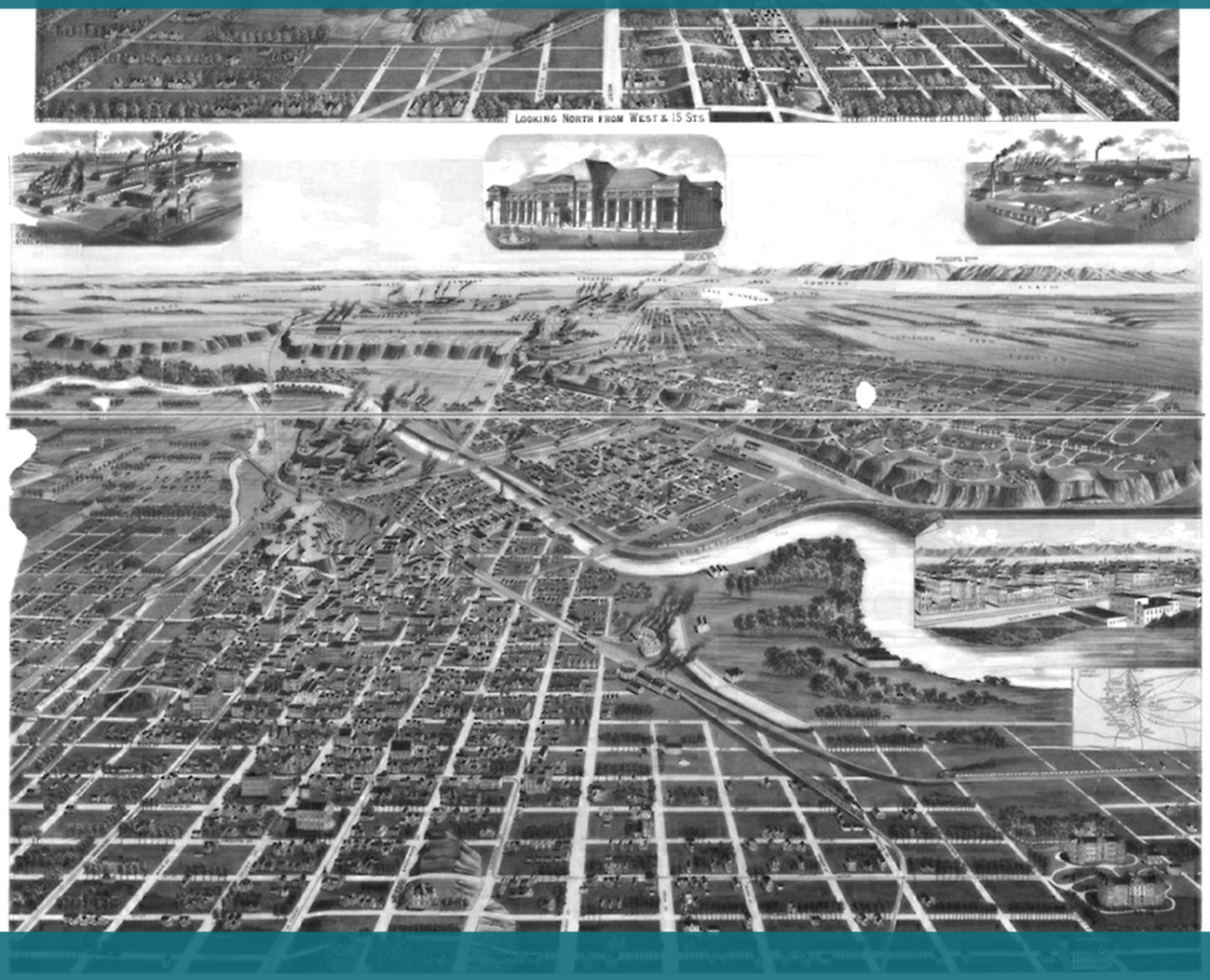
HISTORIC DOWNTOWN PROPERTY SURVEY PHASE II

CITY OF PUEBLO

PUEBLO COUNTY, COLORADO

HISTORIC COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT FROM TOWN TO DOWNTOWN



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HISTORIC COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT FROM TOWN TO DOWNTOWN

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INTRODUCTION

At the request of the City of Pueblo (City), Logan Simpson was contracted to complete Phase II of a two-phase architectural survey located within Pueblo's downtown business center. In 2016, SWCA Environmental Consultants (SWCA) completed Phase I, which consisted of both a reconnaissance and intensive-level survey of 154 buildings (Autobee et. al 2018). The first phase also included preparing a historic narrative of the downtown core of the city. As part of Phase II efforts, the City requested that an additional 15 buildings in the downtown area be intensively surveyed and that the current historic context be expanded upon to include a more detailed history of Pueblo's commercial development through the post-World War II period, significant local persons, and ethnic heritage.

The project area consists of a 61.3 acre area with a dispersed collection of 15 buildings adjacent to or bounded by N Santa Fe Avenue to the east, W 1st Street to the south, N Grand Avenue to the west, and W 8th Street to the north (Figures 1–3; Photograph1). The majority of the buildings are located within the original 1870 Pueblo Subdivision, while the remaining buildings located along 7th and 8th streets are within the County Subdivision Addition (1879), and 101 N Main Street is within the South Pueblo Subdivision (1872) (Figures 4–6).

Figure 1a. Overview of Main Street within the project's survey area looking northwest with the Amherst Building (201 N Main Street) in the far left hand corner, ca. 1920. Image courtesy of the Amherst Building Home Owners Association, Pueblo.

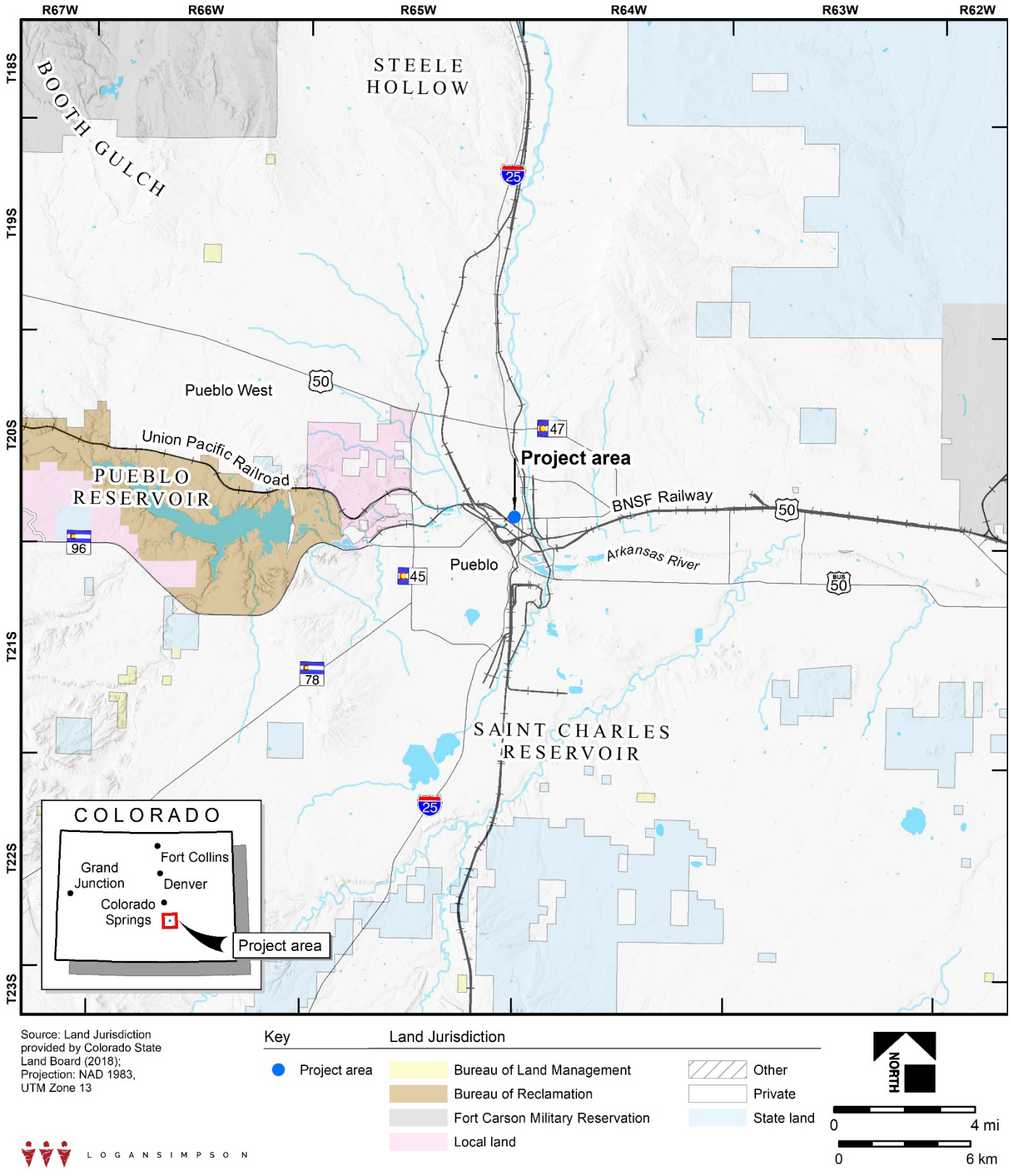

Figure 1b. Project area and land jurisdiction within the state of Colorado.

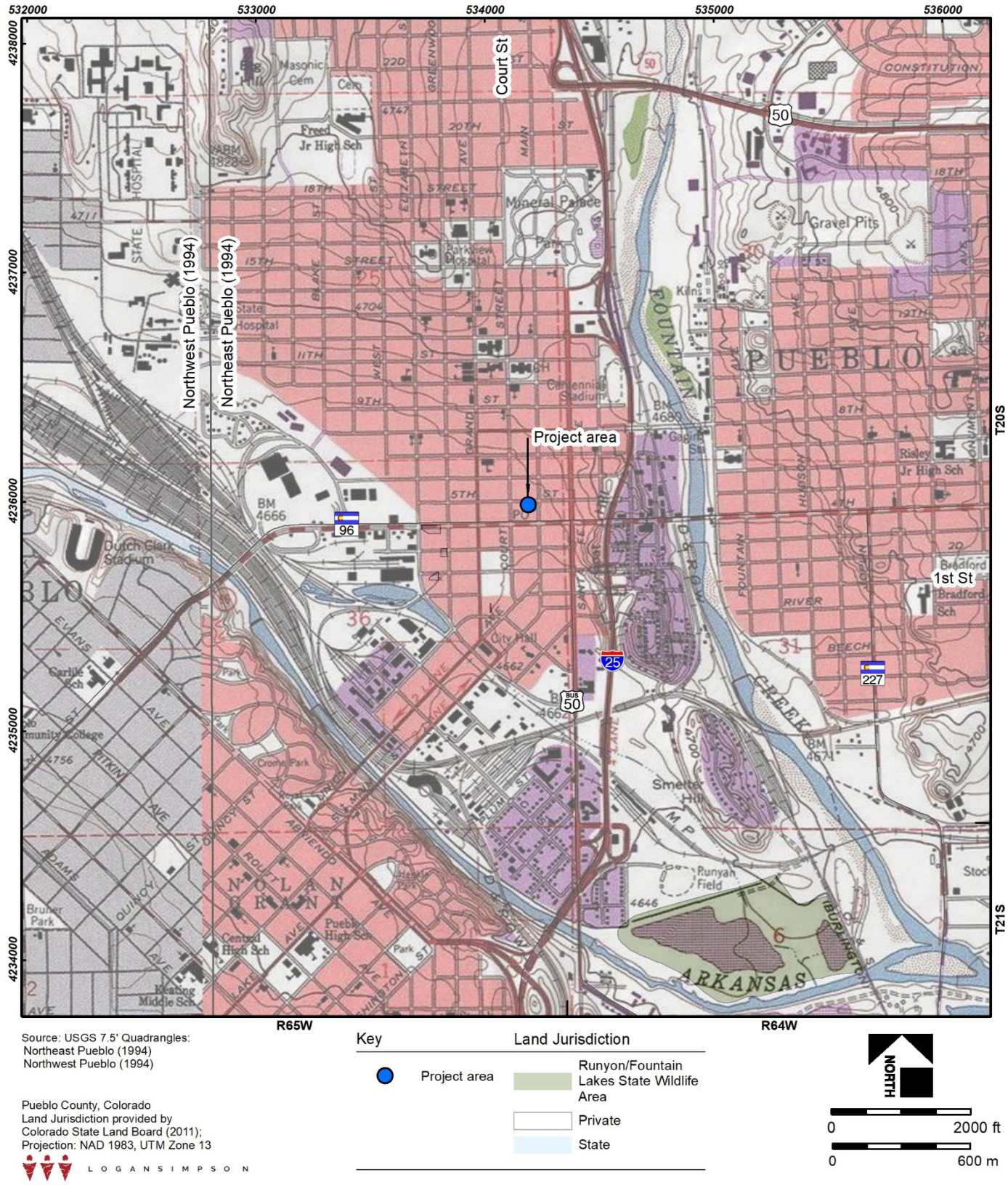

Figure 2. Location of the project area within the City of Pueblo.

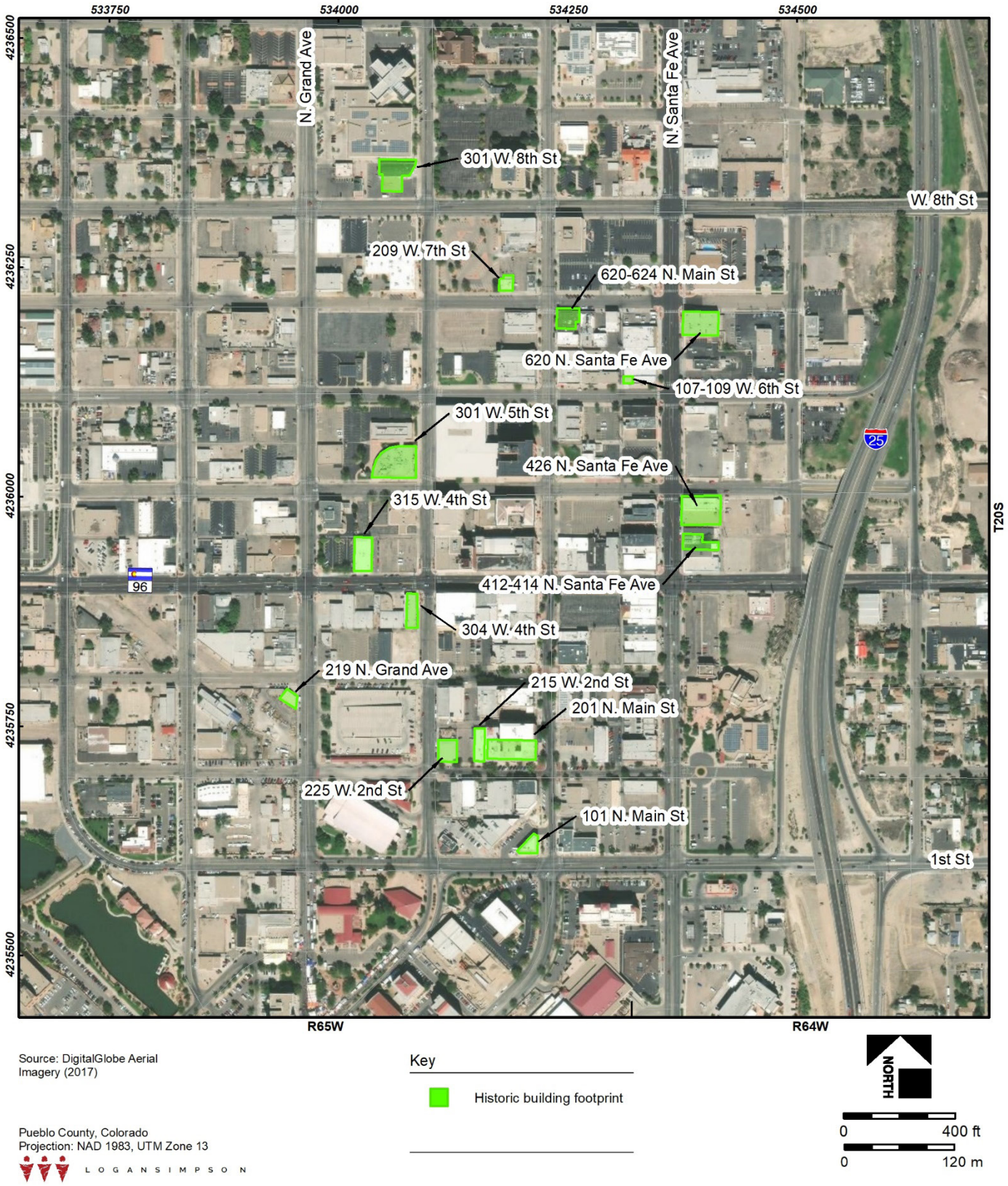

Figure 3. Location of the survey area within Pueblo's downtown core.

