain* noted McCrary’s opinion was “from the beauty and architectural standpoint and [did] not concern the amount to be paid for the ground of the construction of the building.” At the time McCrary presented his findings, city council took no action upon them and merely received them.²³

Other issues remained unsettled as well. One question that concerned members of the citizen’s advisory committee, as reported on February 1, 1916, was that of the exclusive use of local Pueblo labor. The Pueblo City Attorney at the time, John A. Martin, reported to the committee that “[a]s a result of his investigations it [would] be impossible for the city to legally restrict outside architects and contractors from bidding.” Other members of the committee merely desired that the civic buildings be constructed “properly and be a credit to the city whether Pueblo labor could do it or not.” Dr. Richard C. Corwin, of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, suggested that a construction supervisor be appointed for the committee, preferably the architect, to oversee quality control and report back to the committee. City council took no formal action on the matter of exclusive local labor, but at its February 21, 1916, meeting, council resolved to hold a design competition limited to Pueblo architects. However, if required, these architects

could seek the assistance of professionals from outside of the city.²⁴ City council also went on to resolve that second and third place in the design contest would collect \$200 and \$100, respectively. City council would award the winner the contract to draft plans for both the city hall and auditorium and, ultimately, witness their construction.²⁵

The issue of the potential budget shortfall appeared again in mid-February. At this time, the citizen’s advisory committee proposed a one-and-one-quarter mill levy to raise over \$80,000; this was one-quarter mill larger than proposed merely a few weeks earlier and would generate an additional \$20,000. Construction of the civic buildings was now estimated at \$225,000, not including an estimated \$25,000 for furnishings and \$15,000 to improve the old City Hall. The committee proposed the mill levy to cover the cost of land acquisition. Condemnation of the proposed building sites was also deemed too costly and inefficient, leaving the committee to recommend that the land be purchased outright if an appropriate price could be negotiated.²⁶

The citizen’s advisory committee rescinded its support of any proposed mill levy increases for the purpose of building city hall and the auditorium. The committee noted that if the favored river site could be purchased for \$75,000, there would be no need for additional taxation, even though the individual property owners had balked at lowering their asking prices. Nonetheless, the committee voted unanimously to recommend that the city “expend no more than the \$300,000 voted in bonds...for the purchasing of the ground and the erection of the building.”²⁷

At its March 13 meeting, city council resolved to purchase all lots that made up the river site in the near future, on the recommendation of the citizen’s committee. Council acted to

purchase the lots upon which the city obtained options at seventy percent of their assessed value, while council instructed the city attorney to initiate condemnation proceedings for those properties for which the city had not obtained any options. Further, council ordered property owners with settled options to furnish the city with title abstracts to complete the sales as soon as possible. The *Chieftain* reported that only three property owners objected to the purchase price of seventy percent of assessed value. If all property owners consented to the sale price set by the committee, total cost for land acquisition would have totaled \$76,653. But the total cost rose to an unreported amount as three dissenters forced the city into litigation. At the same meeting, council instructed the city finance director to begin receiving building plans for the civic buildings from all interested local architects. City council set the submission deadline for plans as May 10.²⁸

Over a month passed before the next official proceedings in the land acquisition occurred. By late March, one of the dissenting property owners retracted his opposition to the price, while the two others sent letters to the citizen's committee. Partners in ownership of one of the properties, a Mr. Barnett and a Mr. Franklin, wrote to the committee stating their lowest possible sale price was below the assessed value and that if the city commenced condemnation proceedings against their property, the price would be withdrawn, and they would require full value of their holdings. An individual owner, John Mitchell, also submitted a letter to the committee. In it, Mitchell declared, "the city asked him to almost give away his property while owners of land next to the river site would profit by it yet were not asked to make any concession." Mitchell also noted that although he desired to forego litigation, he would not lower his asking price.²⁹

Barnett and Franklin conceded to a sale price of \$16,000 by the beginning of May. It is unclear whether they dropped their price to seventy percent of assessed value or if they managed to hold out for a higher price. Nonetheless, as a stipulation of the purchase Barnett and Franklin's building was to remain intact and occupied until construction of the new civic buildings was completed in order to provide an extended rev-

Figure 2.7. The preferred "river site" for the new city hall (outlined in a red dotted line) was far from vacant, as seen in this 1904 Sanborn map, and required complex and contentious condemnation proceedings to vacate. The map also shows how close the site was to the original Arkansas River channel (highlighted in blue), a situation that would have disastrous consequences during the 1921 flood. Also note the original 1889 City Hall, just to north of the site. (*Library of Congress*)

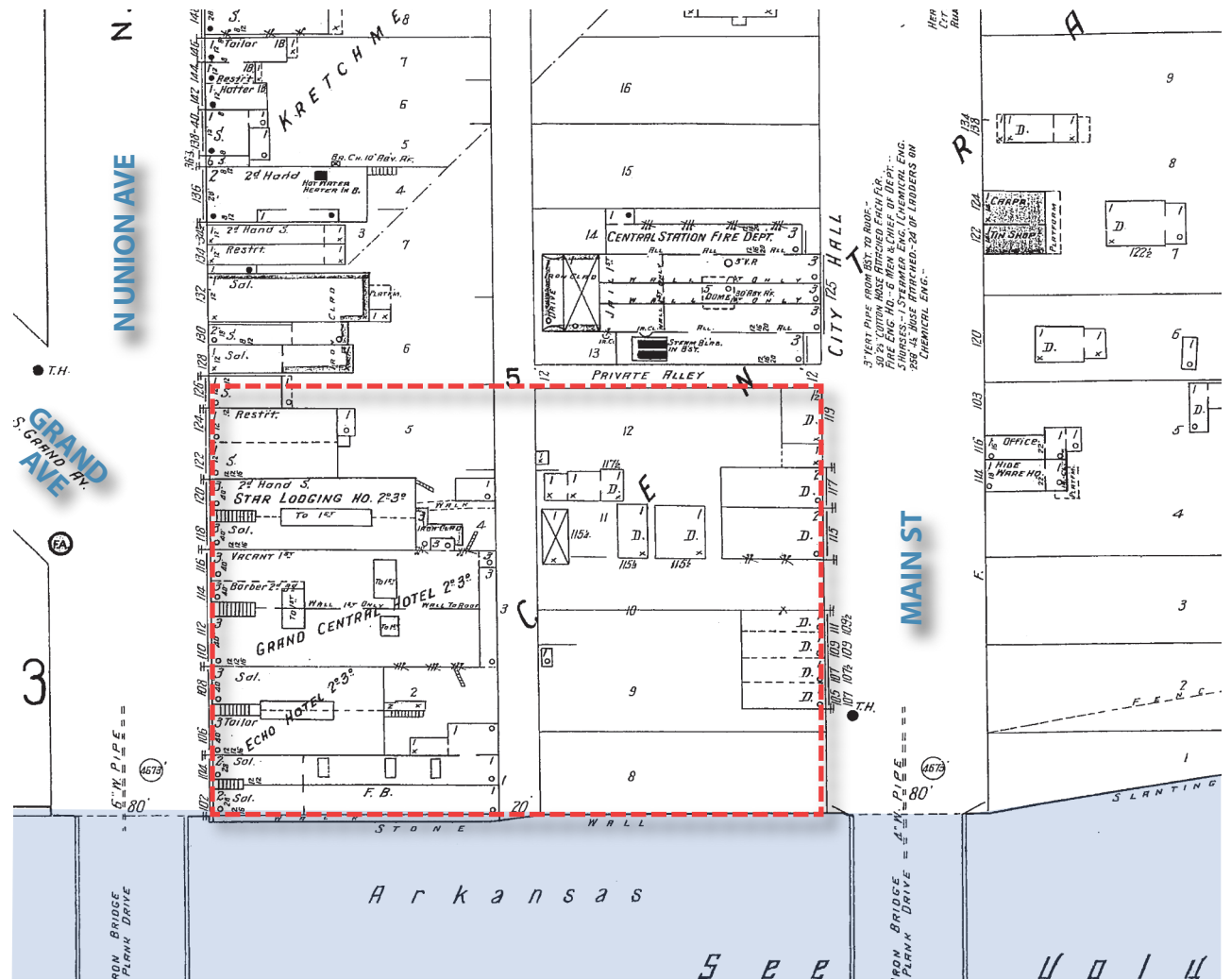




Figure 2.8. Pueblo Architect William W. Stickney won the city hall design competition and oversaw the construction of both City Hall and Memorial Hall. (Photo courtesy Anne Stickney and the City of Pueblo)

enue-producing time period.

With the site acquisitions settled, city council resolved to begin drafting warrants against the city hall building fund on May 1, 1916, and immediately purchased the properties upon which it held options. City council purchased two other properties at the river site by May 3; George H. Sweeney sold a property for \$15,442, and the Walter Brewing Company did the same for \$14,028. Additionally, on May 9, McClelland Mercantile Industrial & Realty Company sold a lot for \$1,127; this property was undeveloped, but the city paid to remove a “considerable [amount] of building stone from the lot.”³⁰

Despite the struggle to obtain it, the site city council and the citizen’s advisory committee chose remains quite impressive even to this day. Still bound by Article 6 of the Articles of Consolidation, council and the committee chose to front City Hall on Union Avenue, the literal geographic “union” of Pueblo, Central Pueblo, and South Pueblo. The intersection where the buildings are situated is also not of the traditional ninety degrees, as Grand Avenue heads directly south then turns southeast and Union Avenue runs southwest to northeast. Likewise, it appears fitting that as one travels south from downtown along Grand Avenue, one of the most striking buildings in Pueblo comes into view.

EXHIBIT E

City council called a special session on the morning of Wednesday May 10, 1916, and received five designs for the new city hall and auditorium from local architects. With all members of city council and the citizen’s advisory committee present, each set of plans was opened and hung on the walls of council chambers. All persons present voted one set of plans first, second, and third place, with points awarded for each

vote. The last set of plans to be hung, exhibit E, overwhelmingly won based on its exterior appearance alone. At the session meeting that afternoon, exhibit E received nineteen out of twenty-three votes for interior design. A motion to accept exhibit E as the plans for the new city hall and auditorium passed, which made the voting unanimous; city council and the committee chose the design of a young Pueblo native, William White Stickney, for Pueblo’s new civic center.

Perhaps the foremost of Pueblo’s architects, William W. Stickney was born in Colorado on October 26, 1883, to prominent Pueblo banker Charles Stickney. He attended Pueblo public schools and graduated from Harvard’s prestigious School of Architecture. Stickney returned to Pueblo and resided in his father’s house, at 101 East Orman Street. Stickney was responsible for many of the grand public buildings in Pueblo, including Keating Junior High School, in Mesa Junction; the Nurses’ Home at the Colorado State Hospital; and the First Methodist Episcopal Church (now the First United Methodist Church). He also designed one of the largest public buildings in Pueblo, Parkview Hospital, which was a large-scale example of the architect’s stylistic preference for historical revivals, particularly those of Gothic, Classical, and Mediterranean descent. His many North Side residential commissions included the 1925–26 Daniel Zane Phillips House, at 1821 Court Street; and the 1926 Asbury White Residence, at 1819 North Elizabeth Street, which was one of his last commissions before selling his firm to his protégé Walter DeMordaunt. Stickney and his wife, the former Katherine Duce, traveled extensively throughout Italy before moving to Los Angeles sometime in the mid-1920s and starting a family; they had three children: Anne, Frances, and Charles. William Stickney died there on April 28, 1958.³¹

Stickney designed the exterior of the adjoining buildings to complement each other, and was assisted by the New York City firm Haskell and Godley, especially for the interior design of the auditorium. They were, in many ways, an ideal design team. Both Fitch Haskell and Frederick Godley, whose New York-based partnership lasted from around 1915 to 1922, were associates of Beaux Arts City Beautiful icons Daniel Burnham, Paul Philippe Cret, and John F. Harbeson, as well as pioneering modernist and skyscraper proponent Harvey Wiley Corbett. Moreover, both architects excelled in auditorium design.³²

Fitch Harrison Haskell was steeped in the Neoclassical and Beaux Arts that served as stylistic cornerstones of the City Beautiful movement. He was born on October 30, 1883, and attended Phillips Exeter Academy, in Exeter, New Hampshire, and received his bachelor of arts from Harvard in 1906, making him a classmate of Stickney. Haskell toured Europe and studied at the prestigious *Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts*, in Paris, in 1911. He started his career as a draftsman for McKim, Mead, and White, arguably the most prominent architectural firm in the United States and the partnership behind many of the country's most notable neoclassical and Beaux Arts edifices, including New York's colossal (now demolished) Pennsylvania Station. Following the dissolution of his partnership with Godley, Haskell, like Stickney, moved to California. In 1925 he partnered with John Cyril Bennett and George Edwin Bergstrom to design the opulent and iconic Pasadena Municipal Auditorium, a fixture on television as the site of annual Prime Time Emmy Awards and the People's Choice Awards.³³

Frederick Augustus Godley was born in 1886 and studied architecture at Yale, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the *Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts*. He initially worked in

architect Guy Lowell's Boston office and, between 1924 and 1929, was a partner of Raymond M. Hood, in New York. During that time, Godley helped Hood design numerous Art Deco masterpieces, including Radio City Music Hall, the American Radiator Building, and the pioneering International style-inspired McGraw-Hill Building. Godley later became a professor of architecture at Yale and was the father of Ambassador George McMurtrie Godley.³⁴

Stickney's plans called for a building 110 feet wide fronting Union Avenue and 216 feet of river frontage; City Hall represented fifty-eight feet of river frontage and the auditorium accounted for the remainder. The building measured fifty-two feet high from the sidewalk to the cornice and 110 feet high from the sidewalk to the top of the cupola. Haskell and Godley's interior auditorium design allowed seating for 2,230 people, with additional stage space to allow for 300 more. The May 11, 1916, *Chieftain* described the building for the public:

Ample light in all parts of the building is obtained by stair courts. Six stairways and twelve exits preclude possibility of panic in the auditorium and ample stage for any purpose that may arise. Space for pipe organ. Direct entrance from streets to women's comfort station and to the health department. Combination flat and sloping floor in auditorium if desired with storage space for sloping floor when removed. Arrangement of council room like a court room with private stairs from commissioners' offices.

Option is given of third floor as shown or placing the kitchen, cloak room, etc., over auditorium in space usually occupied by the second balcony, and thus leaving the entire third floor of office building in one large room. In case this is done, elevator will be moved over against wall. This room will have ample skylight by means of glass tiles for art exhibit purposes. Complete facilities for serving banquets are

Figure 2.9. William W. Stickney's drawing of City Hall's front elevation, 1916. (William W. Stickney with F.H. Haskell and Frederick Godley; image courtesy Charles Stickney and the City of Pueblo)

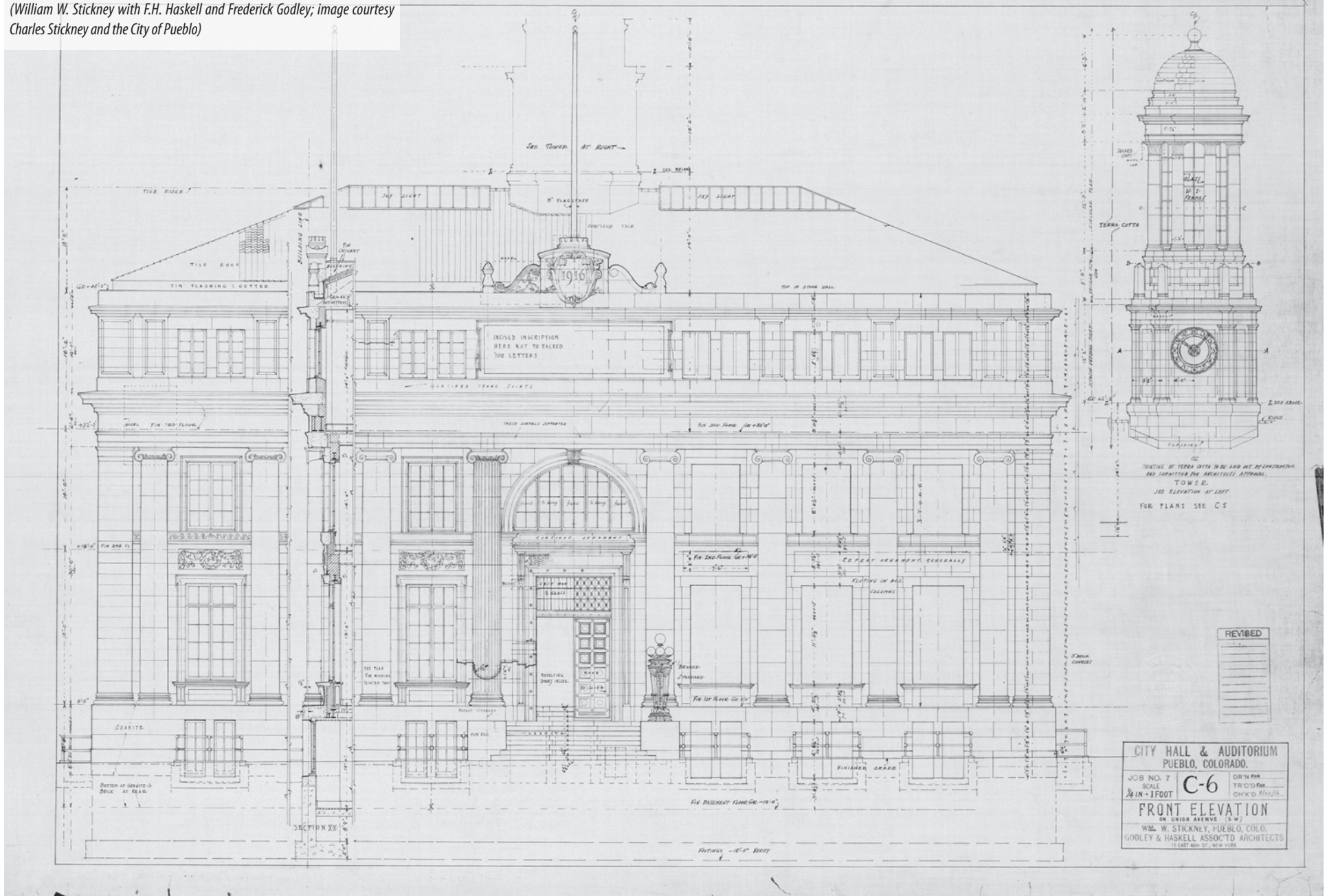


Figure 2.10. William W. Stickney's drawing of the side elevation of City Hall and Memorial Hall, 1916. (William W. Stickney with F.H. Haskell and Frederick Godley; image courtesy Charles Stickney and the City of Pueblo)

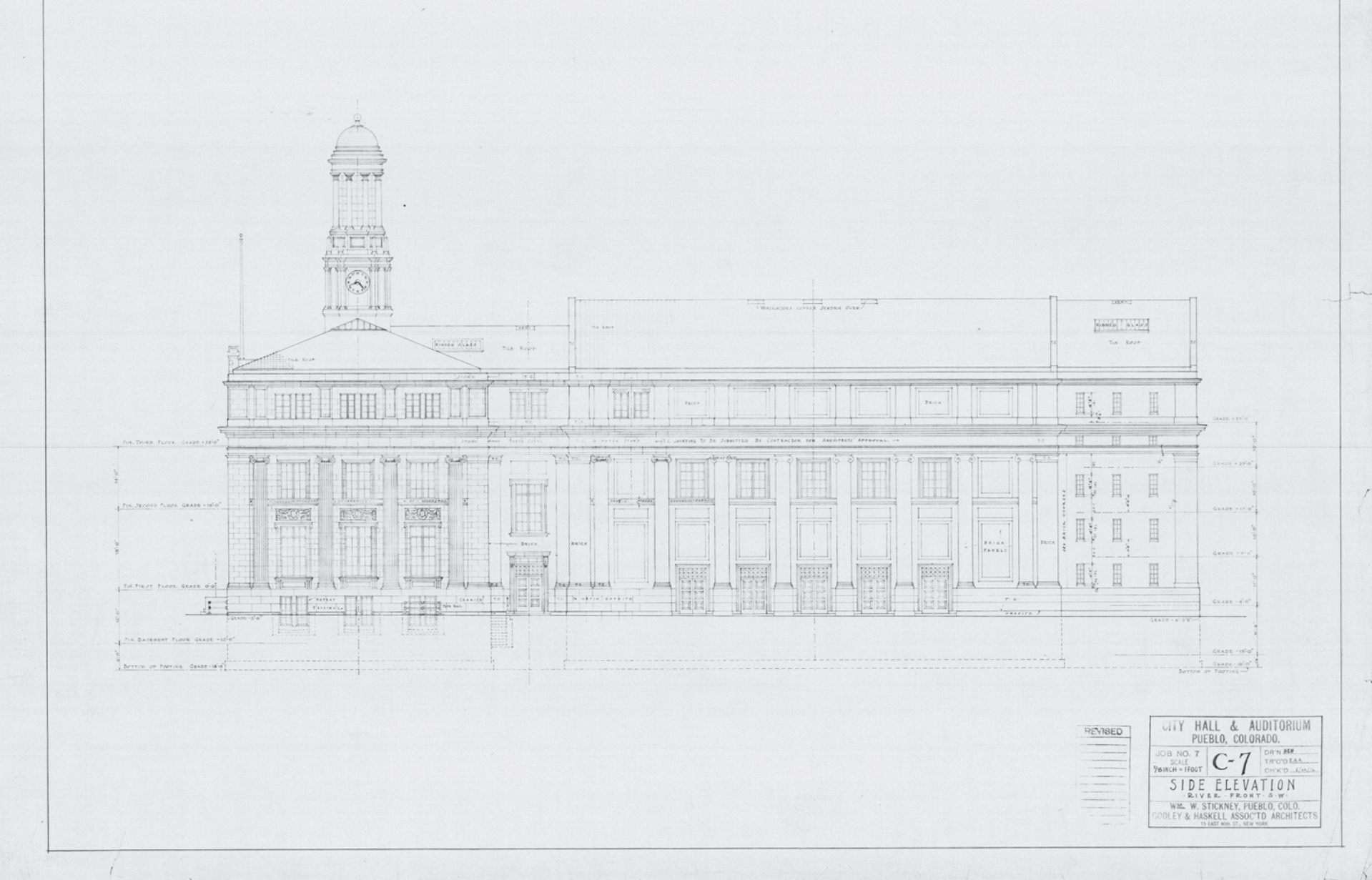


Figure 2.11. William W. Stickney's cross section drawing of City Hall, 1916.
 (William W. Stickney with F.H. Haskell and Frederick Godley; image courtesy
 Charles Stickney and the City of Pueblo)

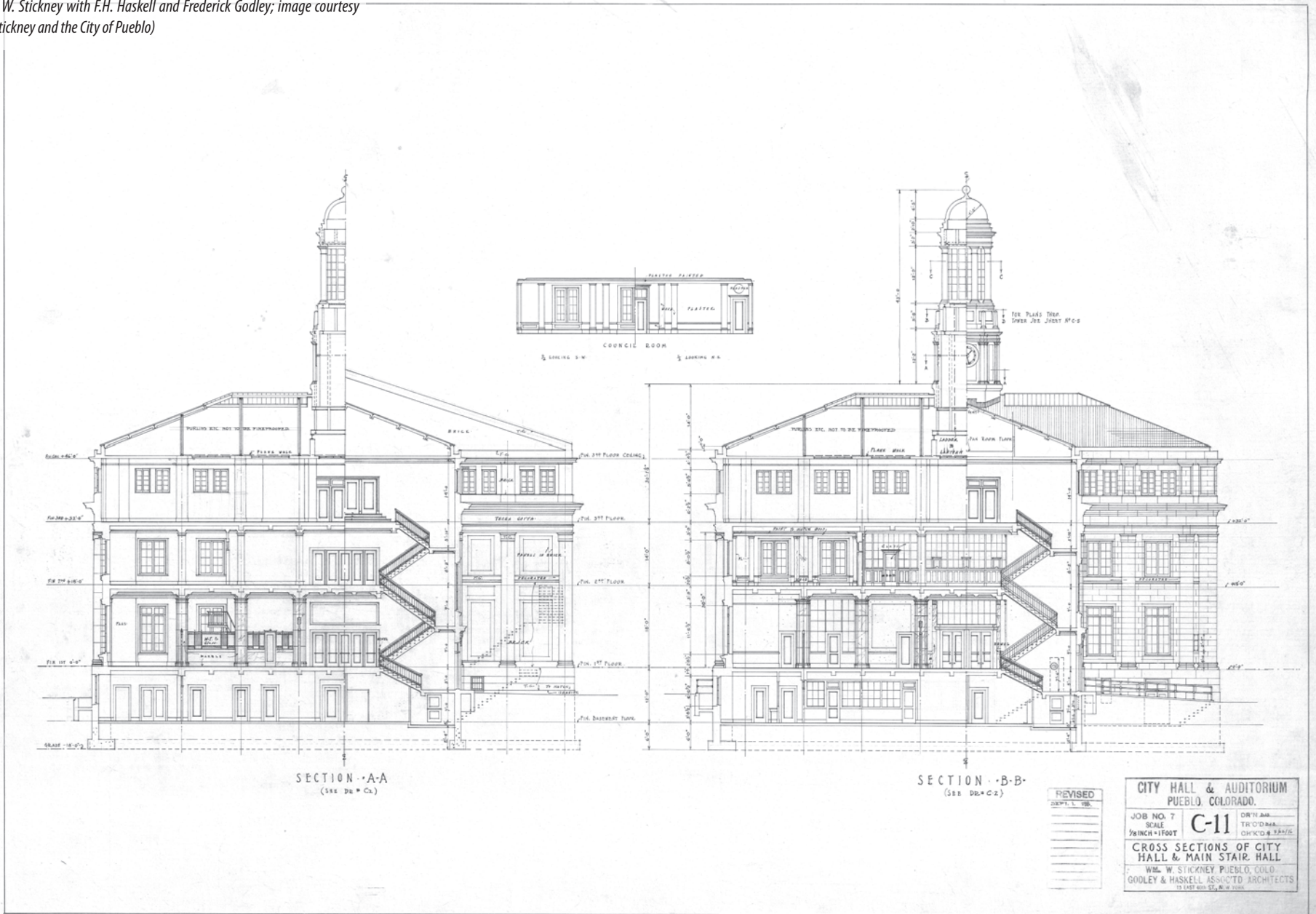


Figure 2.12. William W. Stickney's longitudinal section drawing of City Hall and Memorial Hall, 1916. (William W. Stickney with F.H. Haskell and Frederick Godley; image courtesy Charles Stickney and the City of Pueblo)



REVISED	CITY HALL & AUDITORIUM	
	PUEBLO, COLORADO.	
	JOB NO. 7	DR'N FR.
	SCALE	T'RO'D FR.
	1/8" INCH = 1 FOOT	CHK'D. FR.
	C-10	
	LONGITUDINAL SECTION	
	WIL. W. STICKNEY, PUEBLO, COLO.	
	GODLEY & HASKELL ASSOCI'G ARCHITECTS	
	15 EAST BIRD ST., NEW YORK	

provided.

It is intended to make the public foyer on the ground floor the keynote of the whole building and here only the finest materials will be used, marble and bronze, etc. The grand stairways will also be handsome. The other rooms will be simpler, but attractive. The auditorium will have a vaulted ceiling, and rich proscenium arch part of the decoration of which will be the dummy pipe organ at present and later the actual organ. The remainder of the auditorium will be effective.

On the exterior it is intended to build the entire office portion of stone, either Turkey creek [sic], or Bedford, except the base, which will be granite and the tower which will be rich terra cotta columns, cornice, etc., and granite base. The roof of the office portion will be tile and of [sic] auditorium will be metal.

The *Chieftain* also reported the estimated cost to construct Stickney’s design, with a boiler but without any furnishings, light fixtures, or marquees, at less than \$220,000. For a total of \$230,000 to \$235,000, it was estimated that the City Hall portion could be faced with Yule marble. Additionally, in an attempt to reassure the parsimonious and distrusting public, the *Chieftain* noted, “[t]hese figures are not estimates, but are obtained by close figuring by a first class contractor and can be verified.”³⁵

Indicating the sentiment at the time, a *Chieftain* editorial the same day noted the new civic buildings should amount to something more than merely walls for office space; it should exude the confidence of the city. The editorial remarked:

The life of our city ought to include something more than the strict and narrow details of city business. Our city government should represent something of the social and educational and artistic life and progress of our people, and the municipal building ought to provide some extent for these activities. The commissioners have acted most wisely in approving plans that provide for a reasonable ex-

pression of the higher life of the city, and as the usefulness of the new city hall is demonstrated in the coming years, the people of Pueblo will justly testify their gratitude for what has been done for them.

The City Beautiful movement was definitely alive and well within the city of Pueblo, even if its expression in the new city hall came a bit late.³⁶

In accordance with the resolution passed by city council previously, the city awarded prizes for both the second and third place designs submitted. The remaining members of Pueblo’s preeminent trifecta of architects with Stickney took place and show: Francis W. Cooper submitted the design selected as second place, and George W. Roe submitted the third place design. J.M. Gile and G. Edward McDonald submitted the other non-winning designs; however there appear to be no archival records of what any of the non-winning designs looked like. At the next scheduled city council meeting, held May 15, 1916, William Stickney requested that \$500 be withheld from his total upcoming fees to remunerate all participating architects \$200 each; this amount was in addition to the \$300 pledged by the city for second and third place. Both Gile and McDonald collected \$200 checks from the money reserved by Stickney; yet Roe submitted a letter to city council on May 29, stating, “Mr. Stickney was given first prize in the competition for the City Hall and I [Roe] fail to see why, for good reasons, he should contribute anything, or any amount of a money consideration to those less successful than himself; so far as I am concerned it is not due me and under no consideration would I accept of it. With all due respect to Bro. Stickney.”³⁷

PREPARING THE SITE

While the design contest was settled, city representatives

still toiled to purchase the remaining lots, and before the removal of extant buildings on the sites, the city engineer began testing the soil to determine an acceptable foundation depth on June 1. Stickney believed a depth of ten feet would suffice, but employees at the city engineer's office believed the foundation would need to be "several feet deeper" due to the site's extremely close proximity to the Arkansas River.

By June 6, the city finalized the sale with landowners Barnett and Franklin, which allowed the city to extend Grand Avenue one block further east, to intersect with Main Street. The opening of the street was set to coincide with the grand opening of the new civic buildings in 1917. A prior city council passed an ordinance in 1914 for the street extension, but was never able to secure ownership.³⁸

After previous attempts to secure what city council believed to be a fair price for the demolition of the buildings occupying the river site, council awarded a contract to carpenter A.F. Cherry on June 5. The agreement called for Cherry to pay the city \$350 for the privilege of demolishing the buildings, but he was able to keep any materials that could be reused. Archival records do not indicate the number of buildings to be razed by Cherry, only that there were multiple three-story edifices. Cherry's contract also called for him to demolish one wall of a building yet to be purchased. Contractor J.W. Christman razed the final building on the river site in late August; he paid \$115 for the privilege.³⁹

At the July 31 city council meeting, city finance commissioner J. Knox Burton versed council about completed and pending land purchases. Only one property remained to be purchased by that time, a parcel oriented toward Union Avenue. An appointed appraiser valued the property at \$11,968, a price at which the owner agreed to sell, and both parties

completed the sale within the month. Including this property, the total price the city paid for properties on Union Avenue and Main Street amounted to \$83,225. Additionally, a balance remained to be paid for the two properties needed to extend Grand Avenue on the north side of the new city hall. City council minutes indicate that the money for the remaining land purchases would not come from the city hall and auditorium fund.⁴⁰

BIDDING WARS AND WORLD WARS

After months of planning and political wrangling, city council finally published a public notice to contractors on Sunday, August 27, 1916. The notice informed contractors that building plans would be available beginning September 5 at Stickney's office for a \$25 deposit and that sealed proposals could be submitted until noon on September 30. Each proposal was to include a check equal to three percent of the total bid amount to be reserved by the city as a bond in the event that the winning contractor could not complete the work. The *Chieftain* noted at the bottom of the notice that construction was set to begin November 1 and would not to be completed before January 1, 1918.⁴¹

Once city council accepted his drawings for the new City Hall and yet-unnamed auditorium, William Stickney submitted an invoice in accordance with his contract. The contract called for Stickney to be paid two and a half percent of the construction estimate of \$220,000 for the completed drawings. Once the payment to architects Gile and McDonald was deducted, as well as a previous \$500 payment, the city paid Stickney \$4,600 for the completed drawings. Stickney also served in a quality control position during construction, which provided him periodic income from the project.⁴²

The *Chieftain* and other local newspapers printed a flurry of articles the week preceding the bid opening, exciting the public as the next phase in the city hall saga began. Articles even appeared on the deadline set for the reveal, Saturday September 30, 1916, reminding Puebloans that bids were due by noon and that they would be opened around 2:30 that afternoon, with action to be taken by city council and the citizen’s advisory committee immediately afterward. When the public arose the next morning to read the anticipated news of the chosen contractor and the ultimate cost, they were disappointed. The headline read: “City Hall Bids Prove Too High / Are Not Opened.” When local Pueblo contractor Frank Taylor arrived with three other contractors from Denver at the old City Hall shortly before noon to submit a proposal, he asked city council and the advisory committee “if the contract would be let to the lowest bidder notwithstanding the fact that the bid was greater than the amount set forth in the specifications.” Council replied with an adamant and unified “no,” leaving all four contractors to announce that they would not be submitting proposals. A subsequent *Chieftain* article noted rumors of one bid close to \$370,000, far above the approximately \$215,000 remaining in the budget for construction.⁴³

But why were the bids all too high when Stickney’s plans were so detailed and clear? Because the cost of building materials has risen dramatically as a result of the United States providing matériel for its allies and, then, entering the war in Europe (in what would later become known as the Great War and World War I). City council immediately ordered Stickney to prepare new plans as well as a new estimate that took into account wartime realities. The *Chieftain* printed Stickney’s response to council: “The plans for the city hall and auditorium will not have to be altered. I will do away with some of the su-

perfluities [sic] and make alterations according to the prevailing price of material. Recent changes, some of them coming within the past few days, threw us off the track. I have selected terra cotta because it was cheaper than stone—now it is more expensive.”⁴⁴

Stickney began his revisions immediately, with enough changes made to allow contractors to view nearly complete drawings at the beginning of November. Contractors began picking up finalized drawings from Stickney’s office around the middle of November, with bids due December 9. Yet Stickney’s cost-cutting revisions did not come without controversy. Some Puebloans now saw their proposed City Hall as a bitter reminder of unmet aspirations and unrequited dreams. The *Chieftain* published a lengthy list of omissions from the specifications, the greatest of them being a heating system, electricity, ventilation, and plumbing. Many other items were left as unfinished and cheaper materials were substituted when possible. One item for which the price changed daily and had risen the most dramatically was structural steel, rising two and a half times the price of the previous year. Estimates to complete the building at a later date that would include the necessary omissions to make the buildings functional and habitable ranged from \$100,000 to \$150,000.⁴⁵

The public outcry against the cost of the building reached a crescendo. Along with the long list of omissions, the *Chieftain* quoted “one of the men vitally interested in the erection of the new city hall” in its November 26 edition:

I have nothing against Mr. Stickney or his New York architects. What I desire (and there are hundreds of other taxpayers who desire the same thing) is to have Stickney and the architects make good the promise they made when they submitted plans for the said building, which Mr. Stickney said could be

built for \$216,000. If this he can do, then no one can justly have any kick coming.

