5. Tops Down and Bottoms Up Intervention—The Great Depression, Federal Relief Programs, and World War II, 1930-45

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5.1 Introduction

The 1930-45 period was a turbulent time in Denver's history. The city slid into its worst economic downturn since the Panic of 1893, with business failures, high rates of unemployment, slow construction, and thousands of residents on public assistance. Charities, self-help groups, and federal relief and public works programs attempted to ameliorate the hard times and add needed public improvements. As the Depression deepened, tensions escalated. Journalist T.H. Watkins observed: "There probably had never been so many eruptions of public unrest in such a short period of time over so wide a spectrum of geography and population in the nation's history as those that punctuated the months between the winter of 1930 and the winter of 1933…"[1] Some Denver World War I veterans joined the 1932 Bonus Army movement, seeking early payment of promised pensions and marching on Washington to press their demands. In January 1934, four to five thousand protestors gathered in front of the State Capitol, demanding legislative action to address the crisis.[2] Unemployed Denver artist Charles Tribble recalled the atmosphere of the times: "This was a period very close to political explosion. . . . The left wing was getting pretty potent. . . . It was close to violence."[3]

The 1932 election of Franklin D. Roosevelt brought federal government assistance to create jobs and alleviate human suffering. New Deal programs provided employment, supplied relief, and left the city with "a permanent record of human achievement" exemplified in public buildings, improved infrastructure, and art and culture.[4] Denver city and business leaders led successful efforts to attract military installations to the region, and preparedness efforts and the onset of World War II restored the local economy to full employment. Within Denver, military facilities such as Lowry Field (5DV.712), Fort Logan, the Continental-Denver Modification Center, and the Denver Medical Depot brought thousands of men and women to the city, as well as boosting the construction sector, adding civilian jobs, and generally energizing economic activity. New and existing industrial firms, such as Gates Rubber Company and many smaller businesses, produced war matériel. Beyond Denver, the Denver Ordnance Center, Buckley Field, and the Rocky Mountain Arsenal further stimulated the regional economy.

In the discussion below, initial references to historic buildings still standing are accompanied by a State Identification Number (5DV.XXX) if surveyed and contained in History Colorado's COMPASS database. Buildings known to be present but not surveyed will be identified by the notation "(extant)." Resources without these notations are demolished or have unknown status.

Denver in 1930

During the 1920s Denver grew faster than Colorado as a whole, increasing its 1920 population of 256,491 by 12.2 percent to a 1930 total of 287,861. The Mile High City ranked as the 29th most populous municipality in the country and the largest city between Kansas City and Los Angeles in 1930. Denver also served as the financial, service, and distribution center for the Rocky Mountain region. In 1929 its enterprises accounted for more than half of the wholesale trade in the area between Omaha and the West Coast.[5] Historian Gerald D. Nash described Denver during this period as "the 'capital' of a region 1,500 miles wide and 1,700 miles tall—sometimes known as the Rocky Mountain Empire."[6]

None of Denver's population gains in the 1920s resulted from the annexation of new land and accompanying residents; the jurisdiction had not added additional territory since creation of the City and County in 1902. Its 58.75 square miles contained substantial undeveloped acreage to accommodate

several decades of growth. Large population increases occurred in the western, southern, and eastern portions of Denver during the 1920s, while the older downtown core area, including today's Central Business District, Auraria, North Capitol Hill, and Five Points neighborhoods, collectively lost nearly thirty-one thousand residents. The area from Auraria south to the northern portion of the Baker neighborhood alone lost more than seventeen thousand inhabitants. Some of these central neighborhoods attracted more working class and minority residents, with larger dwellings converted to boarding houses and apartments. By contrast, parts of the city's east and southeast gained more than sixteen thousand inhabitants. Historians Lyle W. Dorsett and Michael McCarthy summarized the pattern of Denver growth in the interwar era: "Many families of the social elite deserted Capitol Hill and built new homes south of Cheesman Park and then in the district near the Denver Country Club. Less affluent, but comfortable, people in the middle and upper middle classes moved to newer subdivisions in eastern and southern parts of the city."[7] The creation of new subdivisions, greater utilization of automobiles, and a still extensive radial streetcar system supported the decade's population shifts.[8]

Denver in 1930 remained a predominantly white city (94.8 percent). The African American population increased during the 1920s and totaled 7,204 persons (2.5 percent) in 1930. While earlier censuses did not distinguish Latinos, the 1930 enumeration counted 6,837 (2.4 percent) "Mexicans" in the city. Handfuls of other races were reported in 1930: Japanese, 349; Indians 243; Chinese, 154; and other, 97.[9] A National Urban League study in 1929 found black residents of Denver confined by custom, covenant, and coercion to a fairly small tract around the Five Points intersection, in an area roughly bounded by 33rd Street and East 33rd Avenue on the north, High Street on the east, East 20th Avenue on the south, and 20th and Larimer Streets on the west.[10]