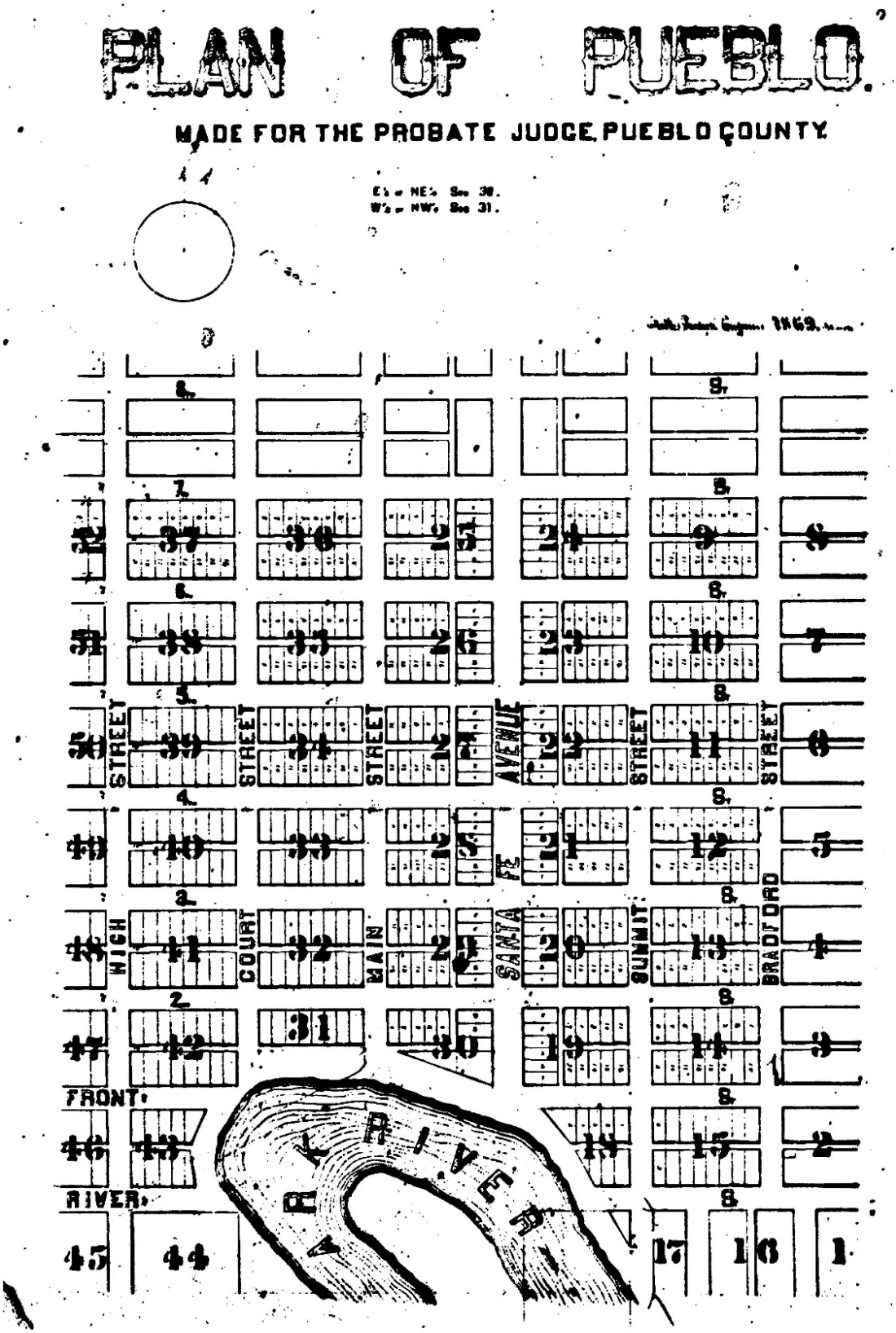

Figure 4. Reduced copy of the 1870 Pueblo Subdivision where the majority of the survey area properties are located.

Figure 5. Reduced copy of the 1872 South Pueblo Subdivision where 101 N Main Street is located.

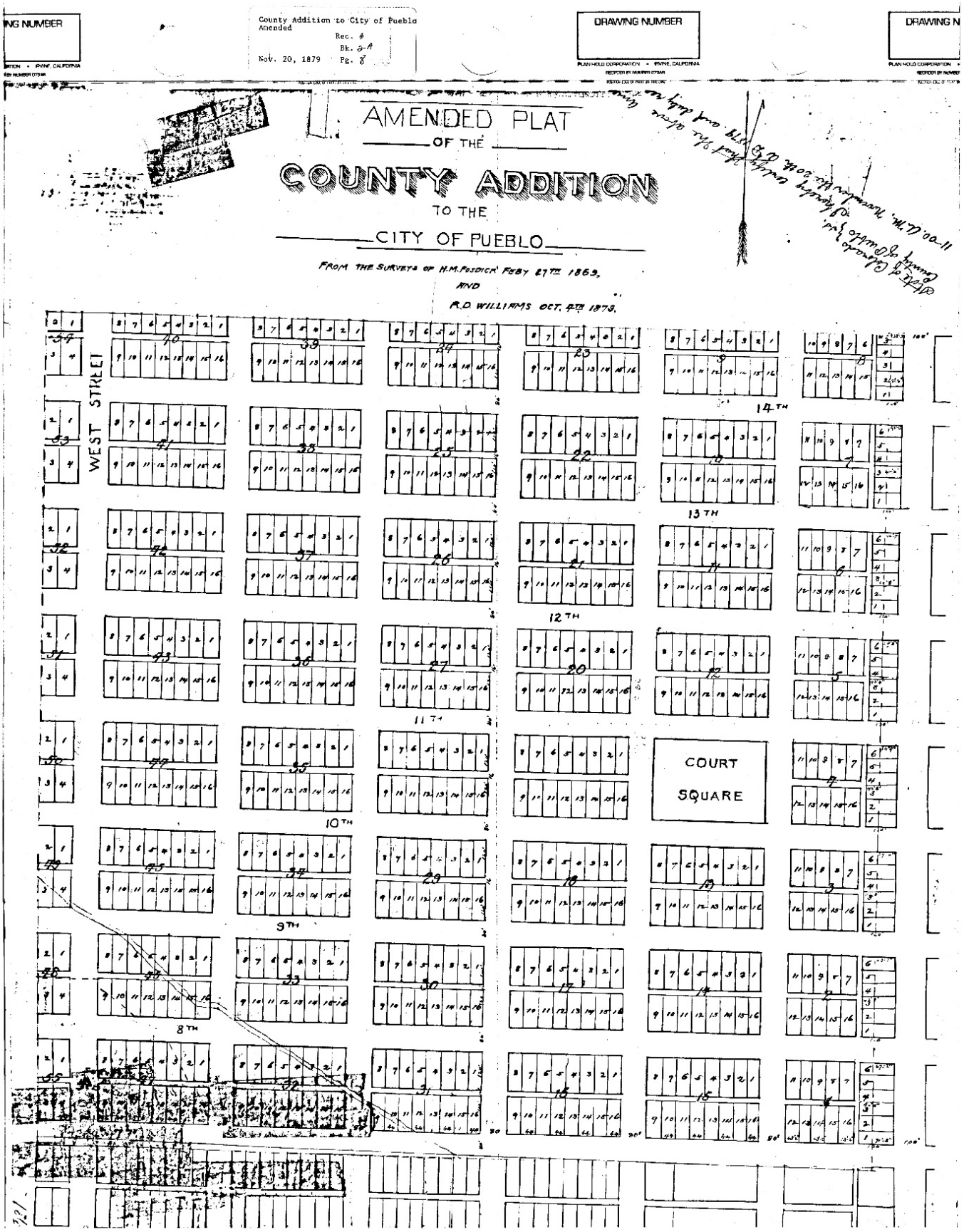

Figure 6. Reduced copy of the 1879 County Addition Subdivision where buildings located along 7th and 8th streets are located.

To avoid redundancy from previous documentation efforts, the following historic context section seeks to supplement the Phase I report (Autobee 2018) as it relates to the commercial development of Pueblo at large in the post-World War II period, important persons associated with the community's development, and the City's ethnic, racial, and cultural heritage. A historic context of downtown Pueblo was largely provided as part of Phase I in *A Survey and Context of Downtown Pueblo's History and Architecture* (Autobee 2018).

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Located in the Central Mountains region of present-day Colorado, the City of Pueblo sits at the confluence of the Arkansas River and Fountain Creek near the foothills of the Wet Mountains. The region has supported human occupation dating back to the Paleo-Indian period (11,500 – 9000 BCE), although its most immediate inhabitants predating European colonization include members of the Jicarilla Apache, Cheyenne, and Ute tribes (Native Land 2019; Pueblo County n.d.).

European colonization was slow to reach the inland plains. Contact between the area's indigenous peoples and arriving Europeans was probably first made during the expedition of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado in 1540 and 1541, but permanent settlements remained unfeasible (Carter and Mehls 1984:II-1). While the land now designated as the City of Pueblo was first claimed by the French Crown in 1681 as part of the Mississippi River drainage, it was the Spanish, not the French, who largely continued to explore the area during the 17th and 18th centuries (Carter and Mehls 1984:II-1).

With the 1763 conclusion of the Seven Years War, the Arkansas River—also called the Río Nepesta or Rio Grande de San Francisco—was ceded to Spain, along with the western Mississippi drainage. The Spanish would maintain political control of the area for most of the next four decades (Carter and Mehls 1984:II-2; Botello 2013:63). In 1786, the Spanish negotiated a tentative peace with the Comanche who agreed to give up their nomadic lifestyle and move into various settlements, one of which was established east of Pueblo (Carter and Mehls 1984:II-2). Called San Carlos de los Jupes, this village was forsaken after only four months when a Comanche woman living there died of disease.

The region was returned briefly to France in 1800, before ultimately passing to the fledgling United States (U.S.) Government as part of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase (Carter and Mehls 1984:II-2). Sovereignty over the immediate Pueblo region remained contested between the Spanish and the U.S. with both countries accusing the other's citizens of trespass on the disputed territory. In 1806, U.S. Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike embarked on an expedition to investigate the southern portion of the U.S. government's new holding (Carter and Mehls 1984:II-2). Traveling up the Arkansas River, Pike and his men constructed a log fortification in the vicinity of present-day Pueblo near the terminus of Fountain Creek. Measuring only five feet tall on three sides, upon completion, the edifice was the first official U.S. building constructed in the future state of Colorado (Pueblo County n.d.). After 14 years of persistent border disputes, Spain and the U.S. signed the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819 and formally ratified it two years later (Carter and Mehls 1984:II-3). The treaty placed the border between the two territories partially along the Arkansas River, thus helping to establish the Pueblo region's future as an assemblage of diverse nationalities, cultures, and traditions.

Shortly after ratifying the Adams-Onís Treaty, in 1821, the Spanish authorities in New Spain were overthrown and the Mexican Empire declared its own political independence. Without restrictions from Spain, Mexico opened

its borders to trade and the lower Arkansas River became an important part of the Santa Fe Trail connecting the American Midwest to modern-day New Mexico (Carter and Mehls 1984:II-3). Concerned about U.S. incursions, between 1832 and 1843, the Mexican government provided land grants to its citizens in southern Colorado, though these grants proved difficult to settle due to ongoing conflicts with the Utes and other tribes (Pueblo County n.d.).

Equally challenging to Mexican settlement was the eastern demand for beaver and buffalo furs. "Mountain men"—rugged trappers and merchants—began pushing far into the American interior and establishing a variety of forts and trading posts. Within the Pueblo area, ex-Captain John Gantt established Fort Cass in 1834, six miles below the mouth of Fountain Creek on the Arkansas River, and along the western route of the Santa Fe Trail (Gallagher 2013). Gantt employed Mexican craftsmen to construct a single-story adobe complex from which he bartered with local tribes (Gallagher 2013). Unfortunately for Gantt, the construction of Bent's Old Fort to the southeast—a similar establishment on a far grander scale—proved lethal to his business and by 1835 he abandoned his fort to the elements (Gallagher 2013).

El Pueblo

In 1842, U.S. traders George Simpson and Robert Fisher along with Mathew Kinkead, Francisco Conn, and Joseph Mantz established a small outpost they called "El Pueblo" along the Mexican side of the Arkansas River where it met the mouth of Fountain Creek (Pueblo County; Autobee 2016) (Figure 7). The post's location was strategically chosen for its proximity to trading routes such as the Cherokee Trail and Taos Trail, the Mexican border, and its proximity to prime agricultural land. (El Pueblo n.d.). Along these routes, a variety of different cultural groups came together for trading and other commercial pursuits. These groups included indigenous tribes from the surrounding land, European Americans from the east, as well as Hispanos and Mexicans from the south (for the sake of clarity, this document will use the term "Hispanic" to refer to those groups and individuals who trace their ancestry to Spain, "Mexican" for those non-Hispanos within the former Mexican Empire, and European American for those Caucasian colonists, pioneers, and European Americans coming almost exclusively from the eastern U.S.). Although many of these groups simply traveled these trade routes or lived at their termini, as evidenced by the establishment of El Pueblo, increasing numbers of European Americans were beginning to settle in the fertile plains east of the Rocky Mountains.

Figure 7. "At Pueblo-From the E.," June 12th, 1850. Courtesy of History Colorado.

In his autobiography, mountain man and former slave, James Pierson Beckwourth noted himself among the outpost's original founders, although given his penchant for exaggeration, later historians dispute this claim (Lecompte 1980:42; Autobee 2016). Like Fort Cass, El Pueblo was an adobe structure constructed by Mexican masons with 8-foot exterior walls backing onto interior residences (Lecompte 1980:46). While the outpost's other founders turned to different pursuits, Simpson and Fisher traded predominantly in buffalo hides and maintained a multicultural establishment of approximately 48 individuals, including European American men and their Mexican wives, as well as members of the Ute, Arapaho, and other tribes (Pueblo County n.d.). Presaging the city's future liberality, a powerful wheat-based spirit called "Taos Lightning" was peddled to the fort's inhabitants by traveling merchant Charles "Charlie" Autobees and proved enormously popular (Pueblo County n.d.; Simmons 2016).

Among the founders of the outpost, Mathew (sometimes Matthew) Kinkead appears to have been more intent on ranching than trading, having moved to the Arkansas River in 1841 with the resolve to start a "buffalo farm" (Lecompte 1980:39). Though a notable early resident of the region, Kinkead's common-law wife Maria Teresa "Teresita" Sandoval (1811-1894) remains one of the area's more unique early settlers (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Drawing of Teresita Sandoval. Courtesy of History Colorado.

Born in 1811 of European descent, Sandoval grew up in Taos, New Mexico. In 1835, she was married to José Manual Suaso with whom she had four children (Lecompte 1980:37). Historical documents speak to her local renown for both for her vitality and beauty, neither of which went unnoticed by her neighbor and El Pueblo Founder, Mathew Kinkead. The birth of her fifth child revealed the ongoing relationship between Sandoval and Kinkead and caused her to leave Suaso, and take her children to join Kinkead on a ranch 6 miles above the mouth of Fountain Creek (Lecompte 1980:37). During their time together, Kinkead and Sandoval embarked on hazardous expeditions to capture buffalo calves, and through their trapping and trading partnership, Sandoval became an important fixture in the trading operations of El Pueblo (El Pueblo n.d.). Less than a decade later, in 1843, Sandoval met British trader Alexander Barclay. Sandoval and Barclay formed a romantic and business partnership following her separation from Kinkead (Allyn 2019). Ultimately, Sandoval and Barclay would help found the nearby settlement of Hardscrabble before separating sometime around Barclay's death in 1855 (Allyn 2019). Sandoval spent her remaining years on the Doyle Settlement nearly 18 miles southeast of El Pueblo (NRHP #80000922) which belonged to her son-in-law Joseph Doyle (Allyn 2019; Munch 1978). Following Doyle's death in 1864, Sandoval successfully managed the property until her own death at the site in 1894 (Allyn 2019).