The omission of the above items will leave the building in a condition that it will cost \$150,000 approximately to finish it ready for use and this the taxpayers should not stand for. The fact of the business is the writer believes that under the existing specifications, as a whole, it is practically impossible to determine just what will be omitted ultimately.

If this building is let by piecemeal, as it is proposed to do, the building will cost by the time is it completed, in the neighborhood of half a million dollars.

Though the \$500,000 total price tag estimate may have been a bit high, local businessmen echoed the writer's sentiment. In a petition signed by Pueblo entrepreneurs Charles Henkel, John H. Thatcher, Raymond C. Thatcher, Harlan J. Smith, Frank Pryor, and fourteen others, the group called upon city council...

...to delay the letting of the contract for the City Hall for fifteen days from the 9th day of December 1916, or from the date the bids shall be opened, within which time to give all taxpayers as well as the undersigned the information as to the ultimate cost of a complete and finished building and enable interested parties to institute any legal action that may be desired against letting of said contract, for the purpose of settling legal questions which may come up in regard to the amount of money to be expended on account of finishing the said building complete

Council officially received and filed the petition at their December 4 meeting without acting upon it.⁴⁶

Stickney refuted the notion that the building would be unusable if constructed as planned. The architect submitted a lengthy letter, published by the *Chieftain* on November 27, clarifying exactly what the city was getting for its money:

At the time the tax payers of Pueblo voted

\$300,000 to build the city hall and auditorium and buy the site prices had not yet become affected by war conditions, and at that time, the building as designed could have been built within our means. By the time the bids were taken, however, prices of both labor and material [sic] had increased to a point where the cost of building was on an average of 25 to 30 per cent above normal. Steel had more than doubled, so that the cost of this material alone for the city hall was nearly \$50,000 as against about \$25,000 under normal conditions. Another material which had more than doubled, was terra cotta, the bid on this being \$30,000 whereas it could have been bought for less than half that a year ago. In fact we are now replacing the terra cotta with stone at a saving. These are merely examples of a condition that extends to nearly every branch of the building

Figure 2.13. This postcard depicts City Hall and Memorial Hall as architect William Stickney originally designed them. Because World War I increased the cost of building materials dramatically, Stickney was forced to cut many features, including the clock in the cupola and the porte cocheres along the row of doors leading into Memorial Hall. (Image courtesy Adam Thomas collection)



industry.

On the other hand, the building as originally designed contained many features which were unessential to its complete usability, and which, even before the bids were taken, we scarcely expected to be able to include, and which customarily are not included in a building of this type. We wished to make a proper allowance for these, however, at the time of building, so that the city might install them in the future, if desired, at a minimum of expense. They were the master clock system, including town clock; the elevator, which was largely a luxury as the main portion of the building is only two stories high; the carriage entrance shelters on the two side [sic] of the auditorium; the bronze [sic] lamp posts in front of the building; the double revolving doors at the entrance; the steel smoke proof curtain for the proscenium; and the very elaborate fan ventilating system, the cost of which alone was in the region of \$15,000, and for which it was intended only to make provision at this time so that it could be installed in the future without extra expense.

By omitting these features temporarily, by substituting reinforced concrete for steel as far as practicable, by substituting stone for terra cotta and by reducing the cost in minor ways of various items which were specified in an unnecessarily high standard, I have been assured by the contractors who figured that the building could be built within appropriation. In order to make doubly sure, however, we are taking alternates on omitting part of the tile work, and the finish of the auditorium and exhibition room. Should it be necessary to omit the finish of these rooms, they will still be just as usable as if finished, and, in fact, many of the best auditoriums of the country are permanently unfinished.

It is not true that the heating and plumbing are to be omitted; they are to be let in separate contracts at the request of the local men in those lines, who justly feel that they will have a better chance to get the work if these contracts are kept directly in the control of the city. It is not true that Turkey Creek stone is not being considered, as this material is

being figured, as before.

In short, the building that is now being figured, will be complete in every respect, with the size and character and appearance absolutely unchanged, and if the unanimous statement of the contractors who figured before, is correct, it will cost the tax payers very little more than was originally contemplated. The statement of the vitally interested taxpayer to the effect that the building will cost half a million dollars by the time it is completed is as [sic] utterly without foundation, as his statement that the heating and plumbing were to be omitted, or that Turkey Creek stone was not being considered, or that cement has been substituted for interior marble work.

Stickney's letter of assurance appeared to relieve Pueblo taxpayers, as there were no further mentions as to the cost of construction reported.

Turkey Creek stone was a local favorite. The Turkey Creek Stone, Clay & Gypsum Company opened in 1909 with the completion the Colorado-Kansas Railway twenty-five miles northwest of Pueblo to Piedra, and a spur line to the quarry itself at Cabin Springs (renamed Stone City). The 500-acre quarry produced sandstone in six distinctive colors: gray-veined, white, flesh, gray, turkey egg, and the most popular, pink. As the Colorado State Bureau of Mines lauded: "This stone is of unusually close texture, and without doubt possesses the most delicate coloring, which combined with its exceptional crushing strength (12,850 pounds per square inch), makes it the most desirable stone found in America." In addition to sandstone, Turkey Creek also produced ganister, gypsite, gypsum, glass sand, and clays. Some of Pueblo's most monumental edifices were constructed of the stone, including the Pueblo County Courthouse and Sacred Heart Cathedral. Other notable Turkey Creek sandstone buildings were the 1910 Denver Public Library (also known as the Central, Old Main Library, and

the Carnegie Library); Wichita, Kansas, Union Depot; the courthouse in Bartlesville, Oklahoma; and the Penn Valley Natatorium, in Kansas City, Missouri. The quarry is now part of Fort Carson.⁴⁷

The Turkey Creek Stone Company pledged relief to the cost overruns for the new civic buildings. In a letter to city council, the company pledged to donate its product, asking that the city quarry the stone itself under the direction of the company's regular superintendent. The company would also allow the city to use Turkey Creek's equipment for a negotiated rental fee "barely sufficient to cover depreciation." The company also required intermittent use of the quarry and equipment to fulfill current and incoming orders. Company officials recognized the marketing potential of installing its stone on such an impressive, local project, noting that the "use of any other stone in the erection of this public building in our own home town, would be a serious blow to business." At the time, all contractors received the same bid for materials from the Turkey Creek Stone Company, causing the company to address concerns of price gouging.⁴⁸

When the chosen day to receive bids came, December 9, 1916, city council and the citizen's advisory committee appeared ready to circumvent any debacles that could arise for the bids coming in over the remaining \$215,000 budget. Council and the committee required that contractors submit both an "A" bid and a "B" bid. Bid "A" was to include the price using Turkey Creek Stone, while bid "B" substituted limestone quarried nearby and imported from Bedford, Indiana. Contractors also had to submit prices for ten alternates that would add to their bid, if city officials chose to include them. Bids were also required to have seven "units" included in the total bid price, which could be deducted individually until the total bid was

within the city's budget.

Again four contractors submitted proposals, presumably the same four as last time. Though all bids turned in eclipsed the preferred \$215,000 threshold, city council and the citizen's advisory committee chose to use Bid "A." These bids came in surprisingly close, with only \$8,607, or approximately three and one-half percent, differentiating the highest from the lowest. In order from lowest bid to highest, the contractors were the Avid Olson Investment and Building Company, the C.S. Lambie Company, Seerie & Varnum, and Frank Taylor. To get the construction costs under budget and leave money for the heating, plumbing, and electrical, council and the committee chose to deduct Units "B," "C," and "D." Upon subtracting those items, the order of lowest bidding contractor to highest switched to Seerie & Varnum, Avid Olson, Frank Taylor, and C.S. Lambie. The lowest bid amounted to \$195,752.

The differences in prices now appeared dramatic, varying between the lowest bid and the highest \$32,348, or sixteen and a half percent. Additionally, the contractor's prices quoted in the alternates and units varied wildly. Alternate 9 in particular ranged from an addition of \$14,035 for Seerie & Varnum, to a \$2,000 subtraction for Frank Taylor. The span in prices of Unit "D" was even greater: \$17,000 for Seerie & Varnum compared to just \$3,900 for C.S. Lambie.

City council resolved without delay to award the construction contract to Seerie & Varnum, the lowest bidder by over \$17,000, though interestingly, the inclusion of any number of alternates or subtraction of any number of Units could have resulted in any of the contractors winning the bidding process. This was not lost on the contractors, as C.S. Lambie immediately protested the award, stating his bid was the lowest; with the subtraction of Units "B," "C," and "D," Lambie's bid

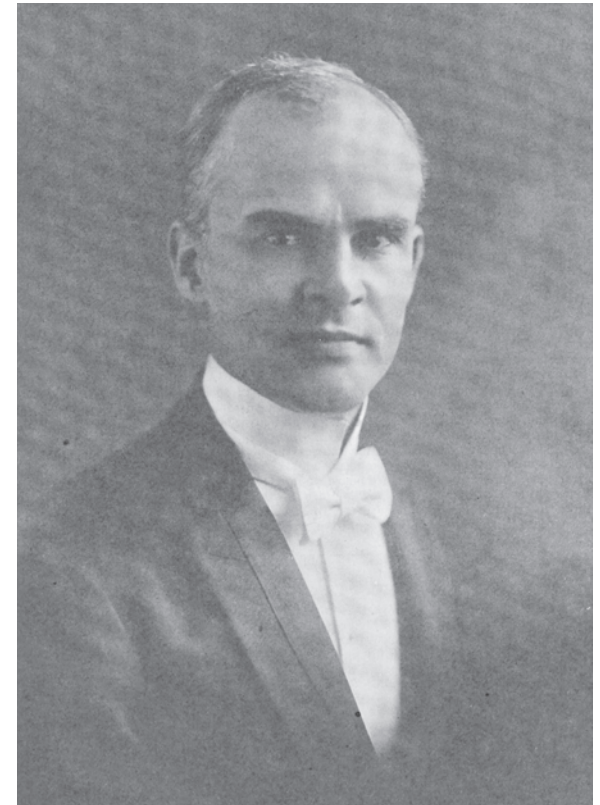


Figure 2.14. Charles S. Lambie was the general contractor in charge of the construction of City Hall and Memorial Hall. (*Stone, History of Colorado, 1918*)

was actually the highest. With his attorney present, Lambie informed city council that, “he was prepared to protect himself, but did not say in what manner, altho [sic] it was hinted that a lawsuit of some kind would be attempted.”⁴⁹

On December 28, with only a few days remaining before work was scheduled to begin on the new civic buildings, Mr. Lambie and Mr. Seerie met with city council to discuss the contract award. Without giving a reason, and with council going so far as to “claim they do not know why,” the construction contract was transferred to the C.S. Lambie Company without any responsibility remaining to Seerie & Varnum; none of the spec-

ified work changed and the contract’s dollar amount and deadlines remained the same. Though without an official or rumored reason, the transfer most likely benefitted both contractors. The Unit prices of Seerie & Varnum proved especially high, leaving the contract amount to drop significantly with those deducted. Archival records do not indicate the sentiment of Avid Olson or Frank Taylor toward the transfer, and the two contractors do not appear to have attended the meeting during which the transfer occurred. The *Chieftain* reported a bonus attributed to the transfer: more Pueblo labor was to be employed by C.S. Lambie than would have been by Seerie & Varnum.⁵⁰

The Denver-based C. S. Lambie Company was one of the preeminent builders in the West. Charles Sumner Lambie was born in Pittsburgh on February 3, 1880. He received a degree in civil engineering in 1900 from the University of Pittsburgh and accepted a position as assistant chief engineer for the Wabash Railroad Company. In 1906 he turned to general construction, opening his namesake firm. In 1911, Lambie moved the business to Denver, where he specialized in large-scale building and engineering projects. C.S. Lambie Company’s major projects in Denver included Fitzsimons Army Hospital, the Colfax-Larimer Viaduct, the United States National Bank Building, the Bourk-Donaldson-Taylor Warehouse, and the Merchants Biscuit Company factory. Other notable projects were the Manitou Springs Bath House; the twenty-story Waggoner Building, in Fort Worth, Texas; and a hotel in Beaumont, Texas.⁵¹

TURNING SOIL AND LAYING STONES

For all of the pomp and circumstance, not to mention controversy, leading up to the contract finally being awarded,

Figure 2.15. The *Pueblo Chieftain* captioned this photograph, “Four Men in Public Eye: Guardians of New City Hall Prepare for Months of Activity as Construction Begins.” From left to right: Charles S. Lambie, general contractor; Clarence Studinski, superintendent of construction for the city of Pueblo; J. Knox Burton, commissioner of finance and supplies; and George R. Fulson, superintendent of construction for C.S. Lambie & Company. (*Pueblo Chieftain*, February 4, 1917, p. 11)



there does not appear to have been a formal groundbreaking ceremony for the new City Hall and auditorium. The entire month of January passed before there was mention of the buildings again in either the city council minutes or the *Chieftain*. The C.S. Lambie Company presented its first monthly invoice for completed work to council at the February 5, 1917 meeting. According to the invoice, Lambie billed the city for temporary offices, excavation, and the construction bond, for a total of \$3,557.52; the city reserved ten percent of each invoice payable upon completion of the project, leaving Lambie a payment of \$3,201.77.⁵²

Also at its February 5 meeting, council decided to change the precise siting of the new civic buildings. Without previous mention to the exact location, council now resolved, "That the new City Hall and Auditorium Building be located as follows to-wit: There shall be a distance of 60 feet from the inside edge of the coping of the Arkansas River Levee wall to the west corner of said building on the Union Avenue frontage." It appears Lambie began working according to the previous specifications, as the change did not come without cost to the city. The construction contract allowed for Lambie to complete any change orders at cost plus ten percent. Though the city was prepared to pay up to \$1,500 for the change, Lambie charged \$918.73.⁵³

February construction supplemented work completed in January. According to Invoice 2, Lambie billed the city for administration, pouring the concrete footings, forming the foundation, and an excavation change order not specified in the contract. Lambie invoiced for more of the same work in March, adding the purchase and installation of some structural steel. Also in March, the Turkey Creek Stone Company notified city council that the company could not pay its \$1,000 donation in

advance but would pay it back in increments as the general contractor paid the quarry, a hint of troubles soon to arise. Turkey Creek stated it would pay back six cents per cubic foot of stone purchased, up to a maximum of \$1,000.⁵⁴

The C.S. Lambie Company performed more foundation work and waterproofing during April. In May, the contractor



Figure 2.16. This is a copy of one of the photographs included in the cornerstone of City Hall and Memorial Hall. Pictured in the front row are (left to right) City Commissioners F.E. Olin, John T. West, and J. Knox Burton; in the middle row are Civil Service Commissioners W.F. Doertenbach, Dr. A.T. King, and J.E. Campbell; in the back is architect William W. Stickney. (*Pueblo Chieftain*, August 12, 1919, p. 11)

continued foundation work and also took delivery and began to install granite and sandstone for the walls of the buildings. Lambie also excavated inside the auditorium, poured the concrete risers, and began installing the stage. Meanwhile Stickney provided his first invoice to the city for construction supervision.

Beginning in June, as construction crews erected the exterior walls, problems arose with the Turkey Creek stone, kicking off a string of issues that plagued the quarry and the City Hall project. Contractor Lambie complained to Stickney that he could not procure stone large enough to install on certain portions of city hall. Stickney relayed the complaint to city council, who received it June 25. All three members of council, along with Stickney, traveled to the Turkey Creek quarry to inspect their purchase and “found that an abundance of stone of the quality and size needed for the city hall building is obtainable at the quarry.”⁵⁵

Other large stones arrived at the site; crews unloaded the monolithic cornerstone at the project site on June 4, 1917. The approximately two-ton stone, quarried near Stone Mountain, Georgia, was set to be installed sometime during the month of July. Once inscribed and after a short delay, the *Chieftain* reported that the cornerstone would be placed on August 7, but “the time has not been definitely set and aside from workmen and a few curious spectators, there will be no one to witness it.” The local Masonic order had decided to suspend its traditional cornerstone laying ceremony. Inexplicably the cornerstone of one of Pueblo’s most important and imposing buildings was laid without pomp or ceremony. Only a partial list of the cornerstone’s contents is known: the active city charter, the names of all elected and appointed city officials, and photos of Pueblo’s municipal buildings and playgrounds. City officials

were to complete an exhaustive list of the cornerstone’s contents, but there is no archival record of such a list.⁵⁶

Work continued in July 1917 on the exterior masonry, while the contractor also began billing for architectural terra cotta. In addition to his invoice, Stickney also relayed to city council his concerns with the color of the stone quarried at Turkey Creek. In an effort to acquire the right size of stone, the Turkey Creek Stone Company began extracting sandstone from different areas of its quarry to satisfy the City Hall order. Stickney believed the color to be dissimilar from previous orders and therefore unacceptable. The Turkey Creek Company remained dedicated to the order, supplying stone from another area of its quarry that reasonably matched the previously supplied color.⁵⁷

Mismatched stone color was not the only problem; construction crews working on the new City Hall and auditorium buildings went on a brief strike in August 1917. On Saturday, August 11, the head of the Building Trades Council, Moses Alexander, called for a strike of fifty unionized workers across all trades employed at City Hall due to his finding of Frank T. Krause, of the subcontractor Stephenson & Kraus, working without union affiliation. The Building Trades Council warned Stephenson & Kraus merely two weeks earlier about Mr. Stephenson working at Columbian School without union affiliation, but the firm continued its contracted work. Stephenson & Kraus initially balked at the notion of meeting with the Building Trades Council, but reneged by Monday, August 13. The subcontractor agreed to abide by the standards of the plumber’s union and keep its employees in good standing with the union while working on the new civic buildings. Thus the firm was able to keep its contract.⁵⁸

Despite the brief strike, crews continued framing the

buildings and installing the stone façade into September 1917 without any major delays. But the biggest headaches came from the project's most dedicated supplier: the Turkey Creek Stone Company. Architect Stickney reported to city council on September 8 about the inferior quality of the largest supplied stones. In a letter to council, Stickney conveyed:

The Turkey Creek Stone Co. has, at this time delivered to Mr. Gillispie, our stone contractor, some thirty stone [sic] for column drums, some of which have been milled, though most of them are still in the rough. All of them however, I have rejected, because of the friability of the stone and the natural seams found in it, which, not only make it an impossibility to mill the stone perfectly but also future action of the elements would, without doubt, further disfigure the stone and cause it to be unsafe.

For at least three months, the Stone Company has been endeavoring [sic] to obtain perfect stone of sufficient size for column drums and the progress of the building has been delayed accordingly. I now feel that it is hopeless to look for perfect stone from this quarry unless you are willing to be delayed indefinitely. I further feel that it would be wise to anticipate a similar situation that will undoubtedly arise when the Stone Company undertakes to obtain the large stone for the cornice, where, due to the great projection, the danger of using [sic] imperfect stone is of even greater importance than a marred, patched appearance.

Therefore, I recommend that the suggestion of Mr. Gillispie be adopted, namely that the contractors be allowed to seek elsewhere for suitable stone for (1) the Column Drums & Caps; (2) the Main Cornice in its entirety; The Cornice of the Attic Story; (3) [the crown and bed moulding of the two cornice courses]; (4) The Main Architrave in its entirety and (5) the stone for the Cartouche over the Main Entrance. I name the last three items for the reason that, for the sake of the Architectural appearance of the building, these should harmonize with the columns and main cornice.

I am assured by the Stone Co. and I believe it to



be true, that the remainder of the stone can be gotten out of the so-called "Original Quarry" without imperfections or delay and I would recommend that it be used, unless unlooked for difficulties arise.

In regard to a suitable stone for substitution as above outlined, I would recommend for example what is known as "Indiana Limestone" [Bedford Limestone] of the buff shade. This stone will harmonize with the Turkey Creek as well as any that can be obtained, and by reason of its cheapness, no additional expence [sic] should be incurred by the City by reason of its use, furthermore it can be delivered

Figure 2.17. The current cornerstone of City Hall is inscribed only with the date of construction (1917) in Roman numerals. The cornerstone itself is granite from Stone Mountain, Georgia. The stone above and to the left of it is Turkey Creek sandstone. (Jeffrey DeHerrera)

promptly.

Contractor C.S. Lambie also submitted a letter to city council echoing Stickney’s displeasure with the delays and quality of stone provided by the Turkey Creek Company. Lambie added that he “had not received anything like half the stone contracted for, which should have been delivered” by September 8 and would like to be reimbursed for the cost of labor for carving the unusable stone. Additionally, Lambie informed council that the quarry delays forced him “finally to shut down entirely about three weeks ago.”⁵⁹

At the same meeting, city council resolved to follow the architect’s and contractor’s recommendations for replacing the largest Turkey Creek stones with the Bedford limestone. Council noted explicitly in the resolution, however, “that in no event is the cost to the City to be increased by such substitution.” Council required Lambie to show “from time to time” the cost difference, and, if proved to be less than the contract amount, deduct the difference from future payments. Council did reimburse the contractor for the cost for carving unusable stone. Turkey Creek admitted the issues with its product, also in a letter to council. The company consented to the substitution of its stone, but lowered the amount of its return donation proportionately.⁶⁰

Three week shutdown notwithstanding, employees and subcontractors of C.S. Lambie still managed to complete masonry and iron work on the civic buildings while forming additional concrete. One peculiarity stands out on the invoice presented to city council for work completed in September: a line item for “Removing inscription on Corner Stone.” There do not appear to be any archival records to indicate that council even considered removing the inscription, or ultimately resolved to do so. Regardless, the city paid \$32.80 to remove it.

As completed, the cornerstone is inscribed only with the date of construction in Roman numerals: “MCMXVII.”⁶¹

Crews completed much of the same labor the month of October as in the previous months. Masonry work continued, with the greatest achievements made with installing the sandstone. Workers also installed the vault doors, still extant throughout City Hall today, during October. Stickney submitted an invoice to city council from the engineering firm Andrews & Van Vleck for the design of structural steel and reinforced concrete. The bill totaled \$912.19, which council deferred to the city attorney to determine whether the architect or city should pay. With the design and engineering for the structural steel complete, contractor C.S. Lambie charged \$10,000 for their installation. Laying sandstone also progressed well, with \$7,700 worth of labor and materials charged.⁶²

TOPPING OUT AND TAPPING OUT

The last month of 1917 proved to be a busy one for both city council as well as the contractor. Council acknowledged a shortfall in funding for the design of the structural steel as well as the heating and ventilation system, and they resolved that the designing firms would be paid two percent of the contract price for the design of structural steel and three percent of the contract price for the design of the heating and ventilation system. Stickney submitted an invoice this month and reported to council the cost of substituting Bedford limestone. He informed council that contractor Lambie spent \$16,611 purchasing and shipping the stone to Pueblo, which was greater than the amount Lambie charged the city for the Turkey Creek Stone. With the building’s budget in mind, council resolved to acknowledge cost “without charge against or credit to either the City or said Contractor.” On the last day of the year, council

resolved to allow a change in building materials. The resolution called for the contractor to substitute the use of Pyrobar, an asbestos-containing gypsum typically used for soundproofing, in the roof. The use of Pyrobar, Stickney argued, would result in a cost savings enough to pay for an upgrade in roofing materials from tin to tile, due to using less structural steel in the roof. The work performed by contractor Lambie appears minor during December, possibly due to the colder weather, with the company again invoicing mainly for sandstone. The amount paid to Lambie through the end of the year amounted to \$126,595.⁶³

The first month of the second year of construction, January 1918, progress stagnated. C.S. Lambie invoiced the city mainly for concrete, structural steel, and brick masonry work. Based upon invoice figures for work completed in February, crews continued sandstone and brick masonry work but not much else. Also in February, council resolved to enter into a contract with C.S. Lambie for additional work. Council added work designated in sections 11, 12, 13, and 16 of the prepared specifications, though the contract does not explicitly mention the scope of the additional tasks. Council expected Lambie to complete the work for the lowest cost published during the initial bidding process, which upped Lambie's contract total to \$242,000; there was no mention of the cost of each added item. The additional work pushed the cost well beyond the approximate \$215,000 council budgeted for and Pueblo voters approved.⁶⁴

Work continued in March and April without any reported delays; however city council realized in the latter month that it would not have enough money to complete the new civic buildings during the 1918 calendar year. To rectify the budget shortfall, council resolved to delay the beginning of certain

specified work within the City Hall portion of the building. Specifically, the shortfall delayed nine components of work: concrete slabs in the basement of both buildings; all work in the city hall stairways; all ornamental metal work; all metal furring and lathing; all plaster wall finishes; all interior marble and slate work; all tile work; all rough carpentry work except as required for door frames; and all finish carpentry work. C.S. Lambie agreed to postpone these tasks, as the contractor had previously requested a time extension for some of the now-delayed items. City council expected to have the money needed to complete the items at the beginning of 1919, the projected start date of the revised contract. The *Chieftain* reported that work to complete the auditorium would continue during the furlough, which deferred \$70,000 worth of work.⁶⁵

The contractor began installing the Pyrobar roof sheathing in May along with continuing to lay brick and other masonry. Work slowed in June, with masonry on the cupola and installation of ceiling tile making up the majority of completed work. As the building topped out, the *Chieftain* took a moment to offer a tongue-in-cheek explanation for how the contractor installed the concrete ball atop the cupola. As a June 27, 1918, article explained:

The very highest point of the new city hall was completed yesterday. It consists of the stone ball that tops the tower. The ball weighs 250 pounds and the base on which it sets weighs 250 pounds. The police department claims to have aided in placing the top-most stone, the ball at the top of the tower. They claim that after the base was set, the contractor was at a loss as to how he would get the 250 pound stone ball in place. Patrolman Ribar, the strong man of the police force was summoned, and he tossed the ball from the ground to its base at the top of the tower, where it fell so accurately that it remained glued to

Figures 2.18 through 2.28 (following pages). City Hall and Memorial Hall as photographed during construction in 1917–18.

2.18. Masons prepare sandstone blocks at the Turkey Creek Quarry for delivery to the City Hall construction site.

2.19. Workers excavate the basement and pour the foundation while supervisors overlook the site from the project office shanty.

2.20 and 2.21. In December 1917, masons finish laying the sandstone and limestone blocks comprising the first story of City Hall's façade.

2.22. Also in December, the first story of the southwest and rear (southeast) elevations of City Hall and Memorial Hall rise a story above street level. The Vail Hotel is at left and the 1889 City Hall at right.

2.23. Building officials pause for a photograph, with architect William W. Stickney at left. Notice the cupola of the 1889 City Hall in the background.

2.24. Renowned Pueblo photographer John W. C. Floyd captures an iconic scene of workers, supervisors, and the construction site. The hand-drawn arrow points to architect Stickney. Notice the Vail Hotel in the background.

2.25. A steelworker guides the placement of a steel plate girder during the construction of Memorial Hall.

2.26. Workers pour and form the tiered, concrete floor of Memorial Hall's balcony.

2.27. Crews install the steel roof trusses for Memorial Hall. Notice in the background the steel frame outlining the new City Hall's cupola.

2.28. The heavy steel trusswork of Memorial Hall stands in marked contrast to the brick-and-wood structure of the 1889 City Hall, in the background.