5.2 Descent into the Great Depression, Relief Efforts, and Military Preparedness, 1930-41

Denver Slides into the Great Depression

As historian Paul Watkins described, the stock market crash of October 1929 marked the beginning of the Great Depression for most Americans: "People took the measure of their era by using the crash as an emotional baseline, and it became the one event on which tens of millions could fix their worry as the full dimensions of the debacle slowly began to be discerned."[11] Economists technically define the Great Depression as extending from August 1929 to March 1933, succeeded by a period of partial recovery followed by a further severe recession from May 1937 to June 1938. The era included the overnight disappearance of paper fortunes, bank and business failures, mass unemployment, deflation, and agricultural displacement and migration. The national annual average unemployment rate rose from 3.2 percent in 1929 to 24.9 percent in 1933.[12]

Denver was less dependent on manufacturing than eastern cities, and historians Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel concluded the stock market crash "had little immediate impact on Denver except on Seventeenth Street, the heart of the financial district. . . . As late as 1931 the city seemed insulated from eastern distress. But, as agricultural and metals prices fell and as industry slowed, Denver found that its economy was in trouble."[13] Employed heads of households in the city fell from 87 percent in 1929 to 68 percent by 1932. Nearly a third of state and national banks in Colorado closed between 1930 and 1934, and by 1933 a quarter of Coloradans were unemployed.[14] The number of welfare bureau cases in Denver soared from 918 in 1929 to 16,881 in 1935.[15] "Hoovervilles," encampments of the unemployed homeless named for the President many blamed for the economic collapse, sprang up in various parts of the city, including along the South Platte River bottoms, in Five Points, Highland, Globeville, Swansea, and Jefferson Park. Historian Phil Goodstein found one-fifth of the city's residents were "direly impacted by the business cataclysm."[16]

Relief Efforts

To address human impacts of the economic downturn, relief efforts took three forms: private charities, self-help, and public assistance. In the absence of public programs, Denver's unemployed initially turned to private aid for relief, such as the Community Chest, Catholic Charities, Central Jewish Aid, Salvation Army, and Denver City Charities. In summer 1931 Mayor George D. Begole, who ousted incumbent Benjamin F. Stapleton earlier that year, created the Citizens' Employment Committee to assist the charitable groups. The charities, designed to offer short-term help for small numbers of needy, were ill-equipped and inadequately funded to cope with the dimensions of the crisis. Donors fell on hard times, contributions dwindled, and charities exhausted available funds.

Rev. Edgar Wahlberg of Grace Methodist Church estimated thirty self-help organizations operated in the city in the early 1930s. The Denver Unemployed Citizens League formed as a cooperative self-help group in June 1932. Organized by architect Charles D. Strong, the league provided its members with meaningful work two days a week, including such tasks as mending clothes, salvaging food, repairing shoes, renovating old buildings in return for housing, baking bread, running a soup kitchen, and harvesting farm produce for a share of the crop. The group also staged boxing matches, dances, and concerts to raise funds. Workers were paid with food and supplies, and the group provided a school improving job skills and training for future employment. The league claimed more than 30,000 members and lasted about a year.[17]

Reverend Wahlberg managed self-help projects through his Grace Church Relief Association. The group collected and distributed food, clothing, and fuel for the needy; ran an employment agency, barber shop, and shoe repair service; and hosted a family planning clinic that provided information on birth control. Historian Phil Goodstein deemed the church "Denver's foremost home of the social gospel: the belief that the prime duty of religion is to help those in need and redress the injustices of society."[18] In the primarily African American Five Points neighborhood businessman Ben Hooper distributed food. Hooper, known as the unofficial "mayor" of Five Points, persuaded sponsors of mass rabbit hunts on the state's eastern plains to donate the game for stew distributed to the needy. He also coordinated the provision of milk to children in the area.[19] Some unemployed persons tried to help themselves by panning for gold in the South Platte River.

As the economy worsened, frugality became a watchword, exemplified by the aphorism "Use it up, wear it out, make it do or do without."[20] President Herbert Hoover and his administration did little to address the economic crisis between 1929 and 1932. Leonard and Noel concluded, "Government responded slowly to the collapse. Little money was available until 1933."[21] Hoover, a strong believer in self-reliance and voluntarism, frequently observed, "No one has starved yet," as the ranks of the unemployed swelled.[22] In 1931 his administration authorized $700 million for public works spending and in January 1932 created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to distribute $2 billion in loans to corporations and banks. Colorado U.S. Senator Edward P. Costigan, a progressive Democrat elected in 1930, denounced the RFC as "billions for big business, but no mercy for mankind."[23] In Denver an RFC loan insured the survival of the Colorado National Bank (5DV.524), but historian LeRoy R. Hafen concluded that the theory behind the RFC loans—"that the money lent to the big fellows would trickle down to the little fellows—did not work out in practice."[24]

Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt received 55 percent of the vote in Denver in the November 1932 presidential election and carried the state by a slightly larger margin. Voters also repealed the state Prohibition law, a move followed at the national level in 1933, enabling Denverites to legally imbibe alcohol for the first time since 1916. Roosevelt's landslide victory and his promise of a "New Deal" for the nation brought a heavily Democratic Congress into power, which quickly enacted a flurry of legislation to address the economic downturn. Hafen noted, "It was soon apparent that New Deal objectives went beyond emergency measures for relief of the unemployed and for stabilization of business. A new philosophy of government with obligations to the citizenry was evident in the measure

proposed. Relief, recovery, and reform came to be the three R's of the New Deal."[25] The principal public works and relief agencies of the New Deal active in Denver are briefly discussed below.[26]

Civil Works Administration (CWA), 1933-1934. Created by the 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act, this program led by Harry Hopkins was designed to be a short-term effort to immediately create useful public works employment for the jobless. Receiving funding from other New Deal agencies and Congress, it put millions of people to work on 200,000 projects, such as building roads, levees, and water mains, and constructing or improving schools and airports. As Hopkins later wrote:

> Long after the workers of CWA are dead and gone and these hard times forgotten, their effort will be remembered by permanent useful works in every county of every state. People will ride over bridges they made, travel on their highways, attend schools they built, navigate waterways they improved, do their public business in courthouses and state capitols which workers from CWA rescued from disrepair.[27]

The CWA was re-created in the form of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1935. In Denver, a photographer captured CWA workers on one project cleaning and painting the State Capitol dome.[28]

Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 1933-1942. The CCC was intended to provide work on public lands for jobless men aged eighteen to twenty-five. Major CCC tasks included preventing forest fires; eliminating plant pests and diseases; and the construction, maintenance, and repair of park and forest trails and other infrastructure, as well as "such other work . . . as the President may determine to be desirable." Participants received training and education, food and lodging, health care, and a small salary to send home to their families. More than three million men enrolled, including unemployed veterans and Native Americans. The program operated 4,500 camps in national, state, and local parks and forests. Work included restoration of historic structures, building of cabins, installing water lines, and other jobs. In Denver, one CCC project planted trees and other vegetation to beautify Buchtel Boulevard (5DV.2943).

Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), 1933-1935. Created by the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 with Harry Hopkins serving as its administrator, FERA focused on responding to the fiscal crisis of state and local governments due to the collapse of tax revenues and the mounting costs of emergency relief. The agency represented the beginning of a new partnership among the federal, state, and local governments to address unemployment relief, which later continued in somewhat different forms through the CWA and the WPA. Governors applied for federal grants, which were combined with state and local monies, to provide help for more than twenty million needy persons. Customized assistance came in the form of work programs, education for jobless teachers, part-time work for college students, jobs for transients, cash for those unable to work, and rural relief programs. Some funds went to the states for infrastructure improvements, including new and repaired roads and five thousand public buildings. In Denver, one 1934 FERA project added a mural to the East High School library (5DV.2091).

National Youth Administration (NYA), 1935-1943. The NYA provided young women and men with a wide variety of public works and public service jobs and training. Young people who needed financial assistance to continue their educations (ages 16-24) and those out of school (ages 16-25) who were unemployed and needy qualified for the program. Types of projects included construction of recreation facilities, building maintenance, landscaping, road and street work, building bridges in parks, creating playgrounds, medical research, health care, furniture repair, library services, forestry and soil work, and national defense-related training. The NYA employed 2,677,000 youth in its out-of-school program and 2,134,000 student workers. Originally a division of the WPA, it later became part of the Federal Security Agency; Aubrey Williams led the

program. In Denver, eighty-five NYA workers supported Denver Public Library's (5DV.161.4) regional programs.[29]

Public Works Administration (PWA), 1933-1943. This agency headed by Harold Ickes was designed to promote "industrial recovery, foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works, and for other purposes."[30] It offered a program of public works, including highways, airports, bridges and dams, buildings and housing, natural resource conservation, energy, flood control, and other efforts. Starting with a $3.3 billion budget, the PWA transformed the country's infrastructure. Instead of hiring the unemployed, the PWA was intended to stimulate economic recovery by providing loans and grants to state and local governments who contributed funds and developed projects completed by private contractors. After 1939 the PWA shifted its attention to war preparations, including construction of aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, planes, and other military equipment. In Denver, one PWA project involved construction of the State Capitol Annex and Boiler Building (5DV.2844) and another provided funding for the U.S. Custom House/Federal Building (5DV.153).