The El Pueblo outpost maintained good business during its first few years of operation, however its resident merchants began to diminish in the late 1840s when the 1846 Mexican-American War broke out (El Pueblo n.d.). Despite the conclusion of the war, the outpost suffered further mishap when its strategic location along the Mexican border evaporated following the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty allowed for the expansion of U.S. territory, including the incorporation of present day Arizona and New Mexico, thus changing previously established trade routes (El Pueblo n.d.). As its population and business increasingly waned, the outpost relied on the occasional visitors from passing wagon trains heading west or the European Americans and Hispanos who were increasingly settling in the region (El Pueblo n.d.). These movements' further strained already tense relations with local tribes and in 1854, a band of 50 Utes angered by broken treaties and botched negotiations, led a Christmas Eve attack on the outpost (El Pueblo n.d.). The strike was unexpected and nearly all of the outpost's 15-to-20 remaining inhabitants were killed. In the aftermath of the raid, the site was abandoned and a U.S. military campaign was launched to force peace with the Utes and their Apache allies (El Pueblo n.d.; Pueblo County n.d.).

The discovery of gold in the Pikes Peak region of Colorado in the late 1850s, drew tens of thousands of prospectors to the area in the spring and summer of 1859 (Colorado Gold Rush n.d.). For the Ute, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and other tribes, this influx proved to be disastrous as vital ecosystems that had contained reliable natural resources were stripped and disrupted in a near-frenzied search for minerals (Colorado Gold Rush n.d.). The events of the period marked the terminal shifting of power from the native tribes of Colorado to the U.S. government as well as the start of a long declination for the Ute who had their traditional territory arrogated through a succession of treaties drafted to favor western mining interests (Colorado Gold Rush n.d.). For many European Americans, the weakening of native cultures was taken as a "pacification" of the tribes, which in turn opened the area to uncontested settlement (Colorado Gold Rush n.d.).

Pioneer Pueblo

Despite the events leading to the desertion of El Pueblo in 1854, the confluence of Fountain Creek and the Arkansas River proved too valuable an area for potential pioneers to long overlook. By 1858, a small traveler's camp called Independence had been established on the east side of Fountain Creek due to its easy access north to the gold diggings along Cherry Creek (Pueblo County n.d.). Growing from this, members of Josiah Smith's 1858 prospecting party hired surveyors to plat a formal settlement and renamed the camp Fountain City in a moment of derivative inspiration (Pueblo County n.d.; Hall 1889-95:449). A large corral was built, a store opened, and approximately 30 cabins constructed of logs and salvaged adobe bricks from the abandoned El Pueblo (Hall 1889-95:449). Capitalizing on the flood of miners heading north and west, in 1859, Smith and others drew water from Fountain Creek to plant crops for later resale (Hall 1889-95:449). This marked part of the beginning of a permanent shift throughout the Southern Frontier away from pure subsistence farming to the commercial agricultural practices that still continue to define the region today (Carter et. al 1980:II-46).

In the winter of 1859 and 1860, modern-day Pueblo was established in direct competition to Fountain City near the site of El Pueblo (Hall 1889-95:449). Early Colorado historian Frank Hall, explains that a small group of settlers hired Denver-based firm Buell and Boyd to survey a town site which "when completed, mapped and picturesquely embellished by artistic pencils… formed an extremely inviting prospect" (Hall 1889-95:449). Whether inviting or not, by 1860, A.C. Wright, Aaron Sims, and a Dr. Catterson constructed the town's first residences near the corner

of Santa Fe Avenue and Front Street (later renamed 1st Street), and Albert G. Boone established the City's first general store (Hall 1889-95:450). Hall maintains that this central "nucleus" and "rallying point" gave Pueblo a decisive advantage over Fountain City which continued to lose its original residents to Pueblo until the site was ultimately abandoned (Hall 1889-95:450).

The following year in response to the Gold Rush, the Territory of Colorado was carved out of the Nebraska, Utah, Kansas, and New Mexico Territories. One of its seventeen original counties was named "Pueblo." Perhaps by default, Pueblo was chosen as the county seat and by 1862, a single-room log courthouse had been erected somewhere near "Eastman's Ditch" (Hall 1889-95:451). Pueblo continued to grow despite the economic turmoil brought on by the Civil War. A public school was constructed in 1863; a post office established in the same year, and a flour mill built a year later (Hall 1889-95:453-4). John A. Thatcher, who would become an integral part of Pueblo's early development, arrived in the settlement in 1862, where he opened a small store in a log cabin off 2nd Street (Hall 1889-95:451).

Simultaneous to the establishment of Pueblo and other Colorado communities, local Indian tribes were attempting to defend their aboriginal lands by continually engaging the U.S. army in strikes, counter strikes, and all out massacres (Boissoneault 2017). Seeking to quell the violence and encourage more aggressive westward expansion by European Americans, the U.S. government signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867, compelling the Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyenne, and Arapaho to leave their traditional homelands and resettle on reservations within the Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) to the South (Boissoneault 2017). A similar treaty was signed with the Ute in 1868, reducing their domain significantly and located away from the southern plains on Colorado's Western Slope (Pueblo County n.d.). Though enactment of these treaties was far from straightforward (and many were broken in subsequent decades and often through government actions), they opened the land around Pueblo and the southern frontier for large-scale agricultural and livestock operations. Moreover, the removal of local indigenous communities made Pueblo an increasingly appealing destination for settlement.

Although Pueblo had been established nearly a decade earlier, it continued to remain a small outpost on the Colorado plains with a population hovering around 50 individuals. The community was largely characterized by a cluster of buildings and structures made of wood frame and adobe brick (Hall 1889-95:457) (Figure 9). By 1869 however, the community's population increased to upwards of 400 people due to Pueblo's increasing regional prominence and the first brick building—a prison—was built using materials purchased from a recently opened brickyard (Hall 1889-95:455, 457). By the 1870s, Pueblo continued to rapidly attract settlers as a rising economic center. The city was formally incorporated on March 22, 1870 with a population of 666 persons

Figure 9. Image titled, "West side of Santa Fe Avenue, Pueblo, between Fourth and Fifth streets, in the spring of 1870," showing typical vernacular architecture of the period. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library. Call number X-10843.

(Hall 1889-95:457). Churches were established, a land office opened, and in 1872, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad (D&RG) completed the construction of a narrow gauge rail line running south from Colorado Springs (Hall 1889-95:454, 457-58; Pueblo County n.d.).

Boomtown Pueblo

The D&RG was founded by William Jackson Palmer, who had been among the first to realize that a narrow gauge railway was well-suited to the uniquely challenging topography of the Colorado Territory (William Jackson Palmer n.d.). Upon reaching Pueblo, Palmer financed the building of a depot between E 7th and E 8th street of the City and promptly continued construction of the railroad across the Arkansas River to the Nolan Grant—part of a former Mexican Land Grant surreptitiously purchased by one of Palmer's investors (DeHerrera et al. 2011:17, 19. The location of this Depot remains conjectural. The information provided herein is drawn directly from DeHerrera). Despite the objections of Pueblo's residents and leaders, a sibling company of Palmer's D&RG, the Central Colorado Improvement Company (CCIC), platted and developed the Nolan Grant. They incorporated the land grant into the municipality of South Pueblo, and which was entirely under the control of Palmer and his investors rather than the City and residents of the original Pueblo (DeHerrera et. al. 2011:16, 19). Not only would this allow Palmer to circumvent any taxes and fees associated with operating in Pueblo proper, but it would also provide him with the opportunity to earn revenue as a real estate developer.

Despite lingering anger over the railroad's betrayal, the City of Pueblo boomed as a consequence of the railroad's arrival. In 1871, Pueblo's population had almost doubled in anticipation of the new line, coupled with a construction boom that produced 117 new buildings at a cost of $215,750 (DeHerrera et. al. 2011:20). John Thatcher, who had arrived in 1862, was later joined by his brother Mahlon and together they expanded their enterprises from retailing merchandise to operating a bank, opening the First National Bank of Pueblo (Sarver 1974:122). The following year, 185 new buildings were constructed at the even higher cost of $621,000. A further $200,000 was spent in 1873 on new construction down in "The Bottoms" located on flat of land between Pueblo and South Pueblo and centered on modern-day Union Avenue (DeHerrera et al. 2011:20; Hall 1889-95:460) (Figure 10). Three years later in 1876, an additional boost to the city was provided by the arrival of the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley branch of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad (AT&SF), providing Pueblo with its own route to the east through Kansas (Hall 1889-95:459; Sarver 1974:161).

Figure 10. Detail of "Birds-Eye View of Pueblo. Colorado, 1874" looking southwest. Pueblo proper is located in the foreground, Central Pueblo ("The Bottoms") in the mid-ground between the Arkansas River and the railway, and South Pueblo in the background. Courtesy of the Pueblo City-County Library. Identifier No. PH-AAA-0275.

Plagued by delays and expenses from eastern iron smelters, Palmer concluded that his business interests needed an industrial arm to accompany the CCIC in aiding the D&RG's continued expansion (Sarver 1974:62). Where Denver was developing as Palmer's commercial base and Colorado Springs as his "regal… residential capitol," Pueblo was to become an industrial "Pittsburgh of the West" with its downhill access from nearby mines and abundant water sources (Hill 1984:334; Sarver 1974:58). In 1876, Palmer founded the Southern Colorado Coal and Town Company as well as the Colorado Coal and Iron Company (CC&I), eventually making good on his promise to turn Pueblo into an industrial center by merging both companies and headquartering them immediately east of South Pueblo (Sarver 1973:62).

In 1877, his decision proved prophetic when gold, and later silver, were discovered in Leadville Colorado, 113 miles northwest of Pueblo (Sarver 1974:13). Though geographically closer to Denver, the boomtown and its mineral deposits remained far more easily accessed from the state's southeastern plains, leaving Pueblo as the largest distribution center for the entirety of the Arkansas River headwaters. By 1878, Palmer's industrial plans for the City were being emulated by the partnership of Mather and Geist who established what would become the Pueblo Smelting and Refining Company on the Arkansas River's northern bank (Hall 1889-95:463). As both companies sought to begin construction on ore processing facilities, the D&RG reached Leadville in 1880, assuring Pueblo's future as an industrial hub. In 1882, CC&I had managed to produce the first steel west of the Missouri River and was followed shortly thereafter by Pueblo Smelting and two other large-scale smelters (Sarver 1974:56-59). By 1889, the city would possess the capacity to process 400 railroad carloads of raw ore daily, making Pueblo the most "imposing" smelting city in the world (Sarver 1974:58).

Though now competing with South Pueblo's Union Avenue for commercial business, downtown Pueblo continued to prosper. Local growth was marked by multiple local projects including the construction of the four-story Grand Hotel on Santa Fe Avenue, and the incorporation of the horse-drawn Pueblo Street Railroad connecting the D&RG station with the downtown core. (DeHerrera et al. 2011:92). In 1882, Pueblo was tied further into the national economy when former Colorado governor John Evans' Denver and New Orleans Railroad (D&NO) reached the City and was put into operation (Hall 1889-95:463). Further complicating the area's tangled municipal boundaries, a year later, a third municipality—Central Pueblo—was incorporated on a small triangle of reclaimed river-bottom between the downtown core and Union Avenue District (Hall 1889-95:469).

Despite its western location, Pueblo was not immune to national trends and fashions, including the 1884 construction of an indoor roller skating rink by businessman, J.R. De Remer in 1884. Once the skating rink fad had ended, he promptly converted it into an approximation of an opera house in 1886 (Hall 1889-95:463, 483). The same year the three Pueblos—South, Central, and Pueblo—were reincorporated as a single municipality and the arrival of two more railroads—Jay Gould's Missouri Pacific and the Chicago (MP&C), Rock Island and Pacific (RI&P)—allowed for the joint construction of the opulent Union Depot (NRHP #75000535) in the Bottoms by Chicago-based architects Sprague and Newell (Hall 1889-95:469; Hunt 1974) (Figure 11).

Like many cities whose economies centered upon the railroad and heavy industry, Pueblo attracted a remarkable diversity of ethnic and racial groups who helped to settle and develop the expanding city. Despite the segregationist attitudes and prejudicial beliefs of protestant industrialists like Palmer, the city's extractive industries and smelters proved a major economic draw to southern and eastern Europeans, Mexicans, and Hispanos, all of whom were migrating north and west for enhanced opportunities (Botello 2013:65-66). When these groups arrived in Pueblo, they were met with economic opportunity, but also racial, ethnic, and class prejudices. In the late 19th and early 20th

Figure 11. Union Depot as it appears today. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

centuries, these groups were still considered by many European Americans to be inferior to northern European "races," though some would gradually acquire "whiteness, by finding financial success, and by deftly assimilating into local European American cultural norms (Botello 2013:6).

As early as 1870, the population census of Pueblo revealed residents originating from over 21 countries including many western, northern, and central European locations. Immigrants arrived through ports in New Orleans and Galveston and were often persuaded to move to Pueblo by local agents working for the Pueblo Board of Trade and later by word of mouth from Pueblo's established immigrant communities (Botello 2013:69).

Ethnic Italians and Slovenes were among the earliest groups of immigrants drawn to Pueblo during the 1870s and 1880s (Botello 2013:69). Enclaves were formed around downtown, as well adjacent to the City's industrial plants with many immigrants moving to the newly platted City of Bessemer, neighboring South Pueblo. The Italians, and later Mexicans, settled along Salt Creek or "Goat Hill," and the Slovenes settled in the South Pueblo neighborhoods of "the Grove" and later "Bojon Town" in nearby Eilers Heights (Botello 2013:71; Hill 1983:334-5).

In time, Mexicans became the largest ethnic group in Pueblo. They worked a variety of agricultural jobs and created neighborhoods or "barrios" that included an irregular street plan with small, wood and adobe homes, fenced yards, shared communal spaces, and narrow setbacks from the street, (Hill 1983:334-5) (Figure 12). Other ethnic and racial groups during the 1870s include Jews, Asians, and African Americans. As early as 1870, 12 Jewish families were enumerated in the Pueblo census, as were 28 individual African Americans (Bartolo 2019; United States Census 1870; Brown 2019). Some sources note that Chinese immigrants arrived along with the railroads, as well as the Japanese after the turn of the century (Hill 1983:334-5).Though many of these groups remained modest in size, they would form permanent communities within the City's diverse population and would influence the downtown area's subsequent development.