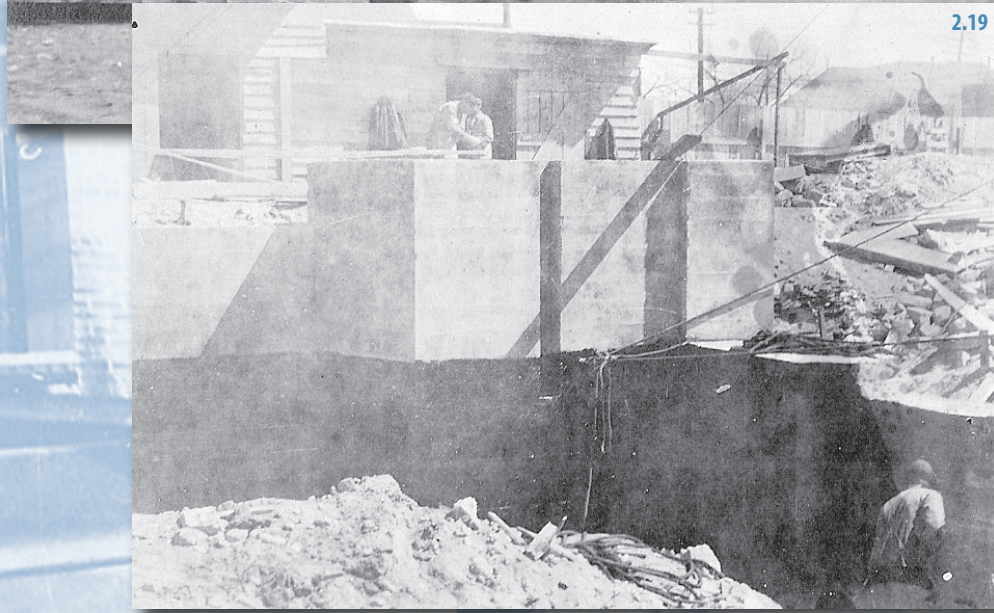
(All photos courtesy of Alice Davis and the City of Pueblo)



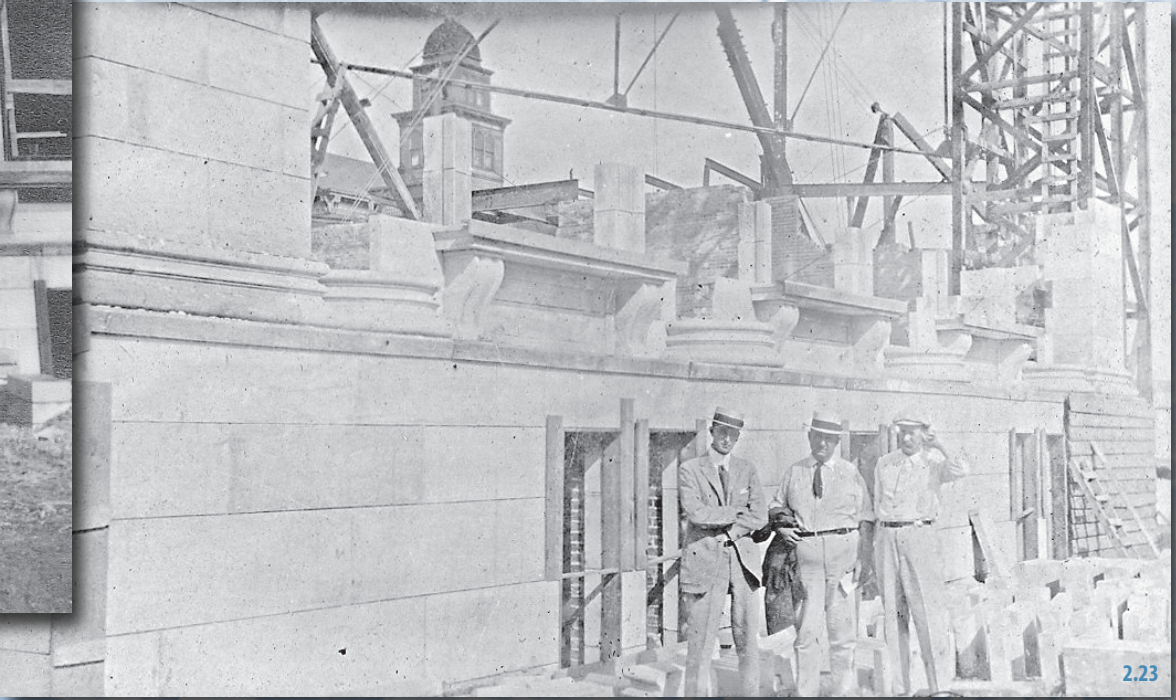
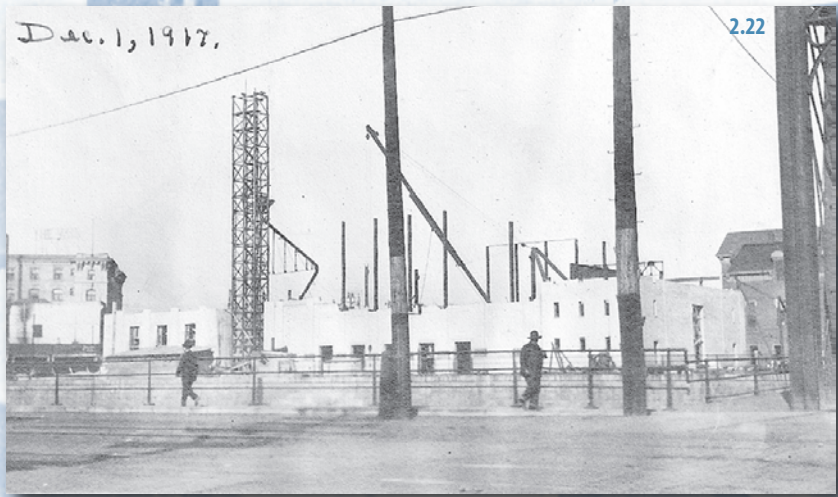
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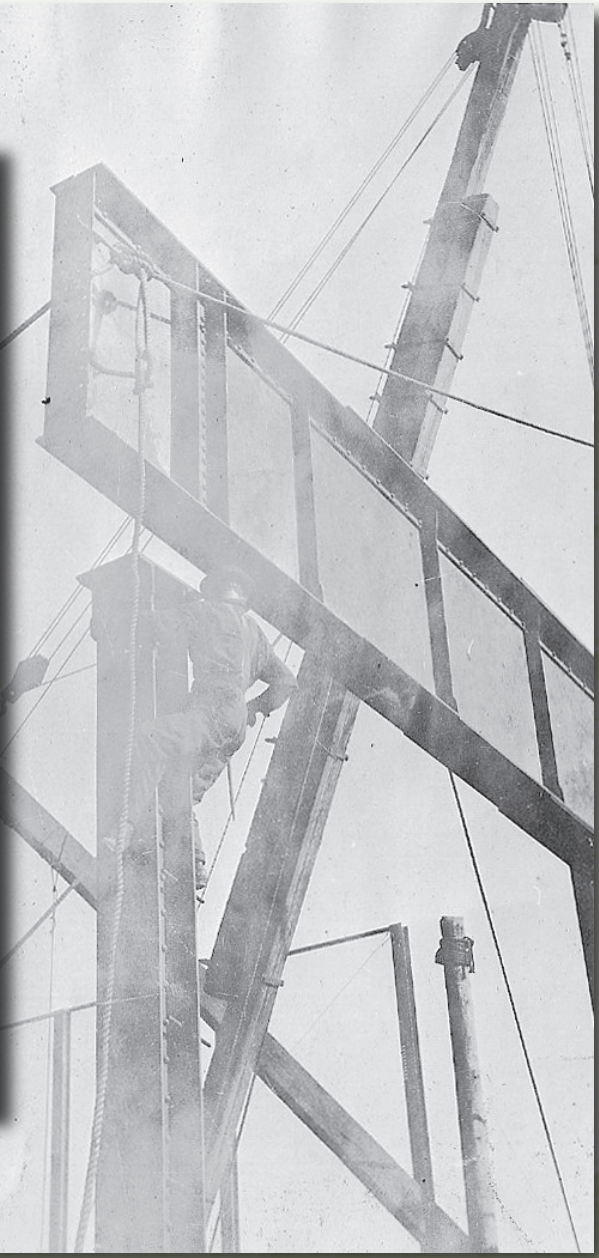
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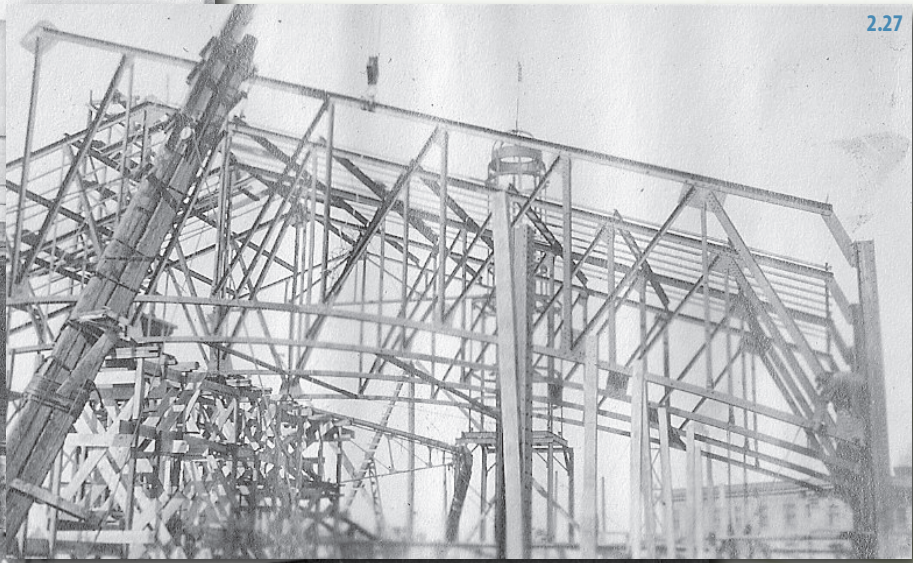
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2.26 Dec. 1, 1917.



2.27



2.28



the concrete lining on the base.

They say Ribar gripped the ball so tight that the prints of his fingers can still be seen in the stone. Just like a policeman.

Despite this crowning achievement, the buildings remained far from completed. City council, also in June, resolved to have contractors submit bids for finishing the auditorium’s heating, plumbing, electrical, and ventilation systems, as well as the stage. City council, in order to avoid another bid fiasco and probably at the advice of the city attorney, required each contractor “to state in his bid, the exact cost to him (without percentage added) of each of his sub bids, together with the name of the sub-contractor furnishing the figure. The City reserves the right to substitute lower sub bids in awarding the contract, should it be deemed wise to do so, and to avail itself of whatever means may be necessary to obtain whatever sub bid it desires.” Council set July 1 as the deadline to submit proposals, with the opening on July 2.⁶⁶

The Pueblo city clerk announced on July 1 that two contractors and two subcontractors submitted bids for the additional work in the auditorium: C.S. Lambie and the Marble Brothers as general contractors, and Enterprise Electric and Wallace Plumbing and Heating as subcontractors. The bids came in extremely close, with C.S. Lambie bidding \$55,432 and Marble Brothers bidding \$56,490. Council approved the contract with C.S. Lambie on July 15, but subtracted the plumbing fixtures, the heating plant, the auditorium seats, and the ventilation system, while adding in the electrical work. The four deductions and one addition left the final contract price as \$57,281, with work to begin immediately.⁶⁷

Progress on the civic buildings progressed smoothly during the second half of 1918, with no major hiccups. Lambie’s

invoice totals fell accordingly, with the only construction occurring within the auditorium. The majority of the auditorium framing complete, construction crews focused on the newly awarded contracts for the plumbing and heating systems, as well as interior finishes, minus the seats. Invoices indicate that a majority of the electrical subcontract work began in September and was largely complete by the end of October. Contractor C.S. Lambie’s invoices for the two years from the start of construction in January 1917 through the end of the year 1918 totaled \$207,161.78, according to city council minutes, including change orders. The cost of the new civic buildings clearly soared past the estimates and budget, with work still not complete inside the auditorium and an estimated \$60,000 worth of work set to begin in 1919 finishing the interior of City Hall.⁶⁸

FURNISHING THE AUDITORIUM

The February 4, 1919, city council meeting proved to be a busy one regarding the construction of the new city hall and auditorium. In addition to receiving C.S. Lambie’s invoice for work completed during the month of January, council resolved to begin receiving bids for the installation of seats inside the auditorium. Instead of supplying interested seating contractors with precise specifications, council chose to provide “general requirements” that would “not necessarily be strictly adhered to” and “reasonable latitude for other suggestions” was to be given to the contractors. The guidelines were as follows:

Seats shall be equipped with nickel seat numbers, letters on the aisle ends, and hat holders under the seats. The aisle shall be solid, with panel and simple decorations, if any. Cast iron construction is preferred. The aisle ends shall be painted color to be

chosen, the interior metal shall be black japanned [sic]. Bids shall include installation. All floors are concrete and satisfactory type of expansion bolt shall be used. The seat backs must be fastened to the frames with a rigid, durable construction, preferably a three-point fastening. Backs shall be $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, built up, with inserted pad. No moulded work is desired. Seats shall have upholstery, preferably of the "squab" rather than spring construction. Upholstering shall be plain, imitation leather, color to be selected, and shall be selected, and shall be guaranteed [sic, probably 'guaranteed'] as to its wearing quality. Seat hinges, preferably, shall be of the roller or ball bearing type. The arms shall be plain wood construction, finished as desired. The main floor is sloping, but the balcony seats will rest on level platforms. There will be approximately 2,000 seats, the prevailing width being 21 inches at the back.

The public notice also stated the city would receive proposals until 9 a.m. Monday, March 17. As well, council expected contractors to present samples of their products at that time.⁶⁹

The new year also brought a new city budget, and at its February 4 meeting council expectedly called for bids from contractors to finish the interior of both the city hall and the auditorium. Once again, the city reserved the right to substitute any lower priced subcontractor bids and to accept bids as whole or piecemeal in order to get the best possible price. Council set noon on February 24, 1919, as the deadline for general contractors to submit proposals. This bid process did not supplant the \$60,000 in work set aside from the previous year; it was supplemental to it. City council allowed C.S. Lambie to begin work for those items about January 1.⁷⁰

With the auditorium nearly complete and crews toiling on the finishing touches, three local veteran's fraternal organizations met on February 9 to discuss establishing a local veteran's memorial. The Grand Army of the Republic, the Daughters of Veterans, and the Woman's Relief Corps collec-

tively resolved "that the city of Pueblo and county of Pueblo should place on our new city hall, a first class organ and that it be dedicated as a memorial to the soldiers, sailors, and marines of Pueblo county, Colorado." The veteran's organizations presented the idea to city council at the scheduled meeting the next day and met with overwhelming support. Indeed, council agreed to allow the organizations to form a committee for the purpose of collecting solicited donations for the organ, while council would impose a mill levy to cover the additional funds needed to purchase the organ up to a price of \$35,000. City council's resolution at the meeting continued:

RESOLVED BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE CITY OF PUEBLO that the City Hall Auditorium and pipe organ shall become the official memorial to the men who served their government and Country in the war against Germany [World War I] and that said edifice shall henceforth be known as Memorial Hall and that when completed shall be dedicated with appropriate exercises as such, and that a suitable tablet or tablets shall be placed on the outside of said Memorial Hall for the purpose of recording the substance of this resolution.

Fundraising efforts to pay for the organ began immediately, but the amount of money raised to cover the purchase remains unknown. Additionally, the amount of the mill levy, if ever initiated, remains unknown.⁷¹

When the deadline to submit proposals for the completion of city hall passed on February 24, only two contractors submitted bids: C.S. Lambie and Raymond C. Whitlock. Council received the bids at noon, but called a recess until 3 p.m. in order to tabulate the bids. Lambie inserted a total of \$78,996 with his bid, while Whitlock forced the city clerk to add the totals of each line item to the tune of \$92,717.16. The *Chieftain* reported "both of the bids...ran well under the maximum estimates compiled." When city council approved and let the con-

tract on March 25, the maximum payable amount fell to \$45,383.79, after deductions. Work specified in the contract included: the construction of a tunnel and installation of piping to enable the boiler in the old city hall across the street to heat both new buildings, acoustical treatment for the auditorium, installation of one down draft boiler in the old city hall, installation of a curtain on the stage, bronze railings for the vestibule outside of the auditorium, and completion of the heating, plumbing, and ventilation systems. Crews for C.S. Lambie completed the majority of the work set aside from the previous year acceptably, also by March 25, to allow for city council to withdraw the construction bond for that portion of the work.⁷²

The next bid council advertised was for the auditorium seating. Five companies submitted proposals, with four of them providing multiple options. After reviewing over thirty different styles, city council awarded the contract to the Dean-Creel Furniture Company, of Pueblo. It appears that council now chose quality over quantity, as the price of the seats selected reported in the *Chieftain* was \$5.35 each, well above the lowest price of \$3.85. It is interesting to note, however, that Dean-Creel did not present a seat to city council priced at \$5.35 and that the *Chieftain* reported that the awarded contract was worth a total of \$11,819 for 2,291 seats, or \$5.16 each. Dean-Creel ordered the seats from Heywood Brothers & Wakefield Company, of Chicago, within a few days, hoping to have them installed by the newly-revealed expected completion date of July 1, 1919.⁷³

City council began the bidding process again on March 25, 1919, this time for the pipe organ to be installed in Memorial Hall. The public notice instructed interested organ companies to submit proposals that included “details, maps, plans, and specifications” by noon on April 8. The notice made clear

that city council would choose the proposal “deemed best for the interests of the city,” not necessarily the lowest by price. At the deadline, council received proposals from eight organ companies that represented a veritable who’s who among organ manufacturers: the Hook and Hastings Organ Company, the Ernest Skinner Organ Company, the W.W. Kimball Organ Company, the M.P. Moller Organ Company, the Wurlitzer Organ Company, the Estey Organ Company, the Steere Organ Company, and the Austin Organ Company. City council minutes do not indicate the price of each proposal; however the *Chieftain* reported that council awarded the contract to the Austin Organ Company, of Hartford, Connecticut, for \$35,000. Specifications called for the action of the organ to be completely electrical with four manuals (keyboards), pedals, and echoes (divisions of softly voiced pipes set apart from the main body of the organ to provide an echo effect). According to the Austin Organ Company, installation would take six to eight weeks once on-site, and would be “installed and ready for use by the anniversary of the signing of the armistice, Nov. 11.”⁷⁴

The work of general contractor C.S. Lambie slowed significantly during April 1919, with the contractor billing for only minor carpentry work, installation of a dumbwaiter, and electrical work. As well, it appears Lambie employed only a small crew at the site during May, as the contractor only billed for light carpentry, plaster, and painting. The *Chieftain* reported in an article on May 20 that “the auditorium should be ready for use by the Fourth of July,” sans installed seating. The article also stated that crews completed the ceiling murals, installed nearly all of the acoustic treatments, excavated for the organ pipes, installed the boiler in the previous City Hall building, and would complete plastering and the concrete topcoat in the balcony within the month. Notably, the article also men-

tioned that although rental rates still had to be set, various local organizations inquired about availability.⁷⁵

C.S. Lambie invoiced the city for the same items in June as in May, as well as working on the boiler and connecting tunnel. Pueblo citizens recognized, also in June, that construction was winding down. Several different organizations in Pueblo presented city council with a petition asking for Memorial Hall to be opened up to “Road Shows, Band concerts and other healthy amusements.”

C.S. Lambie’s invoice for work completed in July resembled that of the previous month, the only difference being the installation of the bronze railing. So much of the work withheld from the previous year, in fact, had been completed that city council withdrew the bond in July. Council also received an apparently unsolicited bid for the installation of a water softener. A.A. Weiland presented a price to council of \$2,400, which he noted could be recouped in the future due to lower maintenance. It appears that council accepted the bid, but never acted upon it.⁷⁶

With city council recognizing that time was now of the essence, it pursued a contract for the finished electrical and lighting in Memorial Hall. Council minutes do not indicate a public notice for bids, and it appears council entered into the contract without the bidding process due to the national reputation of the installer. The contract called for Albert Sechrist Manufacturing, of Denver, to install fixtures at a price of \$4,300. The fixtures were to be “modern, fancy, and so arranged on the walls and thruout [sic] the entire auditorium, that its effect will be marveled at by all lovers of electrical displays.” Council required that the work be commenced immediately, and completed within sixty days of signing the contract on July 28.⁷⁷

The slow pace of construction continued into August

1919, with the only mentionable work being the finishing of the concrete floor in Memorial Hall. The auditorium seats began arriving at the end of the month, with their installation beginning sometime in September.

But the enormous project was beginning to take its toll on its architect. Exhausted, Stickney left for a vacation in August, notifying city council that his physician recommended a four to six week retreat. Stickney left his assistant, H. Dankin, in charge of his practice, and therefore the supervision of construction of the civic buildings. Stickney also noted in his letter to council that he met with the superintendents for the general contractor and discussed any lingering or potential issues. The largest items general contractor C.S. Lambie invoiced for during the month of August were again carpentry and painting. City council minutes at this time indicate a jump from Lambie’s invoice thirty-one to thirty-three; however the monthly dates remain in chronological order, indicating there was no invoice thirty-two.⁷⁸

Despite construction entering its final stages, all did not go smoothly. In September, while inspecting the floor for the installation of the auditorium seating, the Dean-Creel Furniture Company noticed that the thickness of the concrete floor was not adequate to grip the expansion bolts that retained the seats city council had ordered. Red faced, council was forced to “wave and release” the contractor “of any and all liability by reason of said chairs becoming loosened from the main floor... in

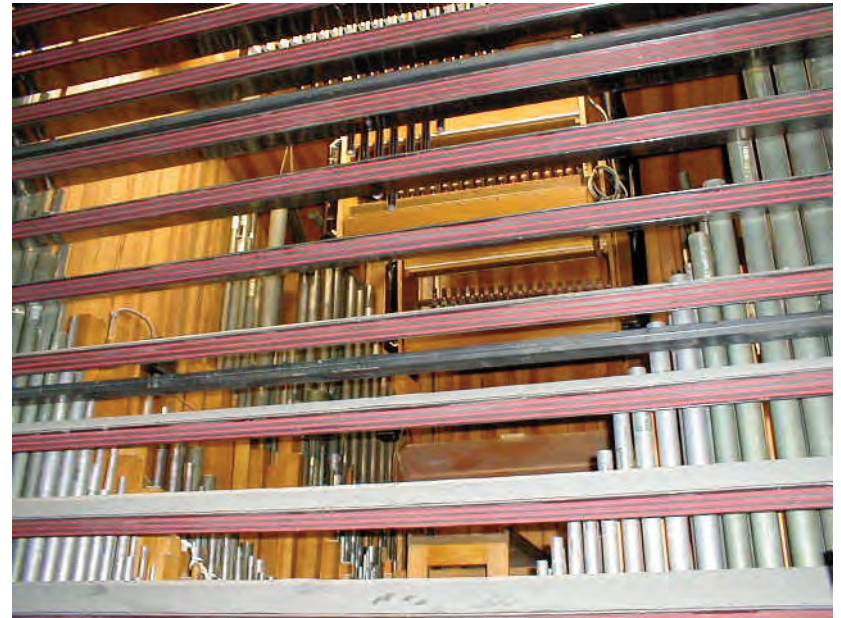


Figure 2.29. The gigantic organ in Memorial Hall is a labyrinth of pipes, wires, and mechanisms. (Photo courtesy City of Pueblo)

Figure 2.30. This photograph, by Theodore Anderson, shows City Hall and Memorial Hall shortly after opening, in 1919 or 1920. Note the posters leaning against the façade advertising current or forthcoming shows in the auditorium. Among them is an advertisement for Boulder-born actor Eugene O’Brien in *Steve*. (Photo courtesy Library of Congress)



consideration of the sum of One Dollar (\$1)”. Council officially recognized receipt of the payment September 22, 1919. Concerning work completed during the month of September, the general contractor only invoiced for acoustical treatment and a new boiler stack in the previous City Hall.⁷⁹

The amount of work completed in October jumped considerably, according to the dollar amounts invoiced by the contractor. Plumbing, heating, plastering, and sheet metal work

were all billed at approximately double the amounts from September. C.S. Lambie did not submit another invoice until mid-February 1920.

Installation of the organ proved far more formidable than council or the manufacturer expected. Portions of the organ began arriving in December with all materials received by the 19th of that month. Promises of a completed organ by the middle of November passed unfulfilled, with the *Chieftain* reporting that complete installation was now expected in February.⁸⁰ Possibly due to delays from the contractor, city council amended its contract with the Austin Organ Company in January. Later that month, with installation of the organ still incomplete, council adjusted the payment dates. An initial \$5,000 payment was now due within sixty days of completion and acceptance, while the remaining \$30,000 balance was deferred to on or before May 1, 1920. This delay in payment presumably allowed council to pass the mill levy necessary to cover the cost. Council fulfilled its portion of the agreement in late April, submitting a payment for the balance of \$19,800.⁸¹

Contractor Lambie next presented an invoice to city council on February 16, 1920. Peculiarly, this invoice called for payment for the deferred city hall interior work invoiced throughout the previous year and not any recently completed work. City council minutes indicate an error occurred on the architect’s note attached to the previous invoices, “but for which no payment has been made by the City.” Thus, city council initiated another separate contract for this previously completed work, dated February 16, and immediately drafted full payment for it.⁸²

THE HOME STRETCH

It appears one of the final items installed in City Hall was

the interior marble. The *Chieftain* reported on April 14, 1920, that the third, and possibly final, shipment of Vermont marble arrived recently and that installation began inside the offices, hallways, and foyer in City Hall. The article noted that with installation complete, the Union Avenue entrance to City Hall would become the preferred entry to Memorial Hall, inviting the public to immerse itself in the grandeur of its new civic buildings.⁸³

Yet the total cost of the newest and grandest jewel in Pueblo's civic crown, despite a plethora of invoices and newspapers accounts, remains elusive. Numbers jump around and do not add up correctly in the city council minutes, especially when trying to include the change orders. Architect Stickney's construction costs do not exactly match those from the contractor's invoices. The city finance director also employed fuzzy math, as columns rarely add up correctly. However, it is possible to take the numbers from the city council minutes and newspaper reports and arrive at a figure of some precision. The total amount paid to C.S. Lambie and various subcontractors totaled \$587,382.48, nearly double the estimated \$300,000 and still well above the frustrated citizen's estimates. It is also important to note that architect Stickney designed other components never constructed but specified. The civic buildings never received cooling fans, carriage shelters, the clock, an elevator, or a finished third floor by the time the buildings opened to the public. Stickney estimated the cost of these items, along with his commission to design them, at \$28,128.20.⁸⁴

It does appear that even though members of council strained to remain faithful to the budget, costs ultimately got away from them without an accurate running total. The plan to reduce costs by posting multiple requests for proposals and

reserving the right to substitute subcontractor's bids eventually backfired in that managing the multiple items became confusing; council made numerous payments to numerous contractors without ever reflecting on the cost-to-date. In effect, general contractor C.S. Lambie's multiple contracts became increasingly perplexing due to concurrent work specified in those contracts and the deferment of other work.

Memorial Hall officially opened in late 1919 while City Hall opened in mid 1920, both without much or any fanfare, probably because the construction never seemed to end. City council received bids on March 21, 1921, for furnishings and floor coverings in the offices of City Hall. Council opened two proposals the next day, one from the Frank Pryor Furniture Company and a combined bid from the Calkins White Brothers Furniture Company, the Frank Pryor Furniture Company, and the Dean-Creel Furniture Company; it is unknown why Frank Pryor submitted its own bid and a combined bid. The combined bid totaled \$12,269.03, more than \$5,000 less than Pryor's individual bid. Before executing the contract, council added over \$3,000 in additions and changes.⁸⁵

City council once again chose contractor C.S. Lambie to complete work on the third floor of City Hall. The amount of the contract is unknown, although work included the installation of a maple floor and was expected to conclude by April 1, 1921. The *Chieftain* described the 5,775-square-foot floor: "The base is concrete above fireproof tile. Above the concrete will be placed a light, springy substance, composed of cement and cinders. Atop this, will be laid a subfloor covered with building paper, and finally, the maple flooring will be laid over all." The room itself remained devoid of any furnishings, functioning chiefly as a flexible gathering space and ballroom.⁸⁶

City council received bids for the supply and installation

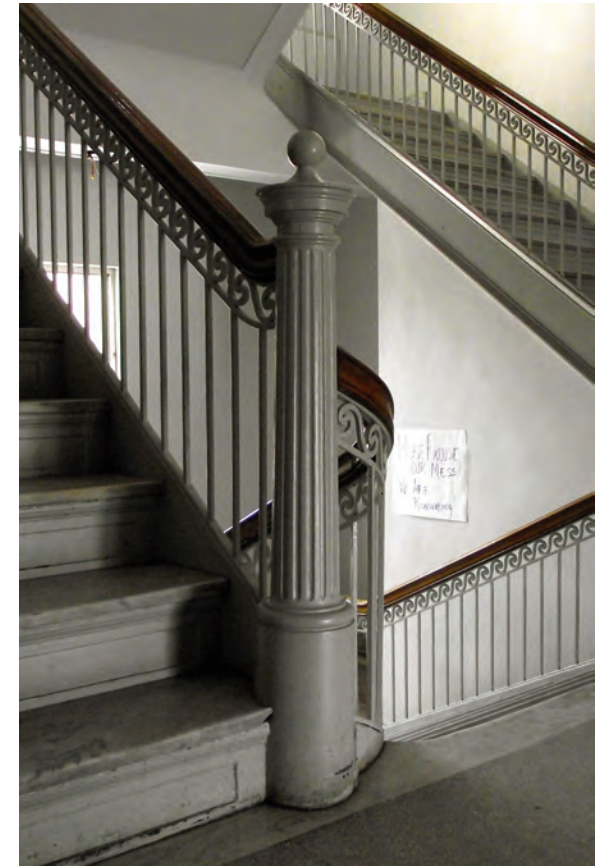


Figure 2.31. A refined aesthetic: the staircases in City Hall were simple yet elegant. (Jeffrey DeHerrera)



Figures 2.32 and 2.33. Pueblo's new City Hall survived the devastating 1921 flood relatively unscathed, serving as a symbol of hope amidst the ruin. However, the floodwater and the mud it left behind took until 1935 to completely remove from the basement, and the new organ in Memorial Hall was ruined. (Photos courtesy City of Pueblo)



of light fixtures throughout the interior of City Hall on April 14, 1921. Two electrical contractors submitted proposals: The Pueblo Electric Company for \$3,850 and J.W. Hancock Electric Company for \$3,700. The contractor with the successful bid was to install lighting throughout the building "with the exceptions of Basement, Toilets, Closets, Stairways, and 2nd Floor Halls." The contract instructed Hancock to begin work immediately, possibly alleviating the use of candles and lanterns during the evenings in the electrified portions of the building.⁸⁷

DISASTER

In the end, however, the biggest threat City Hall and Memorial Hall faced came not from any contractor, building material, or engineering

problem, but Mother Nature. On June 3, 1921, an intense cloudburst upstream along the Arkansas River brought torrents of muddy, frothing water into Pueblo, the inhabitants of which were left to cower behind a levee system put in place following a flood less than thirty years earlier. The levee, much smaller than the one extant today, provided little protection before disintegrating and unleashing the deluge upon downtown. A high-water mark on City Hall approximately seven and half feet high on the Union Avenue elevation indicates the crest of water flowing throughout downtown.

Though arguably the most well-documented event in the city's history, the effect of the flood on the still new City and Memorial Hall buildings remains a bit of a mystery. Naturally, filling the city council minutes following the flood are emergency measures and proclamations, not the mundane details of civic construction. In regards to damage to city hall, which was located immediately adjacent to the river, nothing is recorded in city council minutes. Despite water filling the basement and at least three feet of the first floor, the building sustained little to no structural damage during its "involuntary christening in flood waters," owing to the recommendation of the city engineer's office before the commencement of construction to test the land's integrity deeper than ten feet below the surface. City council minutes do indicate that the already tremendously expensive organ received heavy water damage. Council contacted the Austin Organ Company, which inspected the damaged unit and undertook replacing the console and cleaning the motor, starter, and blower for the sum of \$4,000. A considerable delay occurred when the organ company could not obtain wood to match the other materials until January 1922; it took nearly three more months to deliver the console and begin the installation.⁸⁸

Not unexpectedly, the basements of both civic buildings sustained damage, although the damage does not appear to have been substantial. City council employed an architect, presumably William Stickney, to draw up plans and specifications for repairs. Council opened five bids at its regular meeting on April 6, 1922, ten months after the flood began. Predictably, C.S. Lambie was the low bidder, at a price of \$2,798. Council minutes do not indicate the scope of work, but the dollar amount suggests only minor repairs. An article in the *Chieftain* over thirteen years later sheds at least some light as to the damage in the basements of the civic buildings. It describes a pile of dried and caked mud eight feet high, encasing many of the contractor's tools. Only about one-third of the debris had been removed by 1935, and only by manual labor provided by jail inmates. Interestingly, the article suggests that during the construction of Memorial Hall, Stickney reduced the efforts needed to excavate the basement by using the cellar of one of the buildings that had previously occupied the site. In the basement next to flood debris rested "heavy concrete piers which formed part of the foundation of the old Star hotel." Additionally, "farther back in the basement, perfectly preserved in their original positions, stand two cedar posts which were used for hitching racks in the rear of the saloons." It is unknown if the piers or hitching posts remain extant today, as the auditorium basement now houses a modern heating, ventilation, and air conditioning system.⁸⁹

Despite the flood, the new City Hall served its civic functions well. While police offices and the city jail remained in the old city hall across the road on Main Street, the police force utilized the cupola in the new building for communication beginning in January 1922. City crews installed a red signal light under the dome, visible to patrolmen throughout many parts

of the city. At times when all patrolmen were to report to or call headquarters, the desk sergeant would activate a switch within his reach. When first installed, the light shone the entire first night so that patrolmen could locate it along various vistas of their beats. The department previously used a similar system of lights throughout the city, which had "not been used for some time."⁹⁰

Yet the 1921 flood was not the only disaster to befall City Hall and Memorial Hall. The colossal organ, now seemingly cursed, ignited a fire on the morning of May 4, 1922. The stage manager noticed smoke emitting from the roof of Memorial Hall and notified the fire department, still located in the previous city hall across the street. Installers from the Austin Organ Company remained in town while still completing the installation and repairs from the previous year's flood, and the Pueblo fire chief believed a short in the newly repaired wiring caused the console to ignite. Damage extended to several pipes and stops, and prevented the use of twelve keys. The installers from the Austin Organ Company initially estimated the damage at \$1,500, but the contract for repairs amounted to \$2,000 with insurance only covering a portion of the loss. Coincidentally, professional and amateur musicians throughout the city prepared to celebrate Pueblo Music Week beginning Sunday May 7. The highlight of the celebration on Friday, May 12, was to be Denver organist Clarence Reynolds accompanied by a quartet of vocalists. Though Memorial Hall still hosted Music Week events, promoters cancelled the organist's appearance. Crews from the Austin Organ Company began repairs July, completing them on August 18. At long last, the city could use this one fantastic instrument that basically replaced a 100-piece orchestra.⁹¹

A thunderstorm forced even more repairs. On May 7,

1926, as a marching band completed a parade at the steps of the building, lightning struck the ball atop the cupola. The jolt freed the 250-pound ball from its anchor and dropped it onto the rooftop. It then rolled down the slope and plummeted to the ground, narrowly missing “a couple of bandsmen who were in the lead, thudding on the pavement at their feet.” Miraculously, only the building sustained damage. Approximately twelve to fifteen skylights shattered, either from the lightning bolt or the ball, and a significant area of roofing tiles crumbled. Archival records do not record the value of the damage, but the *Chieftain* noted it amounted “to considerable expense.”⁹²

During the year 1926, city officials paid half of the balance

of the \$300,000 in bonds taken out to pay for City Hall and Memorial Hall. The fiscal plan developed at the end of the year called for the balance to be paid off in two installments during 1927: one \$60,000 payment in May and one \$90,000 payment in September. Perhaps due to having more money than expected in city coffers, city council authorized a \$75,000 payment on March 1, 1927, and a final \$75,000 payment on August 1. Eleven years after taking out the bonds “the city received a clean bill of health so far as debt on the municipal auditorium is concerned.”⁹³

REMODELING THROUGH THE DECADES

Though some minor modifications to the buildings undoubtedly occurred during the 1930s and 1940s, the financial restrictions and material shortages of the Great Depression and World War II undoubtedly hampered any major projects. Indeed, the next major modification did not come until 1950s, when the city desired to replace the aged and decrepit boiler system located in the old city hall that still provided heat for both buildings. The City of Pueblo requested bids from eighteen local contractors to install a gas-fired furnace in the previous city hall to once again supply heat for both buildings. When the bids were opened on August 10, 1951, only four contractors participated: Stephan & Lambert, \$2,610; Airflow Engineering Company, \$4,484; Public Gas & Appliance, \$2,874; and Pueblo Furnace Company, \$3,935. It was noted at the time that the conversion from a coal-fired to gas-fired boiler would save the city an estimated \$10,000 in supply costs and would eliminate three coal-stoking positions at a yearly cost of \$7,200. The boiler replacement appears to have been shelved indefinitely, as no contract was awarded for the work. Additionally, it appears no one within the city, public or private sec-