Works Progress Administration (WPA), by 1939 known as Work Projects Administration, 1935-1943. Harry Hopkins led this program from 1935-1938. Local and county governments proposed needed projects and provided matching funds and the WPA hired workers, putting 8.5 million people in jobs. Created to reduce unemployment, this program was the largest and most varied of the New Deal era, involving almost every type of work. The majority of WPA projects included construction, resulting in new schools, bridges, highways, outhouses, parks, water lines, and airports around the country. Other projects included work in fields such as music, art, theater, library collections, historic preservation, and social science. Unmarried women often sewed clothes, prepared school lunches, and provided classroom support. African Americans and Latinos charged the agency with unfair treatment. As America prepared for war, WPA work projects improved military facilities. In Denver, the WPA was involved in the completion of the State Capitol Annex and Boiler Building (5DV.2844), constructed a City Park warehouse, and built Monkey Island at the Denver Zoo, among other projects.

Post Office and Treasury Programs, 1933-43. Other agency efforts included those of the U.S. Post Office Department, which worked with the U.S. Treasury and later the Public Buildings Administration (PBA), to create new post office buildings and new artwork for those buildings. The U.S. Treasury, Public Works Branch, 1933, which became the Public Buildings Branch in 1936, consolidated federal building activities and managed construction and repair of most federal buildings (post offices, courthouses, etc.). It also managed the Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture and the CWA-funded Treasury Relief Art Project.

New Deal-Era Federal Relief and Public Works Programs in Denver

The New Deal deployed its full panoply of public works relief projects and programs within Denver. Some programs constructed or renovated buildings and infrastructure, while others provided services, training, or entertainment. Both affected thousands of lives and touched public spaces throughout the city.[31] The city and school district provided facilities without charge for WPA and other programs. The WPA used the Denver Auditorium (5DV.521) as a mass registration and processing center for handling large numbers of people coming into its program. Historians Dorsett and McCarthy concluded that "efficient and thoughtful use was made of federal emergency funds" by Benjamin F. Stapleton (Mayor of Denver, 1935-47), Paul D. Shriver (WPA Administrator), George E. Cranmer (Denver Manager of Public Works), and Thomas A. Dines (chair of the advisory board to Denver's Bureau of Public Welfare).[32] Dorsett and McCarthy found vocal New Deal opponents, such as U.S. Senator Edwin C. Johnson and *Denver Post* editor William C. Shepherd,

> failed to destroy the atmosphere of unity and civic pride which grew out of the trials of the 1930s. This was so because local leaders saw that all people—men and women, blacks and whites, aliens and citizens—had access to relief, and no one was coerced to support

> incumbent politicians. Also, these civic leaders continually pointed to the improved quality of life which was left in the wake of every federal grant.[33]

In the late 1930s Mayor Stapleton estimated "the present and potential value" of WPA projects within the city at $50 million.[34] Leonard and Noel observed that "frontier privatism had been struck a blow by the depression" and concluded "the New Deal agencies did relieve suffering."[35] An overview of public works programs follows.

Construction Programs

Government Buildings. New Deal-era public works programs erected new governmental facilities and expanded existing ones. Using U.S. Treasury funds, the 1931 New Customs House received a 1937 addition that doubled its size, filling the entire block bounded by 19th, 20th, Stout, and California Streets. Denver architects Temple H. Buell and G. Meredith Musick designed the addition that, like the original building, was clad in Colorado Yule marble.[36] The WPA also provided funds for erection of two new fire stations within Denver. The Baker neighborhood received an Art Deco-style building at 42 West 2nd Avenue (Station 11, 5DV.9359) in 1936, while a 1937 Tudor Revival-style station at 1426 Oneida Street (Station 14, 5DV.9956) served the Montclair area. C. Francis Pillsbury designed both.[37]

A PWA grant funded construction of the State Capitol Annex (5DV.2844) at East 14th Avenue and Sherman Street during 1938-39. The seven-story, Colorado Yule marble-clad building cost just under $1 million. C. Francis Pillsbury, G. Meredith Musick, Arthur Fisher, Gordon White, and associate architects designed the Annex, following a state practice during the depression of spreading employment among a number architects to give each an opportunity to work on part of a public building.[38] When occupied in October 1939, principal tenants included the State Revenue Department, the Industrial Commission, and the State Compensation Insurance Fund. A December 1939 survey conducted by *Architectural Record* of non-architectural professionals in Denver ranked this as the favorite building in the city.[39] An adjoining building to the south, completed in 1939, contained a shop and a heating and power plant for the entire Capitol Complex.[40] A PWA grant also allocated money to construct an auditorium addition to the Colorado Museum of Natural History (5DV.50). Lawrence C. Phipps provided the necessary matching funds.[41]

The Treasury Procurement Section financed a South Denver Post Office (5DV.1496) at South Broadway and West Cedar Avenue. The $80,000 facility opened in 1940 with dedication ceremonies that included a parade, flag raising, and patriotic addresses. The post office included a mural, "The Horse Corral," by Ethel Magafan, a local artist in the WPA program.[42] A PWA grant helped build the $200,000 Denver Police Administration Building (1941, 5DV.1767) at 1245 Champa Street, designed in the International style by Musick, Pillsbury, and Morris.