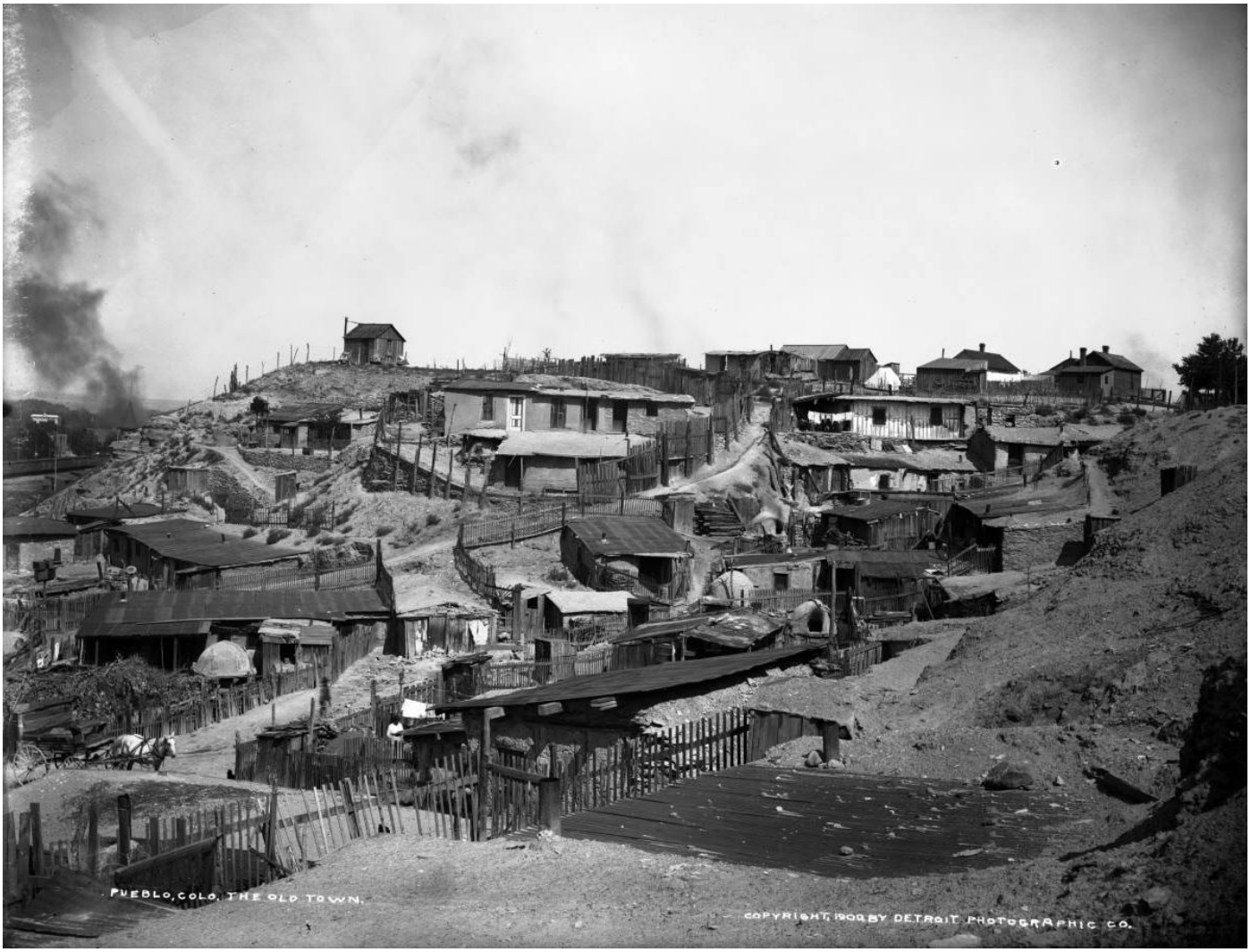

Figure 12. Historical image described as ''Pueblo, Colo. The Old Town'' showing the Goat Hill neighborhood or "barrio" around 1900. Courtesy of the Pueblo City-County Library. Identifier No. 10422.

As their presence matured, immigrant groups established their own institutions, including foreign language newspapers with names like "Frei Presse" (Free Press) or "Slovenski Narod" (Slovenian Nation) that operated alongside the long-established *Pueblo Chieftain*. By the 1890s, places of worship within Pueblo City limits also showed great diversity, including synagogues, and 25 Christian churches with 14 separate denominations ranging from those of the African Methodist Episcopals (AME), Catholics, and German Lutherans (Hall 1889-95:469, 472; Botello 2013:70, 82).

By the late 1880s, downtown Pueblo was beginning to take a shape, with gridded blocks and lots, populated by civic, commercial, and industrial buildings. Indeed, much of downtown Pueblo's early layout remains discernable in the present-day. Hall, writes that in the 1880s, "the first really metropolitan business blocks were erected… and the epoch of four and five storied structures, with passenger elevators, was inaugurated" (Hall 1889-95:474). Reflective of the City's ambitions, these buildings helped to boost Pueblo's preeminence as "Colorado's Second City," however all were constructed by largely unknown architects and lacked the prestige associated with architecture of more substantial mid-western cities (Engelbrecht 1985:278, 292). Seeking to mark Pueblo's transition from a rough frontier town to a metropolitan center, the City was given a unique opportunity to do so

when De Remer's converted opera house was destroyed by fire in 1888 or 1889 (Hall 1889-95:483; Engelbrecht 1985:278). Rather than rebuild in kind, a commission composed of the City's leading citizens elected to construct a new Grand Opera House by the rising architects of Chicago's Auditorium Building: Dankmar Adler and Louis Sullivan (Engelbrecht 1985:278).

As built, Adler and Sullivan's designs for the Pueblo Opera House Block were remarkable. Requiring approximately $500,000 and a large donated site on Main Street, the opera house could seat about 1,000 people and contained all the most modern equipment necessary for the massive touring productions that would be staged there (Engelbrecht 1985:283). The auditorium block contained office space for the Thatcher's First National Bank and 6 retail shops, while the upper stories contained rooms for the Pueblo Club and 63 additional offices (Engelbrecht 1985:283). Hall, writing almost contemporaneous with the building's completion, explains that the Pueblo Opera House Block assisted "in creating a new epoch for Pueblo—the graduation from the roller skating rink period to the full artistic dignity and triumph of the… Grand Opera House. Its dedication was significant of the rise of the City above a provincial station" (Hall 1889-95:483).

Though writing as a booster as much as a historian, Hall's comments were not too far removed from reality. While the Grand Opera House only rarely saw the types of grand productions it was designed to accommodate, Pueblo became increasingly cosmopolitan as it continued booming well into the early 1890s (Engelbrecht 1985:292) (Figure 13). In 1890, the streetcar that was installed a decade earlier, was electrified with over 20 miles of track connecting downtown to the City's furthest environs (Hall 1889-95:475; Hill 1984:362; DeHerrera et al. 2011:92). Additionally, five banks, including Thatcher's enterprise and the Pueblo Savings Bank (today PB&T) were serving the region by financing ditch ventures to ore buying, to real estate speculation, and steel mills (Sarver 1974:125).

Figure 13. Pueblo, Colorado, looking south. 1890. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. Call No. G4314.P8A3 1890 .A6.

With the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and the resulting Panic of 1893, many Colorado boom towns whose economies had relied exclusively on silver mining were devastated (Aspen n.d.). While Pueblo escaped the worst of the crash due to ongoing gold mining to the northwest, the City's explosive growth was substantially curtailed (Sarver 1974:14; Engelbrecht 1985:292). Earlier dreams of surpassing Denver as Colorado's principal city became far more tenuous and the City's development slowed to a steadier pace from its earlier roar (Engelbrecht 1985:292). One of Pueblo's four smelters closed in the Panic's ensuing chaos and two more had closed by 1917. Only CC&I—renamed the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (CF&I)—remained in operation (Sarver 1974:64). In 1904, the company was purchased by Jay Gould and John D. Rockefeller who modernized the company, creating a massive corporation (Minnequa Steelworks Office n.d.). By 1910, the CF&I employed 10 percent of Colorado's workforce, owned 14 company towns, and was Pueblo's largest employer with some 4,000 workers living in the City (Minnequa Steelworks Office n.d.). Such reliance on a single employer made CF&I an intrinsic part of Pueblo's identity as a "Steel City" or as the Pittsburgh of the "West" (Anstey et al. 2012:44; Brooke 1997). In 1919 for example, Pueblo produced more freight tonnage than any shipping point west of the Missouri (Sarver 1974:165).

Despite the beginning of anti-immigration movements in the 1910s, the workforce at the CF&I steel plant was highly diverse, with as many as 28 different ethnic groups recorded on payrolls in 1903 (Carter et al. 1984:II-96). By 1910, 5.3 percent of the City's population was Slovenian and by 1920, immigrants accounted for a total of 17 percent of the 43,050 people (Botello 2013:71). The city's two largest ethnic groups remained Mexicans and Italians who continued to inhabit often insular communities and "occupied the society's lowest rungs" (qtd. In Botello 2013:71). While relations between different immigrant groups could be fraught, the continuing availability of good jobs, affordable housing, and recreation, maintained peace more successfully than in other American industrial centers (Broadhead n.d.) (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Main Street, looking north. Note the tower of the Grand Opera House on left. About 1910. Courtesy of the Pueblo City-County Library. Identifier No. Ph-P-662-08-005.

In spite of the completion of architect-designed buildings such as Pueblo's City Hall by New York architects Godley & Haskell and local architect William Stickney, the City's steady growth over the last two decades was coming to an end (Memorial Hall History and Significance n.d. Note that City Hall and Memorial Hall are attached though were constructed separately). The downturn corresponded with a post-World War I depression that took a toll on Colorado's economy. Agricultural prices dropped and the demand for manufactured goods entered a period of decline (Athearn 1985:XI). The economic depression would be compounded by the Great Flood of 1921.

On the evening of June 3rd, 1921, a combination of unusual spring runoff and heavy thunderstorms caused both the Arkansas River and Fountain Creek to burst their banks (Athearn 1985:XII; The Great Flood of 1921 n.d.). When the 12 feet of accumulated water finally receded, the river had permanently changed its course to the south, some 600 houses had been washed away, and over $19,000,000 in damages had been wreaked upon the City (Athearn 1985:XII; Pueblo County n.d.) (Figure 15). Estimates of the flood's casualties ranged from 100 to 1500 deaths and over 3,000 residents were forced to live in tent cities during the disaster's immediate aftermath (Athearn 1985:XII; The Great Flood of 1921 n.d.; Pueblo County n.d.). Decomposing bodies and livestock on some of the City's choicest streets lent Pueblo the temporary nickname of the "town of a thousand smells" and a deployment of army soldiers remained onsite for six months to help clear up the rubble (Botello 2013:74) (Figure 16).

Figure 15. View of Main Street in aftermath of 1921 flood showing Amherst Block. June, 1921. Courtesy of the Pueblo County Historical Society. No number.

Figure 16. Army tanks hauling street car out of business district, June, 1921. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library. Call No. Z-6805.

Post-Flood Pueblo

The long-term aftermath of the 1921 flood was as extensive as it was immediate. Low-lying areas inundated by the waters included many immigrant neighborhoods such as Peppersauce Bottoms, the Grove, or Little Italy (Botello 2013:74). In some instances, communities resettled to higher ground while others simply rebuilt in place (Anstey et al. 2014:2). The low-lying commercial district surrounding Union Avenue was similarly affected with many business owners leaving their deluged buildings for downtown's Main Street (Munch et al. 1982:8.2-8.3). Economically, the flood shuttered some of the City's central industries, and ruined more that could have grown into substantial businesses (Hill 1984:336). Numerous smaller shops were forced to permanently close and subsequent repairs demanded public funding that could have been otherwise allocated (Hill 1984:336). Perhaps even more disastrous, a bill in the Colorado legislature to provide funding for flood control infrastructure was tied to another bill funding the construction of a tunnel through the Rockies (Athearn 1985:XII). The Moffat Tunnel would create a pipeline crossing the State from west to east but at the same time create a railroad bypass around the former mainline of the D&RG which ran through Pueblo (Athearn 1985:XII). Although such measures were politically improbable before the flood, in 1922 both bills passed and the City of Denver regained railroad supremacy (Athearn 1985:XII). While Pueblo's recovery was remarkable considering the flood's devastation, its aftereffects were compounded by declining prices for agriculture and steel (Hill 1984:336; Pueblo County). Adding insult to injury, the Grand Opera House was irreparably destroyed by fire one March evening in 1922 (Engelbrecht 1985:289).

Already affected by the flood, the remainder of the 1920s proved equally unkind to Pueblo's immigrant and minority populations. Throughout the early 20th century, these groups had continued to grow and now accounted for 17 percent of the City's populace with an additional 17 percent composed of their children and other second generation Americans (Botello 2013:71). A waning economy throughout the state compounded rising crime rates associated with the passage of Prohibition (1919) which impelled the creation of organized gangs to run an illegal liquor trade (Athearn 1985:XII). Pueblo and Denver became the two largest sources for illicit alcohol

in Colorado and formed rival gangs, with Pueblo gangs attempting an "invasion" of the Denver market (Athearn 1985:XII). Violence erupted with hijackings, kidnappings, and machine-gun murders, all of which gave local police the appearance of powerlessness (Athearn 1985:XII). Casting for blame, social opinion turned against the City's immigrant populations spurred on by the 1922 arrival of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) (Botello 2013:71, 75). The general sentiment of Pueblo's leading citizens was illustrated when Commissioner for Public Safety, George J. Stumph stated that "our greatest handicap… [in fighting crime] is our great foreign population, as most of the lawbreakers are aliens, principally Italians" (in Botello 2013:71). Though some of the mob's leaders were in fact Italian, Pueblo's large Catholic population suffered from negative public opinions not only because of their activities, but also from the centrality alcohol often played in their culture and religion (Athearn 1985:XII; Botello 2013:71).

With an African American population of only 3.2 percent (1,395) in 1920, the KKK was forced to deviate from its usual targets to focus instead on the City's Catholics who accounted for a third of the City's residents (Botello 2013:75). Apparently finding "Pueblo's Protestants ready for organizing," in 1923 the Klan began broadcasting their presence with a rally of 1,000 uniformed members gathered before a burning 40-foot-cross erected above the City's north side (Botello 2013:76). In the following years, the organization sought to fill the void left by Pueblo's seemingly ineffective police force with tacit support of the City's protestant clergy (Botello 2013:76). Echoing the state's election of Klan sympathizer and virulent nativist Clarence J. Morley in 1924, Pueblo elected two Klansmen to its city council the following year, thus giving the group control of the municipal government (Athearn 1984:XII; Botello 2013:76). Ironically, the law and order platforms espoused by these councilmen helped to quell much of the City's violence, leading to a subsequent decline in Klan membership and activities (Botello 2013:77). Both locally and throughout Colorado, Klan influence diminished and the group proved unsuccessful in transitioning to a more typical fraternal organization (Botello 2013:77).

African Americans were subjected to similar injustices in Pueblo as was common in communities across the U.S. Historian Elmer Wells notes that while the population was seldom restricted from certain residential neighborhoods, social segregation was common (Wells 1979:5). These differences, while often seemingly subtle, meant that African Americans were restricted in the types of jobs they could apply for or the kinds of social institutions or networks they were allowed to participate in. Day-to-day inequities even trickled down to their children. For African American students, even their school photographs were relegated to the back of the yearbook, or they were not allowed to attend high school prom (Wells 1979:5).

Figure 17. Triangle Oil & Supply Company image showing one of the new building typologies created by the widespread adoption of the automobile. Image taken in 1924. Courtesy of the Pueblo City-County Library. Identifier No. pccld-ph-p-94-08-002.

The 1920s were also marked by the rising popularity and accessibility of the automobile (Figure 17). Automotive ownership began to change well-established patterns of urban life (Hill 1984:336). Street paving had begun as early as 1906, and by the 1920s, clear arterials existed through downtown with Lake Avenue, Santa Fe Avenue, and Grant Avenue established for north/south traffic and 4th Street, Thatcher Avenue, more of Santa Fe Avenue, and Northern Avenue for traffic moving east/west (Hill 1984:336). By 1930, an 18-foot-wide hard-surfaced road had been extended south from Colorado Springs. The road provided motorists with a comfortable route to travel between Pueblo and Denver, still the state's two largest cities (Anstey et al. 2012:12).

Although the Colorado Building (designed by local architect Walter DeMordaunt) was built to fill the hole left by the former opera house, the buoyant economic climate that helped to build downtown Pueblo seemed even further away (Thomas 2007:41; Hill 1984:336). Throughout much of the decade, CF&I's steel mill operated at only two-thirds of its total capacity and unlike other industrial cities with diversified economies, Pueblo remained almost wholly reliant upon it (De Herrera et al., 2012:29; Hill 1984:336). In the years following 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression, Pueblo's three major industries—manufacturing, mining, and agriculture—all declined heavily with total manufacturing output dropping by a third (Anstey et al. 2012:35). Reflecting this, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's federal relief programs were put to use in Pueblo. In comparison to other parts of the country, these programs, including the Works Progress Administration (WPA), Public Works Administration (PWA), and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), employed one of the highest number of workers per capita in the Pueblo region with a peak of 3,402 in 1938 (Anstey et al. 2012:35).

In total, during the Great Depression, the federal government invested $4.2 million on 150 projects in and around Pueblo through programs including the WPA, PWA, and the CCC. Some of these projects replaced facilities damaged and never rebuilt after the 1921 flood; others provided valuable community benefits including sewage disposal facilities or a municipal zoo (Anstey et al. 2012:35; The Living New Deal n.d.). Downtown Pueblo also profited from the construction of childcare facilities along N Greenwood Street and a state run psychiatric hospital received extensive improvements because of these federal programs (The Living New Deal n.d.; Anstey et al. 2012:41) (Figure 18).