Figure 2.34. As seen in this mid-1960s photograph, City Hall and Memorial Hall aged remarkably well, a testament to the quality of the design and materials (Photo courtesy City of Pueblo)



tor, wanted to devote any money to the old City Hall, which was slated for demolition. The city planned to replace the building with a newer, modern fire station at a different location and use the site as off-street parking for Memorial Hall.⁹⁴

The next mention of the inadequate boiler occurs nearly three years later. A plan developed in May 1954 called for retrofitting a used boiler brought from the Pueblo Airbase; it is unknown if the used boiler was natural gas- or coal-fired. City council shelved the installation of the used boiler, but this time acted before the end of the year, since it advanced plans to demolish the old city hall building. The published notice called for bids to be turned in by 10 a.m. on December 6 to furnish and install a gas-fired boiler in the basement of Memorial Hall. The new boiler was to be installed at the northeast corner of the building, presumably where lines from the dilapidated boiler entered; the new boiler would tie into the existing lines and there was no mention of removing the transmission lines below the street. The city engineer's office estimated the cost of replacement at \$10,000, but Stephan & Lambert won the bidding process at a price of \$5,765. The firm Ferrill-Moore submitted the low bid to construct the flue for the new boiler at a cost of \$589. Complete installation was estimated to take until the end of January 1955.⁹⁵

The 1950s also included mention of a mysterious project that never came to fruition. On November 2, 1954, the *Pueblo Star-Journal* reported that employees of the O'Keefe Elevator Company were to begin installing an elevator in City Hall within the week. The seventeen-passenger elevator was to be fitted in a shaft left vacant since the time of construction and that "most of the equipment has been delivered," but there was no estimate as to the time required to install. The article quotes then-city purchasing agent Orville Daniels as the source of the

information, and the 1954 City of Pueblo Annual Report corroborates the installation. The elevator was removed at a time unknown, and crews would later install wheelchair lifts along the staircase railings in response to the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. This installation allowed mobility-impaired people access to the second floor.⁹⁶

City maintenance staff remodeled the third floor of City Hall in 1967. Work consisted of partitioning offices in approximately half of the space for the city's legal department; prior to the renovation, the legal department shared quarters with the city manager on the ground floor. Plans also called for dividing the remaining third floor area into offices for the city inspection department, which shared space with the engineering department on the second floor.⁹⁷

Crews began the first major renovation of any kind inside Memorial Hall in May 1970. In order to make the audience more comfortable, all auditorium seats were removed and replaced. The city purchased new seats from Intermountain School Equipment of Englewood, manufactured by Irwin Seating Company of Grand Rapids, Michigan. In all, the city acquired 1,654 seats at \$34.12 each, for a total of \$56,434.48. For the seats to be installed correctly, workers first had to remove the previous seats, extract approximately 8,500 bolts, patch the resulting holes, and then coat the bare floor with a sealer. Many of the ventilation holes in the floor also had to be filled, as the new seats did not align with them as the previous ones had done. Once the new seats were installed, Sam's Floor Covering, of Pueblo, installed \$11,425 worth of carpeting. The city of Pueblo accepted bids for old, removed seats, with the Littleton Congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses purchasing 500 first-choice seats at \$1.25 each. The city sold other, second-choice seats at \$1 each as follows: the Southwest Church of

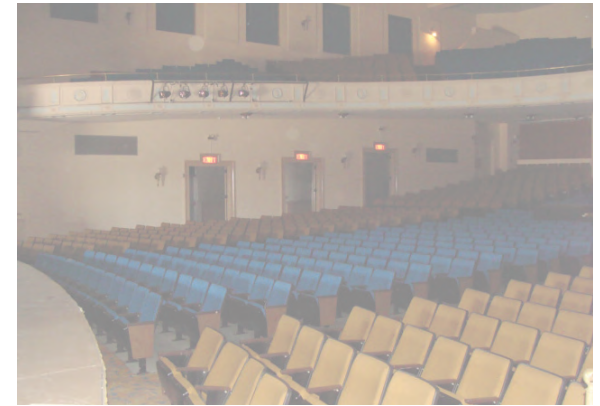


Figure 2.35. The seating in Memorial Hall was replaced in 1970. (Photo courtesy Saul Trujillo)

Christ, 300; the Creede Theater, 182; Pueblo North Unit of Jehovah’s Witnesses, 156; Lamar Congregation of Jehovah’s Witnesses, 125; Skateland Rollerrink, 102; Church of Jesus Pentecostal, 100; Eldon Christian Church, Denver, 100; Jerry’s Drive In, 76; the Columbian Federation, 25; the Civil Air Patrol, 25; and Daniel R. Carper (the only individual on the list), of 1901 Lake Avenue, 4. The Church of Jesus Pentecostal also purchased twenty damaged seats for fifty cents each. City purchasing director Art Croissant noted any remaining seats would be stored and sold individually for \$1 each on a first-come, first-served basis. Croissant expected to have all of the new seats installed by August 15, yet installation ran into the beginning of September.⁹⁸

A disaster, albeit a small one, visited the building on the night of October 16, 1973, when a small fire broke out in a basement storage room beneath Memorial Hall. While there was no structural damage reported, the fire burned archives maintained by the city legal department that “appeared to be court-related papers and records, some dating to Pueblo’s early years. But it could not be determined immediately whether any had other than perhaps historical value.” Apparently, staff only occasionally locked an access door to a storage area in the basement-level men’s restroom, permitting a couple of “stoners” to access the space and spark the fire.⁹⁹

And the boiler situation reared its head again. The *Chieftain* ran an intriguing, if not somewhat confusing, article pertaining to the boiler in City Hall on February 12, 1977. The article stated that the city once again faced replacing the “archaic cast-iron boiler...installed when the building was constructed.” The article contends that the boiler was “about 60 years old” at that time, and became “so obsolete that finding necessary replacement parts is impossible.” However, the

boiler was replaced in 1954, and the photo in the 1977 article confirms this. Nonetheless, the boiler “sprang a gushing leak” while a subsequent inspection confirmed numerous smaller leaks throughout the piping installed within the wall of the building. In response, city maintenance workers shut off the flow through the entire third floor. Maintenance workers also turned down thermostats throughout the building, resulting in interior temperatures in the low sixties. The boiler basically limped along until warmer temperatures arrived in the following spring, allowing them to shutdown and eventually replace the unit.¹⁰⁰

City and Memorial halls underwent another minor repair and renovation project during the summer of 1978. The city purchasing director advertised for bids in June of that year for the cleaning and restoration of some exterior masonry on the civic buildings. On July 3, the city awarded the contract to the lone bidder, Nelson and Company, of Security, Colorado, in the amount of \$34,000. A rather small labor dispute began within ten days of signing the contract. Painter’s Local 171 contended that Nelson was not paying prevailing wages or employing union labor as required for government-funded projects. Superintendent of buildings and grounds for the City, Frank Griesan, countered that the project was not beholden to these rules since only one contractor bid on the project and that the funds came from Griesan’s operating budget and not the federal government; city purchasing director Art Croissant added that Local 171’s position was irrelevant in that the project called for “only...about five gallons” of paint and that Nelson was paying his employees prevailing wages. There appears to have been no other reports about the incident, suggesting that the union withdrew its claim.¹⁰¹

THE ROAD TO RESTORATION

Despite its early popularity, as the years wore on the City of Pueblo and local event planners used Memorial Hall less and less until it became an afterthought. Additional, modern auditoriums opened up throughout Pueblo, such as those at Pueblo Community College, the University of Southern Colorado, the Sangre de Cristo Arts and Conference Center, the Pueblo Convention Center, the State Fair Events Center, and the outdoor amphitheater at the Historic Arkansas Riverwalk. Planning to eventually restore Memorial Hall to its impressive grandeur, a small group of Puebloans organized in 1997 to raise funds and awareness for the dilapidated hall. The *Chieftain* ran an article on March 16, 1997, in order to spark interest in the project and enlighten the public as to the condition of the building. The article noted:

As the Historic Arkansas River Project appears in Pueblo, nurtured by \$12 million in tax dollars, the truly historic Memorial Hall stands on the banks of the new waterway, collecting dust... Memorial Hall is owned by the City of Pueblo but, like other historic city sites, such as Pueblo Mountain Park, its upkeep is routinely rejected by a city council intent on funding new civic projects like HARP. Ironically, unlike the far-removed mountain park, Memorial Hall is connected to the back half of City Hall. In stark contrast to the auditorium's drab look, City Hall looks well-tended and modern.

It should be noted, however, the condition of City Hall was far from stellar. The comparison between the upkeep of both buildings is appropriate, though.

The *Chieftain* article also identified the fundraising group's goals:

- \$500,000 for the installation of an air conditioning system. Currently, the auditorium is still reliant on its original air ventilation system, which limits the use of the hall during warm-

weather months.

- \$1 million in backstage repairs, including the replacement of both the auditorium's 1920-era light board and its original rope system for changing set designs.
- General fix-up. The elaborate, handcrafted walls of the auditorium are cracked and in need of painting; and the dressing rooms are an eyesore and still equipped with 1920s-era plumbing, among other problems.
- \$100,000 to widen the space between the rows of balcony seats, which are so narrow that theatergoers complain of leg cramps.
- \$4,000 to relocate the sound board to the rear of the auditorium. Right now, the sound board resides in the middle of the first-floor seats.
- Additional organ repair work.

Initial fundraising efforts focused on hosting a series of weekend concerts in Memorial Hall and later turned to public and private grants. Then-assistant city manager Dave Galli noted that in the previous two years, 1995 and 1996, that the city designated \$15,000 to pay for a study of Memorial Hall's restoration, but that the city had yet to set aside any money for the project.¹⁰²

The City of Pueblo received a remarkable gift in September 1998, nearly eighty years after the civic buildings opened: the original black-ink-on-linen drawings of William Stickney's designs for City and Memorial Hall. William Stickney's son, Charles Stickney, also an architect, presented the originals to Pueblo planning director Jim Munch and local architect Gary Trujillo. Previously, Trujillo noted, the city only possessed a partial set of drawings, all of them copies. Charles Stickney explained to Munch and Trujillo that it was a "relief to get them onto your hands" as his wife nagged him "to get rid of them." Charles Stickney additionally presented the city a hand-written

list from his father of buildings the elder Stickney designed in Pueblo from 1919 through 1925 for which the younger Stickney still possessed original blueprints; Charles Stickney promised to ship these additional originals to Pueblo once the buildings and current owners had been identified. Regrettably, Charles Stickney passed away before the identification, though his daughter now retains the drawings with plans to present them to the City of Pueblo.¹⁰³

By 2000, the long and winding road to a complete renovation of both City and Memorial halls had begun in earnest. The City received a \$75,000 grant from the Colorado Historical Society that year and provided \$25,000 of its own money to hire Denver architectural firm Semple, Brown, and Roberts to develop a plan to restore the buildings and keep them usable. But sentiment of Pueblo civic leaders at the time appeared to have waned on the buildings' public sector use, as many city and county governments in Colorado moved to more mundane but flexible office buildings, leaving their historic city halls as museums or conference centers. Echoing city officials concerning the 1889 City Hall, Pueblo City Councilman Rich Golenda stated, “City Hall has outlived its usefulness as the headquarters of city government” and “should be devoted to some other purpose,” such as a museum or conference center. Then-city manager Lew Quigley also proposed moving city offices into the McClelland Library building at Mesa Junction, as the library district planned on expanding its flagship library in a yet-to-be-chosen location.

The architectural firm Semple, Brown, and Roberts presented their plan for City and Memorial Hall to city council in 2001. The most important and pressing issue, the firm argued, was fire egress on the third floor. With only one exit and entrance, the main stairway, the floor did not meet fire regula-

tions for evacuation. City manager Lee Evett effectively closed the third floor, used by various committees and city council. The Pueblo Regional Building Department stated it would not issue an order as such since the space met the requirements of the time at which it was constructed. With the ultimate plans of renovation, Evett noted it “[did not] make much sense to take on the expense of adding a fire escape or a second access to the third floor” at that time.

Ultimately, Semple, Brown, and Roberts pegged the cost of a total renovation of both City Hall and Memorial Hall at \$14.6 million in 2001. In a *Chieftain* article from March 31, 2003, then-senior city planner Bill Zwick revealed some details of the study:

[T]he study argued that the best use of the buildings—for the future—is to take advantage of their history. City Hall is too small for most city offices anymore, so it could be refurbished into something more ceremonial. Use the restored offices to house a small museum, add a coffee shop and restrooms to support events at Memorial Hall and an official council chamber and conference room so that council would continue to use the building.

It is unclear as to the renovation amounts the architectural firm estimated for each of City Hall and Memorial Hall, or to what extent the renovations called for. Likely, the plan called for a complete exterior and interior renovation, fully furnished.¹⁰⁴

The Great Recession of the late 2000s delayed the planned renovation of City Hall and Memorial Hall, though it remained simmering on the back burner. The city manager told the *Chieftain* in 2009 that the renovation of both buildings now had a “rough estimate of \$24 million.” With nowhere near that amount of money available, city council decided to begin the project modestly. It advertised to replace the roof of Memorial Hall in early 2009, but ultimately delayed beginning

the project in hopes of unearthing enough funds to begin a complete restoration. From this point forward it is important to note that even though the renovations at both City Hall and Memorial Hall occurred concurrently, they were viewed as separate projects with different costs, estimates, schedules, and funding sources.¹⁰⁵

A year later in 2010, council and the city manager envisioned a \$2.5 million restoration of City Hall, funded by \$7.5 million in advance tax payments from the Black Hills Energy electrical utility. City officials felt the timing could not be better, as the recession drove down the costs of construction labor and materials. Plans at the time called for modernizing the third floor with a high-tech council chamber, a new historically accurate roof, a new heating and cooling system, and modern electrical upgrades. No stone was to be left unturned.¹⁰⁶

The city hired Hoehn Architects PC, of Denver, for the roof replacement and phase two exterior rehabilitation. The 2010 project replaced the gutter system, installed new tile roofing, rehabilitated the skylights and the cupola, and restored the exterior masonry of the building. Later, the firm was also instrumental in the restoration and renovation of the interior's historic elements.

With the remaining funds from the advance property tax payments allocated, city council was forced to find the funding to restore Memorial Hall elsewhere. Council asked Pueblo voters in November of 2010 to pass a ballot measure allowing the city to "use approximately \$3 million in unspent vendor's fees as a revenue stream for a \$10 million bond project to improve and modernize the auditorium." Council had asked Pueblo voters to allocate the unspent vendor's fees to fund a renovation of the Pueblo Convention Center the previous year, which failed. Voters overwhelmingly approved the use of the funds

for Memorial Hall though. City council and the city manager made up the approximate \$7 million shortfall in a number of ways: public and private grants, energy tax credits, and donations.¹⁰⁷

The City of Pueblo projected the restoration of both halls in three phases: phase one was the replacement of the roofs sheltering both buildings and the renovation of the cupola above City Hall; phase two was the renovation the interior of City Hall; and phase three was the interior remodeling of Memorial Hall. Phase one began in July of 2010, with city council awarding the contract to the firm Building Restoration Specialties, of Denver; the roof and cupola restoration was estimated to cost approximately \$850,000. By this time, though, the total estimate to renovate only City Hall escalated to \$3.5 million. Council appropriated the entire amount from the advance tax payment.¹⁰⁸

A heavy rainfall and hailstorm damaged the roof of both City and Memorial Halls and flooded their respective basements later during the summer of 2010. With a plan for renovation in hand, city council discussed raising the appropriated funds to \$5 million. Council hired the Pueblo architectural firm Hurtig, Gardner, & Froelich (HGF). HGF presented their design to council in spring 2011, along with a cost estimate of "well over \$6 million." Apparently with no more money to allocate to the renovation, council instructed HGF to find a way reduce the final figure to their expected \$5 million.

In a plan that echoed the cost-cutting measures of the building's original construction, in May 2011 HGF proposed "leaving about half of each floor of City Hall empty, with just roughed-in city office space. Except for the new council chambers, which would have state-of-the-art features like a television broadcast booth." At least four of the seven members of

council vehemently disapproved of the plan. Leroy Garcia stated it was “Completely unacceptable.” Vera Ortegon protested, “That would seem so arrogant of us to do that.” Chris Kaufman added, “I can’t support this. Having People come into City Hall and see empty offices and a new council chamber?” Judy Weaver complained, “I feel set up. Buy a half-empty building for \$5.5 million? Except for a lavish new council chamber.” *Chieftain* reporter Peter Roper summed up the council’s opinion: “City Hall doesn’t look like a money pit, but City Council is

starting to wonder.”¹⁰⁹

Yet some city officials noted that HGF addressed all big-ticket items and accessibility issues in their revised plans. Bob Hart, architect for HGF, also chimed that a portion of the \$5.5 million price included a mechanical system shared by Memorial Hall, resulting in a City Hall renovation cost of under \$5 million. Regardless of their collective sentiment, city council approved a construction contract that night with H.W. Houston Construction Company in the amount of \$5.6 million.



Figure 2.36. Memorial Hall in the midst of renovation in 2012. (Adam Thomas)

Council did, however, instruct city manager Jerry Pacheco to find a way to finish more city offices while toning down the grandiose council chamber.¹¹⁰

When the city manager next updated city council on the City Hall renovation budget in October 2011, he delivered an estimate of \$7 million for a complete and furnished building in move-in condition. The city would spend \$6.1 million on the construction portion of the project and \$900,000 furnishings. The city manager had already earmarked \$6.4 million from numerous sources for the project. Unworried, city council president Ray Aguilera stated, “he was confident that [the city manager] would be able to find the additional money next year” and that, “He’d never wanted to scale back the council chamber plans to begin with, arguing that the expense was for the future.”¹¹¹

Yet even as the price of restoring City Hall inched upward since it was first discussed in the late 1990s, the initial estimates did not account for much of the work that would occur when the building officially reopened. The opening estimate of \$2.5 million merely involved bringing the building up to accessibility codes, creating a useful third floor, and updated heating and cooling systems. A hailstorm later damaged the roof to the point of replacement, allowing water to seep into the walls and flood the basement. When council discussed its expected \$5 million budget, it was seemingly without the input of an architect and merely represented a dollar amount they wanted to stay below. The idea of a museum and coffee house to supplement Memorial Hall would have definitely cost much less, but the city would have had to conjure up additional office space for the relocated departments. HGF plans and estimates stayed within council’s budget, but sacrificed furnishings and some floor coverings. The only remaining vari-

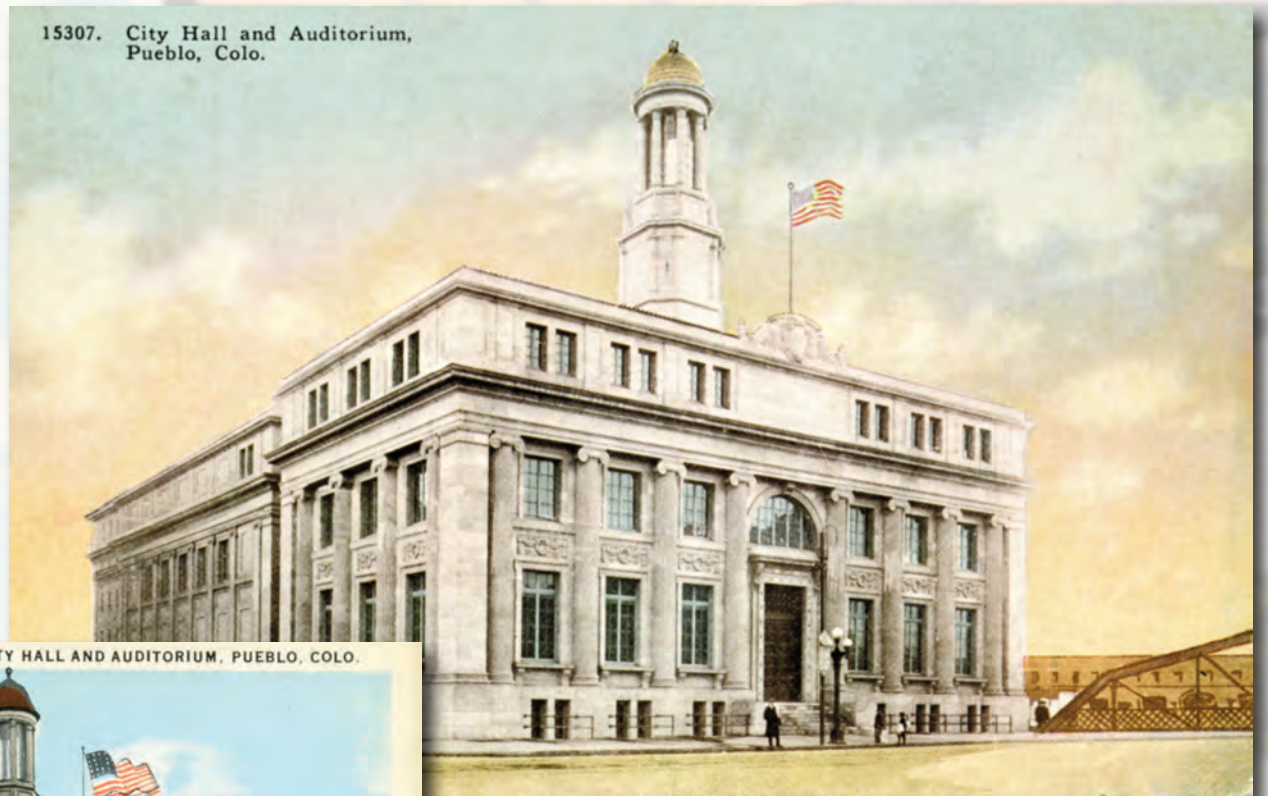
able is that there was no estimate as to the cost to replace the building. As of the summer of 2013, the cost for a complete and furnished building had risen to an estimated \$8 million.¹¹²

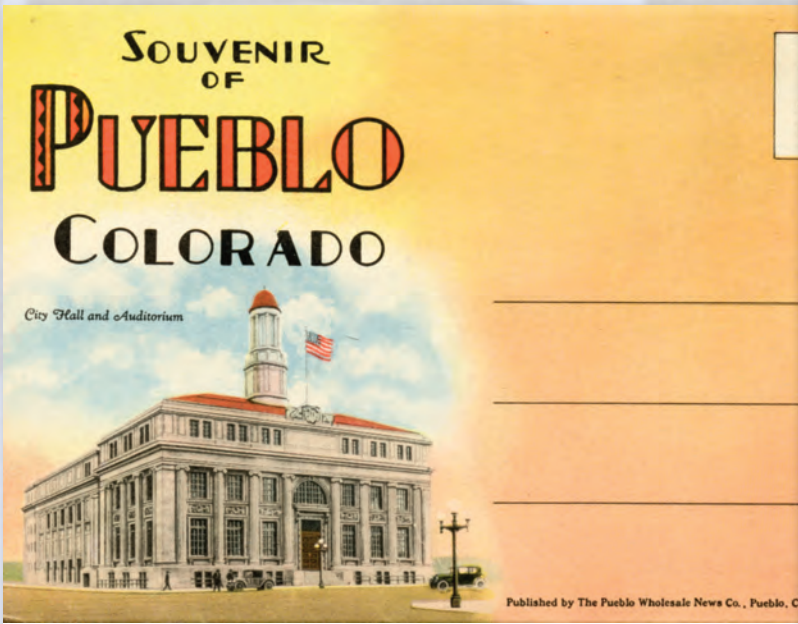
Pertaining to the cost of renovating Memorial Hall, plans never changed much and neither did the respective cost estimate. The cost when complete will be \$12,856,173, roughly thirty percent more than initially thought. The project manager has made up the budget deficit through “value engineering,” private fundraising, and grant acquisition. Once complete in the summer of 2013 though, the building will be expected to be a revenue producer. An addition to the Main Street elevation will free up the stage area and provide a venue for nationally recognized traveling productions to use once again the storied facility. Seating in the auditorium will be accessible for those patrons with impaired mobility, an air conditioning system will allow the space to be used during the summer months, rows will have more leg room, and the sound and lighting systems will be state-of-the-art.¹¹³



The long history of Pueblo City Hall and Memorial Hall resulted in buildings that were both exceptionally functional and highly symbolic. Their style was elegant and refined, yet simple and, especially as compared to the lavish Pueblo County Courthouse, austere. But stylistically City Hall reflected the spirit of the citizens of Pueblo rather than the authority of government. It was meant to be open and light rather than foreboding and restricted. City Hall and Memorial Hall continue to function because the vision of their architect and city fathers extended beyond the mere mechanisms of government to the enlightenment of citizens and the sustainment of a vigorous civic life.

Figure 2.37. Proof that City Hall and Memorial Hall quickly became prominent Pueblo landmarks is the number of postcards picturing the buildings. Here is a sample of City Hall and Memorial Hall postcards through the years. (Images courtesy Adam Thomas collection)





CHAPTER 3

“This Beautiful Hall:” The Leisure Culture of Memorial Hall

The United States has a long tradition of incorporating large gathering spaces in public buildings, from schools to city halls. As mentioned in the previous chapter, even Pueblo's earliest city halls often had some kind of meeting space, hall, or auditorium, often situated on the top floor where lighter construction could eliminate posts and other structural incumbrances. But with Memorial Hall, a grand space of large dimensions and graceful beauty, Pueblo took its City Hall to a new level, literally combining political and leisure culture into a single space celebrating the civic life.

THEATER IN PUEBLO

Before Memorial Hall opened, live theater in Pueblo consisted of varied productions playing in the city's many small theaters. While some in the Pueblo elite viewed these shows as uncultured, the productions proved popular as blue-collar workers made up an enormous portion of the city's population. But civic leaders struggled to change this perception, seeking the eloinment of citizens by luring more high-culture productions to the city.

Yet the several halls and theaters throughout Pueblo, both before and after the construction of Memorial Hall, almost exclusively catered to vaudeville, burlesque, and other variety entertainment. While admitting that early records are murky, local Pueblo author Michael P. Thomason, in *Night Lights*, identifies several early theaters. The first acknowledged

theater in Pueblo was Rice Hall in 1868, followed by Conley Hall in 1869. By the time the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad arrived in town in 1872, bringing with it acting troupes, musicians, and their necessary accoutrements, Pueblo featured three theaters: Theater Comique, The Cricket, and the Court House. Reflecting the difficulties of operating a theater in a still upstart Western town subject to booms and busts, Chilcott Hall was the only identified theater in 1874. By 1881 The Lyceum and Turner Hall staged performances, only to be replaced by The Tivoli and Bella Union the next year. Thomason identifies the DeRemer in 1884 and many subsequent years, the Grand Opera House beginning in 1890, and the Columbia Theater beginning in 1897; the DeRemer is the first theater in town credited with showing a motion picture on September 26, 1898. Three theaters operated in Pueblo by 1900: the Grand Opera House, the Grand Stand, and one at Lake Minnequa, which was the first theater to open outside of the downtown area, suggesting the popularity of the lake to both residents of the Bessemer neighborhood and those throughout the rest of the city as streetcars now travelled to the popular recreation area. The audience capacity of theaters operating in the city prior to the year 1900 was usually numbered in the hundreds, though a few could accommodate nearly a thousand patrons.¹



Figure 3.1. Designed by renowned Chicago architects Dankmar Adler and Louis Sullivan, the Pueblo Grand Opera House opened on September 9, 1897. It was heavily damaged in the 1921 flood and finally destroyed by a fire on March 1, 1922. (Photo courtesy Adam Thomas collection)

The heyday of the silent motion picture in Pueblo arrived by 1911. Thomason identifies a full dozen theaters in the city by that time, most were nickelodeons though many could concededly be termed cinemas. Throughout the remaining years of the 1910s, concurrent with World War I, there are no fewer than ten identified theaters in any respective year. Only two of these theaters were located outside of downtown: the theaters at Lake Minnequa and Minnequa Park, both in the Bessemer neighborhood. Perhaps owing to the popularity of Memorial Hall, the number of theaters fell to seven in 1921, not counting Memorial Hall.²

ERA OF THE MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

The combination of a city hall with such an enormous auditorium, quite unrelated to the business of municipal government, may at first seem odd. In some ways it is. With its many distinctions, Pueblo City Hall stands out among the varied seats of municipal government across Colorado in that it is the only one directly connected to a municipal auditorium. As such, it is a rare artifact of an often-overlooked national trend to combine civic and leisure culture. Dedicated to the memory of the many Puebloans who served in World War I, Pueblo’s Memorial Hall represents an even rarer Western example of the trend, which found its most obvious expression in the small cities of the East. Envisioned as a large, multi-purpose auditorium capable of hosting musicians, acting troupes, graduations, and other performers, Memorial Hall would quickly become the social and civic center of Pueblo before declining during the post-World War II period.

The municipal auditorium gained national prevalence following World War I. Author Farrell G.H. Symons collected data on 166 city-owned auditoriums constructed in the United

States prior to 1950 and noted “only 11 were completed before 1900. Nine auditoriums were completed in the decade 1900–09; 18 in the period 1910–19; 51 in the period 1920–29; 56 in the period 1930–39; and 21 [were] completed [in the period 1940–50].” These 166 auditoriums do not include every one constructed by a municipality; rather Symons intended them to serve as a representative sample of those for which construction data was readily available. The author attributes the uptick in construction during the Great Depression to New Deal programs such as the Works Progress Administration. Symons also notes “Municipal ownership of auditoriums became more marked after World War I, when many cities built them as local memorials for the war dead.” Additionally, Symons distinguishes the differences between the city-owned auditorium and the privately operated hall and theater in a way that links municipal auditoriums to other public amenities, such as parks and recreational facilities:

Some auditoriums show an excess of income over operating expenses, and, if capital costs are amortized and the auditoriums are made to bear their full share of municipal expenses, they may be said to operate at a profit. Municipalities, however, often are content to have their auditoriums run so that only operating expenses are recouped from rental fees, admission charges, concessions, and so forth, while others, again, consider them to be community services which may legitimately be maintained partly or entirely from general tax funds. Even, however, when their auditoriums, from a strict accounting viewpoint, operate at a loss, many cities believe that such a loss is no more than compensated by the influx of business which conventions, expositions, and other events bring to their hotels, restaurants, theaters, and stores.