Schools. Two schools in Denver's system were built under federal public works programs in the 1930s. WPA funding permitted erection of Ash Grove Elementary (1938, 1700 South Holly Street, 5DV.2078) in southeast Denver, designed by Preston L. Johnson, and College View Elementary (2680 South Decatur Street; demolished) in southwest Denver. Originally part of Arapahoe County School District 35, Denver annexed the Ash Grove area in 1957 and acquired the building.[43] A PWA grant funded construction of the 1940 Boettcher School for Crippled Children (demolished) designed by Burnham Hoyt. Claude Boettcher provided the necessary matching funds for this acclaimed International-style building.[44] WPA workers enhanced the grounds of several schools through improving grades and erecting retaining walls.[45] The school district sought further citywide improvements, asking voters in October 1938 to approve construction or renovation of twenty-four schools. The proposal included a $3.8 million bond issue matched by $3.1 million from the PWA, but Denver voters rejected the project.[46]

City Parks and Infrastructure. During the Depression, public works projects improved both city parks and municipal infrastructure. Projects for parks within the city included: creation of Bonnie Brae (Ellipse) Park;

construction of Monkey Island at City Park Zoo; landscaping at Mountain View (Cranmer, 5DV.5313), Berkeley (5DV.5307), and other parks; and adding nine holes to the Berkeley Park Golf Course.[47] A swimming pool and bathhouse were dedicated in Lincoln Park (5DV.2955) in August 1939. The 160' x 60' pool reportedly constituted the largest in the state at the time of its completion. The structure's dedication ceremonies included a color illuminated aquacade with leading swimmers and divers of the day.[48] The WPA built an outdoor swimming pool at Columbus (now Columbus/La Raza) Park in northwest Denver and completed landscaping and erected a boathouse at Sloan's Lake Park (5DV.5339). In 1939 two WPA-constructed swimming piers and a 30' diving tower opened at Berkeley Park.[49]

The PWA encouraged municipalities to construct sewage treatment plants under a 55 percent local/45 percent PWA financing scheme. Denver voters approved a bond issue for the local match in 1935, and the $2 million plant started operations in 1937. Burnham Hoyt designed the facility at East 51st Avenue and Downing. Prior to completion of the plant, sewage flowed directly into the South Platte River.[50] Lake Archer, a nineteenth century water supply structure in the Baker neighborhood, was filled in as a WPA project and became a water department storage yard. Flood control included the construction of Kenwood Dam across Cherry Creek in Douglas County as part of a public works program paid for by the city, federal government, and property owners.

WPA workers extended runways at Denver Municipal Airport (demolished) and "converted the infant airstrip into a first-class municipal airport."[51] According to Leonard and Noel, other large WPA projects included "the installation of sewers, riprapping the banks of the South Platte and Cherry Creek, extending Washington Street into Adams County, building part of Buchtel Boulevard, and extending Alameda from west Denver to Red Rocks."[52] The South Platte and Cherry Creek projects improved flood control for 11.5 miles of the waterways and totaled $3 million by the end of 1937.[53]

Military Facilities. As the country edged closer to war, substantial public works funding was allocated for expansion and updating of existing military installations and construction of new ones.[54] In 1937 one of WPA's largest projects in Colorado started at Lowry Field (5DV.712) in east Denver. More than 1,500 workers labored to convert the Agnes Memorial Sanatorium into an Army Air Corps technical training school. WPA projects renovated the existing buildings, constructed roads and walkways on the 880-acre campus, assembled hangars, and built runways. By 1939 WPA poured $3.6 million into projects at Lowry.[55] At Fort Logan (5DV.694), which served as a physical conditioning center for CCC recruits in 1933-34, WPA workers rehabilitated and modernized barracks and other buildings, erected quarters for non-commissioned officers, and made other improvements.[56] Fitzsimons Army Hospital (5AM.123) east of Denver also received WPA assistance.

Mountain Parks. Outside of Denver proper, federal programs assisted in improving the city's mountain park system during the 1930s. The CCC accomplished the most extensive improvements at Red Rocks Park (5JF.442), constructing the George Cranmer-planned and Burnham Hoyt-designed open air amphitheater and scenic drives through the rock formations. WPA funds improved access to and within Red Rocks Park and the National Park Service contributed materials. Other mountain park projects included the completion of ice skating facilities at Evergreen Lake and Evergreen golf course. Denver also constructed Winter Park Ski Area (5GA.3534) in 1940 at the west portal of the Moffat Tunnel in Grand County. George Cranmer initiated the Winter Park project with donations from wealthy friends and used PWA and city money to develop the ski area, with labor from Colorado Mountain Club volunteers, the CCC, and the U.S. Forest Service.[57]