Hand in hand with these relief efforts however, were other Federal endeavors that would also have long-term social and economic consequences for Pueblo. In 1933, as part of a larger effort to promote home ownership, the federal government created the Homeowners' Loan Corporation. The agency was tasked with helping to restructure the country's mortgage lending market, including advancing the field of appraisals and assessments through standardization, training, and the creation of technical resources (Nelson n.d.). In this process, the Corporation's department of Research and Statistics created security maps designed to indicate the "grade" of a City's neighborhoods. Grades were assigned to different neighborhoods in order to assist lenders in the granting of residential loans and mortgages. These maps were color coordinated from green (Grade A: "Best") to red (Grade D: "Hazardous") and relied upon information supplied by white, male real estate "authorities" from within each city being evaluated (Nelson n.d.). In a paradigmatic display of bureaucratic racism, ethnically diverse and poorer neighborhoods were described as "hazardous" and prospective buyers or residents were unable to receive federally backed loans within them. Termed "redlining," this practice often depreciated diverse and aging neighborhoods and made it difficult for both prospective buyers and residents to move into and out of them (Nelson n.d.) (Figure 19).

In the case of Pueblo, security maps exempted downtown Pueblo from the grade scale because it was "commercial," immediately north of the area was a blue (Grade B: "Still Desirable") zone apparently filled with acceptable business and professional people living in preferred residences and apartments (Nelson n.d.). The remaining areas to the west, south, and east of the central business corridor were far less attractive to the City's authorities whose judgments classified each area as "hazardous" and thus redlined. Accompanying map notes indicate that these areas were highly diverse and occupied by some of the City's most marginalized citizens. These included the largest population of African Americans in the "colored belt" west of Court Street who lived in "old and ill-kept" houses along with "an inferior class of white people, many of them foreigners, chiefly Mexicans…" (Nelson n.d.). Far south of downtown bordering the Union Avenue district was "an Italian concentration" and adjacent to this was the Grove; now occupied by Austrians, Italians, and African Americans (Nelson n.d.). Finally, east of Santa Fe Avenue was a "degenerated" neighborhood that had become a "rooming house district" perhaps for the often transient laborers who either passed through the City or chose to find accommodation there until they could bring their families to join them (Nelson n.d.; Hill 1984:335). While some of Pueblo's minority groups sought to ameliorate the influence of redlining through the creation of community credit and insurance unions, the pervasive disinvestment that would characterize the future of the City's center was already obvious (DiPrince 2019).

Historian Frederic J. Athearn explains that in many ways, the onset of the Second World War (WWII) saved Colorado's economy by providing much needed stimulus for agricultural and manufacturing products. This was certainly true in Pueblo where the war effort's continuing need for steel, reinstated CF&I to full operation

Figure 18. Pueblo Day Nursery showing WPA workers during construction on the New Deal nursery located along N Greenwood Street. Courtesy of the Pueblo City-County Library. No date. Identifier No. PH-AAA-0030.

and in 1942 the war effort pushed for the establishment of a military ordnance depot outside the city limits (Pueblo County n.d.; Anstey et al. 2012:38). With so many of Pueblo's men drafted into the armed forces, both the local mill and the depot filled positions with female and minority labor. At the new ordnance depot, women were employed driving trucks to haul materials between buildings and supply lines (Anstey et al. 2012:39). Meanwhile at CF&I, female laborers were able to push the mill to operate at 104% percent of its production capacity. Their efforts were eventually supplemented by migrant Mexicans following the 1942 passage of Public Law 78 (Bracero Program) (Anstey et al. 2012:109; Pueblo County n.d.; Porter 2008).

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Postwar Pueblo

In the War's aftermath, downtown Pueblo continued to decay. In 1947, the automobile age had finally managed to put the City's streetcars out of business when the privately-run fleet was decommissioned and changed to diesel buses (History of Pueblo Transit n.d.) (Figure 20). Ironically, just as the streetcars left the thoroughfare, Santa Fe Avenue's northern end was inaugurated as Pueblo's "Automobile Row" when the Silver State Motor Company and Colorado Car Company constructed an $80,000 showroom at the 9th Street intersection (Anstey et al. 2012:71-72). In short succession, the Moreschini Brothers moved their used car lot to Santa Fe Avenue and 13th Street and by 1950, half of the City's 44 car dealers were located along this strip (Anstey et al. 2012:72). Accompanying these developments, the "Pueblo Freeway" (today's I-25) began construction in 1949. Consequently, the construction of the freeway meant the demolition and clearing of the "rooming house district" on the eastern side of downtown (Anstey et al. 2012:6, 109).

In an effort to continue attracting customers, merchants and business owners south of 9th Street, enacted their own changes to the area. As it approached its 90th anniversary, the Crews-Beggs department store invested some $400,000 in its 1901 building located at 4th and Main Street (Anstey et al. 2012:76). Others made less expensive alterations to their own aging buildings, adding canted entries, stone planters, blond brick cladding, larger display windows, and modern signage (Anstey et al. 2012:33). Public works too were upgraded with a 1949 modernist police station constructed on Central Main Street, followed shortly thereafter by a similarly-styled fire station on N Main Street (Anstey et al. 2012:15). By 1952, Santa Fe Avenue was known for "block after block of modern, trim, neon-lighted buildings and show rooms" (Evans 1952:44).

In 1953, the downtown's commercial core experienced its first real competition as Pueblo's first indoor shopping mall, incongruously named Treasure Island Shopping Center, was established (Anstey et al. 2012:78). In short succession, this first mall was followed by developer John Bonforte's Belmont Shopping Center in 1956 and

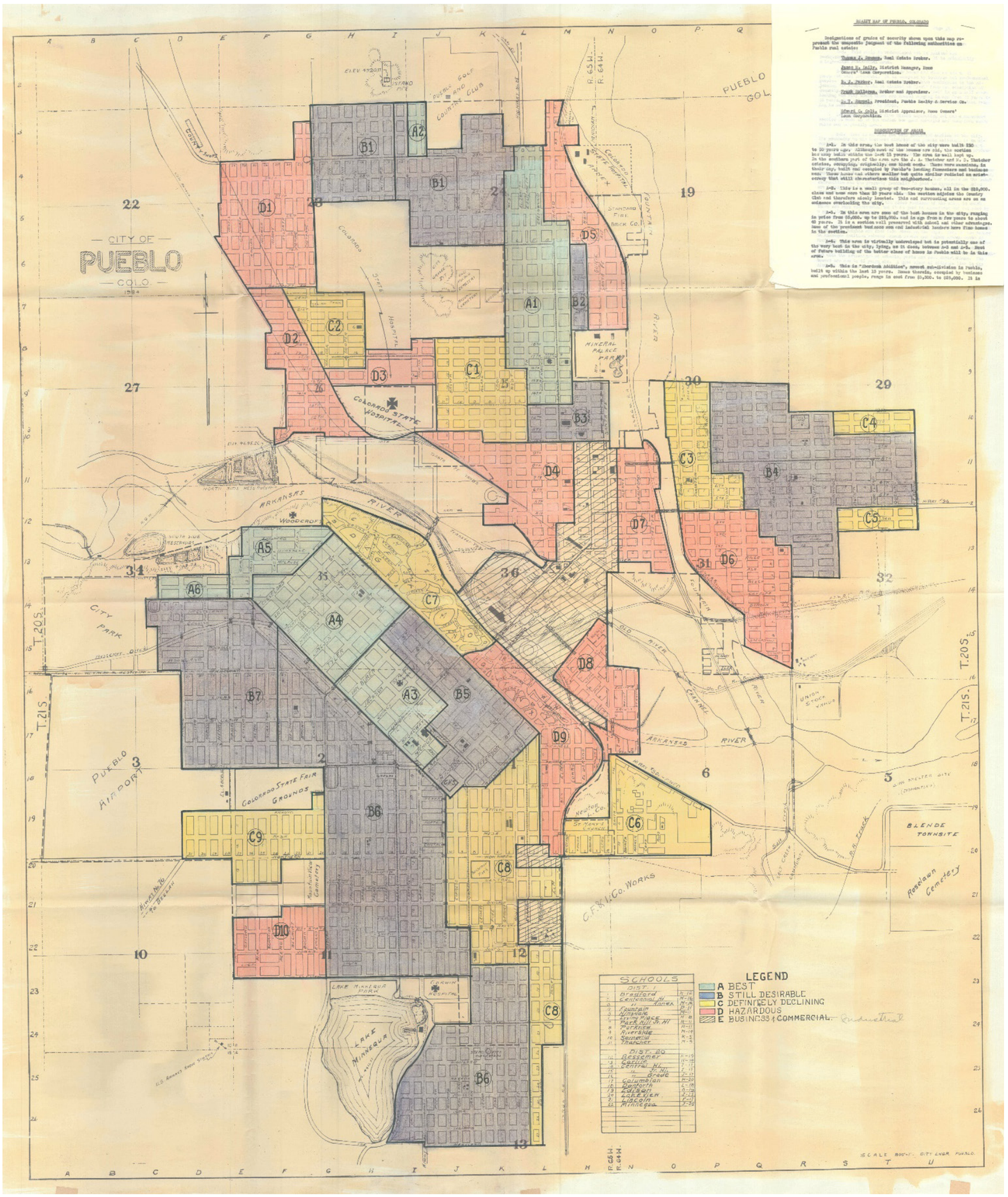

Figure 19. Realty Map of Pueblo, Colorado showing "designations of grades of security". Map from 1934. Courtesy of *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America*.

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Figure 20. Main Street looking south in 1948. Courtesy of the Pueblo City-County Library. Identifier No. Ph-P-662-27-009.

Sunset Plaza in 1959 (Anstey et al. 2012:78). All of these were located 1.5 to 2.5 miles from the City center and constructed by separate developers to serve their own largescale subdivisions (Anstey et al. 2012:65, 78). Each mall was similar in scale and design, with plentiful and free parking to support a variety of stores, and multiple stores in a single location. (Anstey et al. 2012:65, 78). The establishment of these malls adjacent to neighboring subdivisions helped siphon resources away from the downtown core. Between 1940 and 1982, the majority of Puebloans purchasing homes did so not in the City's older neighborhoods, but in the 200-some subdivisions that were platted around the area in response to a dramatic postwar housing shortage (Anstey et al. 2012:68). At midcentury, prospective buyers could take advantage of financing from the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) or returning veterans could qualify using the G.I. Bill (Anstey et al. 58). With such enticing conditions for home ownership and a thriving industrial economy, suburban Pueblo—like many contemporary Coloradoan cities—saw a surge in population. Between 1950 and 1960, the population increased by 43.2 percent from 63,685 to 91,181 (Anstey et al. 2012:59; United States Census 1950; United States Census 1960).

In 1955, as residents and patrons were pulled away from the City's center, the downtown commercial core faced two far more direct threats to its financial and physical well-being; a new urban mall and a largescale renewal project. The first concerned the recently vacated land to the immediate southwest of downtown that

was purchased by five investors: Temple Buell, a Denver mall developer, Will Nicholson, Denver's Mayor, Leslie Friedan, a Denver investor, Richard Leach, a Pueblo Realtor, and Robert Gast Jr., a Pueblo attorney (Anstey et al. 2012:78). The land was formerly occupied by the Peppersauce Bottoms neighborhood; much of which had been owned by the Pueblo Territorial Railway Company. While emptied of its earlier Italian and Mexican inhabitants following the 1921 flood, the site of the former neighborhood had remained active in the years afterwards as the Thomas Gardens, a truck farm leased from the company and operated since the 1930s by Japanese immigrants (Anstey et al. 2012:78). With the sale of the land to the AT&SF railroad in the early 1950s, the truck farm was forced to close and the property sold again to the five investors (Anstey et al. 2012:78) (Anstey et al. 2012:78). The group purchased the urban site with the intention of constructing a vast regional shopping center called Midtown Mall and modeled on Buell's Cherry Creek Mall in Denver (Anstey et al. 2012:79) (Figure 21).

Optimistic local boosters thought the development's central location might help to invigorate the greater downtown area, which would combine both the new and the old into a single commercial district centered on W 4th Street and Elizabeth Street (Anstey et al. 2012:79). Unfortunately, this indeed proved optimistic and there was little evidence the Midtown Mall had any major positive implications for its surroundings. The mall was however a success in its own right drawing a crowd of 30,000 people to its May 1959 opening and was deemed one of the largest commercial projects in the City's history (Anstey et al. 2012:73).

While the Midtown Mall proved bad for the City's commercial core, the second menace to downtown Pueblo took the form of an urban renewal plan (Anstey et al. 2012:16). Urban renewal was a program of land development to address urban decay in cities and Pueblo's plan fit neatly within contemporary urban planning theory at the time. These theories saw largescale redevelopment programs as a solution to blighted urban areas which were

Figure 21. Midtown Shopping Center before 1967. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library. Call No. X-10788.

characterized by signs of deterioration and disinvestment (Collins & Shester 2013:242). Like the practice of redlining, urban renewal was often proposed by external authorities and targeted poor and minority areas that failed to correspond with prevailing urban values. In an effort to reduce blight, cities could qualify for generous federal subsidies from the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) where they established a local redevelopment authority to carry out urban renewal projects (Collins & Shester 2013:239, 242).

Following the first mention of urban renewal in October of 1955, Pueblo's Chamber Board of Directors voted unanimously to establish its own redevelopment authority with the Pueblo Urban Renewal Commission (PURC). The following year, 60 acres surrounding the Union Avenue Commercial District (District) were identified as ripe for revitalization (Anstey et al. 2012:16). In the eyes of City officials, the District had never fully recovered from the effects of the 1921 flood. They hired consultants Harman, O'Donnel and Henninger Associates who recommended major clearance and redevelopment of the entire 60 acres (qtd. in Anstey et al. 2012:17). Under the leadership of C. Allan Bloomquist, the PURC proposed the demolition of 51 buildings due to their "substandard" conditions, 21 more to make way for a proposed Civic Center Complex, and a final 25 for the construction of new road alignments (Anstey et al. 2012:17) (Figure 22). To support the project, the federal government would provide 2.3 million dollars in grant funding if voters approved a bond of just over 1 million (Anstey et al. 2012:17).

Despite support from a number of official sources, in 1961 Pueblo voters rejected the plan by a vote of 3 to 2 and in doing so, put their downtown on a markedly different track from others cities across the country (Anstey et al. 2012:21). Sweeping redevelopment in other cities, including Denver, left a legacy of destruction of historic urban areas and vital neighborhoods. Authors of a historic context for the City's modern development speculate

Figure 22. Drawing showing proposed renewal of Union Avenue flanked by Central Main Street to left and S Victoria Avenue to right. Illustration looking southwest (approx. 1961). Note presence of City Hall in middle ground. Courtesy of the City of Pueblo.

that slower postwar population growth may have fortified the City's residents against the need for more drastic redevelopment (Anstey et al. 2012:27-28). Regardless, Bloomquist and the PURC remained undeterred, and in the coming years continued to champion changes designed to revive the City's downtown.

By the early 1960s, the area was changing rapidly, propelled in part by the 1959 completion of the Pueblo Freeway (I-25) (Anstey et al. 2012:13). Travelers could now bypass downtown Pueblo entirely, and local businesses that catered to travelers and tourists situated in the downtown core were declining. Hardest hit were the motels and motor courts that had established themselves along the former Santa Fe Avenue thoroughfare (Anstey et al. 2012:74). The increasing use of the automobile had additional consequences for downtown Pueblo (Figure 23). Banks, including the Arkansas Valley Bank and Pueblo Savings Bank (5PE.8491), constructed new buildings offering drive-thru banking services located adjacent to but outside the immediate downtown core (Anstey et al. 2012:75; Norton 2004). By 1967, passenger train service was also hard hit, and ceased serving the historic Union Depot. In 1968, the City was forced to purchase its public transit network when the operating company declared the business to be no longer financially viable (Anstey et al. 2012:33; History of Pueblo Transit n.d.). With such changes in how citizens interacted their urban cores, property values throughout downtown Pueblo began to decline correlating to a slump in domestic customers and a rise in storefront vacancy (Anstey et al. 2012:26).

Figure 23. Looking west from the intersection of Santa Fe Avenue and 4th Street. Circa late-1960s Courtesy of the Pueblo County Historical Society.

Seeking to retain a rapidly motorizing consumer base, in 1962 the PURC released "The Prospectus and Plan for a Main Street Plaza in Downtown Pueblo." Under the leadership of Bloomquist and Chairman Curtis Cope, the prospectus called for improvements to the area's traffic and parking by creating a commercial area closer in form to that of a suburban mall (Anstey et al. 2012:26). To this end, the plan called for pedestrianizing a 7 block stretch of Main Street which would be improved with modern storefronts and a variety of pools, trees, and planters scattered along its course (Anstey et al. 2012:27). Describing the effort's central thrust, Cope wrote that "now is the time for Downtown to get set, and get the kinks ironed out before the show starts… know[ing] that the shopping center people have already started" (qtd. in Anstey et al. 2012:76).