There is no clear evidence as to whether Memorial Hall was expected to operate at either a profit or loss; it is evident, however, that the main intention of the building was to bring new

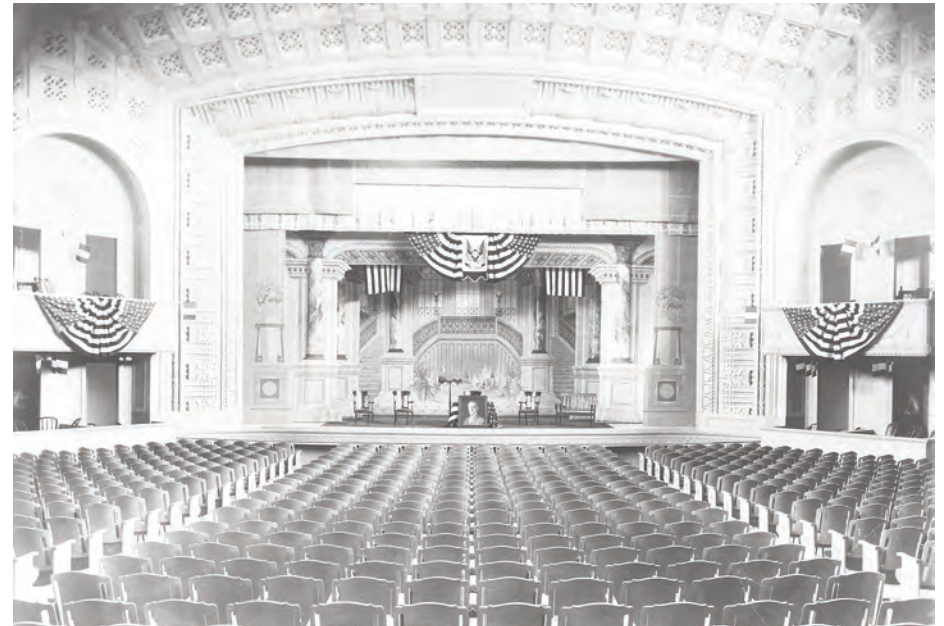
kinds of entertainment to the city, shows and spectacles that Puebloans had rarely, if ever, seen before, and thus improve civic life.³

THE PRESIDENT'S DEDICATION

And such a rare event of civic life occurred even before Memorial Hall had been completed, as construction continued at a snail's pace into the late summer of 1919. On the morning of September 25, President Woodrow Wilson boarded his private railroad car in Denver, heading south to Pueblo. Only months before he had orchestrated the Treaty of Versailles, ending the Great War, and he was campaigning across the country to gin up waning support for American participation in his great vision of global peace: the League of Nations. Shortly before his arrival, the President questioned his aides as to the schedule of the Pueblo visit. A scheduler reminded Wilson of the arrangements: greet a large crowd, estimated at 10,000 people, at the State Fair Grounds, then travel by automobile downtown and deliver a speech at the brand new Memorial Hall. Wearing from travel and suffering from a lingering illness, Wilson reviled the prospect of a short address at the fairgrounds and a standing-up tour through the city and demanded, "Who authorized such an idiotic idea?" When shown his own initials approving the schedule, Wilson retorted, "Any damned fool who was stupid enough to approve such a program has no business in the White House." Before leaving his train car, Wilson decided to forego the fairgrounds in order to travel directly to Memorial Hall. The local receiving delegation, upon hearing of this decision, pleaded with the President to revert to the previously arranged agenda, to which Wilson reluctantly conceded.⁴

President Wilson's arrival in Pueblo coincided with the

Colorado State Fair week that year, and the entire fairgrounds buzzed with excitement only the leader of the free world could bring. The President's convoy entered the grandstand and passed in front of the throngs gathered in the bleachers. Surprising and disappointing the multitudes, the convoy did not stop. Wilson passed by merely waving his hat. Many people in the crowd, some angry at the prospect of U.S. participation in the League of Nations and not fully supportive of Wilson's presidential decisions, became dismayed. The *Pueblo Chieftain* noted, "[Wilson's] stop at the fair grounds was much too brief" and did not address those gathered "because of lack of time." One "grizzled old farmer" remarked, "I laid off work at home and came to Pueblo from fifty miles down the Valley to see and hear President Wilson. I sure seen him and am disappointed I did not hear him talk." Paradoxically, the *Chieftain* reported the next day: "Less than five minutes were consumed in the momentous event, but they were moments



Figures 3.2 and 3.3. The interior of Memorial Hall shortly after its completion in 1919. Because of the flags, patriotic bunting, and portrait of Woodrow Wilson, this photo has been mistakenly identified as an image captured before the President dedicated the hall. However, there were no seats in auditorium at that time. (Photos courtesy City of Pueblo)

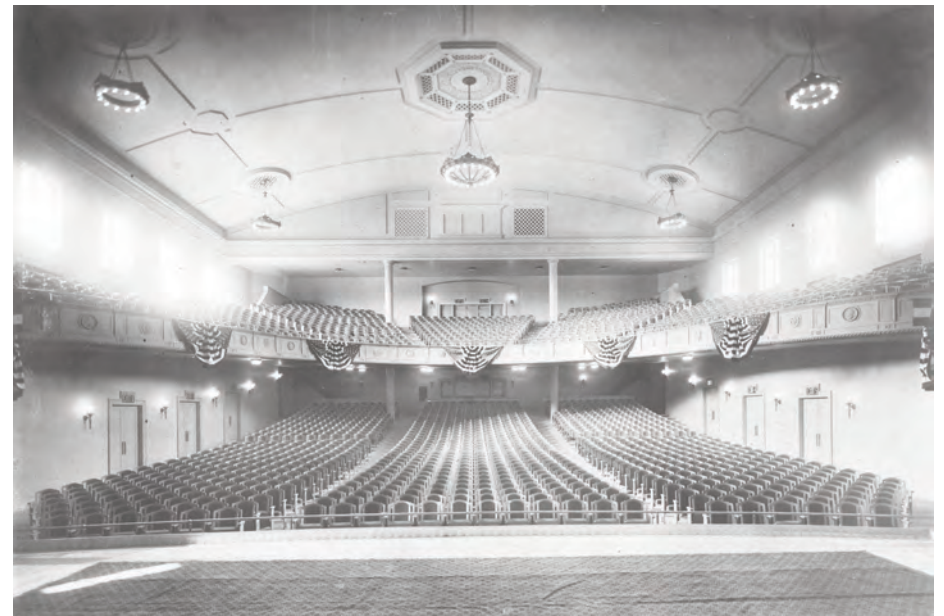




Figure 3.4. President Woodrow Wilson pushed through his speech at Pueblo’s Memorial Hall despite nearly falling as he entered the hall and, by some accounts, appearing quite feeble. His condition worsened on the train shortly after leaving Pueblo, and he later suffered a stroke. This image is the first posed photograph of the President following his stroke, taken in June 1920. Since he was unable to use his left side, First Lady Edith Wilson holds a document for her husband to sign. (Wikimedia/Public Domain)

that will long be treasured in the memory of untold numbers of those present.”⁵

As the presidential motorcade traveled to Memorial Hall, a vast crowd was already there, eagerly awaiting Wilson’s arrival. While the speech was scheduled to begin at 4 p.m., doors to the auditorium opened over an hour earlier, at 2:45, when “a mad scramble from the thousands of persons standing on the outside” occurred, leaving “hundreds of persons who could not get into the auditorium to hear the president or see him.” Without seats yet installed in the auditorium, a few in the crowd brought their own chairs, but the majority of the estimated 3,000 in attendance stood. Now painstakingly tired due to illness and standing in an automobile, President Wilson stumbled at the lone step marking his passage into the building. A member of the Secret Service grasped the president and generously lifted him onto the step; it is reported that Wilson always refused any kind of physical assistance during this tour, and this was the first time he did not decline the aid. Backstage, Wilson remarked, “This will have to be a short speech.”⁶

That “short speech,” entitled “An Address in Favor of the League of Nations,” rambled on for fifty-five minutes. With what the *Chieftain* denoted as “a clear strong voice,” the president began his address:

Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens: It is with a great deal of pleasure that I find myself in Pueblo. I feel it [is] a compliment that I should be permitted to be the first speaker in this beautiful hall. One of the advantages of this hall as I look about is that you are not too far away from me. Because there is more real assurance to men who are trying to express public sentiment to get into real personal contact with their fellow citizens [sic].

The proximity of the president with the crowd aided him greatly. There was no public address system in the building at

the time, and the president could only rely on his failing voice. As Wilson continued his address, he stumbled upon words and appeared on the verge of collapse before regaining his composure and finishing the speech. Wilson ended his oration in tears: “I believe men are seeing this thing [the chance for peace] and there is one thing the American people will rise to, that is the proof of justice and liberty. We have taken this step which will lead us out into pastures of quietness such as men of this world never before knew.”

Although quite riveting, the president shortened his speech on the fly. As written, the speech concluded:

I believe that men will see the truth, eye to eye and face to face. There is one thing that the American people always rise to and extend their hand to, and that is the truth of justice and of liberty and of peace. We have accepted that truth and we are going to be led by it, and it is going to lead us, and through us the world, out into the pastures of quietness and peace such as the world never dreamed of before.

While secondary sources agree that President Wilson faltered and wept during the speech. The *Chieftain* articles covering the event do not mention the frailty of the President, perhaps not wanting to dampen the celebratory mood in the city. What those in the audience did not know at the moment was that Wilson’s Memorial Hall speech was the president’s final public address. His condition worsened on the train ride back from Pueblo, and Wilson suffered a debilitating stroke just over one week later. As a result, he remained debilitated for the duration of his presidency. President Woodrow Wilson died on February 3, 1924.

OPENING ACTS

Despite the fact that the auditorium was still not completed, Memorial Hall continued to host illustrious acts fol-

lowing the President's address. The first musical ensemble to grace the stage at Memorial Hall was wildly popular composer and bandleader John Philip Sousa and his Sousa Band, which performed on December 4, 1919. The show included acts by solo vocalist Mary Baker and violinist Florence Hardeman, as well as Sousa's own patriotic marches. The *Chieftain* reported that Puebloans attended the concert *en masse*: "Packed until there was no standing room, was the situation last night in the New City Hall Auditorium when Sousa and his famous band appeared before a Pueblo audience. And the concert was worth while. Every person who attended the concert will verify the statement that every number on the program was a success and fully worth its portion of the admission fee with the war tax tacked on." This would be the first of at least three appearances within ten years at Memorial Hall for Sousa and his band.⁸

The President and John Philip Sousa notwithstanding, Memorial Hall celebrated its official grand opening for four nights beginning March 11, 1920. Felix Mendelssohn's popular oratorio *Elijah* played that night only, followed by John J. McClellan, a former child prodigy and touring organist from the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City, scheduled for concerts through Sunday March 14. The size of the Thursday opening crowd is unknown, though nearly 2,000 heard the organ concert Friday night; McClellan also presented a children's program on Saturday afternoon March 13. Never before seeing Pueblo's organ, McClellan was ecstatic as to how it played and its prospects compared to organs throughout the country and its potential to bring civic enlightenment. "Your organ will do more to uplift Pueblo than any other thing possibly could," McClellan said. "Of course, I don't mean that you are barbarians. What I do mean is that this one instrument is the force that will

do the most to raise the people as a whole to a higher level of culture and refinement. You need a real male man to come here as a permanent organist. And that will assure the proper results from the work which you have so well begun by installing this organ. I am confident that Pueblo will insist upon this for its own good." The *Chieftain* also reported the awe in which the audience watched: "The scenery on the stage swayed noticeably when the wind of the organ on full play swept down from above in the magnificent crescendos [sic]; and in the subdued solo interludes. A true artist was at the console, and his every number was replete with harmony, melody and color." Possibly due to the fact that Pueblo residents were never before introduced to such a performance, a *Chieftain* editorial on March 17 condemned the audience "for its poor manners" during the performance. Constructed for Progressive Era enlightenment, Pueblo's Memorial Hall demanded an equally enlightened decorum.⁹

MEMORIAL HALL'S GOLDEN AGE: THE 1920s

With the opening of Memorial Hall, the tree of Progressivism extended another branch into Pueblo. No longer confined to the slap-stick vaudeville shows, Puebloans now had the option of attending more serious, dramatic shows if they so desired. Although it is beyond the scope of this project to research every show or troupe that played Memorial Hall during the 1920s, several original playbills survive that indicate the types of performances Memorial Hall attracted. The patriotic music of John Philip Sousa conquered the audience for one night on Friday December 7, 1923. Pueblo's Monday Music Club brought "America's Greatest Tenor" Paul Althouse for one performance Tuesday, January 8, 1924, and the Pueblo Artist Series presented world-renowned soprano Amelita Galli-Curci

Memorial Hall Inaugural Organ Concerts



John J. McClellan, Organist

EVENING OF MARCH 12, 1920

<i>Toccata and Fugue in D Minor</i>	Johann Sebastian Bach
<i>To a Wild Rose</i>	Edward MacDowell
<i>Communion in G</i>	Eduarde Batiste
<i>The Rosary</i>	Ethelbert Nevin
"Walther's Prize Song," from <i>The Mastersinger</i>	Richard Wagner
<i>Kamenoi Ostrow</i> (Tone Poem)	Anton Rubenstein
Prelude to <i>Tristan and Isolde</i>	Richard Wagner
<i>Toccata in C Minor</i>	Edward D'Evry
"Chorus of Pilgrims," from <i>Tannhauser</i>	Richard Wagner

EVENING OF MARCH 13, 1920

<i>Suite Gothique</i>	Léon Boëllmann
<i>Trauemerei</i>	Robert Schumann
<i>Hymn of the Nuns</i>	Louis James Alfred Lefébure-Wély
<i>Menuet Célèbre</i>	Luigi Boccherini
Prelude to <i>Tristan and Isolde</i> and Final Duo "Love's Death"	Richard Wagner
<i>Traumerei</i>	Richard Strauss
<i>Melody in F</i>	Anton Rubenstein
<i>Andante Cantabile</i> , from Symphony No. 5	Ludwig Van Beethoven
<i>Pastorale in C Major</i>	Louis James Alfred Lefébure-Wély
<i>Evening Song</i>	Robert Schumann
<i>Concert Overture</i>	Alfred Hollins

Text Source: *Pueblo Chieftain*, March 13, 1920, p. 3.
Image Source: Wikimedia/Public Domain



Figures 3.5 and 3.6. Pueblo's Memorial Hall immediately lured some of the biggest acts in the United States, including legendary bandleader John Philip Sousa, who was the first musical act to play Memorial Hall, on December 4, 1919, and world-renowned Italian operatic soprano Amelita Galli-Curci. (Wikimedia/Public Domain)

on Tuesday, April 22, 1924. The touring Chicago Civic Opera Company presented contralto Cyrena Van Gordon on Thursday, November 6, 1924, and coloratura soprano Florence Macbeth the next night. In 1925, the San Carlo Grand Opera Company performed Giacomo Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* on March 17, and Anne Nichols' highly popular *Abie's Irish Rose* played four shows on September 7, 8, 9, and 10. The Monday Music Club presented several Sunday afternoon concerts during 1926 featuring a municipal organist and several local pianists. The Cathedral Choir of Denver performed Saturday,

April 24, 1926, and pianist John McCormack entertained Saturday September 11, 1926, as the first of eight shows in the Robert Slack Concert Series. The year 1929 appeared to be the moment that Pueblo audiences rediscovered William Shakespeare, with four of the playwright's works presented that year. The Stratford-Upon-Avon Festival Company presented *The Taming of the Shrew* on January 18. The Mantell-Hamper Company presented *Romeo and Juliet* on the evening of December 3, *As You Like It* on the afternoon of December 4, and *Macbeth* on the evening of December 4. Also in 1929 Puebloans were treated to *The Desert Song* on February 27 and 28, another performance by John Philip Sousa on September 8, and multitalented Scottish singer and musician Sir Harry Lauder on December 11.¹⁰

Although Memorial Hall was not intended to host vaudeville shows, the auditorium did at least twice during the 1920s. The Pantages Vaudeville show played the Hall during the 1923 and 1924 seasons; Alexander Pantages was known for operating his own theater circuit, but he also produced a touring show. While little archival information exists about the 1923 performance, the *Chieftain* reported that Pantages performed three shows on October 15, 1924, one matinee and two evening performances. The newspaper reported about the show:

This week's bill is headed by the DeMarie Five, presenting a "a musicale De Luxe," that is an unusual moldy and musical offering.

"Spilling the Beas," an act full of mirth, dance and song, is a big vaudeville ian [sic] crowd pleaser.

The Rose Kress Four present a skating revue that will give the young roller-skate artists of the city many new stunts to attempt and will demonstrate

the art of dancing on wheels.

Ben Nee Oone in original songs and stories has an act which is put across with a punch.

Markell and Gay, America's greatest steppers, in a whirl of novelties have a pleasing number on the program.

Davids, in clever manipulations and wire stepping, have the sixth act which fills out a well balanced [sic] program.

The Pantages Vaudeville show appears to have been the only show of its kind to have played Memorial Hall. Usually vaudevillian shows played the smaller, privately owned theaters scattered throughout Pueblo.¹⁰

Remarkably, only one playbill from the 1920s mentions the name "Memorial Hall" specifically, all others note the building's name as "City Auditorium." Also, prices for each performance varied wildly. The cost to attend a show by a local performer could cost as little as twenty-five cents while the best seats for the Shakespeare plays could cost \$3.50. The text on the playbills marketing the shows is also varied and remarkable. Aside from promoting upcoming shows in Pueblo, several playbills publicize performances on Broadway. One advertisement even promotes a show by "The World's Greatest Entertainer" Al Jolson, with a photo of the performer in black-face. Other items advertised in the playbills denote the white-collar or highbrow nature of the audience: automobiles, dry cleaning, pianos, Victrolas, private schooling for children, dance classes, wardrobe trunks, and phonographs. Of course, most of the audiences depicted in the advertisements are wearing formal attire consisting of suits, gowns, and an obligatory hat.¹¹

The Pueblo Civic Symphony Orchestra began performing in Memorial Hall beginning in 1928, under the direction of

Rafaello Cavallo. Born in Italy in about 1872, Cavallo immigrated to New York where he began his performing career at age twelve and later conducted a symphony group. Maestro Cavallo moved to Denver in 1896, where he founded the Denver Symphony in 1903 and for a time conducted the orchestras of the Tabor Grand Opera House and the Elitch Gardens Theatre. He married Margaret Fealy, the mother of legendary silent-screen actress Maude Fealy. Maestro Cavallo moved to Pueblo in 1928 to conduct the local symphony; it is unknown whether he founded the Pueblo Civic Symphony Orchestra or merely replaced an earlier conductor, though the former is more likely. The Maestro not only conducted the Symphony in Pueblo but also taught violin and assisted the musical programs at Pueblo Catholic High and Vineland Schools. So involved in the local music scene was Maestro Cavallo that he earned a civic award from the Fraternal Order of Eagles in 1948. The Pueblo Chamber of Commerce celebrated Cavallo Day in Pueblo in June 1951, he earned the Rotary Club's Service Above Self Award in May 1957, and he was likewise awarded a television set by the Pueblo Musicians Union. Rafaello Cavallo conducted the Pueblo Symphony until about 1954 before passing away on November 16, 1957, in Pueblo, at the age of eighty-five.¹²

MIDCENTURY DECLINE

The Great Depression doused the flames of the 1920s bonfire of live performances. By the beginning of the new decade, "The talking picture was coming into its own, and the result was a serious curtailment on the number of legitimate theaters in operation. Vaudeville was on the decline, permanent stock companies were unable to survive, and a number of touring companies was greatly reduced", explained theatre his-



Figure 3.7. Maestro Rafaello Cavallo, longtime conductor of the Pueblo Civic Symphony Orchestra and a musical *tour de force* in the city for decades. (Pueblo Chieftain)



Figure 3.8. Mabel Stackus was Pueblo's municipal organist from the mid 1930s until her death in 1957, when Memorial's Halls grand organ fell silent. (Pueblo Chieftain)

torian Daniel Blum. “The economic depression continued to put a pall on theatrical activities, and with the talking motion pictures becoming firmly established, Hollywood gold had lured away from Broadway most of the better playwrights and promising young players.” Consequently the number of all theaters, municipal theaters included, dwindled. There were approximately 1,500 live theaters in the United States in 1920, and that number fell to about 500 by 1930.¹³

Along with the decline in local live theater productions during the 1930s, the organ in Memorial Hall fell into disuse and was practically abandoned. The *Chieftain* reported in 1935 that, “Until the last three years, Pueblo’s organ was in almost daily use... But conditions the past few years have reduced the demands for use of the organ, since fewer organizations are utilizing the hall in which it has been placed. Up until the last three years, however, clubs, churches, and schools made extensive use of Memorial hall [sic] for concerts and programs, and upon most occasions, the organ was used.”

Due to the auditorium’s diminishing use, the city’s administration had no choice but to cut back on the instrument’s maintenance. Since the time of the initial purchase and installation of the organ in 1919 until the mid-1930s, the city employed John C. Neff as the instrument’s caretaker. Now with Depression-depleted city coffers, “retrenchments necessary in city finances [had] caused [Neff’s] removal as a regular employee. Because of conditions the municipal organ has suffered...” But Depression or not, organs were finicky instruments requiring regular playing and maintenance; if too much time elapsed between uses the organ suffered debilitating damage.¹⁴

Perhaps given the economic situation, local and regional repositories are devoid of any Memorial Hall paraphernalia

clearly dating to the 1930s. One undated playbill, likely from 1937, reveals that Memorial Hall was still attracting operatic productions, albeit rarely. The San Carlo Opera Company presented *The Barber of Seville* at a matinee performance and an evening performance of *La Traviata* on Monday February 2. Both shows were staged in their original Italian. Two other extant playbills, perhaps from the late 1930s, promote a single performance by Phil Spitalny and His All-Girl Orchestra accompanied by Evelyn and her Magic Violin on October 27 (year unknown). Evelyn Kaye Klein, known by her stage name Evelyn Silverstone, married Spitalny in June 1946. Spitalny’s radio shows were highly popular from the mid-1930s through the late 1940s. Only the Opera Company playbill denotes Memorial Hall as Memorial Hall; the Spitalny playbills label the venue as City Auditorium of Pueblo, Colorado.

The City of Pueblo engaged Mabel Stackus as municipal organist, an unofficial, unpaid position, in the mid-1930s. She attended Monticello College in Alton, Illinois, and, with her classmate Vera Tipple, moved to Pueblo in 1916 to offer private piano and organ lessons. Stackus performed solo symphonies, sometimes accompanied by additional solo artists from Colorado Springs though the regularity of her shows is unknown. She was also the organist for the Church of the Ascension and First Presbyterian Church. Stackus died in July 1956 and the organ fell virtually silent for decades.¹⁵

Memorial Hall was used only sporadically during the 1940s and postwar years, following a national trend of decreasing popularity and disuse; by 1940 no more than 200 live theaters remained nationally. Theatre historians Oscar G. Brockett and Robert Findlay explain the problems nationwide:

While the economy played a major part in the decline, other factors were significant: spectator sports

Pueblo Music Week

In 1922, only a few years after Memorial Hall officially opened, the Pueblo Monday Music Club organized Pueblo Music Week and held it in the auditorium. There are no extant archival materials that indicate the performances of the first two Music Weeks; however, playbills from 1924 through 1929 survive. Music Week of 1924 was held May 4 through 10, and each nightly performance featured a different theme. Sunday the 4th included music arranged by the Monday Music Club; Monday was All-American Night and featured the historic music of America; Tuesday was Colorado Composers' Night; Wednesday was Commerce Club Night; Thursday brought Choir Night; Friday was School Night, featuring choruses from local schools; and the week concluded on Saturday with an All Nations Program, highlighting music from around the world. Subsequent Music Weeks were held May 3 through 9, 1925; May 3 through 9, 1926; May 1 through 8, 1927; May 6 through 12, 1928; and May 6 through 11, 1929. An incomplete playbill exists from 1930, though the location is not mentioned as the cover is missing. There is no archival record for Music Week of 1931, but the event moved to the Central High School auditorium by 1932 and outdoors to the Central High School athletic field in 1933.¹

¹"City Auditorium of Pueblo [playbills]" (The Colorado Printing and Lithograph Company, various), Music-Music Week clipping folder, Robert Hoag Rawlings Special Collections.

increased steadily in popularity during the twentieth century and siphoned off many former theatergoers; motion pictures (low admissions) and radio (free) played an even more significant role in the decline of interest in the theatre. Unfortunately, just when theatres needed most to lower admissions, they were driven to raise them, chiefly by the increased union demands by Actors' Equity, United Scenic Artists, the Dramatists' Guild, the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and the Association of Theatrical Press Agents. All of these organizations provided important services for members and helped correct legitimate grievances. Nonetheless, each also contributed to rising production costs.

Local Pueblo historian Edward Broadhead writes that "Many years passed with the great organ silent," though it is possible that the organ was played on rare occasions. Extant playbills from the 1940s promote performances of *Minstrels of 1947*, a vaudeville-inspired variety show on November 6 to 7, 1947; the Boys' Town Choir of Boys' Town, Nebraska, on Friday November 28, 1947; and mezzo-soprano Mona Paulee on Friday January 24, 1948. Three playbills also survive from the aforementioned Pueblo Civic Symphony Orchestra: one from Thursday October 24, 1940, promoting a performance by the piano duo of Jacques Fray and Mario Braggiotti; one from a matinee

Monday January 20, 1941, advertising *In Vienna* and *Coppelia* by the San Francisco Opera Ballet; and one from a Monday, January 20, 1941, evening performance of *Swan Lake*, also by the San Francisco troupe.¹⁶

To combat the declining attendance of live performances, local impresaria Mayre Olin established the Greater Artist Series in 1940. A Pueblo native, Olin began her impresario career at the Broadmoor Hotel in Colorado Springs in 1940 with the "Concert Under the Stars" series. She is credited with bringing "professional entertainment" and "the nation's leading entertainers" to Pueblo. Those who graced the stage included Jeanette McDonald, Nelson Eddy, Marian Anderson, Gene Autry, Harpo Marx, Tallulah Bankhead, the Vienna Boys Choir, Sigmund Romberg, the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and "the symphony orchestras of several major cities." Olin managed the series until 1961, when she relinquished her role to Frieda Altman; the Greater Artist Series appears to have fizzled out in the mid-1960s. Olin was so instrumental in the success of Memorial Hall that the City of Pueblo commissioned a portrait of her. It was placed inside City Hall at a 1980 dedication ceremony, which she was unable to attend due to illness.¹⁷



Figure 3.9. Pueblo impresaria Mayre Olin helped revive live performances in Memorial Hall in 1940s and '50s with her Greater Artist Series. (Pueblo Chieftain)

Figure 3.10. Memorial Hall playbills from the 1920s. (Images courtesy Pueblo City-County Library District)

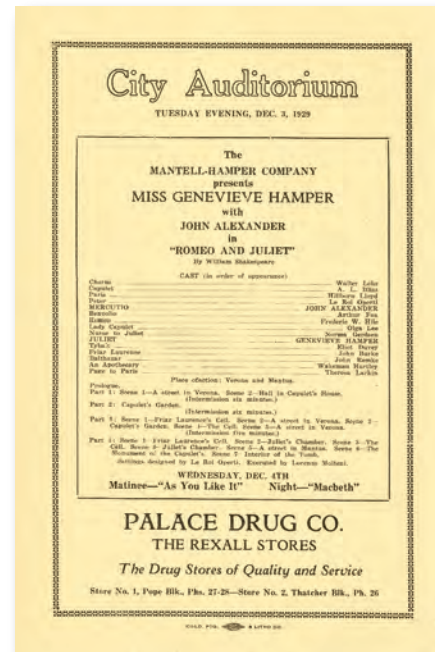
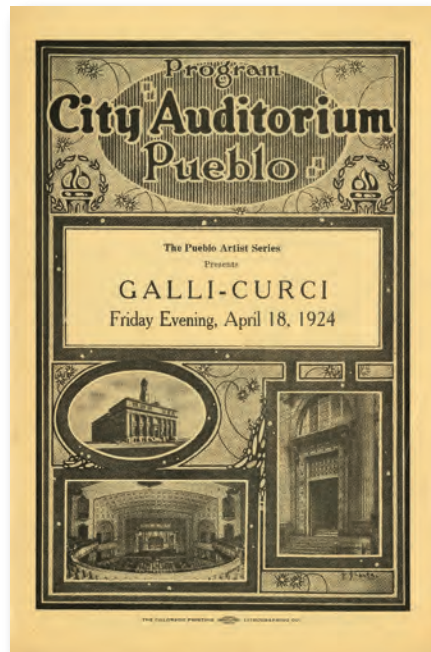
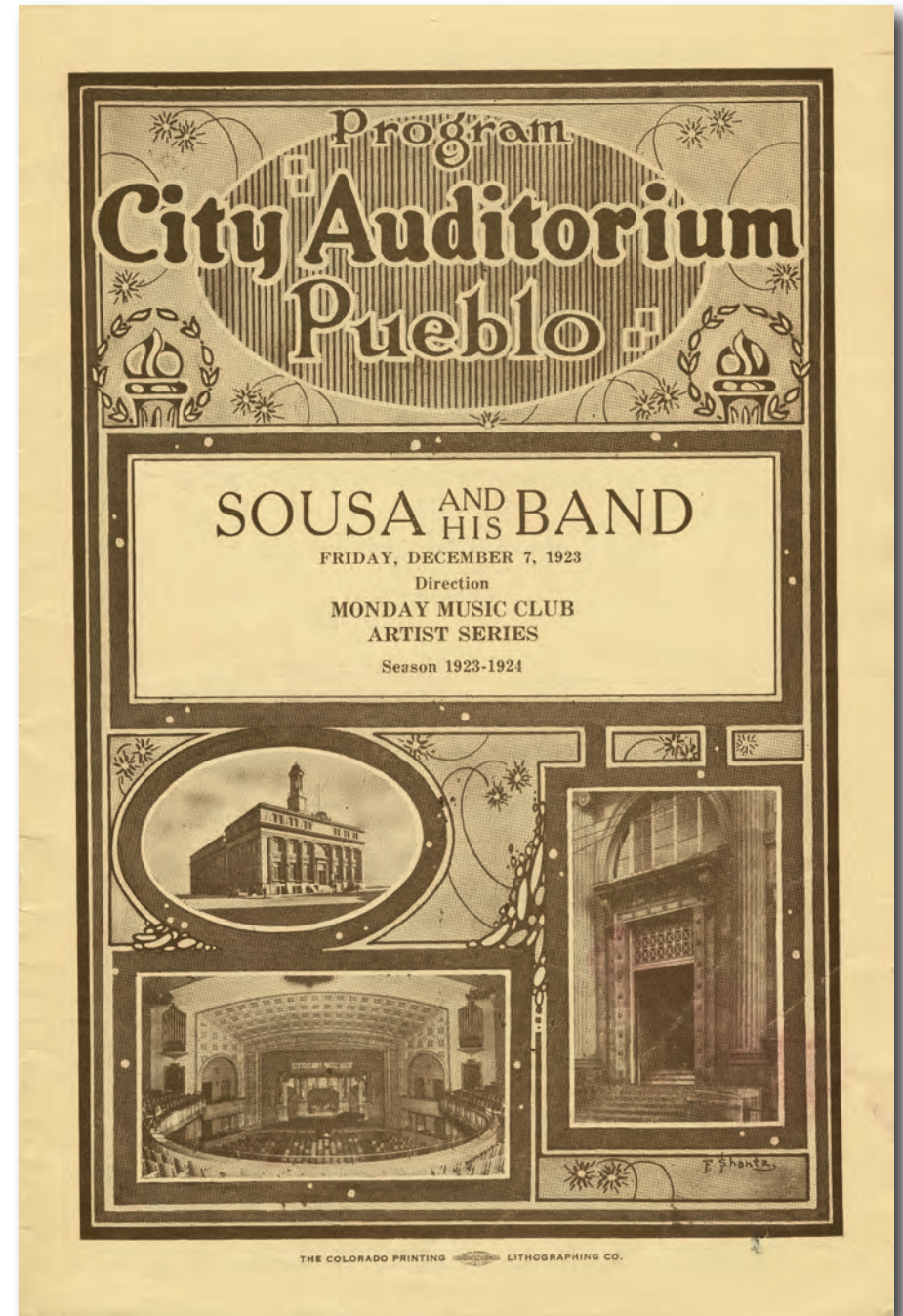
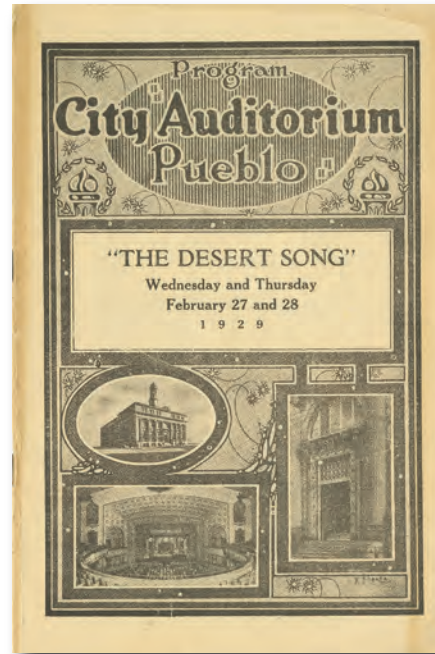
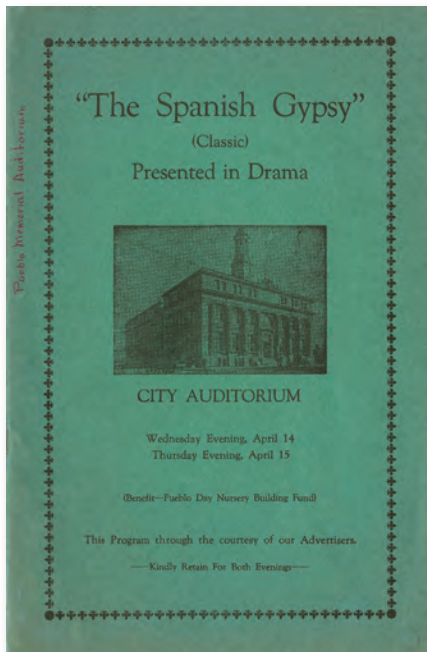
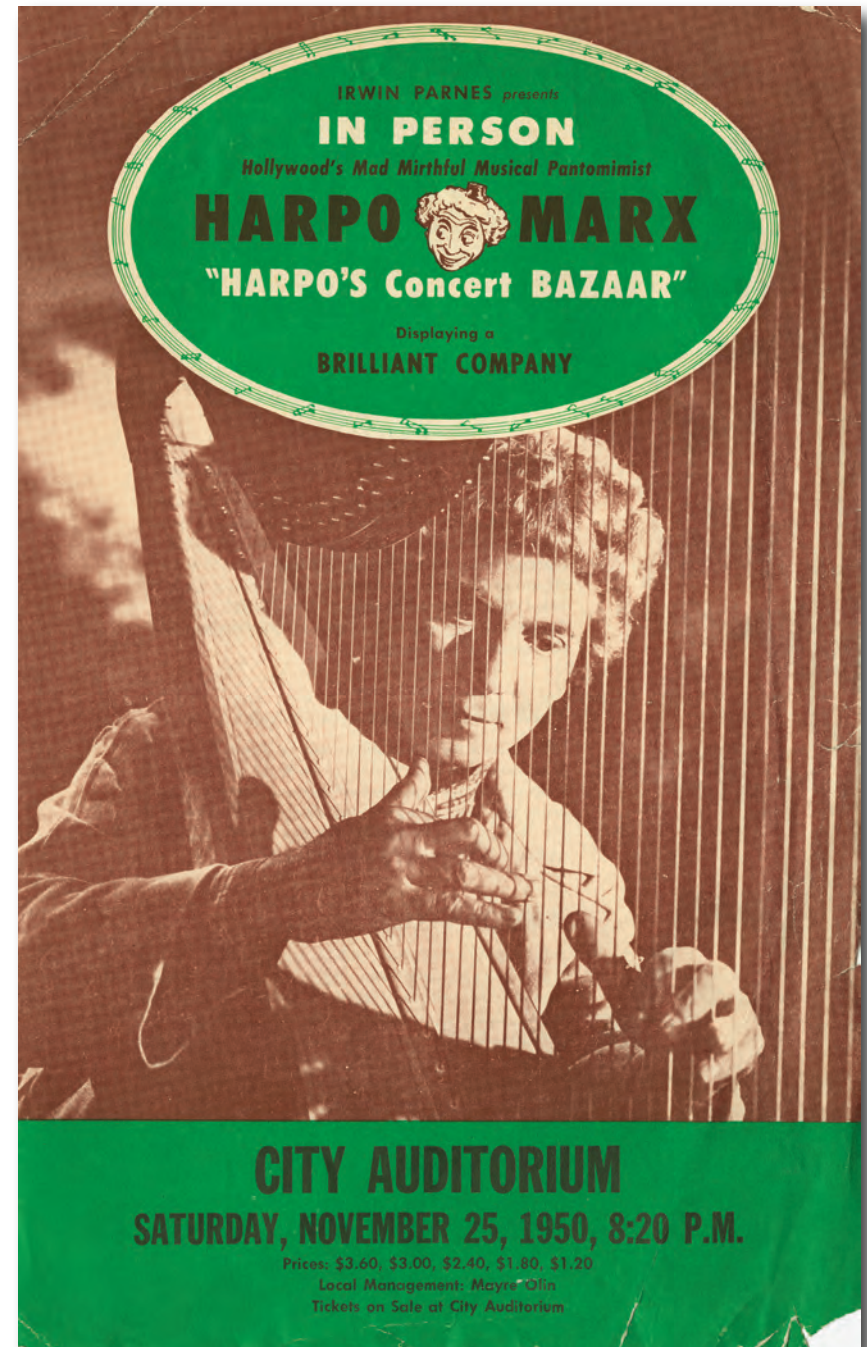


Figure 3.11. Memorial Hall playbills from the 1940s through the 1970s. (Images courtesy Pueblo City-County Library District)



CITY AUDITORIUM

PUEBLO, COLORADO

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 27th

ONE PERFORMANCE ONLY AT 8:20 P.M.