Non-Construction Projects

Art Projects. New Deal-era programs employed artists and sculptors to enhance a number of public buildings within Denver. When questioned why the WPA supported the work of artists, its national administrator Harry Hopkins retorted: "Hell! They've got to eat just like other people."[58] Examples of

buildings graced with Federal Art Project-funded murals include: Morey Junior High (5DV.2090) in Capitol Hill (artist Louise Ronnebeck); Denver Public Library (161.4, Paschal Quackenbush); State Capitol Annex (5DV.2943, Hugh Weller); Denver Public Schools Administration Building (unknown, 5DV.1723); 455 Sherman Street (unknown); West High School (Jenne Magafan and Eduardo Chavez, 5DV.22); Robert Speer Memorial Hospital (Louise Emerson Ronnebeck); Beach Court Elementary School (Leone Bradbury, 5DV.2079); East High School (High Weller); Cole Junior High School (Kenneth Evett and William Traher, 5DV.2088); Steele Elementary School (Allen Tupper True, 5DV.2097); and South High School (Allen Tupper True, 5DV.2092).[59] A 2012 book on Colorado murals concluded the WPA emphasized "conventional themes," frequently including depictions of the West and pioneer life.[60]

The Treasury Department Section of Painting and Sculpture provided funds for Gladys Caldwell Fisher to sculpt two mountain sheep flanking the 18th Street entrance to the U.S. Post Office building (5DV.201), as well as an Ethel Magafan mural for the South Denver Post Office (5DV.1496). In 1934 Fisher also executed an 11' x 6' *bas relief* in the City and County Building (5DV.5989) depicting a Native American and native animals, including an eagle, bear, and buffalo.[61] The Public Works of Art Project funded a Frank Mechau mural for the Denver Public Library (5DV.161.4) and four panels by Frank Gates at North High School (5DV.89).[62]

Theater and Music. The WPA's Federal Theater Project operated out of the five-hundred-seat Baker Theater at 1447 Lawrence Street in downtown Denver (demolished). WPA players staged nearly five hundred performances of plays and other entertainment between 1936 and 1939. Mary Coyle Chase, later Pulitzer Prize-winning author of "Harvey," premiered her first play "Me Third" there.[63] Musicians with the Federal Music Project presented concerts at the Greek Theater (5DV.161.2) in Civic Center. Historian Stephen Leonard judged the cultural programs represented only a small proportion of the WPA jobs and funds, but "sparked a mountain of controversy, and left a legacy of murals, plays, books, and federal involvement in the arts."[64]

Research, Writing, Mapping, and Museum Work. Unemployed professionals also were eligible to participate in federal relief programs. The Federal Writers Project researched aspects of Colorado history and produced a state guidebook, *Colorado: A Guide to the Highest State* (1941). At the Colorado State Museum (5DV.5990) WPA workers catalogued collections and created a diorama depicting Denver in 1864. WPA workers indexed decades of the *Rocky Mountain News*, created a bibliographical center, and mended books at the Denver Public Library, then located at 144 West Colfax Avenue (5DV.5DV.161.4). The Denver Art Museum received WPA art displays and wood block prints.[65] Under supervision of the U.S. Geological Survey, WPA workers produced a topographic map of the Denver region.[66]

Domestic, Educational, and Recreational Programs. The WPA employed women to make clothing, stuff dolls, prepare school lunches, can food, and run nurseries. In 1935 the sewing program received $468,762 to employ 553 women to produce clothes for needy adults and children. The school district provided twenty rooms in twenty schools for the project. The National Youth Administration hired high school and college students to work part time as teachers and library and laboratory assistants.[67] The WPA provided hot lunches in Denver schools and at some offered recreational programs in football, basketball, volleyball, square dancing, speech, singing, and cooking.[68] The Emily Griffith School (5DV.1819) in downtown Denver survived a state recommended closure and played a role during the economic crisis, helping to improve workers' skills and aiding the occupational, economic, social, intellectual, and "moral" rehabilitation of the unemployed. The school offered many new classes in cooperation with the NYA and WPA. In southwest Denver WPA crews operated a thirty-five-acre farm where eight to nine types of fruits and vegetables were grown, including peas, spinach, tomatoes, cabbage, and beans. The farm yielded 200,000 tons of crops in 1938, which were distributed without charge to the unemployed.[69]

Non-New Deal Construction and Development in the 1930s

New Deal agency stimulus spending projects were not the only construction activity in the city in the 1930s. The economic downturn depressed development in Denver in the 1930s, but private and public entities still erected thousands of new buildings, just at a much slower pace than in the previous decade. Analysis of Denver Assessor data reveals half as many parcels were built-out during the 1930s as in the 1920s—7,012 versus 15,544. After more than one thousand parcels were developed in 1930, steep declines occurred, reaching a low of 315 parcels in 1934. Four neighborhoods display the highest numbers of parcels dating to the 1930-39 period: South Park Hill (686 parcels), Hale (589), Westwood (587), and Hilltop (354). Core city neighborhoods west and southwest of downtown along the South Platte River show few parcels dating to this era.[70] Notable clusters of developed parcels are found along East 6th Avenue Parkway from Colorado Boulevard east to Jasmine Street (parts of the Hale and Hilltop neighborhoods) and in South Park Hill in an area from East 16th Avenue to East 23rd Avenue and from Kearney Street east to Monaco Street Parkway.