Though not requiring a public vote like the plan for Union Avenue, the Main Street Plaza plan was also rejected this time by the business leaders who would have to pay for it (Anstey et al. 2012:27-28). Instead, these individuals pooled their resources with a new federal grant and directed the PURC to find a private firm to develop a new plan that would be attractive for all parties (Anstey et al. 2012:28). Out of four bids, Victor Gruen and Associates of Los Angeles were chosen in 1966 to lead the project for a total cost of $32,000 (Anstey et al. 2012:28).

In some respects, Gruen was an odd choice for the work. Not only had his firm's bid been the most expensive, but Gruen was famously described as the "Father of the Shopping Mall" following his pioneering development of the country's first enclosed shopping center in 1956 (Anstey et al. 2012:28). It is likely that the choice of the firm was the result of Bloomquist's influence whose own urban planning philosophy closely aligned with Gruen's stated goals for Pueblo (Anstey et al. 2012:28).

By 1967, the firm had completed five conceptual designs for the city. Each was predicated on a decade-long phased development, a doubling of downtown retail space, 3,000 off-street parking stalls, the retention of three key department stores, and a substantial program of beautification incorporating a fine arts or convention center (Anstey et al. 2012:28-29). Through public comment and additional work, these five proposals were distilled into a final plan presented to the city in February of 1968 (Anstey et al. 2012:30). This plan preserved the tenets of the original proposals, but scaled them back to create a feasible plan for the City. Unfortunately, a subsequent economic analysis of the plan disagreed with its method of implementation and the ensuing turmoil scuttled the whole endeavor (Anstey et al. 2012:30). From 1955 to 1968, downtown Pueblo had successfully resisted or escaped three substantial projects seeking to redevelop portions of its historic core. Only in the 1970s would the development of the Sangre de Cristo Arts and Conference Center show that master planning had made any long-term effects on the City at all.

While the City was focused on downtown revitalization throughout the 1960s, others spent the decade struggling for their own political organization and representative rights. At the beginning of the period, the census had enumerated a total of 91,181 residents in Pueblo including 88,813 identified as white, 2,026 identified as black, and 342 identified as part of another race (United States Census 1960). Of those described as white, 15,278 were either identified as indigenous or possessed a Spanish surname, although members of the area's Chicano community considered their own population to be "woefully underestimated" (Marquez 1983:2). Academic David Marquez notes that despite remaining a minority population, Chicanos "comprised the majority of school dropouts, juvenile probation offenders, welfare recipients, and inmates within the Pueblo City and County jails" (Marquez 1983:2-3). Only a single Chicano lawyer practiced throughout Pueblo and the population as a whole faced a wide range of discrimination as well as implicit and overt racism (Marquez 1983:3).

Emboldened by the inauguration of John F. Kennedy and the national push towards and expansion of civil rights, Pueblo too faced its own political awakening in the name of social worker, Alberto Gurule (1944-present). Born in nearby Trinidad, Colorado, Gurule graduated from Pueblo's Colorado State College and went on to complete a Master's program at the University of Denver in 1968 (Marquez 1983:2). Within a year of returning to Pueblo, Gurule organized a protest of local Safeway grocery stores in support of Cesar Chavez's national "La causa" grape boycott (Marquez 1983:5). From this protest and through a variety of organizations, Gurule effectively organized a generation of the City's Chicano youth to protest for better representation within the Pueblo public school system. Although Gurule ran unsuccessfully in Colorado's gubernatorial race on La Raza Unida's ticket, Pueblo's Chicano youths used his message to stage walk outs, demand affordable school lunches, incorporate Chicano history courses in the local curriculum, as well as hire more Chicano teachers and counselors throughout the district (Marquez 1983:20). Though initially resistant, within several years, the schools were forced to implement these demands following a successful lawsuit filed by the Chicano community through a proxy group, the Brown Berets (Marquez 1983:26). While far from granting equality to Pueblo's Chicano community, these early political movements formed an important early victory for Pueblo's Chicano community (Marquez 1983:27).

Figure 24. Union Avenue from City Hall in 1976, looking north. Note Amherst Block in left of middle ground, Sangre de Cristo Arts Center in right of middle ground, and the presence of the completed Highway running behind both of these. Courtesy of the Pueblo City-County Library. Identifier No. PCCLD-Ph-P-01-10-008.

With the advent of the 1970s, downtown revitalization efforts began again in earnest. In the first year of the decade, local architecture firm Hurtig, Gardner and Froelich prepared a new master plan for downtown, including a major overpass and new pedestrian mall (Anstey et al. 2012:31). With apparently little deliberation, this plan too remained unexecuted, however the firm received a subsequent public commission to design the proposed Sangre de Cristo Arts Center (Anstey et al. 2012:31). For both residents and planners, the arts center had been a long term goal for the City since it was first proposed as part of the failed redevelopment of Union Avenue (Anstey et al. 2012:31). In this iteration, Bloomquist and other city staff prepared a strategic grant application for the federal Economic Development Administration (EDA) which highlighted the professional and economic development that would result from the center's construction and operation (Anstey et al. 2012:31-32). The grant application was successful and the EDA's final construction-related grant was given to the City just as the agency began shifting its awards to different project types (Anstey et al.:31).

Since 1972, the City of Pueblo has been working to revitalize and reinvest in its downtown (Figure 24). This has included 19 million dollar bond projects, the completion of the Arkansas River Walk with associated commercial storefronts, and both public and private investments in the rehabilitation of the historic Hancock and Amherst buildings. Similarly, this historic building survey is the first step in a larger process aimed at revitalizing the downtown core through recognition of its historic resources, and leveraging those resources to bring Pueblo's citizens back downtown.

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PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Prior to conducting fieldwork, the National Register Information System database, Library of Congress, and the Historic American Buildings Survey online databases were reviewed, and a copy of the Phase I SWCA architectural survey was obtained in advance of the project (Autobee et al 2018). We followed up our survey efforts with a review of records housed at History Colorado, Pueblo City-County Library, Pueblo Historical Society, City of Pueblo Planning and Development Services, Pueblo County Assessor's Office, and *Newspapers.Com*. Additionally, information was provided by local citizens who helped share their own research with our team. Archival materials housed with those repositories and individuals included historical photographs, subdivision plat maps, property record cards, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, city directories, and newspaper articles. Table 1 below provides a synopsis of each parcel included in the current project area.

Table 1. Buildings in the Survey Area and their Eligibility

ADDRESS/SITE NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	CONTRIBUTING AND/OR INDIVIDUALLY ELIGIBLE LOCAL (L), STATE (S), NATIONAL (N)	YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION/ ALTERATIONS
101 N Main Street/5PE.1157	Currently operating as Legacy Bank. Formerly a simplified Neoclassical Flatiron-style building remodeled in 1966 as an expression of the Modern Movement.	L	1891; 1966
201 N Main Street/5PE.555	Currently operating as mixed-use residential and commercial building. Neoclassical architecture, locally referred to as the Amherst Block, and formerly the Western National Bank and several hotels.	L,S, and N; Individually	Ca. 1902-1906
215 W 2nd Street/5PE.2267	Currently Peterson & Fonda, P.C. Commercial building with decorative brickwork. Historically referred to as the Amherst Building Annex.	L, S, and N	Ca. 1907
225 W 2nd Street/5PE.2268	Currently Global Callcenter Solutions. Commercial building with decorative brickwork.	L, S, and N	Ca. 1915
201-219 N Grand Avenue/5PE.8298	Currently Grand Rental Center. Historically a railroad-related warehouse, but reconstructed as a commercial building with Mission Revival features.	L, S, and N	Ca. 1930
304 W 4th Street/5PE.8271	Currently Bodies by T. commercial building with streamlined and ornamental brickwork.	L, S, and N	Ca. 1916
315 W 4th Street/5PE.8258	Currently the China Lantern Restaurant. Formerly a livery stable. Current building constructed in the 1930s for the Hendrie & Bolthoff MFG & Supply Co. Commercial building with art deco features.	L, S, and N	1937

ADDRESS/SITE NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	CONTRIBUTING AND/OR INDIVIDUALLY ELIGIBLE LOCAL (L), STATE (S), NATIONAL (N)	YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION/ ALTERATIONS
301 W 5th Street/5PE.8491	Located on former auto dealership parking lot. Continues to operate as the Pueblo Bank & Trust Co. Example of commercial contemporary architecture with free-standing sculptural signs.	L, S	1960
412-414 N Santa Fe Avenue/ 5PE.1200	Currently Copy(s) in a Flash and Digital Office Solutions. Formerly a victorian commercial building housing W.W. & L.N Strait and Barndollar Bros. Stuccoed in the 1970s or early 1980s.	Not eligible (alterations)	Ca. 1883, 1970s-1980s
418 and 426 N Santa Fe Avenue/ 5PE.584	Formerly the Numa/St. James Hotel. Currently operates as the Elks Lodge (B.P.O.E No. 90). Highly ornate Neoclassical commercial building with a contemporary storefront addition to the south constructed in the 1950s (418 N Santa Fe Avenue).	L,S, and N; Individually (426 only)	1881, 1913, ca, 1950s
107-109 W 6th Street/5PE.2273	Currently Amor Hair Boutique and APPS Para Medical Supplies. Streamlined commercial building.	L	Ca. 1923
620 N Santa Fe Avenue/5PE.2253	Currently Connect Schools; formerly Palace Livery and Clevenger Auto Sales & Service. Commercial building with decorative brickwork.	L, S	1928
620-624 N Main Street/5PE.8214	Currently vacant. Victorian commercial building clad in 1920s with brick façade. Storefronts remodeled thereafter.	L	Ca. 1883; ca. 1920s
209 W 7th Street/5PE.8262	Currently Jane's Black Swan Café. Formerly a residential property. Converted to commercial building with decorative brickwork.	Not eligible (alterations)	1921
301 W 8th Street/5PE.8248	Currently Firestone Tire Garage. Previously a residence converted to filing station. Commercial building with Art Deco features.	L	Ca. 1932

In-field documentation consisted of written notes in support of local, State Register of Historic Places (SRHP), and/or National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility evaluations, including recording the building's massing, construction techniques and materials, architectural and character-defining features, dimensions, condition, and setting. Photographs of elevations, as well as oblique views, were taken of each building. Streetscape and overall setting were also photographically documented. Documentation standards followed criteria provided by the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP), and meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Historic Preservation. Architectural Inventory Forms (#1402) were completed as part of the in-field documentation and final reporting (Appendix A).

Architectural significance assessments for this survey also took into account age, artistic value, and historical association (i.e. does it fall within the period of significance for the proposed Downtown Pueblo Historic District [as identified in Phase I]). Our approach for evaluating the seven aspects of integrity for each property took into account standard alterations, including window replacement, sheathing, or enclosures that are typical to commercial properties. Two or more *major* alterations were deemed as altering the majority of the historic fabric of the resource, thereby rendering it no longer able to convey its historic character. Changes in historic function (i.e., residential buildings converted to commercial properties) were also taken into account when determining contributing versus non-contributing status of properties that may be eligible individually or to a future historic district.

Pueblo Inventory of Cultural Resources (PICR)

The PICR is a register maintained by the City of Pueblo for all historic resources within its corporate limits that have been previously placed on the NRHP, Colorado State Register of Historic Places (CSRHP), or designated a local historic landmark. "Landmarks" are sites and districts designated by City Ordinance and passed by the City Council. Before council can review a landmark nomination, the nomination application materials are reviewed by the Pueblo Historic Preservation Commission. During our documentation efforts, Logan Simpson considered the eligibility of each resource for local landmark designation. To be eligible as a Landmark, a site must possess distinctive character, as well as meet at least one of the following criteria in at least two of the three categories:

- **(Category 1)** Special historic or prehistoric interest or importance:
  - (Criterion a) has significant character, interest or value, as part of the development, heritage, or cultural characteristics of the City, State or Nation; or is associated with the life of a person significant in the past; or
  - (Criterion b) is the site of a historic event with a significant effect upon society; or
  - (Criterion c) exemplifies the cultural heritage of the community; or has yielded, or may be likely to yield, important prehistoric information.
- **(Category 2)** Special architectural, engineering or aesthetic interest or importance:
  - (Criterion a) portrays the environment in an era of history characterized by a distinctive architectural style; or

- (Criterion b) embodies those distinguishing characteristics of an architectural-type or engineering specimen; or
- (Criterion c) is the work of a designer whose individual work has significantly influenced the development of the City; or
- (Criterion d) contains elements of design, detail, materials or craftsman-ship which represent a significant innovation.

- **(Category 3)** Special geographic interest or importance:
  - (Criterion a) by being part of or related to a square, park or other distinctive area, which should be developed or preserved according to a plan based on a historic, cultural or architectural motif, or
  - (Criterion b) owing to its unique location or singular physical characteristic, represents an established and familiar visual feature of the neighborhood, community, or City.

Colorado State Register of Historic Places (CSRHP)

Logan Simpson evaluated resources for CSRHP eligibility using five criteria established by History Colorado's OAHP. To qualify for listing, a resource must possess "several, and usually most" of the seven aspects of integrity including location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association. In addition to this, it must also meet at least one of the following criteria:

- (Criterion 1) The association of the property with events that have made a significant contribution to history;
- (Criterion 2) The connection of the property with persons significant in history;
- (Criterion 3) The apparent distinctive characteristics of a type, period, method of construction, or artisan;
- (Criterion 4) The geographic importance of the property;
- (Criterion 5) The possibility of important discoveries related to prehistory or history.

National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Criteria for Evaluation

Finally, Logan Simpson evaluated NRHP eligibility under guidelines established by the National Park Service (NPS). Based on these guidelines, it is essential that each building possess three elements in order to be eligible for listing: 1) integrity, meaning that the building retains its essential form and construction and continues to exist in the setting it was intended to occupy; 2) historic significance, meaning that the building meets one or more of the NRHP criteria below; and 3) historic significance derived from a historic context organized by theme, place, and time. In order for each building to possess both integrity and historic significance, it must first meet one or more of the following criteria:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, buildings, structures, sites, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and

- (Criterion A) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- (Criterion B) That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- (Criterion C) That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- (Criterion D) That have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.

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RESULTS

Survey efforts resulted in the architectural documentation of 15 buildings within downtown Pueblo. The buildings range in age from 1890 to 1966, in architectural style, from Neoclassical to Modernist, and in their significance, from eligibility in the local register to eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Each of these resources is summarized in the following section and is tabulated in Table 1 in the previous section. Detailed descriptions of all 15 buildings can be found in Appendix A. Please note that recent policy changes have limited the ability of state officials to provide official determinations of eligibility on surveyed resources. As such, the eligibility findings within this report are only field recommendations made by professional consultants who meet professional qualification standards set by the Secretary of the Interior and published in the Code of Federal Regulations (36 CFR Part 61). Thus, these recommendations are informational only and stakeholders seeking to nominate a building to the CSRHP or NRHP still require an official determination of eligibility from History Colorado.

Hill/Lyman Block (White Triangle Block), 101 N Main Street (5PE.1157)

The Hill/Lyman Block fills an irregularly-shaped lot with a triangular footprint built on a concrete foundation. This supports the two-story building constructed with concrete panel and steel-framed walls sheathed in concrete stucco and topped by a low-pitched roof. A deep overhang occurs at the roofline which is enclosed by wide eaves. The walls are highlighted with decorative, non-structural square pilasters that extend the height of the walls and form right angles to "support" the eaves. Distributed between these pilasters, aluminum-framed picture windows sit flush with the walls on all three elevations. Three entrances occur at the ground floor with a fourth located at the second floor made accessible by a metal exterior staircase. The primary entrance is recessed and flanked by simplified corbels/brackets and flagstone half walls. Cylindrical "up and downlight" wall sconces are positioned between the first and second floors on each pilaster along all three elevations.

Figure 25. 101 N Main Street. Image shot facing southwest and showing north corner of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019

The building was originally constructed in 1890 in the Neoclassical style and was used as a ticket office by the Rock Island and Union Pacific railroads. It was damaged in the 1921 flood, but purchased in 1950 and substantially remodeled by architect James Holst in 1966. Holst's designs produced what the *Pueblo Chieftain* described as a "New Formalist'-style building" leaving intact only the original building's triangular footprint. Today the Hill/Lyman Block is utilized as a financial institution by the Legacy Bank. When assessed individually, the numerous alterations to the building have diminished its ability to convey its historic association with Pueblo's early

development and growth. The original Hill/Lyman Block no longer retains its integrity of design, materials, workmanship, or feeling and possesses only its integrity of location, setting, and association. Because of this, the building is recommended as not individually eligible for inclusion on the PICR, the CSRHP, or the NRHP.