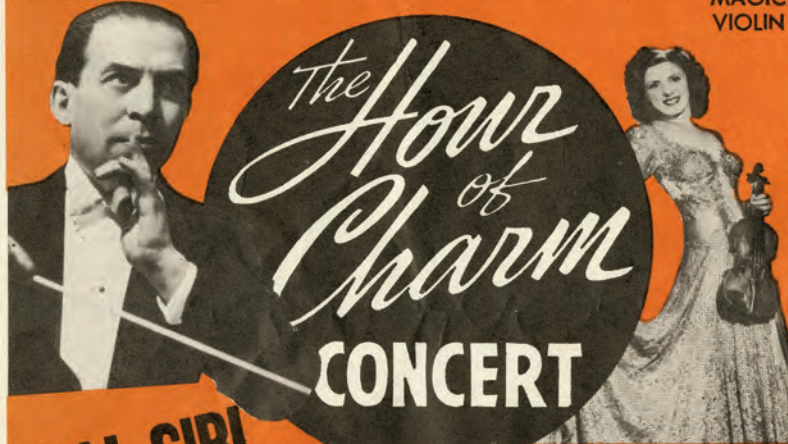
TICKETS: \$3.60, \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80, \$1.20

Local Management: MAYRE OLIN

YOU CAN SEE
... AND HEAR

IN PERSON

Evelyn
and her
MAGIC
VIOLIN



The Hour of Charm
CONCERT

**ALL GIRL
ORCHESTRA**

Under the
direction of **PHIL
SPITALNY**



Concert Tour Direction . . HARRY D. SQUIRES AGENCY . . Fisk Bldg., 250 W. 57th St., New York

GREATER ARTIST SERIES

MUSIC

MAYRE OLIN
Presents
Father Flanagan's
Boys Town Choir
JOHN FOLEY at the Piano
Friday, November 28, 1947
Pueblo Engagement by Arrangement with Arthur M. Oberfelder

Historical Photo
CORNELIA OTIS SKINNER

THE WIVES OF HENRY VIII
CITY AUDITORIUM
Monday, February 13, 1950 at 8:20 p.m.
PRICES: \$3.00, \$2.40, \$1.80 and \$1.20
Local Management: Mayre Olin.

See 'em Both!' on Tickets with Alice Faldut

The Producing Managers' Company presents
**NANCY WALKER SCOTT
WALKER MCKAY**

in **LOVE**

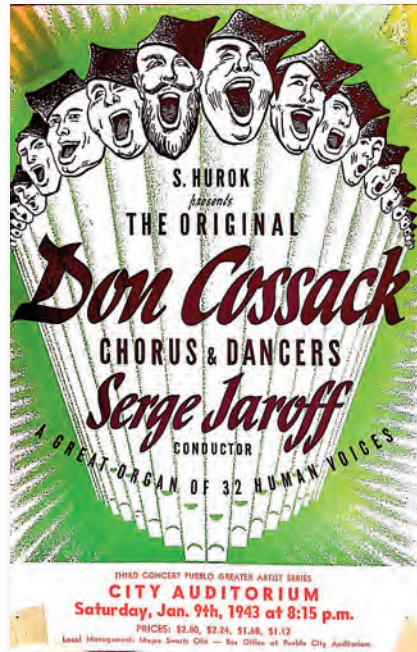
By **MURRAY SCHISGAL**
With **DONALD HOTTON**
Directed by **IAN CADENHEAD**

Scenery by **RICHARD CASLER** Lighting by **JEAN ROSENTHAL**
Song by **IRVING JOSEPH**
Original Production Directed by **MIKE NICHOLS**
Originally Produced by **CLAIRE NICHTERN**
Exclusive Tour Direction: American Theatre Productions, Inc.
Presented in Pueblo by
The Broadway Theatre Guild of Pueblo, P. O. Box 3145, Pueblo, Colorado

THE PUEBLO CIVIC PLAYERS
With
THE EXCHANGE CLUB OF PUEBLO
Presents
"3 Men On A Horse"

By
Cecil Holm
And
George Abbot
Directed By
Palmer Challela
February 16 and 17
MEMORIAL HALL

Figure 3.12. Memorial Hall playbills from the 1940s and 1950s. (Images courtesy Pueblo County Historical Society, Helen and Lenore Breetwor Collection)



S. HUROK
PRESENTS

KATHERINE DUNHAM

"TROPICAL REVUE"
A musical heatwave.

voodoo!
boogie!
shimmy!
jazz and jive!
primitive rites!

"WHAT A SHOW!"
--Walter Winchell

PUEBLO MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM
Tuesday Evening, March 7th, at 8:20 p.m.

Local management, Mayre Olin
Prices: \$2.80, \$2.24, \$1.68, \$1.12

AGAIN SMASHING ALL BOX OFFICE RECORDS!
THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS COMEDY
20,000,000 Listen on Radio!
YOU CAN SEE.

THE ABIES
IRISH ROSE

ENTIRE PRODUCTION UNDER PERSONAL SUPERVISION
of **ANNE NICHOLS**

City Auditorium ONE NIGHT ONLY
Wed., Jan. 26

Management Mayre Olin

Erno BALOGH
COMPOSER - PIANIST

"AN ARTIST WHO LIVES UP TO EXPECTATIONS"

CITY AUDITORIUM, PUEBLO
Friday, JANUARY 29th, 1943, 8:15 P.M.

Conducted by
THE MILTON SHREDNIK LITTLE SYMPHONY

Fourth Concert in the Pueblo Greater Artist Series
Prices: \$2.80, \$2.24, \$1.68, \$1.12
Local Management MAYRE SWARTZ OLIN
Box Office at Pueblo City Auditorium

S. HUROK
Presents
THE NEW SENSATION
of the
METROPOLITAN
OPERA

JAN PEERCE
AMERICA'S FOREMOST TENOR

SIXTH CONCERT PUEBLO GREATER ARTIST SERIES
CITY AUDITORIUM
Tuesday, March 23rd, 1943 at 8:15 p.m.

PRICES: \$3.36, \$2.80, \$2.24, \$1.68
Local Management Mayre Swartz Olin — Box Office at Pueblo City Auditorium

Star of
CONCERT
OPERA
RADIO

glamorous
AMERICAN
CONTRALTO

Anna Kaskas
METROPOLITAN OPERA ASSOCIATION

Opening Concert Pueblo Greater Artist Series
CITY AUDITORIUM
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23rd, 1942, 8:15 P.M.

Prices \$2.80, \$2.24, \$1.68, \$1.12
Local Management Mayre Swartz Olin
Box Office at Pueblo City Auditorium



During the 1950s, audiences continued to shun live theater and musical performances for other types of entertainment. Musicals remained popular nationally due to the rousing success of *Oklahoma!*, but television outpaced live theatre through and through. Seventy television stations served approximately 2 million urban viewers in 1949, and by 1958 television signals reached eighty-five percent of Americans or over 150 million people. Local cinemas suffered from the effects of television as well; weekly movie attendance numbered 90 million in 1947 and fell to 28 million by 1957. Regarding Memorial Hall, two playbills remain intact which identify performances during the nadir. Solo actress Cornelia Otis Skinner performed her self-written and self-produced one-woman show *The Wives of Henry VIII*, during the show's second revival, on Monday February 13, 1950, and Harpo Marx presented "Harpo's Concert Bazaar" on Saturday, November 25, 1950.¹⁸

The opening of Dutch Clark Stadium in the fall of 1950 further hindered the underachieving success of Memorial Hall as well. Until 1952, the graduating classes of both Centennial and Central high schools received their school diplomas in Memorial Hall. The change to an outdoor venue accommodated an audience approximately five times the size as could fit in Memorial Hall—an entirely reasonable change given the swelling high school enrollment during the post-war period.

MEMORIAL HALL IN THE 1960s AND 1970s

Memorial Hall began to see some regular use beginning on October 22, 1960, with the first offering of the Broadway Theater League: Joan Bennett and Donald Cook in *The Pleasure of His Company*. Created for the purpose of bringing high-quality and often award-winning, musicals, dramas, and comedies to Pueblo, the League remains highly popular today. The *Chieftain* remarked as to the success of the League in its formative years "to bring culture to Pueblo":

Since the Broadway Theater League was formed 25 years ago, the venerable theater has played host to the likes of Hans Conried, Larry Parks, John Carradine, Brian Donlevy, James Drury, Shelly Berman, Forrest Tucker, Tom Ewell, John Raitt, Biff McGuire and Stubby Kaye, to name a few.

And Janis Page, Mamie Van Doren, Patrice Munsel, Dorothy Lamour, Imogene Coca, Nancy Walker, Jan Sterling, Phyllis Thaxter, Carolyn Jones, Heromione Gingold and Jeanne Carson, to name a few more.

The showbills for those 25 years, not surprisingly, read like a list of all-time Broadway greats: "Man of La Mancha," "Carousel," "The Gin Game," "Zorba," "My Fair Lady," "Sleuth," "A Chorus Line," "West Side Story," "Mame," "Annie," "Evita," "Applause," "Fiddler on the Roof," "The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas," "Camelot," and "Hello, Dolly!"

By the autumn of 1975, the League celebrated its fifteenth anniversary with a schedule comprised exclusively of musicals. That season's lineup consisted of *Words and Music* on October 4; *Don't Bother Me, U Can't Cope* on November 15; and a revival of *Irene*, exact date unknown. The League commemorated its twenty-fifth season in 1984–85 with what the *Chieftain* billed as a "blockbuster quartet." The season kicked off November 12 with performances by vocalist Mel Torme and pianist Peter Nero, followed by a presentation of *Dracula* star-

Figures 3.13 and 3.14. Memorial Hall was a remarkably flexible space, capable of not only attracting big-name, national acts but also hosting a variety of local productions, especially at midcentury. (Top image courtesy Richard Eurich; bottom image courtesy Judy Parry)



ring Martin Landau in the title role, on January 27, 1985. The League brought “down the curtain on its season April 16 with the Lerner and Loewe classic *Gigi*, with acclaimed actor Louis Jourdan as Honoré.” More recently the League has brought shows such as *Fiddler on the Roof* and *Ain’t Misbehavin’* to the city with each season usually encompassing three or four shows. With the 2013 renovation of Memorial Hall, the League used the auditorium at the Sangre de Cristo Arts and Conference Center.¹⁹

The decade of the 1960s saw the national emergence of the African American theatre movement. The Federal Theatre Project, disbanded in 1939, made an earlier attempt to popularize this type of theatre. Sadly, it was generally a failure outside of Broadway. Theatre historians Oscar G. Brockett and Robert Findlay distinguished this movement from earlier attempts: “The ‘black arts movement’ of the 1960s differed from its predecessors in accepting the integrity and dignity of the African-American experience and in its unwillingness to compromise with white sensibilities as the price for success. Ultimately, the difference lay in a change in African-American consciousness—toward firm belief in the worth of “blackness” and all it entailed.” Though African American theatre attained new levels of popularity during the 1960s, there appears to have remained a discord with African American theatre and mainstream theatre. When highly acclaimed actor, singer, athlete, scholar, and pioneering human rights activist Paul Robeson made an appearance at Memorial Hall, then billed as “City Auditorium.” About 1960, a playbill promoted Robeson as “The Great Negro Singer” and a critic’s quote on the playbill notes,

“He is the first among the vocalists of his race, and comparable to the greatest singers of any race.”²⁰

Four playbills from Memorial Hall survive from the 1960s. Real-life couple Jeannie Carson and Biff McGuire starred in *Camelot* along with Melville Cooper, presented on January 31, 1964, for one night only. The California Heritage and Pageantry Association offered the *Folkloric Ballet of Mexico* on August 9, 1964, inviting members of the audience “...to enjoy yourselves tonight as you journey with us through gay Mexico.” On October 28, 1964, Puebloans were treated to *Luther*, starring Alan Bergmann, labeled as the “The Best Play of 1963–64,” winner of the New York Drama Critics’ Circle Award, and a Tony Award. In the fall of 1966, exact date unknown, Nancy Walker and Scott McKay starred in *Luv*; the playbill for

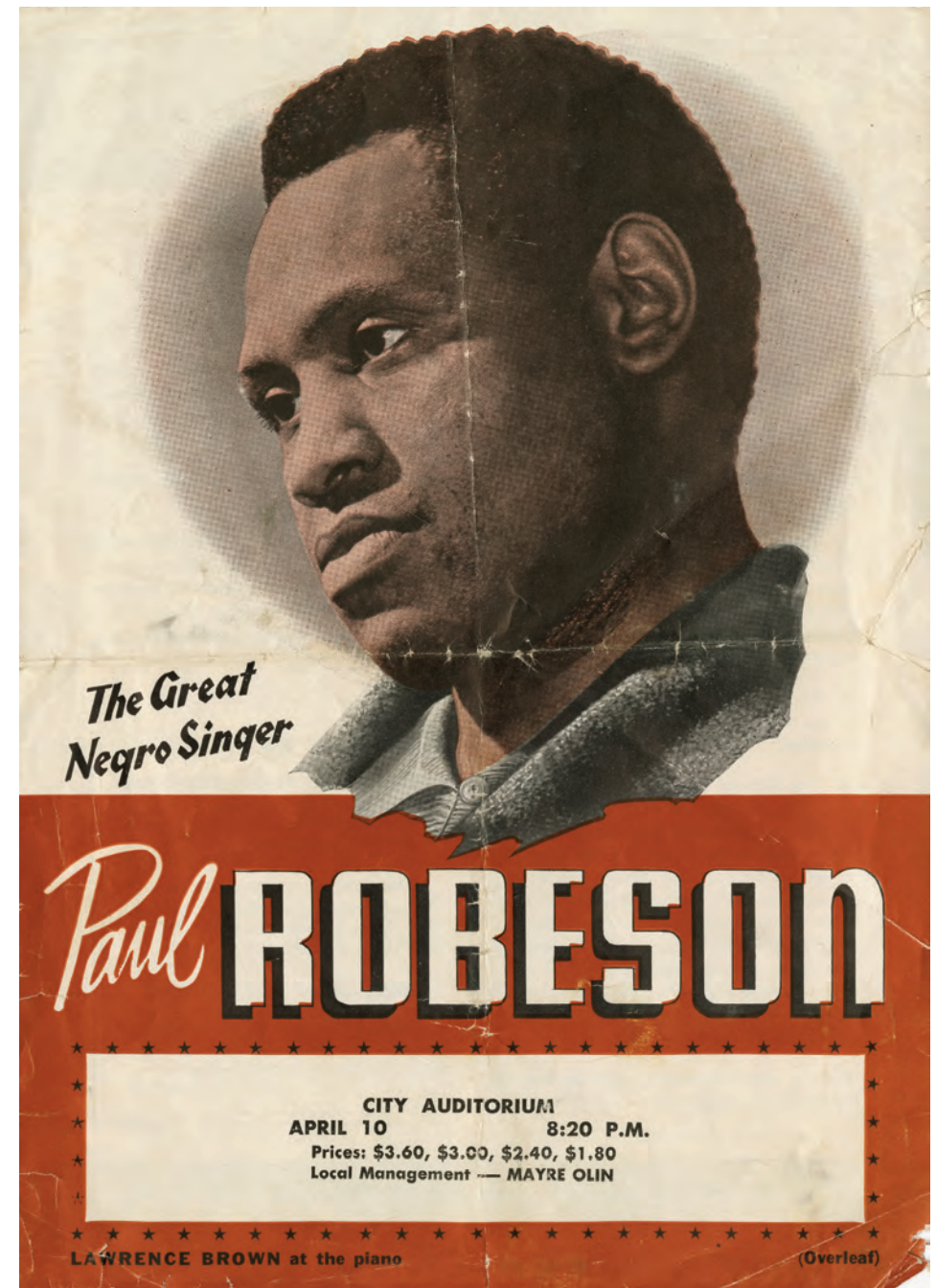


Figure 3.15. Paul Robeson played Memorial Hall around 1960, as seen on this playbill. The actor and reluctant but powerful civil rights leader famously said, “As an artist I come to sing, but as a citizen, I will always speak for peace, and no one can silence me in this.” (Image courtesy Pueblo City-County Library District)

The Forgotten Floor: Leisure and Recreation on City Hall's Third Floor

The Memorial Hall auditorium was not the only portion of the combined City Hall-Memorial Hall complex to house recreational opportunities. The third floor of City Hall remained a blank canvas when the building opened and eventually grew to be a multipurpose space for an array of community gatherings. As mentioned in the construction history of the buildings, contractor C.S. Lambie installed maple flooring in the space beginning in February 1921, in time for a regional gathering of Rotarians at the beginning of April. The *Pueblo Chieftain* noted, "When this floor is in, and the room finished, the city of Pueblo will have one of the best floors in Southern Colorado." The assembly of Rotarians appears to have been the first function in the room, and it served the group as both a banquet hall by day and a ballroom by night. The new flooring was covered with canvas so that tables and chairs would not damage it during the day.¹

Unlike Memorial Hall, the Great Depression did not produce a decline in activity on the third floor of City Hall. In fact, the space actually increased in use. Beginning in 1938, the Works Progress Administration began using the room for its regional offices. The WPA continued to occupy the space until 1942, when it moved into a newly constructed building at 310 East Seventh Street. The statewide Civil Works program may have occupied the space before the WPA. It has been rumored locally that this was the case, but there is no archival evidence to sustain the claim.²

When the WPA moved out, the "waste space" left behind was "redecorated and repainted and the floor refinished." The Pueblo Recreation Commission transformed the room into a recreation center "with space for dancing, shuffleboard, table tennis and other games." City officials reserved the southwest corner of the area for the Recreation Commission's offices, the adult education division of the WPA, and offices for the National Youth Administration.³

During spring 1947, a youth center opened on the third floor. Students involved with the Pueblo Exchange Club converted the space into a gathering place for area exchange students; the work was completed entirely by the students the week before the Center opened, and many worked from after school hours until almost midnight to make the space usable. It is likely the city donated the use of the space to the Club, as the group possessed no means with which to pay for it. The *Chieftain* even printed an article mentioning that, "A piano is needed. No club is complete without a piano. The Exchange club and the youth of Pueblo would appreciate the loan of an instrument until such time as the installation becomes self sustaining [sic] and one can be purchased. Any Puebloan who is willing to loan or give a piano to the youth of the city is urged to contact [the group's representatives] immediately." Although operated mainly by exchange students, the Center was open to all of the city's youth. Once opened and operational, the Club named the center the Teen Canteen. The Teen Canteen was opened three nights each week and attendance averaged over 500 for the three nights combined.⁴

The popularity of City Hall's third floor appears to have peaked during the early postwar years of the late 1940s. One *Chieftain* article mentions that the boxing team from the Pueblo Army Depot trained on the third floor. Local lore states that actual boxing matches occurred in the space; however these claims could not be substantiated. (Boxing was a regular feature in Memorial Hall). There appears to have been few, if any, recreational opportunities conducted on the third floor after the 1960s. The current renovation of City Hall devotes most of the third floor to city council chambers, council's executive chambers, and other departmental offices.⁵

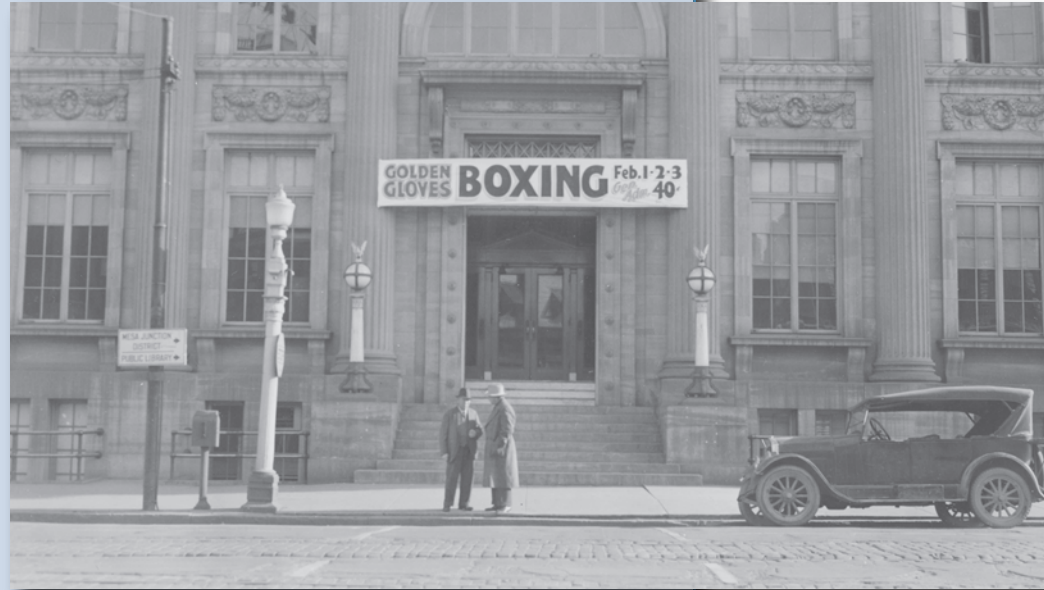
¹"Work On Ballroom Floor to Start," *Pueblo Chieftain*, February 26, 1921; "Eat And Dance In The Municipal Hall," *Pueblo Chieftain*, April 8, 1921.

²Pueblo City Directory (Salt Lake City, Utah: R.L. Polk & Company, 1942); Pueblo City Directory (Salt Lake City, Utah: R.L. Polk & Company, 1938).

³"City Hall Space Being Converted Into Play Center," *Pueblo Chieftain*, November 26, 1941.

⁴"New Youth Center Will Open Friday," *Pueblo Chieftain*, April 15, 1947; "Originators Of Teen Canteen Honored At Exchange Banquet," *Pueblo Chieftain*, June 12, 1947.

⁵Peter Roper, "City Hall: Standing Tall for 82 Years," *Pueblo Chieftain*, March 31, 2003.



Luv also noted an upcoming performance of *Porgy and Bess* on January 23, 1967.²¹

By the early 1970s, two additional auditoriums opened within the City of Pueblo in direct competition with Memorial Hall: the Hoag Recital Hall, capacity 610, on the campus of present-day Colorado State University-Pueblo, and the audi-

torium at the Sangre de Cristo Arts and Conference Center, capacity approximately 498. By this time, a kind of revival in live theater began as small, regional theatre troupes flourished across the country. Thus, despite the cross-town competition, Memorial Hall appears to have hosted more performances during the 1970s than either of the previous two decades. The

Broadway Theater League continued to bring top-notch shows to the auditorium, complemented by church services and the recitals of local musicians and dancers. A review of Sam Cahn's musical performance at Memorial Hall on Saturday, October 4, 1975, appeared in the *Chieftain*. This article observed the differences of some of the sentiment at the time between the

Figure 3.16. While boxers undoubtedly trained on City Hall's multipurpose third floor, images like these probably do not suggest that actual matches took place in the space as much as Memorial Hall lacked a formal marquee. Promoters had to attach banners to City Hall's graceful façade. (Image courtesy Pueblo City-County Library District)

pop culture musical scene and musical genres of previous generations:

These are the Dark Ages of popular music—lack-luster days when, too frequently, dreary, monotonous mediocrity passes for talent and ear-splitting amplification is synonymous with lyrically tuneful melody.

And so it is refreshing to hear music that sets the feet to tapping and stirs memories of happier times before the electric guitar, the drum and the “bull fiddle” pre-empted the popular music scene.

There was such a nostalgic performance Saturday night at Memorial Hall when songwriter Sammy Cahn opened Pueblo Theater League’s 1976 season with his show ‘Words and Music.’”

Regardless of the generational differences, the band, quite literally, played on. Extant playbills from the 1970s indicate six performances. The Jacques Loussier Trio played Memorial Hall May 1, 1971, the first of a concert series that included the New Zealand Band & The Maori Dancers, on October 2; Lorin Hollander, on November 2; and The Royal Winnipeg Ballet, on January 31, 1972. Neil Simon’s *The Sunshine Boys* played on March 2, 1975, and the patriotic musical *1776* premiered on January 24, 1976, two hundred years after the events depicted.²²

The outdated Memorial Hall sound system began to show its age by the spring season of 1978. The Hall hosted the Democratic County Assembly in May, and the system proved to be an embarrassment. At the Assembly, city council members “For the first time...experienced the difficulty of trying to hear when the sound system was in one of its malfunctioning states” and “delegates repeatedly shouted that they were unable to hear the speakers and statements of Assembly officers.” Regular patrons had “to put up with the faulty sound system during various productions” while “Producers of many shows at Memorial Hall [took] no chance and [had] their own sound

systems.” City council appropriated funds to replace the sound system the next year. The cost of the system was only reported as being “substantial.”²³

SAVING THE ORGAN

Beginning about 1970, two Pueblo organists began playing and restoring the pipe organ themselves. Police patrolman Howard Lukenbill and assistant funeral director Marv Steward kindled their personal desires of preparing the organ for concert use, albeit rather slowly when they could afford the time. The duo began by accomplishing a “massive cleaning” of the pipes that had “accumulated a thick layer of dust over the years.” In an interview with the *Chieftain*, Lukenbill and Steward explained:

Most of the problems which must be corrected have been caused by age and disuse. Most of the pipes were grossly out of tune...Leather fittings were worn and some of the seals around air chambers allows air to escape, lowering the volume and efficiency of the organ. Thousands of hinges connecting wooden rods, air hole stops, chime hammers and other parts had to be put back into working order. Wires which had broken (or been cut) had to be spliced together after the arduous task of determining which wire went where.

Tuning the instrument required one man to play an individual note while the other made adjustments in the noisy and pressurized air chamber. “Each rank [had] to be tuned so that all of the pipes fit in with the others in that rank. Each rank as a unit must fit in with every other rank. The results should be that all of the pipes are tuned to each other.” But two amateur restorationists were not able to remedy all of the organ’s problems. The pair tried repairing cracks in the pipes using over thirty different types of solder but were unable to find one that would adhere to what they believed was a lead-tin alloy. Lukenbill

Interview with a Memorial Hall Stagehand: Normand Martin

Few people, if any, witnessed the inner-workings of Memorial Hall more than that of stagehand Normand Martin. Born in northwestern Colorado, Mr. Martin first worked at a movie theater in 1934. After serving in the military during World War II, Martin moved to Pueblo in 1947. He began working at Memorial Hall’s “hemp house” on May 9, 1955. In a 1986 interview with the *Pueblo Chieftain* published Martin recalled laboring for shows both big and small. He remembered: “It was either Glen Campbell or John Denver—I’m not sure which—that came in here some years ago with just his guitar. We dropped the curtains and gave him a mike.” Of the larger shows, like the production of 42nd Street during the 1985–86 season, Martin noted “They had five trucks, most we’ve ever had. I had a crew of 58 that worked nine hours to hang it. It was too big, really.” The production also traveled with thirteen of its own union stagehands. Martin went on to recall jokingly: “Setting up is just like kicking an anthill: Everybody’s going every way.” The *Chieftain* article continued by listing many of the productions Martin toiled in:

Across the stage have walked the likes of Metropolitan Opera star Robert Merrill, movie queen Dorothy Lamour, country legends Ernest Tubbs and Ray Price, champagne music king Lawrence Welk, actor Mickey Rooney—“damn near threw him out of here ‘cause he kept smoking’ backstage [near the hemp ropes],” Martin recalls—and countless others. Memorial Hall also has played host to professional wrestling, circuses, Golden Gloves boxing bouts, animal shows, ballet troupes, high school graduations, and more revivals and politicians than Martin cares to think about.

He remembers performers who showed up “so drunk they couldn’t get off their bus,” but after a cold shower and some hot coffee “we’d get ‘em on the stage and they’d perform like troupers.”

Mr. Martin contemplated retiring from his stagehand position in 1986, but appears to have worked into the later 1980s. Before retiring, Martin stated sarcastically: “The biggest enjoyment I get out of this business is working with the people. And show business people are the most honest in the world.”

Source: *Pueblo Chieftain*, June 15, 1986.

Memorial Hall Organ Stop List

Austin Organ Company, Opus 860, 1920 (partially rebuilt with a new console after 1921 flood) • Organ Historical Society Citation 90

Despite being almost entirely hidden from view, the grand organ in Memorial Hall is considered one of the greatest remaining municipal organs in the United States. The console boasts four manuals (keyboards) and a pedalboard. The organ consists of six divisions, seventy-seven stops, fifty-six registers, and fifty-six ranks, accounting for 3,932 pipes. The manual compass is 61 notes and the pedal compass is 32 notes.