Historian Phil Goodstein noted that residential construction for the affluent continued during the Depression era in such areas as the Hilltop neighborhood.[71] Van Holt Garrett's Crestmoor Realty Company platted the Crestmoor Park subdivision in 1936 in Hilltop. Located southeast of East 6th Avenue Parkway and South Holly Street, the development contained large lots, curving streets, and its eponymous open space at the southeast corner.[72] In the Belcaro neighborhood Bonnie Brae, platted in the 1920s, showed substantial activity. Architects Lester Jones, William Boorman, Thomas Moore, and Robert Max Morris built a number of significant International-style residences there during 1935-39.[73]

On the other end of the economic spectrum the unincorporated Westwood area in southwest Denver experienced substantial activity during the Depression, with lots selling for $1 down and 50 cents per week. A 1986 Denver planning report unflatteringly characterized the development as a "shack town, trailer town, and tent town."[74] The subdivisions of Belmont, Westlawn Addition, Adams Park, and Adams Gardens flanking Morrison Road include hundreds of parcels built-out during this period. In the 1930s, the city still contained pockets of small-scale agriculture. *Denver Municipal Facts* reported that "the Platte River virtually represents a city within a city. Along its banks are people who not only live in Denver but who have withdrawn so far into the heart of the city that they are not observed on the great bustling surface. They are like a whisper in a world of noise."[75] The periodical noted several different nationalities engaged in truck gardening along the river, including Austrian, German, and Italian families. Others were second-hand dealers, manufacturers, and mushroom pickers.

Apartment Construction. Amid the overall decline in construction in Denver during the 1930s, erection of new apartments remained popular. In 1937 Wendell T. Hedgecock, head of the city building department, noted that "like the Mesa Verde Cliff Dwellers of a by-gone age, Denverites are turning toward community dwellings for homes."[76] Apartment building construction provided employment for architects and builders who saw diminished commissions during the Depression.

The Capitol Hill and North Capitol Hill neighborhoods contain examples of significant apartments dating to the period. Architect Charles D. Strong designed several Capitol Hill apartment buildings in the 1000 block of Sherman Street in the area known today as "Poet's Row," including the Thomas Carlyle (1936), James Russell Lowell (1936), Mark Twain (1937), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1938), and Eugene Field (1939) (now within the Sherman Street National Register Historic District, 5DV.9154). Strong's designs reflected the Modern style through pared-down exterior ornament. Art historian Sally Everett observed "the starkness of the buildings is directly related to the depression and the fact that money was not available to pay for extravagances."[77] East Colfax Avenue received two Art Deco apartments: the Burtlock (1932, 1062-80 East Colfax Avenue) and the $70,000 Leetonia (1930, 2021-33 East Colfax Avenue, 5DV2617). Architect Walter H. Simon designed the latter building.[78] The Tudor Revival style was employed for apartments in the Congress Park neighborhood, including a ca. 1930 building at 2727 East 13th Avenue and the $80,000 Avon Masonic

(1931) at 1282 Detroit Street. Architects F.W. Ireland Jr. and E.W. Parr designed the latter building, as well as a four-unit 1930 Spanish Eclectic-style apartment at 1285 Josephine Street in Cheesman Park.[79]

Strong also prepared drawings for the 1939 Zell Apartments at 1550 Sherman Street in North Capitol Hill. The Zell's Moderne design featured a variety of materials and textures, including brick, marble, and stainless steel.[80] The ca. 1932 Winbro, a sixty-five unit apartment building erected at 1620 Grant Street in North Capitol Hill (5DV.2583), featured an Art Deco design in six shades of brick and pyramidal trimmed windows, stepped pilasters, and stepped roof parapets. The 1937 Parkaire at 1310 Franklin Street in the Wyman neighborhood, also by Strong, featured a Streamline Moderne style.[81] Everett reported more than a dozen Art Deco and Moderne apartments were built between 1937 and 1939.