These same changes to the building however are a physical expression of Pueblo's commercial development; specifically this building serves as an example of Pueblo's post-World War II commercial development. Because of this, the building is recommended eligible for the NRHP as part of an already proposed historic district (identified in Phase I) with a period of significance falling between 1882 and 1967. Resources within this district would be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce for their collective ability to convey Pueblo's changing economy over time. As the building's alterations are within the proposed period of significance, it would retain its integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Amherst Building, 201 N Main Street (5PE.555)

The Amherst Building is a two-part vertical commercial block with an irregular footprint constructed on a post-and-beam foundation. It is composed of brick walls with an internal steel frame topped by a low-pitched roof with Sullivanesque banding along the parapet. Multiple storefront entrances line both street-facing elevations with five doorways located on 2nd Street and two doorways on Main Street. A recessed corner entry faces the street intersection leaving the building's overhang supported by a concrete Corinthian column. The bulkheads of the corner entry as well as two storefronts on the south elevation still show their configuration, although only one of these retains its original leaded glass block transom windows.

Figure 26. 201 N Main Street. Image shot facing northwest and showing south and east walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

The three additional storefronts on the southern elevation have been enclosed, but the transom windows and their entry openings remain as originally designed. Each storefront is delineated by pilasters that extend from the modern ground surface to a blank frieze separating the first and second story. The second story and the building's third story contain residential units that feature banks of three and four double-hung sash windows topped by transom windows. The second story transoms are capped by decorative terra cotta lintels with scrolled keystones. The windows are framed by a series of shallow recesses composed of brick coping which are flanked by brick pilasters with Doric capitals. These support a blank frieze and cornice directly beneath the parapet. A "pull-down" ladder fire escape is bolted to the southern side of the building while a single brick chimney extends from the center of the roof. Two light wells create courtyards where the building maintains a party wall with the neighboring building to the north.

The Amherst Building was built in 1906 and designed by architect Francis W. Cooper for C. Henry Whitcomb. It contained commercial tenants on the first floor and mixed domestic and commercial tenants on the upper two stories. Today, the building's ground floor remains commercial in character and is partially occupied by Rocky Mountain Realty. The upper two stories have since been converted to condominiums. Despite some changes to the building, it retains its integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

The building was officially determined eligible for the NRHP in 1981 under Criterion C at a local level of significance for its association with Cooper. Although additional alterations have been made to the building since that time, none of these changes have substantially diminished its integrity and some have sought to make older changes more compatible with the building's historic character. Because of this, the Amherst Building is still recommended eligible for inclusion in the NRHP at a local level of significance under Criteria A and C for the areas of Architecture and Commerce. It is also recommended eligible for inclusion on the CSRHP as well as designation as a landmark in the PICR. Beyond this, the building is also recommended eligible as a contributing resource in an already proposed NRHP historic district (identified in Phase I) with a period of significance between 1882 and 1967. Resources within this district would be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce for their collective ability to convey Pueblo's changing economy over time.

Amherst Building Annex/Butler Building, 215 W 2nd Street (5PE.2267)

The Hancock Block/Butler Building is a one-part commercial block abutting the Amherst Building to the east. The building possesses a rectangular footprint formed by a concrete foundation with structural brick walls topped by a low-pitched roof with a shallow parapet. The street-facing elevation consists of two bays clad in yellow brick and delineated by red-brick pilasters echoing the form and detailing of the Amherst Building. These are topped by a blank frieze with tiered brick coping and a parapet edged in a brick rowlock course. Each bay is punctured by a central entrance consisting of a six-light French door capped by a transom window. The entrance of the eastern bay is flanked on both sides by a fixed 9-light window. Above the transoms of both entrances, a wood-framed four-light hopper window is flanked by a similar 6-light hopper window. The west elevation projects a less formal appearance with arched windows and a steel-framed loading dock.

Figure 27. 215 W 2nd Street. Image shot facing northeast and showing south and west walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

It is estimated that the Hancock Block/Butler Building was constructed in 1907 by the Moch Brothers Dry Goods Store as an addition to the store's operation in the Amherst Building to the east. Following a long period of deterioration, Foundation Health purchased the building in the late 1990s with the intention to renovate it in conjunction with the Amherst Building under architect Richard Cherry. This project was ultimately completed after

2000 by new owners and the building is now occupied by Petersen and Fonda, P.C. Most of the alterations associated with this update were internal and the building today retains its integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Because of this, the Hancock Block/Butler Building is recommended eligible for inclusion on the NRHP at a local level of significance under Criterion A for its association with the adjacent Amherst Block and its association with the early commercial development of Pueblo. For the same reasons, the building is also recommended eligible for inclusion on the CSRHP and the PICR.

As a physical expression of Pueblo's commercial development with high integrity, the Hancock Block/Butler Building is recommended as a contributing resource to an already proposed NRHP historic district (identified in Phase I). This district would have a period of significance stretching from 1882-1967 and be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce.

225 W 2nd Street (5PE.2268)

The building at 225 W 2nd Street is a one-part commercial warehouse with a rectangular footprint, concrete foundation, and brick clad exterior. The walls are topped by a domed concrete vault framed by a stepped parapet with a peaked center on the building's primary elevation. Six projecting buttresses are spread across the primary façade and topped by a sloping brick cap. A total of 8 aluminum 12-light windows are spread across the primary façade on either side of a modern aluminum door with over-wide side lights and a transom. The west elevation has 7, 10-light windows placed in groups of two between brick pilasters as well as a 12-light and a 16-light window set into its northern end. A brick chimney protrudes from within the building's northern end.

Figure 28. 225 W 2nd Street. Image shot facing northeast and showing south and west walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

Documentation from the county assessor's office notes the construction of 225 W 2nd Street as 1915 although no architect and/or builder has been uncovered in archival records. By 1927, the first occupancy data about the building lists it as a garage for the Colorado Laundry Company but since 2001, it has functioned as a commercial facility for Global Callcenter Solutions. The building has undergone several changes since its construction including its transition from an industrial garage into a commercial office. The physical alterations resulting from this transition have diminished the building's integrity of materials and association although it retains its integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, and feeling. Because of this, the building is individually recommended not eligible for inclusion on the PIRC, CSRHP, and the NRHP. However, as a physical expression of Pueblo's commercial development possessing moderate integrity, the building is recommended eligible as a contributing resource to an already proposed NRHP historic district (identified in Phase I). This district would

have a period of significance stretching from 1882 to 1967 and be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce for the district's expression of Pueblo's early economic development.

201-219 N Grand Avenue (5PE.8298)

The building at 201-219 N Grand Avenue is a commercial building on a triangular footprint truncated by the former AT&SF railway alignment. It is set on a concrete foundation with stuccoed brick walls. Its primary elevation opens onto N Grand Avenue and is enlivened with a hipped porch overhang supported by decorative brackets and topped by rusted metal tiles. Above the eastern and northern elevations are matching Mission Revival parapets which hide a low-pitched roof. On the eastern elevation, two picture windows and two fixed steel casement windows abut a recessed doorway. The northeast elevation features one picture window, a small square barred window, as well as a doorway and window which have been permanently closed. A wing constructed from concrete masonry units (CMUs) extends off the north elevation, partially enclosing a rear yard.

Figure 29. 201-219 N Grande Avenue. Image shot facing southwest and showing north and east walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

The site that now houses 201-219 N Grand Avenue is thought to date back at least as far as 1893 when its footprint appears on a Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Pueblo. On the map, the building is labeled "Grain & Feed" and "Iron Clad." The current configuration of 201–219 N Grand Ave is listed as constructed in 1930 by the Pueblo County Assessor's office. After a number of intermediary uses, it appears to have been utilized by its current tenant, Grand Rental Center, since 1963. The railway alignment is thought to have been removed at an unknown point after 1970 (Anstey et al. 2012:22). It was subsequently converted to its current use as an industrial storage yard and the wing was added along the eastern boundary of the parcel. Due to the removal of the rail spur serving the building and its subsequent additions and alterations, the property retains only its integrity of location, materials, workmanship, and feeling. Because of this, it is recommended not eligible for inclusion on the NRHP, CSRHP, or the PIRC. However, as a physical expression of Pueblo's commercial development still possessing much of its historic integrity, the building is recommended eligible as a contributing resource to an already proposed NRHP historic district. This district would have a period of significance stretching from 1882 to 1967 and be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce related to the early economic development of Pueblo.

304 W 4th Street (5PE.8271)

Figure 30. 204 W 4th Street. Image shot facing southwest and showing north and east walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

The building at 304 W 4th Street is a one-part commercial building with a rectangular footprint sharing a party wall with a larger rectangular building to the south. It is constructed on a concrete foundation and is composed of load-bearing brick walls topped by a low-pitched roof surrounded by a low parapet wall with decorative brick coping along the north and east elevations. The building features two distinct elevations; the north elevation which fronts W 4th Street and the east elevation which fronts Court Street. The north elevation includes a large bank of aluminum-framed display windows and a narrow door which is flush with the building's northwest corner. These windows wrap around the corner onto the east elevation where a large brick panel indicates the presence of another display window which has since been enclosed.

The county assessor's office indicates that the building at 304 W 4th Street was constructed in 1916 by an unknown architect. During the 1940s, it and its neighboring buildings were utilized by the Owen Faricy Motor Co. The display windows may have been modified at this time. Today, the building is occupied by Bodies by T Personal Trainers. When assessed individually, the numerous alterations to the building have diminished its ability to convey its historic association with Pueblo's early development and growth. The original property no longer retains its integrity of design, materials, workmanship, or feeling and possesses only its integrity of location, setting, and association. Because of this, the building is recommended not individually eligible for inclusion on the PICR, the CSRHP, or the NRHP.

These same changes to the building however are a physical expression of Pueblo's commercial growth; specifically this building serves as an example of Pueblo's post-World War II commercial development. Because of this, the building is recommended eligible for the NRHP as part of an already proposed historic district (identified in Phase I) with a period of significance falling between 1882 and 1967. Resources within this district would be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce for their collective ability to convey Pueblo's changing economy over time. As the building's alterations are within the proposed period of significance, it would retain its integrity of location, design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Hendrie and Bolthoff Supply Co. Building, 315 W 4th Street (5PE.8258)

Figure 31. 315 W 4th Street. Image shot facing northwest and showing south and east walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

The Hendrie and Bolthoff Supply Company Building is a two-story commercial building with a rectangular footprint on a concrete foundation. The building is constructed from load-bearing brick walls and is topped by a low barrel vaulted roof. The south elevation fronting W 4th Street is composed of a single modern aluminum-framed door centered in the yellow brick façade and flanked by modern aluminum display windows. These are crowned by decorative brick lintels and covered by an aluminum awning that stretches the length of the elevation. The second story windows and those on the remaining three elevations are all aluminum-framed multi-paned varieties ranging from double casement and awning to hopper windows. The second-story windows are underlain by decorative brick aprons and framed by quoins. A more rudimentary red brick is utilized on the east and north elevations where additional windows and two steel doors are also located. The final west elevation is clad in a concrete stucco topped by metal flashing, and a short chimney is visible rising from the building's northeast corner.

City directories indicate that a building was first constructed at 315 W 4th Street in 1914. The present building was constructed by the Hendrie and Bolthoff Supply Company in 1937. Hendrie and Bolthoff utilized the building for the wholesale distribution of automotive, electrical, and industrial supplies and equipment. Since the late 1960s, the building has housed the family-owned China Lantern Restaurant. Still extant, the restaurant is noted among the oldest Chinese restaurants in Pueblo. The building retains its integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, feeling, and association, having lost its integrity of design and materials. Because of this, the building is recommended not individually eligible for inclusion on the PICR, the CSRHP, or the NRHP.

The Pueblo Savings Bank Building, 301 W 5th Street (5PE.8491)

Figure 32. 301 W 5th Street. Image shot facing northwest and showing south and east walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

The Pueblo Savings Bank Building is a two-story commercial building with a triangular footprint atop a poured concrete basement. Portions of the building have staggered elevations, whereby features recede or project outward. The majority of the building is constructed from concrete walls clad in large ceramic tiles with dark marble surrounding large banks of mullioned windows and edging the building's foundation along the southern and eastern elevations. These rectilinear elevations along W 5th Street and Court Street are connected by a third curving northwestern elevation which is composed of a brick second-story with ribbon windows supported by brick columns on the ground floor which are filled in by concrete walls. This composition wraps around to the south and east elevations where it runs into the projecting masses of ceramic tiles. All of this is topped by a low-pitch roof which is edged by a low parapet. A primary entry located on the corner of W 5th and Court Streets is formed by a glass rotunda set into a large scalloped recess. Beyond the building's northwest and southwest corners, two mid-century sculptural signs are located adjacent to the parking areas. Each sign is constructed from a rounded cruciform-shaped concrete column supporting a cylindrical (at one time) revolving marquee three quarters of the way up its shaft.

A 2004 article in the *Pueblo Chieftain* notes that the Pueblo Savings Bank Building was designed by architect Russel Barr Williamson and constructed in 1960 for the Bank's then owners, the Adams family. A vehicular entry for "Motor Banking" that allowed cars to pass under the building was removed sometime after 1972. The Pueblo Savings Bank changed its name to the Pueblo Bank & Trust sometime after 1960, but has remained the building's sole occupant since its construction. These changes to the building have weakened its historic integrity and it now retains only its integrity of location, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. It is not however recommended eligible to the NRHP or the CSRHP based on its lack of individual distinction. The bank represents one of two identical designs created by Williamson. The building is recommended eligible for the PICR under criterion 1a for its "significant interest… as part of the development… of the City" and 3b "[o] wing to its unique location or singular physical characteristics, represents an established and familiar visual feature of the neighborhood, community, or City."

However, as a physical expression of Pueblo's commercial development that still possess moderate integrity, the building is recommended eligible as a contributing resource to an already proposed NRHP historic district (identified in Phase I). This district would have a period of significance stretching from 1882 to 1967 and be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce for the district's expression of Pueblo's economic development.

412-414 N Santa Fe Avenue (5PE.1200)

Figure 33. 412-414 N Santa Fe Avenue. Image shot facing east and showing west wall of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019

The building at 412-414 N Santa Fe Avenue is a two-part commercial block with a rectangular footprint placed on a concrete foundation. It is constructed from load-bearing brick walls with a low-pitched roof and a flat parapet. Since its construction, it has been substantially modernized with a recessed bulkhead composed of floor-to-ceiling aluminum-framed display windows, a facing of split face CMU bricks, and a central stairwell between commercial units accessible through a plate glass door. The second story of the building has been entirely sheathed in stucco and all original windows have been replaced by either sliding-sash vinyl or fixed-sash window units. Two lightbox illuminated signs are located above each storefront and solar panels have been installed on the rooftop.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps indicate that the building existed as early as 1893 and a drawing from the early 20th century as well as a 1914 city guide indicate that it was occupied by real estate investors, bankers, and other businessmen. Today, the building is used for much the same purpose and is tenanted by the businesses Copy in a Flash and Digital Office Solutions. The use for the building's upper floors remains unknown. Due to the dramatic changes to the building envelope over its long history, it no longer retains its integrity of design, materials, workmanship, or feeling. Because of this, the building is recommended not eligible for inclusion in the NRHP, the CSRHP, or the PICR. It is also recommended not eligible as a contributing resource to an already proposed NRHP historic district (identified in Phase I). However, should the stucco be removed and if the original Victorian brickwork is revealed beneath, the building should be reevaluated to determine whether it possesses sufficient integrity to become a contributing resource within the proposed district.