(a). Great Organ (Unenclosed Section)

1. 16' Bourdon—61 Pipes
2. 16' Violone Dolce—61 Pipes
3. 8' First Diapason—61 Pipes
4. 8' Second Diapason—61 Pipes
5. 8' Third Diapason—61 Pipes
6. Chimes

(b). Great Organ (Enclosed Section)

7. 8' Double Flute—61 Pipes
8. 8' Violoncello—61 Pipes
9. 8' Claribel Flute—61 Pipes
10. 8' Gemshorn—61 Pipes
11. 4' Octave—61 Pipes
12. 4' Open Flute—61 Pipes
13. 2' Super Octave—61 Pipes
14. 16' Double Trumpet—61 Pipes
15. 8' Trumpet (From #14)—12 Pipes
16. 4' Clarion (From #14)—12 Pipes

II. Swell Organ

17. 16' Quintaton—73 Pipes
18. 8' Diapason Phonor—73 Pipes
19. 8' Horn Diapason—73 Pipes
20. 8' Stopped Flute—73 Pipes
21. 8' Salicional—73 Pipes
22. 8' Viole—73 Pipes
23. 8' String Celeste—61 pipes
24. 8' Flauto Dolce—73 Pipes
25. 4' Principal—73 Pipes
26. 4' Harmonic Flute—73 Pipes
27. 2' Flautino—61 Pipes

28. 16' Contra Fagotto—73 Pipes
29. 8' Cornopean—73 Pipes
30. 8' Oboe—73 Pipes
31. 8' Vox Humana—61 pipes

III. Orchestral Organ

32. 16' Contra Viole—73 Pipes
 33. 8' English Diapason—73 Pipes
 34. 8' Concert Flute—73 Pipes
 35. 16' Flute Celeste—61 Pipes
 36. 8' Viole d' Orchestra—73 Pipes
 37. 8' Viole Celeste—73 Pipes
 38. 8' Vox Seraphique—61 Pipes
 39. 8' Dulciana—73 Pipes
 40. 8' Quintadena—73 Pipes
 41. 4' Stopped Flute—73 Pipes
 42. 2' Piccolo—61 Pipes
 43. 8' Clarinet—73 Pipes
 44. Tremolo
 45. 8' Celestial Harp
- Orchestral Percussion*
46. Xylophone—37 Notes
 47. Glockenspiel—37 Notes
 48. Snare Drum
 49. Triangle
 50. Heavy Bass Bell Chime "Big Ben"—Toe Piston
 51. Cymbal

IV. Solo Organ

52. 16' Violone—73 Pipes
53. 8' Major Flute—73 Pipes
54. 8' Grand Diapason—73 Pipes
55. 8' Gamba—73 Pipes
56. 8' Gamba Celeste—61 Pipes
57. 4' Flute Overté—73 Pipes
58. 16' Tuba Profunda—61 Pipes
59. 8' Tuba Magna (15" Pressure)—73 Pipes
60. 8' Harmonic Tuba (From #58)—12 Pipes
61. 8' French Horn—73 Pipes
62. 8' Orchestral Oboe—73 Pipes

63. 4' Harmonic Clarion (From # 58)—12
64. Tremulant

V. Echo Organ

65. 8' Cor de Nuit—73 Pipes
66. 8' Stopped Flute—73 Pipes
67. 8' Viole d' Amour—73 Pipes
68. 8' Vox Angelica—61 Pipes
69. 4' Echo Flute—73 Pipes
70. 8' Cor Anglais—73 Pipes
71. Tremolo

VI. Pedal Organ

72. 64' Gravissima (Resultant)
 73. 32' Double Diapason—12 Pipes
 74. 16' Open Diapason (From #73, Solo Major Flute)—12 Pipes
 75. 16' First Violone (Solo)
 76. 16' Second Violone (Great)
 77. 16' First Bourdon (Great)
 78. 16' Second Bourdon (Swell)
 79. 16' Contra Viole (Orchestral)
 80. 16' Echo Bourdon (Echo)—12 Pipes
 81. 10 2/3' Quint (From #1—Great)
 82. 8' Major Flute (Solo)
 83. 8' Violoncello (Solo)
 84. 8' Flauto Dolce (From #1)
 85. 4' Octave Flute (From #53)
 86. 32' Contra Bombarde—12 Pipes
 87. 16' Bombarde (From #86)—12 Pipes (Solo Tuba Magna)
 88. 16' Tuba Profunda (Solo)
 89. 16' Fagotto (Swell)
 90. 8' Harmonic Tuba (Solo)
- Pedal Percussion*
91. Bass Drum
 92. Triangle
 93. Thunder Effect

Couplers

Great to Great 16-4

Great Unison Off
Swell to Great 16-8-4
Orchestral to Great 16-8-4
Swell to Swell 16-4
Swell Unison Off
Solo & Echo to Swell 8
Orch. to Orch. 16-4
Orchestral Unison Off
Solo & Echo to Orchestral 16-8-4
Solo On, Echo Off
Solo & Echo On
Solo Off, Echo On
Swell 'to Orchestral 16-8-4
Solo to Solo 16-4
Solo Unison Off
Great to Solo 8'
Solo to Pedal 8-4
Swell to Pedal 8-4
Great to Pedal 8
Orchestral to Pedal 8

Combinations

Great: 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Swell: 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Orch.: 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Solo and Echo: 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Pedal: 1-2-3-4-5-6
General: 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8
Austin Patent Canceler Bars

Accessories

Great to Pedal Reverse
Solo and Echo to Great Reverse
Sforzando
Great and Orchestral Expression Pedal
Swell Expression Pedal
Master-Solo and Echo Expression Pedal
Crescendo Pedal

Source: *Organ Historical Society*

and Steward did not keep track of their personal financial investments into the organ, but stated, "Most of the expense has been time." The men estimated, "If a person were to work eight to twelve hours a day for six months, it could probably be put in good shape."²⁴

Finally toward the end of 1984 the group Save Pueblo's Pipe Organ (SPPO) organized and began a drive to restore professionally the organ in Memorial Hall. This effort coincided with the larger revitalization project undertaken outside the doors of Memorial Hall on Union Avenue. At the time, the *Chieftain* reported the organ had not "been played publicly since the 1950s, and sporadic efforts in the last 10 years haven't quite managed to get the organ restored." City Council appropriated \$3,000 for minor repairs to have an expert assess "the damage from years of neglect" earlier that spring in order to get the restoration ball rolling. SPPO expected to raise \$45,000 and planned to hire the Austin Organ Company to complete the restoration hopefully in time for the March 1985 sixty-fifth anniversary of the instrument. Pueblo teenager Frank Perko, III, played a benefit concert in October 1984 at the Scottish Rite Temple and raised \$1,225 in order to begin SPPO's fundraising efforts. These efforts were later accompanied by a \$15,000 grant from the David and Lucile Packard Foundation and gifts of \$1,000 from Columbia Savings, \$500 from the Star-Journal Publishing Corporation, \$500 from Pueblo Rotary 43, and \$100 from the Southern Colorado Club of the Telephone Pioneers of America. A second benefit concert was planned for February 23, 1985, to be given by SPPO member Mike Gregorich.²⁵

SPPO raised \$40,000 by October 1985, and hired Ivan P. Morel and Associates of Denver to begin the restoration. The restoration was to be completed in four phases: phase one included cleaning and restoring the organ's console; phase two

included repairing the wind system; phase three consisted of correcting any mechanical problems; and phase four would mount the console on a mobile platform. The total cost of all phases was estimated at \$165,400. Cleaning the organ proved to be an absolutely filthy task as the *Chieftain* reported, "The job is so grimy that, after an hour on the job, the workers looked as if they were handling industrial pipe instead of a fine instrument." Crews completed the first phase of restoration in time to hold a rededication ceremony February 17, 1987. Thomas Murray, music professor and university organist at Yale, played the instrument that night as another fund raiser for SPPO. World-renown organist Hector Olivera played the instrument April 4, also as a fundraiser. None of the other three phases of the restoration ever occurred until the current renovation of the entire building.²⁶

DECLINE AND REBIRTH

Additionally during the 1980s, city council repeatedly questioned the personnel costs associated with Memorial Hall. In 1980, a year before the steel industry collapsed and wreaked havoc on Pueblo's economy, the city charged the Broadway Theater League \$3,070 for stagehands working a performance of *Ain't Misbehavin'*. This situation troubled a representative from the League. The city's practice at the time was to pay the individual workers then pass the cost on to the promoter of each show. For this particular show, the League only paid a nominal \$85 rental fee for Memorial Hall but was still unable to turn a profit for the performance. The League noted it did not argue the wages, but the number of stagehands required. Memorial Hall operated as a "hemp house," requiring several hands. All curtains, scenery, and props were raised by physical labor pulling on almost three and a half miles of rope assisted

by six winches pulling 4,200 feet of steel cable; the “house grand” main curtain weighed in at 500 pounds itself, requiring the assistance of sandbags that weighed up to 300 pounds. When city council queried city manager Fred Weisbrod about what they considered exorbitant charges, Weisbrod replied that it was council who had “elected to let the union set the rates backstage” and explained that creating more full-time civil service jobs would be more expensive than hiring part-time union labor.²⁷

Personnel costs continued to beleaguer Memorial Hall throughout the decade. The Broadway Theater League, the Pueblo Ballet, and the Junior League of Pueblo all complained to city council about stagehand costs. All three organizations stated their opposition to giving the part-time stagehands a twenty-five cents per hour wage increase in 1988, an action that only city council could take since stagehand wages were set by an ordinance. The Junior League in particular, protested an invoice for \$900 over their contract amount for personnel fees, and noted that stagehand wages were stated explicitly in a city ordinance. Ernie Trujillo, the only full-time employee of Memorial Hall, reasoned that the proposed wage increase corresponded with the recent \$45 per month raise granted to all city employees. Maggie Divelbiss, director of the Broadway Theater League, countered: “This is not a full-time job for the stagehands. Most of them already have jobs with social services, the city, or a private company.” City council voted down the pay increase at its January 22, 1988 meeting. Council considered slashing the full-time position in an effort to balance the city’s budget by the fall of 1989, though it is unclear as to whether this occurred at that time or sometime thereafter.²⁸

Puebloans only used Memorial Hall occasionally into the 1990s and 2000s. It appears the City of Pueblo itself used the

smaller auditorium at the Sangre de Cristo Arts & Conference Center for functions during the early 1990s instead of its own Memorial Hall. The *Chieftain* published a rather lengthy article reminding readers about the city’s largest auditorium and its rather neglected interior. In “Rediscovering Memorial Hall: The Grandeur That Once Was,” reporter Dennis Darrow wrote: “In its first year, the hall was a big enough deal to host President Woodrow Wilson.... Today, the average Puebloan has scant knowledge of the once-prominent theater. Occasionally, a national touring play or pop concert will be presented there, but the auditorium is used mostly for local fare such as band concerts, ballet recitals and, sometimes, church services.”²⁹

The renovation scheduled for completion in summer of 2013 includes cleaning and a minor restoration of the pipe organ. The instrument’s console was transported to master organ builder John Grunow’s workshop in Monument, Colorado, for any essential upkeep and repairs, and will be reinstalled in the auditorium later in the year. The building’s restoration funds will also allow for rewiring each pipe, new ductwork from the existing blower fan, and a tune-up when reinstalled. Organist Bob Flynn, who played the organ for many summers to keep it in working order, contacted city officials about the possibility of digitizing the console so that it may be used with or without an organist. When the *Chieftain* published articles in 2007 and 2008 regarding the possibility of digitization, the secretary of the Organ Historical Society, Stephen Schnurr, wrote to city manager David Galli reminding city officials of the instrument’s historic significance. The Society previously awarded the municipal organ their Historic Organ Citation; as of 2008, the organ was one of eight Austin organs to receive the citation and one of 373 of any origin to receive the designation. The Society decried the possibility of

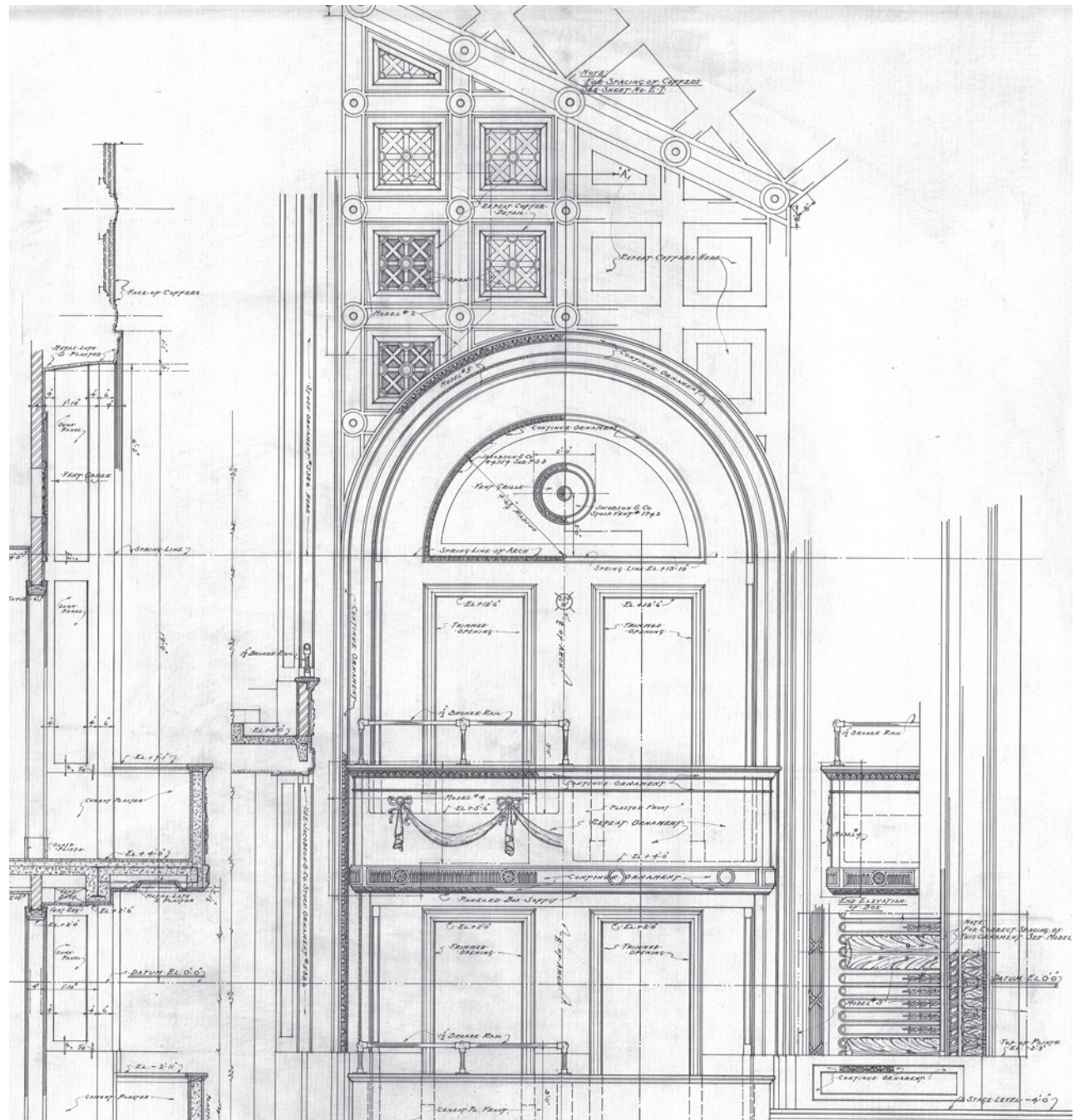
digitization in its letter:

Bypassing the original switching system of the organ with a new computerized system would seriously impede upon the historic nature of the organ. The Organ Historical Society recommends that the high quality mechanical systems with which the organ was built be retained and, if necessary, restored. (I [Schnurr] understand that the organ works quite well in its present condition and apparently does not need large sums to be spent on it at this time, in this difficult economic climate.) Numerous Austin organs of the age of the Pueblo organ, and many which are older, continue to function flawlessly with the original switching systems. And, we do know that computerized control systems have built-in obsolescence and will need replacement in far less time than those systems built for Austin organs of that era.

The digitization appears tabled for now, as there are no plans for it during the current renovation of Memorial Hall.³⁰

As of 2013, the renaissance of Memorial Hall was in full swing. Renovation of the auditorium was scheduled to conclude in the summer, and the Broadway Theater League expected to promote live productions at Memorial Hall in the autumn for the first time in three years; the League utilized the auditorium at the Sangre de Cristo Arts and Conference Center during the renovation. Seating capacity decreased since the building initially opened; Memorial Hall now seats 1,593 (1,563 when the orchestra lift is in use), down from 1,654 in May 1970 and 2,291 in July 1919. As of May 2013, even before the completion of renovation, promoters had already scheduled two comedic performances: Anjelah Johnson, for the grand reopening on Friday, July 12, and Brian Regan, for Thursday August 8.³¹

Figure 3.17. William W. Stickney's drawing of the details for the proscenium in Memorial Hall, 1916. (William W. Stickney with F.H. Haskell and Frederick Godley; image courtesy Charles Stickney and the City of Pueblo)



CONCLUSION

Preserving an Endangered Species

Congratulations Pueblo, you have saved an endangered species. This shrine of civic virtue, which you have preserved for posterity, is among the last of a quickly vanishing breed of once great buildings, the essential icons of civic pride that graced nearly every publicity photograph and souvenir postcard of every city in America.

As cities across the country took on more corporate models of government and filled their ranks with technocrats, they found their city halls ill-suited to accommodate the business of running a city. If corporations had sleek office towers, then why not city governments? Beginning in the 1950s, historic city halls were demolished or abandoned with fervor and replaced with office buildings, often removed from the city center...to places with ample parking lots. With the notable exceptions of Denver and Pueblo, which retained Progressive-era civic centers rather than just city halls, most of Colorado's larger cities moved their governments elsewhere. Even the term "city hall" dropped from popular parlance, replaced instead with "city administrative center," "municipal building," or a similarly generic term.

But if city hall—the place, the space, and the idea—has such a profound meaning, as argued here, then what do we make of this transformation? What does it mean when limestone, marble, and granite, carved into the timeless motifs of classical antiquity, give way to flat planes of steel and glass? What does it say about a municipality that closes its city hall in

favor of an administrative center? In short, what happened to the grand entryway inviting the citizen to his elected leader and connecting the center of the city to the city center?

The answers to these questions could be quite troubling. Perhaps the demise of city hall says something about the failing health of our cities, the declining engagement of the elec-

Figure c.1. The City of Colorado Springs Administration Center is indicative of the office buildings that have come to replace traditional city halls across the country. (Adam Thomas)



torate, the passivity of our citizenry, and the demise of the noble goal of civic enlightenment.

On the other hand, the fact that the citizens of Pueblo chose to reinvest in their City Hall speaks volumes; the public spirit and civic virtue are alive and valued. City Hall and Memorial Hall are so critical to preserve because the buildings are

not just the seat of municipal government but the house of the people, of the governors and governed in tandem and co-equal administration and improvement of the city. City Hall and Memorial Hall are barometers of the health of the body politic and a window into Pueblo's civic soul, a soul that is healthy and virtuous indeed.

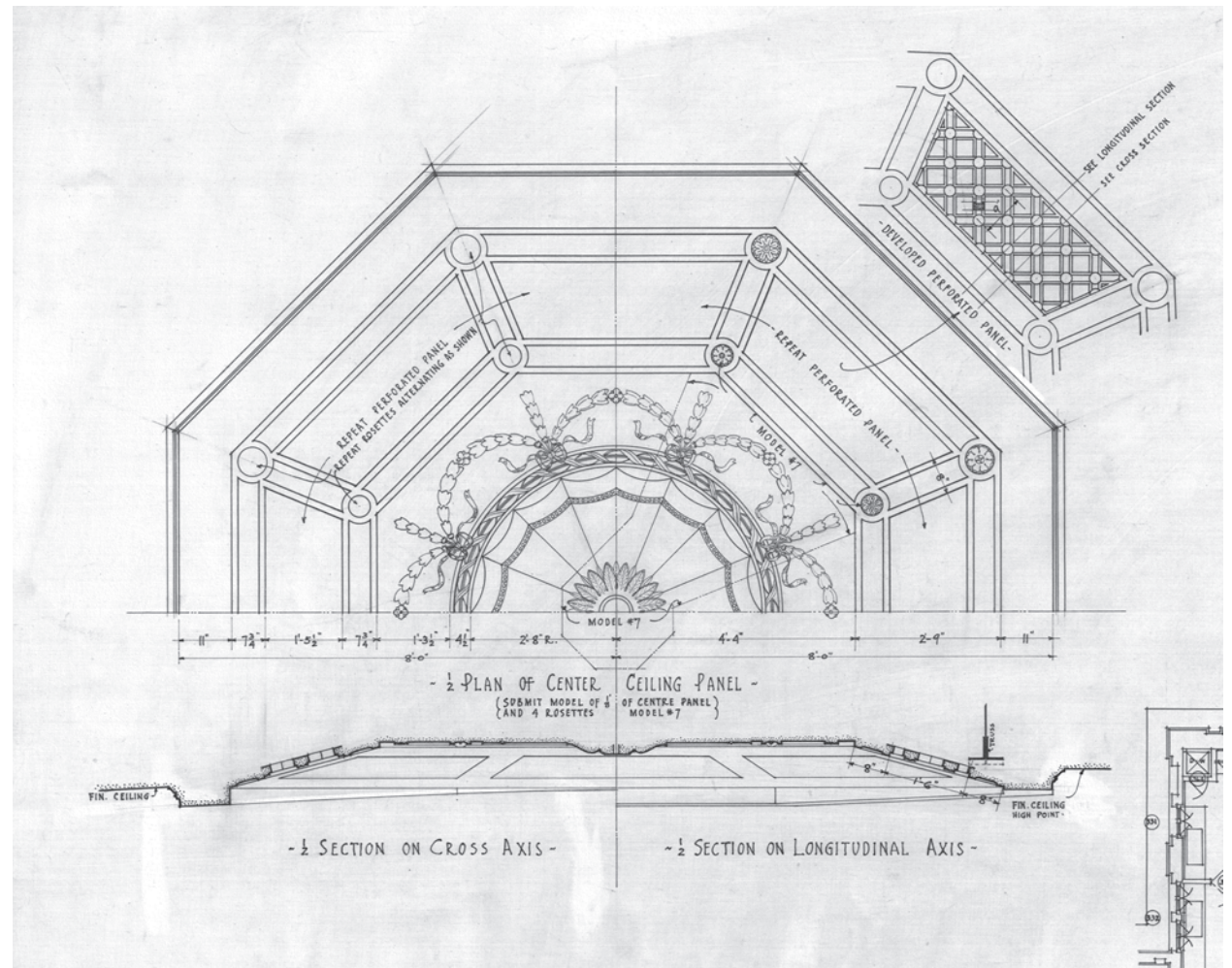


Figure c.2. William W. Stickney's drawing of the details for the central ceiling panel in Memorial Hall, 1916. (William W. Stickney with F.H. Haskell and Frederick Godley; image courtesy Charles Stickney and the City of Pueblo)

NOTES

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CHAPTER 3 • "THIS BEAUTIFUL HALL:" THE LEISURE CULTURE OF MEMORIAL HALL

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18. Arthur L. Dirks, "American Theatre History," 2005, <http://webhost.bridgew.edu/adirks/ald/courses/hist/his>

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19. Bob Thomas, "Theater League's First 25 Years Studied with Broadway's Best," *Pueblo Chieftain*, November 2, 1984; "Theater League Season Will Be a 'Musical Feast,'" *Pueblo Star-Journal* and *Sunday Pueblo Chieftain*, September 7, 1975; Bob Thomas, "Broadway Theater League to Fete 25th Year with Blockbuster Quartet," *Pueblo Chieftain*, September 14, 1984.
 20. Oscar G. Brockett and Findlay, *Century of Innovation*, 377–378; "Paul Robeson [playbill]" (Metropolitan Musical Bureau, undated), Theaters-General clipping folder, Rob.
 21. "Camelot [playbill]" (Henry Guettal and Arthur Cantor, January 31, 1964), Theaters-General clipping folder, Robert Hoag Rawlings Special Collections; "Folkloric Ballet of Mexico" (California Heiritage and Pafeantry Association, August 9, 1964), Theaters-General clipping folder, Robert Hoag Rawlings Special Collections; "Luther" (Joel Spector, Julian Olney, and B.B. Randolph, October 28, 1964), Theaters-General clipping folder, Robert Hoag Rawlings Special Collections; "Luv" (The Producing Managers' Company, 1966), Theaters-General clipping folder, Robert Hoag Rawlings Special Collections.
 22. Mary Therese Anstey, Cheri Yost, and Adam Thomas, *In Pursuit of the American Dream: Pueblo in the Modern Age 1940-1982* (Denver: Historitecture, 2012), 32; Oscar G. Brockett and Findlay, *Century of Innovation*, 406; John F. James, "Sam Cahn's 'Words/Music' Show 'Puts It All Together,'" *Pueblo Chieftain*, October 6, 1975; "Jacques Loussier Trio [playbill]" (unidentified, 1971), Theaters-General clipping folder, Robert Hoag Rawlings Special Collections; "The Sunshine Boys [playbill]" (Emanuel Azenberg and Eugene V. Wolsk, 1975), Theaters-General clipping folder, Robert Hoag Rawlings Special Collections; "1776 [playbill]" (Broadway Theater League and Continental Theatre Company, 1976), Theaters-General clipping folder, Robert Hoag Rawlings Special Collections.
 23. Terence Curran, "Memorial Hall to Sound Better with New System," *Pueblo Star-Journal*, June 28, 1978.
 24. Randal Donato, "Puebloans Want to Hear Music," *Pueblo Chieftain*, July 1, 1977.
 25. Margie Wood, "Committee Determined to Restore Organ in Time for Anniversary Concerts in March," *Pueblo Chieftain*, December 2, 1984; "Organ Fund \$15,000 Richer," February 5, 1985, Pueblo Memorial Hall clipping folder, Robert Hoag Rawlings Special Collections.
 26. Joyce Valdez, "Musical Resurrection: Expert Team Begins Work on City Organ," *Pueblo Chieftain*, October 20, 1985; "Pipe Organ Rededication Set Feb. 17," *Pueblo Chieftain*, February 6, 1987; Harry Saltzgaver, "City Organ to Pipe up Anew," *Pueblo Chieftain*, February 17, 1987; Rick Ruggles, "Olivera's Talented Heart, Hands and Feet Give Organ New Life," *Pueblo Chieftain*, April 5, 1987.
 27. Tom McAvoy, "Mabie Terms Stagehand Costs 'Ridiculous' for Single Show," *Pueblo Chieftain*, January 23, 1980; Mark Lieberman, "Other Half of Drama Is Backstage," *Pueblo Star-Journal and Sunday Pueblo Chieftain*, August 18, 1968.
 28. Milan Simonich, "Pueblo Stagehands Seek Raise in Pay," *Pueblo Chieftain*, February 14, 1988; Rick Ruggles, "Pay Increase Is Voted down for Memorial Hall Workers," *Pueblo Chieftain*, February 23, 1988; Randie Golkin, "Stagehand Job Eyed in Budget Cuts," *Pueblo Chieftain*, October 16, 1989.
 29. Dennis Darrow, "Rediscovering Memorial Hall: The Grandeur That Once Was," *Pueblo Chieftain*, March 16, 1997, sec. D.
 30. William Zwick, "Memorial Hall Organ," May 21, 2013; Stephen Schnurr, "The Organ Historical Society," December 13, 2008.
 31. William Zwick, "Memorial Hall," May 21, 2013.

APPENDIX

Pueblo Government Leaders

The following tables represent a complete list (as of May 1, 2013) of town trustees, city councilmen, commissioners, mayors, and city managers for the City of Pueblo and its predecessors: the towns of Pueblo, South Pueblo, Central Pueblo, and Bessemer. This list was compiled by Weston C. Burrer and reprinted here with his generous permission. Notes on entries are included at the end of this section.

Key to Abbreviations

(A) Appointed

(P) President

(VP) Vice President

TABLE A.1: CITY CLERKS

Pueblo	Term
John D. Miller (A)	1870
Augustus Beach	
Mark G. Bradford	1871-1872
James D. Henry	1873
Fred Rohrer	1874
George Work	1875-1876
William Harmon	1877
William H. Conner	1878-1879
H. K. Pinckney	1880
Frank Boydston	1881
H. W. Jones	1882-1883
F. W. Hull	1884-1885
W. C. Slawson	1886-1887
T. S. Smythe	1888
F. W. Hull	1889-1892
C. E. Russ	1893-1896
Oscar Q. McNeil	1897-1900
W. L. Smith	1901-1902
J. A. Beeler	1903-1904
Frank G. Duke	1905-1911
John M. Jackson	1912-1919
J. W. Carpenter	1920-1928
George W. Clark	1929-1938
Mary E. Weaver	1939-1970
Lucy J. Costa	1971-1982
Marian D. Mead	1983-1994
Gina Dutcher	1995-Present
South Pueblo	
Charles W. Ellis	1879
George W. Ink	1880-1881
Central Pueblo	
L. H. White	Incorp. - Nov. 1882
W. W. Hossick	Nov. 1882 - April 1883
M. A. Garrett	April 1883 - May 1883
Andrew A. Grome	May 1883 - Aug. 1883
William B. Ogden	Aug. 1883 - April 1884

TABLE A.1: PUEBLO TOWN AND CITY LEADERS

Town Trustees

Year	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee
1870 ¹	James Rice (A)	George A. Hinsdale (A)(P)	Henry H. Cooper (A)	Henry C. Thatcher (A)	Mark G. Bradford (A)
1870	Sam McBride	George A. Hinsdale	Oliver H. P. Baxter	Lewis Conley (P)	Calvin P. Peabody
1871	James Rice	Wilbur F. Stone (P)	Oliver H. P. Baxter	John J. Thomas	Henly R. Price
1872	James Rice	Wilbur F. Stone (P)	Oliver H. P. Baxter	John J. Thomas	Henly R. Price

Council-Mayor Government

Year	Mayor	Ward 1	Ward 2	Ward 3	Ward 4	Ward 5	Ward 6	Ward 7	Ward 8
1873	James Rice	G. P. Hayslip	Oliver H. P. Baxter	John J. Thomas	Weldon Keeling				
1874	James Rice	G. P. Hayslip	Oliver H. P. Baxter	Henry H. Cooper ²	Weldon Keeling				
1875	James Rice	G. P. Hayslip	Oliver H. P. Baxter	William H. Hyde	Weldon Keeling	Nathan Morris			
1876 ³	John R. Lowther	M. D. Crow	Michael Studzinski	William H. Hyde	Weldon Keeling	Lewis Conley			
1877	Mahlon D. Thatcher	Gustav Bartels	Hugh Smith	J. V. Andrews	Samuel Caldwell Gallup	John McCormick			
1878	Weldon Keeling	George L. Gann	Ciphus Whipple	Daniel H. Geist	J. J. Chinn	C. A. Cowles			
1879	William H. Hyde	James Macdonald	George T. Brud	James H. Bennett	E. J. Castle	H. K. Pinckney			
1880	William H. Hyde	Michael Studzinski	George T. Brud	J. C. Rankin	E. J. Castle	Benjamin Mattice	B. F. Davis		
		W. J. Barndollar	Thomas A. Hobart	A. Newman	J. V. Shepard	J. L. Isenburg	W. E. Mosier		
1881	G. Q. Richmond	T. B. Graves	G. W. Goodwin	N. Kearney	H. Richardson (P)	A. D. Carpenter	Robert Corkish		
		J. B. Duke	William B. Hamilton	C. C. Stein	T. A. Duke	Nathan Morris	A. M. McGregor		
1882	John H. Warneke	J. K. Doolittle	William B. Hamilton	C. C. Stein	T. A. Duke	Nathan Morris (P)	A. M. McGregor		
		J. A. Goodrich	John Arthur	H. M. Morse	John A. Thatcher	J. W. Callaway	A. T. Stewart		
1883	John H. Warneke	J. A. Goodrich	John Arthur	H. M. Morse	William B. Hamilton	J. W. Callaway	A. T. Stewart		
		John Norris	W. H. Perkins	Daniel H. Geist	A. H. Hutchins	G. W. Gill	Perry Colvin		
1884	John H. Warneke	John Norris	W. H. Perkins	A. H. Hutchins	Daniel H. Geist	G. W. Gill	Perry Colvin		
		William B. Hamilton	John R. Fariss	H. M. Morse	Howard M. Sale	J. W. Callaway	James Crowley		
1885	T. G. McCarthy	Horace P. Anderson	John Arthur	Daniel H. Geist	Charles L. Wall	G. W. Gill	Hugh McCafferty		
		William B. Hamilton	John R. Fariss	H. M. Morse	Howard M. Sale	John McCormick	James Crowley		
1886 (pre-consolidation)	T. G. McCarthy	Horace P. Anderson	John Arthur	Daniel H. Geist	Charles L. Wall	G. W. Gill	Hugh McCafferty		
		William B. Hamilton	John R. Fariss	H. M. Morse	Howard M. Sale	John McCormick	James Crowley		
1886 (post-consolidation)	Delos L. Holden	George E. Bragdon	Andrew A. Grome	John Bergin	J. R. Fariss	Lorenz Stumpf	Klaas Wildeboor	Ed Cox	
		J. W. Horgan	Benjamin Mattice	O. H. P. Baxter	J. J. O'Brien	J. C. Long	John Kelker	J. M. Cline	
1887	Charles Henkel	J. W. Horgan	Andrew A. Grome	John Bergin	J. R. Fariss	Lorenz Stumpf/A. J. Overton (A) ⁴	Klaas Wildeboor	J. M. Cline	
		A. A. Albert	Benjamin Mattice	A. T. Stewart	J. J. O'Brien	J. R. Valentine	John Kelker	J. N. Salter	
1888	Andrew Royal	J. W. Horgan	Andrew A. Grome	J. H. Elspass	Hugh McCafferty	J. R. Valentine	John Kelker	J. N. Salter	
		A. A. Albert	J. W. Calloway	A. T. Stewart	J. J. O'Brien	C. H. Lampkin	J. T. Collier	J. H. McMinn	