Numa/St. James Hotel, Elks Lodge, 418 and 426 N Santa Fe Avenue (5PE.584)

The Elks Lodge is a tall, rectangular, three-part commercial building constructed on a concrete foundation with post-and-beam supports and a single-story midcentury addition to its south. It is built with stone and cast concrete walls and topped by a low-pitched roof surrounded by a flat parapet. The primary west elevation fronting N Santa Fe Avenue is composed of an applied dual-columned Ionic temple front set against the three stories of the elevation. The ground story is centered on a double door entry topped by a tripartite transom window and capped by a triangular pediment with relief sculpture on it. Above this, a bronze elk head protrudes from the building bisecting the low-relief lodge number "No. 90" set into the stonework. To either side of the entry, louvered windows are placed beneath decorative keystone lintels. A decorative course with small florets wired with light bulbs separates the first and second stories. This second story also contains three aluminum-louvered windows set between the

columns and an outrigger flagpole mounted at its center. Above this, a blank frieze is utilized as a sign with the words "Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks" applied in low relief lettering. This in turn, is capped by the triangular pediment of the temple filled with a round clock at its peak, leaving the rest of the pediment open as irregularly-shaped leaded glass windows. Backing this, a third attic story contains a shallow decorative panel with the word "Cervus" (Latin for "Elk") placed on it in low relief.

Figure 34. 418 and 426 N Santa Fe Avenue. Image shot facing southeast and showing north and west walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

The Lodge's northern elevation includes three stories of narrow windows filled at an unknown time with glass blocks set around small fixed aluminum windows. These larger windows rest on belt courses that run the length of the building and are capped by decorative keystone lintels. A single recessed entry covered by a cantilevered and tiled canopy is located near the northwest corner of the elevation. To the west of this, an iron fire escape extends up the height of the building. The building's rear eastern elevation is stuccoed and pierced by two narrow arched windows similarly filled with glass block at an unknown date. A rear entry is centered at the ground level of the elevation and consists of a steel door protected by a small gabled canopy. To the south, the building's addition is a low, flat, rectangular building constructed from brick and clad in white ceramic tile. Its primary entrance is located off N Santa Fe Avenue beneath a cantilevered and streamlined overhang with large aluminum-framed display windows. The addition's rear eastern elevation is exposed brick and contains a single entry, 6 blinded windows, and a tall brick chimney.

The Elks Lodge dates to 1881 when French immigrant Numa Vidal opened the Numa Hotel on the site. Because of the hotel's continued lack of success, it was sold, and became the St. James Hotel some time thereafter. The Pueblo Elks Club purchased the property in 1904 and dramatically remodeled the original Italianate building to its present Neoclassical appearance. The fraternal order has retained ownership of the building up to the present-day. The date and circumstances of the addition or purchase of the southern half of the building remains unclear. Although modified from its original appearance, a period of significance limited to the 1904 remodeling of the Lodge's original northern building allows it to retain its integrity of location, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association.

The Elks Lodge is currently listed on the PICR under criteria 1a, 1b, and 2c. Because the building retains much of its historic integrity and is among Pueblo's most significant architectural works, its original Neoclassical core is recommended eligible for inclusion on the NRHP and CSRHP. The building qualifies for both registers at a local level of significance under Criteria A and C for its architectural significance and its association with Pueblo's early downtown development. The building is also recommended eligible as a contributing resource to an already proposed NRHP historic district (identified in Phase I) with a period of significance falling between 1882 and 1967. Resources within this district would be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce for their collective ability to convey Pueblo's changing economy over time.

107-109 W 6th Street (5PE.2273)

The building at 107-109 W 6th Street is a single-story commercial building with a rectangular footprint set on a concrete foundation. It is constructed from dimensional brick which is topped by a flat roof edged with a low parapet wall. The primary southern street-facing elevation opens onto W 6th Street with two storefronts. These are composed of abutting entrances through modern aluminum doors and plate glass windows edged in glass block. A fabric awning covers both entrances and illuminated lightbox signs have been installed over both windows.

Figure 35. 107-109 W 6th Street. Image shot facing northeast and showing south and west walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

According to the county assessor's office, the building was constructed in 1910 on the site of a former residence belonging to a dressmaker. City directories show that the building was used by a variety of tenants for commercial purposes, punctuated by vacancies throughout the course of its existence. Today, it continues to be utilized by commercial occupants: Amor Hair Boutique and APPS para medical services. The building retains its integrity of location, materials, design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. Despite its high integrity, the building lacks architectural distinction, connection with significant personages, or association with significant trends. Because of this, it is recommended not individually eligible for inclusion on the NRHP, the CSRHP, or the PICR. Due to the building's high integrity however, it is recommended eligible for the NRHP as part of an already proposed historic district (identified in Phase I) with a period of significance falling between 1882 and 1967. Resources within this district would be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce for their collective ability to convey Pueblo's changing economy over time.

Clevenger Building, 620 N Santa Fe Avenue (5PE.2253)

Figure 36. 620 N Santa Fe Avenue. Image shot facing southeast and showing north and west walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

The Clevenger Building is a three-story commercial building with a rectangular floor plan constructed on a concrete foundation. It is built with brick walls and a low-pitched roof surrounded by a low parapet. Its west and north elevations front N Santa Fe Avenue and E 7th Street respectively and, unlike its east and south elevations, are clad in an ornamental brick articulated with darker brick window surrounds, quoins, and decorative panels. The shorter primary elevation along N Santa Fe Avenue is composed of five bays each of which contains two lower stories of triptych vinyl display windows and a third story of sliding-sash window. Access to the building is provided through a recessed ground floor door in the second bay from the north. The building's larger 7th Street elevation contains six bays with a similar composition to those on the west elevation. Two of the ground-story windows however have been filled with glass blocks and the eastern most bay contains a raised recessed entryway as does the third bay from the east. Like the building's front, the rear eastern elevation is composed of five bays containing only one row of triptych display windows and a recessed entry accessed by an L-shaped ramp. The remaining southern elevation is covered in beige stucco with a single third story sash window and a modern steel fire escape descending to the adjacent parking lot.

Newspaper articles in the *Pueblo Chieftain* describe the building's construction in 1928 by Mac Clevenger for use as a car dealership. The building hosted a variety of predominantly automotive-related tenants until the current tenant, the Connect School, took up residence in 1993. Unfortunately recent alterations to the building's fenestration and entryways have diminished its historic integrity. It retains only its integrity of location, setting, materials, and workmanship. Because of this, the Clevenger Building is recommended as not individually eligible for inclusion in the NRHP, CSRHP, or the PICR. It does however retain sufficient integrity and significance to recommend it eligible for inclusion in an already proposed NRHP historic district (identified in Phase I) with a period of significance falling between 1882 and 1967. Resources within this district would be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce for their collective ability to convey Pueblo's changing economy over time.

620-624 N Main Street (5PE.8214)

Figure 37. 620-624 N Main Street. Image shot facing southeast and showing north and west walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

The building at 620-624 N Main Street is a two-part commercial building with a rectangular footprint on a concrete foundation. It is constructed with load-bearing brick walls and topped by a low-pitched roof surrounded by a projecting parapet supported by brick corbelling. The primary western elevation fronting N Main Street is a three-story façade containing three storefronts at ground level, all of which have been subject to contemporary alterations such as filling or covering original display windows and transoms. The upper stories of the elevation are composed of pale yellow brick highlighted by a darker brick coping that forms a belt course beneath the window sills of each story. The windows above these—six per story—are all covered by plywood sheets. The building's other street-facing elevation on its north side fronts W 7th Street and is markedly different than the west elevation showing only two stories and lacking the decorative parapet and brick detailing. The north elevation's ground story contains a recessed entry door, a blind arched window, and raised entry at its eastern corner beneath a high brick arch. Aside from a single bay of the west façade which wraps around the northwestern corner, the building's second story contains six large arched windows topped by decorative cast iron hoods and covered by sheets of plywood. The building's rear eastern elevation sits along a narrow service alley. It appears to contain a large recess on the second story where the building meets its southern neighbor and two stories of uncovered arched windows without any decorative treatments.

The county assessor's office records the construction of the building at 620-624 N Main Street as 1896, although its west elevation was substantially remodeled sometime during the early 20th century. By 1904, the building was occupied by commercial tenants, including a print shop and a saloon. Although the building hosted a variety of commercial tenants throughout the 20th century, today it appears to stand vacant. Due to the replacement of the building's original façade, it retains only its integrity of location, setting, and association. Because of this, the building is recommended not individually eligible for inclusion on the PICR, the CSRHP, or the NRHP.

These same changes to the building however are a physical expression of Pueblo's commercial development; specifically this building serves as an example of early 20th century changes made to a preexisting building to maintain its currency for contemporary commercial tenants. Because of this, the building is recommended eligible for the NRHP as part of an already proposed historic district (identified in Phase I) with a period of significance falling between 1882 and 1967. Resources within this district would be locally significant under Criterion A in the area of Commerce for their collective ability to convey Pueblo's changing economy over time. Although elements of the building appear to be hidden beneath plywood, its alterations are within the proposed period of significance.

209 W 7th Street (5PE.8262)

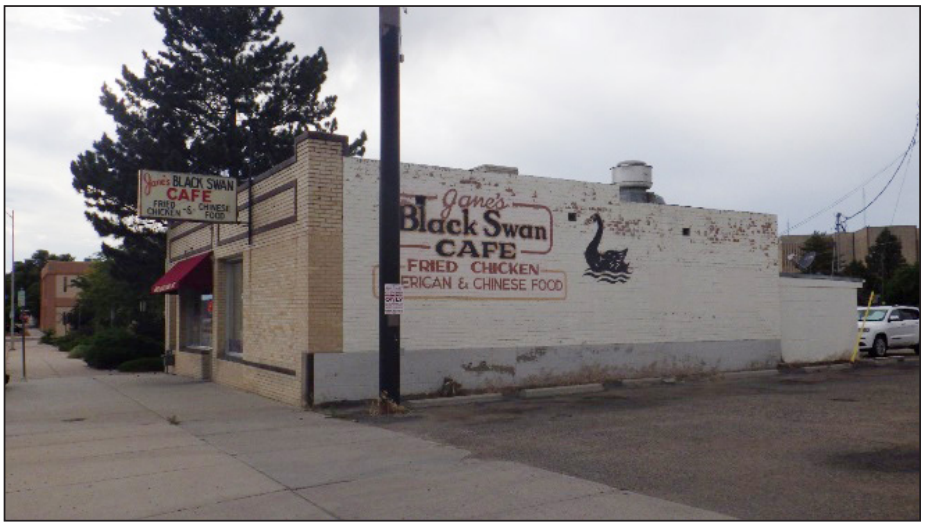

Figure 38. 209 W 7th Street. Image shot facing northwest and showing south and east walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

The building at 209 W 7th Street is a single-story, one-part commercial building with a roughly rectangular footprint on a concrete foundation. It is constructed with brick walls topped by a low-pitched roof surrounded by a low parapet. The building's southern street-facing elevation is constructed from a light yellow brick and contains a single shopfront composed of a modern aluminum door, plate glass windows, and a glass block window. It is ornamented by dark brown bricks used as coping atop the parapet to outline two decorative panels, and as sills beneath the windows. The westernmost display window has been removed and bricked over. The western elevation remains unpainted brick without any apertures, while the eastern elevation has been painted white with a large painted sign advertising the restaurant housed in the building. The building's rear north elevation supports a small shed-roof extension with two entrances and a sliding aluminum frame window.

Although the county assessor's office notes the construction of 209 W 7th Street in 1930, based on city directories the building may have stood empty until 1932 when it was occupied by Midwest Agency Insurance. The building remained home to a variety of commercial tenants consisting largely of insurance companies until being converted to a restaurant around 1978. Since 1983, the building has been home to Jane's Black Swan Café—a Chinese restaurant that marks itself among the first in Pueblo. Due to significant alterations to the building including its design, fenestration, footprint, and setting, it does not retain adequate integrity of design, setting, workmanship, materials, and feeling. As a result of this, the building is recommended not eligible for inclusion in the NRHP, CSRHP, or the PICR. For these same reasons, it is likewise recommended not eligible as a contributing resource in a proposed NRHP historic district.

Firestone Building, 301 W 8th Street (5PE.8248)

The Firestone Building is a single-story, one-part commercial building with an irregular T-shaped footprint. It is sited with a deep setback from the street to accommodate vehicular access to and from the building. The building is constructed on a concrete foundation with brick and concrete walls. The older portion of the property forming the crossbar of the T is topped by a low barrel-vaulted roof edged by a low parapet. The more modern garage addition forming the stem of the T and abutting the southern elevation is covered by a shed roof with exposed rafter ends. The building's original entrance is located in the truncated southeast corner of the footprint between two decorative buttresses. It has since been plastered over, but is flanked by tripartite aluminum-framed picture windows which are themselves flanked by octagonal corner buttresses appearing almost like oversize

guard stones on each corner of the original building. A modern entry through an aluminum-frame door has been constructed to the south of the original entrance in the side of the building and is accessed by a modern concrete ramp with steel guardrails. The west elevation of the old building is composed of four, possibly steel, windows that appear to have been painted over. A single small garage door and side access door are located in the western end of the old building's southern elevation. The new garage contains three garage bays requiring three garage doors in both the western and eastern elevations of the addition.

Figure 39. 301 W 8th Street. Image shot facing northwest and showing south and east walls of building. Image taken by Logan Simpson, June 2019.

According to the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, the Firestone Building was constructed around 1932 by its current tenant, previously called Firestone Service Stores Inc. A modern garage addition was added onto its southern wall after 1991. Because of these and further changes, the building does not retain its integrity of design, materials, workmanship, or feeling. Due to this lack of integrity, it is recommended not eligible for inclusion in the NRHP, CSRHP, or PICR. For these same reasons, the building is likewise recommended not eligible as a contributing resource in a proposed NRHP historic district.

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SUMMARY

As noted earlier, this survey resulted in the documentation of 15 buildings and the development of an expanded historic context for the City of Pueblo, Colorado. As a result of these efforts, patterns have emerged that may have implications for future historic preservation planning within the confines of downtown Pueblo. By-in-large, the majority of buildings documented for this project are not eligible to the NRHP and CSRHP as individually significant buildings (except the Amherst Block and the former Elks Lodge), and they do not qualify for the PICR.

Although most of the buildings retain the majority of their historic fabric and meet the minimum-age requirement for listing, most lack individual distinction worthy of historic designation or have had alterations to their facades. On the other hand, when these resources are taken as a collection of buildings which share similar dates of construction; served similar functions; share architectural materials, designs, and styles; and are located in a concentrated area, the buildings gain significance for their association with each other and as a collection of closely-related resources. As such, the majority of the buildings under review for this survey are recommended eligible as contributing resources to this future historic district.

During Phase I of the Downtown Pueblo Historic Survey, it was recommended that a downtown historic district should be centered on 4th and Main Streets within the original Pueblo Subdivision (Autobee et. al 2018). Similarly the Phase I Survey noted, as does the current survey, that the highest concentration of contiguous historic buildings is located along N Main Street, Court Street, and N Santa Fe Avenue between W 1st and W 8th Streets. As one travels along the edges of these cross streets, there are more gaps or vacant lots and more free-standing buildings. Additionally, the feeling of continuous commercial two-and-three part commercial blocks diminishes both outside these boundaries and immediately along the edges of W City Center Drive (formerly W 1st Street) and W 8th Streets. As such, Logan Simpson supports the original recommendation that a proposed historic district should be centered within these boundaries, but with a slightly narrower footprint than the original subdivision to strengthen the district by removing a boundary that would have previously included several parking and vacant lots west of Court Street and north of 8th Street. Further, the majority of the buildings inventoried for Phase II would fall within this proposed boundary.

Additionally, the period of significance of 1882 to 1967 suggested by Phase I efforts overlaps with the resources inventoried for Phase II. Buildings inventoried in this second phase date between 1890 and 1966. Lastly, the criteria for evaluation from the previous inventory suggested that only Criterion A, based on the downtown's association with local and state commerce, was applicable. This recommendation was based largely upon exterior changes made to historic buildings and an assessment of individual eligibility. Upon review of those buildings in question, and while most were in poor condition, they still retained much of their historic fabric and the majority of the seven aspects of integrity required for listing in the NRHP. It is therefore recommended that future work be conducted to determine the possibility of a district eligible under Criterion C for its architectural significance. This effort will require surveyors to ascertain which buildings retain enough historic fabric to qualify as contributing resources to a potential district. If the majority of potential resources retain integrity of design, materials, and workmanship, then Logan Simpson recommends that Criterion C be included as another criterion for future consideration. Presently, downtown Pueblo's extant architecture directly references local commercial activities, the people who built and designed the City, and showcases a variety of late-19th century through mid-20th century architectural styles that illustrate the City's commercial evolution through its architecture.

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