Year	Mayor	Ward 1	Ward 2	Ward 3	Ward 4	Ward 5	Ward 6	Ward 7	Ward 8
1889	Andrew A. Grome	J. W. Horgan	J. W. Calloway	J. H. Elspass	Hugh McCafferty	C. H. Lampkin	J. T. Collier/G.W. Alden (A) ⁵	J. H. McMinn	
		O. E. Caffery	Thomas P. Lloyd	A. T. Stewart	J. J. O'Brien	George F. West	George Hogan	J. N. Langworthy	
1890	Charles Henkel	O. E. Caffery	John Downen	A. T. Stewart	J. J. O'Brien	George F. West	George Hogan	J. H. McMinn	
		W. J. Barndollar	Thomas P. Lloyd	John Bergin	Harvey Birch	J. R. Valentine	W. E. Granger	J. N. Langworthy	
1891	W. B. Hamilton	W. J. Barndollar	John Downen	John Bergin	J. J. O'Brien	George F. West	John Kelker	J. H. McMinn	
		A. J. Overton	Thomas P. Lloyd	Jonathan H. Crow	Harvey Birch	J. R. Valentine	W. E. Granger	R. J. Bruner	
1892	W. B. Hamilton	W. J. Barndollar	John Downen	John Bergin	J. J. O'Brien	George F. West	John Kelker	J. H. McMinn	
		A. J. Overton	Thomas P. Lloyd	John H. Crow	Harvey Birch	J. R. Valentine	W. E. Granger	R. J. Bruner	
1893	L. B. Strait	W. J. Barndollar	Thomas P. Lloyd	John H. Crow	J. J. O'Brien	George F. West	John Kelker	R. J. Bruner	
		A. J. Overton	E. C. Downer	W. A. A. Bryson	Harvey Birch	J. R. Valentine	T. C. Rouen	C. E. Olin	
1894	L. B. Strait	J. W. Horgan	T. R. Zeiger	D. P. McCall	T. C. Dawkins	R. H. Wartenbee	I. F. Chopper	C.B. Teller	R. J. Bruner ⁶
		J. M. Woodard	F. P. Lannon	W. A. A. Bryson	Harvey Birch	J. F. Bishop	O. H. Wheeler	Alex McGregor	M. Williams ⁶
1895	A. T. King	J. M. Woodard	F. P. Lannon	W. A. A. Bryson	Harvey Birch	J. F. Bishop	O. H. Wheeler	Alex McGregor	R. J. Bruner
		W. T. Fairfax	Ben Donahue	Oliver H. P. Baxter	C. A. Spencer	D. M. Campbell	W. P. Weed	C. F. Colvin	C. H. Quackenbush
1896	A. T. King	W. T. Fairfax	Ben Donahue	Oliver H. P. Baxter	C. A. Spencer	D. M. Campbell	W. P. Weed	C. F. Colvin	C. H. Quackenbush
1897	James B. Orman	F. P. Lannon	Benjamin Mattice	Walter Davis	James P. Markel	Frank Ream	Matthew H. Sinclair	C. F. Colvin	Andrew C. Shafer
1898	James B. Orman	F. P. Lannon	Benjamin Mattice	Walter Davis	James P. Markel	Frank Ream	Matthew H. Sinclair	C. F. Colvin	Andrew C. Shafer
1899	George F. West	J. Will Johnson	Ben Donahue	M. R. Bright	Alex Campbell ⁷	F. R. Rockwell	Frank White	E. P. Price	H. A. Case
1900	George F. West	J. Will Johnson	Ben Donahue	M. R. Bright	Harvey Birch ⁷	F.R. Rockwell/M.E. Austin (A) ⁸	Frank White	E. P. Price	H. A. Case
1901	George F. West ⁹	J. Will Johnson	William R. Hamlin	Thomas P. Lloyd	Alex Campbell	Thomas Flynn	A. B. Gutshall	Frank G. Vance	Edwin E. Bennett
1902	J. E. Rizer ¹⁰	J. Will Johnson	William R. Hamlin	Thomas P. Lloyd	Alex Campbell	Thomas Flynn	A. B. Gutshall	Frank G. Vance	Edwin E. Bennett
1903	B. B. Brown ¹¹	J. Will Johnson	J. P. Holloran	J. K. Sweeney	C. L. Walker	Thomas Flynn	Jefferson Fitzpatrick	Charles Colvin	O. T. Curtis
1904	B. B. Brown	J. Will Johnson	J. P. Holloran	J. K. Sweeney	C. L. Walker	Thomas Flynn	Jefferson Fitzpatrick	Charles Colvin	O. T. Curtis
1905	John T. West	J. D. King	J. C. Croft	F. P. Lannon	Norbert Zink	J. Elmer Duey	Matthew Mayer	J. W. Roger	T. H. Haley
1906	John T. West	J. D. King	J. C. Croft	F. P. Lannon	Norbert Zink	J. Elmer Duey	Matthew Mayer	J. W. Roger	T. H. Haley
1907	John T. West	J. D. King (P)	J. C. Croft	Dr. H. G. DeTienne	Norbert Zink	J. P. Martel	Matthew Mayer	W. S. Marble	E. F. Gabbey
1908	John T. West	J. D. King (P)	J. C. Croft	Dr. H. G. DeTienne	Norbert Zink	J. P. Martel	Matthew Mayer	W. S. Marble	E. F. Gabbey
1909	Dr. Abraham Lincoln Fugard	Thomas E. Gill	Dr. Oscar A. T. Haruff	Dr. H. G. DeTienne (P)	Norbert Zink	J. P. Martel	George Thomas	W. S. Marble	Chester C. Walker
1910	Dr. Abraham Lincoln Fugard	Thomas E. Gill	Dr. Oscar A. T. Haruff	Dr. H. G. DeTienne (P)	Norbert Zink	J. P. Martel	George Thomas	W. S. Marble	Chester C. Walker
1911	John T. West	Thomas E. Gill	Michael P. Keating	Edward C. Birrer	Norbert Zink	J. P. Martel	Matt Jerman	Thomas J. Hickey	Thomas D. Donnelly (P)

Commission Government

Year	Commissioner	Commissioner	Commissioner	Commissioner	Commissioner
1912 ¹²	Thomas D. Donnelly (P)	Thomas. A. Duke	C. A. Lannon	Victor I. Prevost	J.K. Burton
1913	Thomas D. Donnelly (P)	Thomas. A. Duke	C. A. Lannon	Victor I. Prevost (P)	J.K. Burton
1914	Thomas. A. Duke (P)	John T. West	J.Knox Burton		
1915	Thomas. A. Duke (P)	John T. West	J.Knox Burton		
1916	Fred E. Olin	John T. West (P)	J.Knox Burton		
1917	Fred E. Olin	James L. Lovern	Michael Studzinski		
1918	Fred E. Olin (P)	James L. Lovern	Michael Studzinski		
1919	Fred E. Olin	James L. Lovern	Michael Studzinski (P)		
1920	John M. Jackson	James L. Lovern	Michael Studzinski (P)		
1921	John M. Jackson	James L. Lovern (P)	Michael Studzinski		
1922	John M. Jackson (P)	George J. Stumpf	Fred E. Olin		
1923	John M. Jackson (P)	George J. Stumpf	Fred E. Olin		
1924	John M. Jackson (P)	George J. Stumpf	Fred E. Olin		
1925	John M. Jackson (P)	George J. Stumpf	Fred E. Olin		
1926	John M. Jackson (P)	Charles B. Clark	Fred E. Olin		
1927	John M. Jackson (P)	Charles B. Clark	Fred E. Olin		
1928	John M. Jackson (P)	Charles B. Clark	Fred E. Olin		
1929	James W. Carpenter	Charles B. Clark	Fred E. Olin (P)		
1930	H. Milton Harris	Edward Redmond	James W. Carpenter (P)		
1931	H. Milton Harris	Edward Redmond	James W. Carpenter (P)		
1932	H. Milton Harris	Edward Redmond	James W. Carpenter (P)		
1933	Raymond H. Talbot	Edward Redmond	James W. Carpenter (P)		
1934	Raymond H. Talbot	George J. Stumpf	James W. Carpenter (P)		
1935	Raymond H. Talbot	George J. Stumpf	James W. Carpenter (P)		
1936	Raymond H. Talbot	George J. Stumpf (P)	Paul L. West		
1937	Raymond H. Talbot	George J. Stumpf (P)	Paul L. West		
1938	Raymond H. Talbot	George J. Stumpf (P)	Paul L. West		
1939	Raymond H. Talbot	George J. Stumpf (P)	Paul L. West		
1940	Raymond H. Talbot	Charley E. Saxton	Bert L. Beaty (P)		
1941	Raymond H. Talbot	Charley E. Saxton	Bert L. Beaty (P)		
1942	Raymond H. Talbot	Charley E. Saxton	Bert L. Beaty (P)		
1943	Raymond H. Talbot	Charley E. Saxton	Bert L. Beaty (P)		
1944	Raymond H. Talbot	Charley E. Saxton	Bert L. Beaty (P)		
1945	Raymond H. Talbot	Charley E. Saxton	Bert L. Beaty (P)		
1946	E. A. Morse	C. H. Klipfel	Bert L. Beaty (P)		

Year	Commissioner	Commissioner	Commissioner	Commissioner	Commissioner
1947	E. A. Morse	C. H. Klipfel	Bert L. Beaty (P)		
1948	Jack R. Craddock (P)	C. H. Klipfel	E. D. Rickords		
1949	Jack R. Craddock (P)	Joe H. Harriss	E. D. Rickords		
1950 ¹³	Jack R. Craddock	Joe H. Harriss	E. D. Rickords (P)		

Council-Manager Government (Under Modified Charter of 1911)

Year	City Manager	District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	District 5	District 6	District 7
1950 ¹⁴	John O. Hall (A) ¹⁵	Eric T. Kelly	Adolph W. Otterstein	G. C. Beaman	David T. Scneider	Marion F. Hunter	Joseph A. Martise	Milo J. Flanders
		District 8	District 9	District 10	District 11	District 12	District 13	District 14
		William L. Warner (P)	John Bert Parks	Georgia E. Farabaugh	Orville G. McTavish	Frank M. Liberato ¹⁶	Peter Culig, Jr.	Dave Thomas (VP)
						Michael Occhiato (A) ¹⁶		

Year	City Manager	District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	District 5	District 6	District 7
1951	John O. Hall (A)	Eric T. Kelly	Adolph W. Otterstein	G. C. Beaman	David T. Scneider	Marion F. Hunter	Joseph A. Martise	Milo J. Flanders
		District 8	District 9	District 10	District 11	District 12	District 13	District 14
		William L. Warner (P)	John Bert Parks	Georgia E. Farabaugh	Orville G. McTavish	Michael Occhiato	Peter Culig, Jr.	Dave Thomas

Year	City Manager	District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	District 5	District 6	District 7
1952	John O. Hall (A) ¹⁷	Joe H. Harriss	Elizabeth G. Hudspeth	Carl D. Bryan (VP)(P) ¹⁸	David T. Scneider	Marion F. Hunter (P) ¹⁹	Joseph A. Martise	Milo J. Flanders
	W.T. Loman (A) ¹⁷					Charles H. Boustead (A) ¹⁹		
		District 8	District 9	District 10	District 11	District 12	District 13	District 14
		Dave Pitman, Jr.	John Bert Parks ²⁰	Georgia E. Farabaugh	Orville G. McTavish	Michael Occhiato	James M. Watson	Vernon O. Pierce
			R. A. McRae ²⁰					

Year	City Manager	District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	District 5	District 6	District 7
1953	Russell W. Rink (A)	Joe H. Harriss	Elizabeth G. Hudspeth	Carl D. Bryan (P)	David T. Scneider	Charles H. Boustead	Joseph A. Martise	Milo J. Flanders
		District 8	District 9	District 10	District 11	District 12	District 13	District 14
		Dave Pitman, Jr.	R. A. McRae	Georgia E. Farabaugh	Orville G. McTavish	Michael Occhiato	James M. Watson	Vernon O. Pierce

Year	City Manager	District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	District 5	District 6	District 7
1954	Russell W. Rink (A)	C. J. Burress, Jr.	Harold S. McConnell	Carl D. Bryan (P)	Everette G. Samuelson	Charles H. Boustead ²¹	Joseph A. Martise	Roy. B. Clarke
						W. H. Stall (A) ²¹		
		District 8	District 9	District 10	District 11	District 12	District 13	District 14
		Richard F. Hobbs	R. A. McRae ²²	Georgia E. Farabaugh	B. M. Hurley	Michael Occhiato	James M. Watson (VP)	Fred Voss
			Fred DeLuca (A) ²²					

Council-Manager Government (Under Charter of 1954)

Year	City Manager	District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	At-Large	At-Large	At-Large
1955	Russell W. Rink (A)	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr.	Marion F. Hunter	Georgia F. Farabaugh (VP)	Michael Occhiato	Charles H. Boustead	Fred Voss (P)	Richard F. Hobbs
1956	Russell W. Rink (A) ²³	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr. (P)	Marion F. Hunter	Georgia F. Farabaugh (VP)	Michael Occhiato	Charles H. Boustead	Fred Voss	Richard F. Hobbs
1957	Glenn S. Turner (A) ²³	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr. (P)	Marion F. Hunter	Georgia F. Farabaugh (VP)	Michael Occhiato	Charles H. Boustead	Fred Voss	Richard F. Hobbs

“Among the Elites of the Great West:” Pueblo City Hall and Memorial Hall

Year	City Manager	District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	At-Large	At-Large	At-Large
1958	Glenn S. Turner	Phil K. Hudspeth	Marion F. Hunter	Georgia F. Farabaugh	Michael Occhiato	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr.	Fred Voss (VP)	Richard F. Hobbs (P)
1959	Glenn Turner/George Fellows	Phil K. Hudspeth	Marion F. Hunter	Georgia F. Farabaugh	Michael Occhiato	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr.	Fred Voss	Richard F. Hobbs ²⁴
1960	George H. Fellows	Phil K. Hudspeth	Richard D. Robb	Georgia F. Farabaugh	James M. Watson	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr.	Fred Voss	Richard T. Lyles (A) ²⁴
1961	George H. Fellows	Phil K. Hudspeth	Richard D. Robb (P)	Georgia F. Farabaugh	James M. Watson	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr.	Fred Voss	Richard T. Lyles
1962	George H. Fellows	Phil K. Hudspeth	Richard D. Robb (P)	Georgia F. Farabaugh	James M. Watson	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr.	Glenn S. Turner	Richard T. Lyles ²⁵
1963	George H. Fellows	Phil K. Hudspeth	Richard D. Robb	Georgia F. Farabaugh (P)	James M. Watson	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr.	Glenn S. Turner	Don P. Ferris (A) ²⁵
1964	George H. Fellows	Phil K. Hudspeth	Dr. Jack M. Osburne	Georgia F. Farabaugh (P)	James M. Watson	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr.	Glenn S. Turner	Marion F. Hunter/Charles E. Berry (A) ²⁶
1965	George H. Fellows	Phil K. Hudspeth	Dr. Jack M. Osburne (P)	Georgia F. Farabaugh	James M. Watson	Cyrus J. Burress, Jr.	Glenn S. Turner	Charles E. Berry
1966	George H. Fellows	Phil K. Hudspeth	Dr. Jack M. Osburne (P)	Georgia F. Farabaugh	James M. Watson	John A. Rosales	John H. Ballas	Charles E. Berry
1967	Neal G. Berlin (A)	Phil K. Hudspeth	Dr. Jack M. Osburne (P)	Georgia F. Farabaugh	James M. Watson	John A. Rosales	John H. Ballas	Charles E. Berry
1968	Fred E. Wisebrod (A)	Phil K. Hudspeth (P)	Bert A. Hereford	Georgia F. Farabaugh	James M. Watson	John A. Rosales	John H. Ballas	Roy F. Harper
1969	Fred E. Wisebrod (A)	Phil K. Hudspeth (P)	Bert A. Hereford	Georgia F. Farabaugh	James M. Watson	John A. Rosales	John H. Ballas	Roy F. Harper
1970	Fred E. Wisebrod	Donald E. Abram	Bert A. Hereford (P)	Jerry R. Daugherty	James M. Watson	Henry G. Reyes	Patricia D. Kelly	Roy F. Harper
1971	Fred E. Wisebrod	Donald E. Abram	Bert A. Hereford (P)	Jerry R. Daugherty	James M. Watson	Henry G. Reyes	Patricia D. Kelly	Roy F. Harper
1972	Fred E. Wisebrod	Donald E. Abram (P)	Bert A. Hereford	Jerry R. Daugherty	Tom C. Gilmore	Henry G. Reyes	Patricia D. Kelly	Melvin Takaki, DDS
1973	Fred E. Wisebrod	Donald E. Abram (P)	Bert A. Hereford	Jerry R. Daugherty	Tom C. Gilmore	Henry G. Reyes	Patricia D. Kelly	Melvin Takaki, DDS
1974	Fred E. Wisebrod	F. W. (Bill) Haver	Bert A. Hereford	Jerry R. Daugherty	Tom C. Gilmore	Henry G. Reyes	Patricia D. Kelly	Melvin Takaki, DDS (P)
1975	Fred E. Wisebrod	F. W. (Bill) Haver	Bert A. Hereford	Jerry R. Daugherty	Tom C. Gilmore	Henry G. Reyes	Patricia D. Kelly	Melvin Takaki, DDS (P)
1976	Fred E. Wisebrod	F. W. (Bill) Haver	Issac C. Duran	Jerry R. Daugherty	Steve L. Martinez	Henry G. Reyes (P)	Patricia D. Kelly	Melvin Takaki, DDS
1977	Fred E. Wisebrod	F. W. (Bill) Haver	Issac C. Duran	Jerry R. Daugherty	Steve L. Martinez	Henry G. Reyes (P)	Patricia D. Kelly	Melvin Takaki, DDS
1978	Fred E. Wisebrod	Douglas L. Ring	Issac C. Duran	Dorothy M. Butcher	Steve L. Martinez	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino	Melvin Takaki, DDS (P)
1979	Fred E. Wisebrod	Douglas L. Ring	Issac C. Duran	Dorothy M. Butcher	Steve L. Martinez (P)	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino	Melvin Takaki, DDS
1980	Fred E. Wisebrod	Douglas L. Ring	Issac C. Duran	Dorothy M. Butcher	Harold E. Mabie, Jr.	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino	Melvin Takaki, DDS (P)
1981	Fred E. Wisebrod	Douglas L. Ring (P)	Issac C. Duran	Dorothy M. Butcher	Harold E. Mabie, Jr.	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino	Melvin Takaki, DDS
1982	Fred E. Wisebrod	Douglas L. Ring	Issac C. Duran	David G. Scribner ²⁷	Harold E. Mabie, Jr.	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino	Melvin Takaki, DDS (P)
1983	Fred E. Wisebrod	Douglas L. Ring	Issac C. Duran	Reimer Von Kalben (A) ²⁷	Harold E. Mabie, Jr.	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino	Melvin Takaki, DDS (P)
1984	Fred E. Wisebrod	Douglas L. Ring	Kenneth Hunter	Reimer Von Kalben	Allyn Middelkamp	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino (P)	Paul T. Jones
1985	John M. Bramble	Douglas L. Ring	Kenneth Hunter	Reimer Von Kalben	Allyn Middelkamp	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino (P)	Paul T. Jones
1986	John M. Bramble/Lewis Quigley ²⁸	Douglas L. Ring	Kenneth Hunter	Samuel J. Corsentino	Allyn Middelkamp	Michael A. Occhiato (P)	Michael G. Salardino	Paul T. Jones
1987	Lewis Quigley	Douglas L. Ring	Kenneth Hunter	Samuel J. Corsentino	Allyn Middelkamp	Michael A. Occhiato (P)	Michael G. Salardino	Paul T. Jones
1988	Lewis Quigley	Douglas L. Ring	Kenneth Hunter (P)	Samuel J. Corsentino	John Califano	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino	Gilbert C. Garbiso
1989	Lewis Quigley	Douglas L. Ring	Kenneth Hunter (P)	Samuel J. Corsentino	John Califano	Michael A. Occhiato	Michael G. Salardino	Gilbert C. Garbiso
1990	Lewis Quigley	Howard E. Whitlock	Kenneth Hunter	Samuel J. Corsentino	John Califano	Michael A. Occhiato (P)	Fay B. Kastelic	Gilbert C. Garbiso
1991	Lewis Quigley	Howard E. Whitlock	Kenneth Hunter	Samuel J. Corsentino	John Califano	Michael A. Occhiato (P)	Fay B. Kastelic	Gilbert C. Garbiso
1992	Lewis Quigley	Howard E. Whitlock	Joyce Lawrence	Samuel J. Corsentino	John Califano	Michael A. Occhiato	Fay B. Kastelic (P)	Christian L. Weaver
1993	Lewis Quigley	Howard E. Whitlock	Joyce Lawrence	Samuel J. Corsentino	John Califano	Michael A. Occhiato	Fay B. Kastelic (P)	Christian L. Weaver

Year	City Manager	District 1	District 2	District 3	District 4	At-Large	At-Large	At-Large
1994	Lewis Quigley	Charles Jones	Joyce Lawrence ²⁹	Samuel J. Corsentino	John Califano	Patrick K. Avalos	Fay B. Kastelic	Christian L. Weaver
1995	Lewis Quigley	Charles Jones	Al Gurule (A) ²⁹	Samuel J. Corsentino	John Califano	Patrick K. Avalos	Fay B. Kastelic	Christian L. Weaver (P)
1996	Lewis Quigley	Charles Jones	Al Gurule	Samuel J. Corsentino	Cathy A. Garcia	Patrick K. Avalos	Fay B. Kastelic (P)	John Verna
1997	Lewis Quigley	Charles Jones	Al Gurule	Samuel J. Corsentino	Cathy A. Garcia (P)	Patrick K. Avalos	Fay B. Kastelic	John Verna
1998	Lewis Quigley	Robert D. Schilling, Jr.	Al Gurule	Rich Golenda	Cathy A. Garcia (P)	Dr. Bill Sova, DC	Corinne Koehler	John Verna
1999	Lewis Quigley	Robert D. Schilling, Jr.	Al Gurule	Rich Golenda	Cathy A. Garcia	Dr. Bill Sova, DC	Corinne Koehler (P)	John Verna
2000	Lewis Quigley ³¹	Robert D. Schilling, Jr.	Al Gurule	Rich Golenda	Ted Lopez, Jr.	Dr. Bill Sova, DC	Corinne Koehler (P)	Patrick K. Avalos
2001	Lee R. Evett ³¹	Robert D. Schilling, Jr.	Al Gurule (P)	Rich Golenda	Ted Lopez, Jr.	Dr. Bill Sova, DC	Corinne Koehler	Patrick K. Avalos
2002	Lee R. Evett	Robert D. Schilling, Jr.	Al Gurule	Randy Thurston	Ted Lopez, Jr./ Ray Aguilera (A) ³²	Dr. Bill Sova, DC	Michael A. Occhiato (P)	Patrick K. Avalos
2003	Lee R. Evett	Robert D. Schilling, Jr.	Al Gurule	Randy Thurston	Ray Aguilera	Dr. Bill Sova, DC (P)	Michael A. Occhiato	Patrick K. Avalos
2004	David J. Galli	Robert D. Schilling, Jr.	Gilbert Ortiz	Randy Thurston (P)	Ray Aguilera	Dr. Bill Sova, DC	Michael A. Occhiato	Jeff (J.E.) Chostner
2005	David J. Galli	Robert D. Schilling, Jr. (P)	Gilbert Ortiz	Randy Thurston	Ray Aguilera	Dr. Bill Sova, DC	Michael A. Occhiato	Jeff (J.E.) Chostner
2006	David J. Galli	Judy Weaver	Gilbert Ortiz	Randy Thurston	Ray Aguilera	Barbara Vidmar	Michael A. Occhiato (P)	Jeff (J.E.) Chostner ³³
2007	David J. Galli	Judy Weaver (P)	Gilbert Ortiz ³⁴	Randy Thurston	Ray Aguilera	Barbara Vidmar	Michael A. Occhiato	Vera Ortegon (A) ³³
2008	David J. Galli	Judy Weaver	Lawrence Atencio ³⁴	Randy Thurston	Ray Aguilera	Barbara Vidmar (P)	Michael A. Occhiato	Vera Ortegon
2009	David J. Galli/Jerry Pacheco ³⁵	Judy Weaver	Lawrence Atencio	Randy Thurston	Ray Aguilera	Barbara Vidmar	Michael A. Occhiato	Vera Ortegon (P)
2010	Jerry M. Pacheco	Judy Weaver	Lawrence Atencio (P)	Leroy M. Garcia, Jr.	Ray Aguilera	Steve Nawrocki	Chris Kaufman	Vera Ortegon
2011	Jerry M. Pacheco	Judy Weaver	Lawrence Atencio	Leroy M. Garcia, Jr.	Ray Aguilera (P)	Steve Nawrocki	Chris Kaufman	Vera Ortegon
2012	Jerry Pacheco/Jenny Eickelman/James Munch ³⁶	Judy Weaver/Ami Nawrocki ³⁷	Eva Montoya	Leroy M. Garcia, Jr.	Sandra Daff	Steve Nawrocki	Chris Kaufman (P)	Chris Nicoll

TABLE A.2: SOUTH PUEBLO TOWN AND CITY LEADERS

Town Trustees					
Year	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee
1873	J. D. Peer (P)(A)	W. P. Martin (A)	Alva Adams (A)	C. H. Lamkin (A)	H. S. Seward (A)
1874	John B. Hilliard	John Gray (P)	S. B. Shrontz	W. J. Davis	William S. Scott
1875	W. E. Marvin	William Moore	Klaas Wildeboor	George W. Crites	L. C. Railey (P)
1876	Dr. E. Shelborne (P)	William Moore	Klaas Wildeboor	George W. Crites	E. S. Kettleton
1877	Dr. E. Shelborne (P)	Joseph J. Pochon	Alfred Allen	C. H. Lamkin	T. W. E. Robb
1878	H. N. Banks (P)	Joseph J. Pochon	James N. Carlile	Steven Walley	B. Sweet
1879	H. N. Banks (P)	Joseph J. Pochon	James N. Carlile	Steven Walley	B. Sweet
1880	M. Sheldon	William Moore	James B. Orman	Steven Walley (P)	Albert T. Fisher
Council-Mayor Government (Incorporation as a City of Second Class)					
Year	Mayor	Ward 1	Ward 2	Ward 3	Ward 4
1881	Steven Walley	R. C. Nicholson	Joseph P. Hanna	J. M. Cline	William Moore
		F. W. Caulkins	Klaas Wildeboor ³⁸	Fred Rohrer	James B. Orman
1882	Klaas Wildeboor ³⁸	Thompson	John Edgar (A) ³⁸	John Kelker	William Moore
		R. C. Nicholson	Louis Slitt	Andrew McGovern	James B. Orman
1883	Klaas Wildeboor	R. C. Nicholson	Louis Slitt	John Kelker	William Moore
		C. H. Lamkin	Jesse DeGroot	J. M. Cline	E. H. Stone
1884	Jonathan K. Shireman	C. H. Lamkin	Jesse DeGroot	John Kelker	E. H. Stone
		Matthew J. Galligan	Klaas Wildeboor	J. M. Cline	J. G. Holland
1885	P. F. Sharp	C. H. Lamkin	Klaas Wildeboor	John Kelker	J. G. Holland
		Matthew J. Galligan	Thomas Nolan	W. P. Weed	Joseph J. Pochon
1886	P. F. Sharp	C. H. Lamkin	Klaas Wildeboor	John Kelker	J. G. Holland
		Matthew J. Galligan	Thomas Nolan	W. P. Weed	Joseph J. Pochon

TABLE A.3: CENTRAL PUEBLO TOWN LEADERS

Town Trustees					
Year	Mayor	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee
1882	O. G. Chase	Henry Rups	M. Boedecker	J. D. Clancy	W. E. Croasdale
1883	O. G. Chase	Henry Rups	M. Boedecker	Andrew A. Grome ³⁹	W. E. Croasdale
				Dr. C. F. Taylor (A) ³⁹	
1884	Dr. C. F. Taylor	James Champion	Frank Glatzel	William Mosher, Sr.	W. E. Croasdale
1885	Henry Rups	George F. Green	H. H. Sisk	Charles Timbers	Henry Harfeldt
1886	Henry Rups	George F. Green	H. H. Sisk	Charles Timbers	Henry Harfeldt

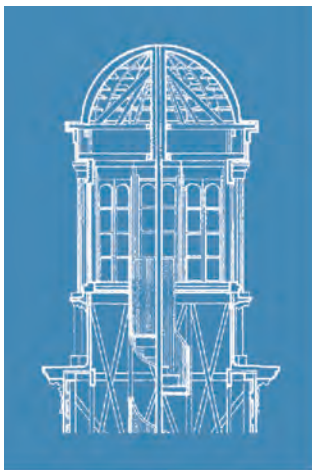
TABLE A.4: BESSEMER TOWN AND CITY LEADERS

Town Trustees									
Year	Mayor	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee	Trustee
1886	J. S. Stewart	John Jelly	William Montgomery	H. S. VanKuren (Clerk & Recorder)	Frank Rhodes	F. R. Newton (Treasurer)			
1887	Reese James	John Jelly (Clerk & Recorder)	J. K. Dempsey	H. S. VanKuren	Adam Kuntz	H. Baker (Treasurer)	J. H. Benson		
1888	Reese James	John Jelly (Clerk & Recorder)	C. H. Cooper	F. P. Hawke (Clerk <i>Pro Tem</i>)	Adam Kuntz	W. H. Billington (Treasurer)	Howard M. Shoup		
1889	L. J. Taylor	W. L. Reese	C. H. Cooper	F. P. Hawke (Clerk & Recorder)	Adam Kuntz	A. G. Bishop	Eli W. Gibson		
1890	J. K. Dempsey	W. L. Reese	John W. Klink	H. M. Shoup ⁴⁰	Adam Kuntz	A. G. Bishop	George W. Jackson		
				Thomas Russell (A) ⁴⁰					
1891	F. P. Hawke	J. H. Lynn	John W. Klink	Thomas Russell	J. V. Leithead	A. G. Bishop	George W. Jackson		
Council-Mayor Government (Declaration as a City of the Second Class)									
Year	Mayor	Ward 1	Ward 2	Ward 3	Ward 4				
1892	W. L. Shockey	Harry Hart	L. W. Kirk	J. E. Jones ⁴¹	J. H. Brennan	J. B. Jones	H. C. Pannabaker	John T. West	W. S. Keltner
				M. M. Martin ⁴¹					
1893	J. K. Dempsey	Sol. Fisher	L. W. Kirk ⁴²	M. M. Martin	J. V. Leithead ⁴²	J. Euclid Miles	H. C. Pannabaker	George W. Jackson	W. S. Keltner

NOTES

- Pueblo town trustees appointed on March 22, 1870.
- Sometime in 1874-75 Morse took over for Cooper; Morse mentioned as “retiring” in 1875.
- Crow election contested on April 6, 1876. George Chilcott entered into mayoral race against his wish; the situation creates turmoil. Conley ties with Cowles; Council draws lots on April 8, 1876, and Conley wins four to one.
- Stumpf died in office; A. J. Overton appointed to fill the vacant seat.
- Collier resigned; G. W. Alden appointed to fill the vacant seat.
- Kirk and Listhead appointed as 8th Ward aldermen when Bessemer joined Pueblo on March 19, 1894. Bruner and Williams elected April 2, 1894.
- Alex Campbell unseated on May 29, 1899; Harvey Birch elected to replace Campbell.
- F. R. Rockwell resigned; M. E. Austin appointed to fill the vacant seat.
- West died 12-30-1901.
- Rizer served from January 4, 1902 to July 21, 1902.
- Brown’s term started July 28, 1902.
- Commission government took office on November 20, 1911.
- Commission government ended on January 7, 1950.
- Council-manager government elected on December 27, 1949.
- Hall appointed February 7, 1950
- Liberato died on November 12, 1950; Occhiato appointed to fill the vacant seat on February 7, 1950.
- Hall resigned on April 21, 1952, Loman appointed interim city manager on June 2, 1952.
- Bryan appointed acting mayor on November 17 to December 1, 1952; he was elected president and mayor on December 1, 1952.
- Hunter resigned on November 17, 1952; Boustead appointed to fill the vacant seat on Nov. 20, 1952.
- Parks resigned on September 15, 1952; McRae appointed to fill the vacant seat on October 6, 1952.
- Boustead resigned on September 13, 1954, because he moved out of the district; Stall appointed to fill the vacant seat on September 27, 1954.
- McRae resigned on September 10, 1954; DeLuca appointed to fill the vacant seat on October 11, 1954.
- Rink resigned on December 20, 1956; Turner appointed interim city manager on January 14, 1957.

24. Hobbs resigned on December 8, 1958; Richard T. Lyles appointed to fill the vacant seat on January 12, 1959; Lyles elected to a two-year term in 1959.
25. Lyles resigned on December 10, 1962 to become County Clerk; Ferris appointed to fill the vacant seat on January 14, 1963.
26. Hunter died on August 24, 1964; Berry appointed to fill the vacant seat on September 14, 1964.
27. Scribner served until March 31, 1983; Von Kalben appointed on April 1, 1983.
28. Quigley appointed interim city manager on October 1986; appointed manager in January 1987.
30. Lawrence resigned December 31, 1994; Gurule appointed January 1, 1995.
31. Quigley retired on November 30, 2000; Evett took over on December 3, 2000.
32. Lopez recalled by voters on May 23, 2003; Aguilera appointed to fill the vacant seat.
33. Chostner resigned on December 31, 2006; Ortegon appointed to fill the vacant seat on January 1, 2007.
34. Ortiz resigned on December, 31, 2006; Atencio appointed to fill the vacant seat on February 9, 2007.
35. Galli resigned on January 5, 2009; Pacheco named Interim city manager.
36. Pacheco resigned on May 30, 2012; Eickelman becomes interim city manager followed by Munch on July 2, 2012.
37. Weaver resigned on April 19, 2012; A. Nawrocki appointed to fill the vacant seat on July 23, 2012.
38. Wildeboor resigned council seat to become mayor; Edgar appointed on April, 17 1882 to fill vacant seat.
39. Grome elected clerk on June 21, 1983; Taylor appointed trustee on June 21, 1883.
40. Shoup resigned on April 7, 1891; Russell appointed to fill vacant seat.
41. Jones's seat declared vacant on April 17, 1893; Martin appointed to fill vacant seat.
42. Kirk and Leithead chosen to be aldermen for new Eighth Ward at annexation.



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