Apartment and Boarding House Conversions. The Great Depression, like the Panic of 1893, wrought major changes in the living arrangements of many Denver families. Some homeowners were unable to afford mortgages and turned to renting, and other families doubled-up, with several generations sharing accommodations. In the Capitol Hill neighborhood many of the area's longtime wealthy families lost their homes, and others converted theirs to boarding houses. The Josiah Fleming house (1133 Pennsylvania Street, 5DV.661) became the Penn-Hurst boarding house, and several of its large-scale, architecturally distinctive neighbors on Pennsylvania Street went through similar transformations. The neighborhood became less owner-occupied and the population more diverse, with Capitol Hill increasingly housing a more mobile population with fewer longstanding ties to the neighborhood.[82]

North Capitol Hill followed a similar pattern, as increasing numbers of large single-family homes became boarding houses and apartments. The area contained many Irish Catholics and Jews, and the neighborhood grew in population through the 1930s and 1940s.[83] Owners of larger single-family homes in Whittier also converted their properties to boarding and apartment houses.[84]

Downtown Commercial Buildings. Downtown Denver remained the city's and region's unrivaled center of commerce in the 1930s, continuing to house the bulk of retail and department stores, financial institutions, and offices. However, the decade was an era of retrenchment and cautious investment that eschewed bold expansion within the central business district. As historians Leonard and Noel observed, "few notable buildings were added to downtown" during the 1930s.[85] In fact, "a wave of demolition . . . swept the central business district during the Depression," according to historian Phil Goodstein.[86] The Begole Administration removed the Welcome Arch in front of Union Station in 1931 and razed the 1887 Arapahoe County Courthouse at 16th and Tremont streets two years later.[87]

A few notable additions to downtown did appear. A 2,100-seat Art Deco movie palace joined the commercial district in 1930, when the Paramount Theater (5DV.190) opened at 16th and Glenarm streets. Temple H. Buell designed the white terra cotta-clad venue. The Art Deco Merchandise Mart (1863 Wazee Street, 5DV.47.54) was completed in Lower Downtown in 1931. Montana Fallis prepared plans for the building, which functioned as a multi-tenant merchandising space.[88] Architect J.J.B. Benedict updated the Colorado Building (5DV.497) at 1609-15 16th Street in 1935 with a transformative Art Deco terra cotta exterior. Built in 1891 as the Hayden, Dickinson, and Feldhauser Building, it originally served as a department store before conversion to offices in 1902. In announcing the expensive remodeling in the midst of the Great Depression, owner Claude K. Boettcher stated he had assessed business conditions and found that "to discuss whether the prospects for the future of Denver are bright is no longer necessary. The city's steady progress has not been and will not be interrupted."[89]

Downtown's only sizable new office building, the 1938 Streamline Moderne-style New Railway Exchange Building (5DV.525), was planned by the firm of Fisher and Fisher at 909 17th Street. The black granite and white limestone edifice rose on the former site of a nineteenth century Railway Exchange Building, whose 1909 Railway Exchange Addition designed by the same firm remained. The new building provided offices for

a variety of railroad and communication workers, with the street level housing ticket offices and upper floors containing the transmission offices of Western Union.[90]

Other Commercial Buildings. Limited 1930s commercial construction occurred outside of the central business district in business areas established by the initial zoning of Denver in 1925, which reflected and reinforced existing land uses. Major arterials such as Broadway, East Colfax Avenue, Santa Fe Drive, Federal Boulevard, West 38th Avenue, and Alameda Avenue witnessed some Depression-era construction. Broadway, from 14th Avenue south to Cherry Creek, emerged as the city's "premier shopping district for cars, filled with castle-like automobile dealerships."[91] The Leeman Automobile Company (5DV.6140) erected a dealership at 550 Broadway in 1937. Raymond H. Ervin designed the brick and terra cotta building in the Art Deco style. Further south, the Mayan Theater (5DV.52) welcomed patrons in 1930. To create the building Montana Fallis-designed a new façade and interior for the existing ca. 1915 Queen Theater, which was damaged in a 1928 fire. The theater displayed a polychromatic terra cotta façade with Aztec and Mayan motifs.[92]

East Colfax Avenue also received some new commercial construction. In 1930, for example, a Walgreen's Drugstore (5DV.2618) designed by Harry W.J. Edbrooke rose at the southwest corner of East Colfax Avenue and York Street, strengthening the intersection's existing commercial node.[93] Several large houses along the thoroughfare received front and/or side additions built to the sidewalk as a relatively inexpensive means of providing new space for retail or service businesses, creating good examples of History Colorado's House with Commercial Addition building type.

In 1939 the Union Pacific Railway Company and the Growers Public Market Association completed the $1 million Denargo Public Market (5DV.4490) at 29th Street and Broadway. Temple H. Buell designed the facility in the railroad yards at the northern tip of the Five Points Neighborhood. The growers' association was composed of produce farmers north of Denver. Union Pacific developed the adjacent area by erecting produce dealers' buildings and a garage. By 1941 the value of fruits and vegetables sold through the market rose to $9 million.[94]

Civic Buildings. Denver also received several government, civic, and public educational buildings that were not the result of New Deal projects during the 1930s. Some were completed before the impacts of the economic downturn were fully felt. The federal government constructed the New Custom House (5DV.1530) at 19th and Stout Streets in 1931. The building, near the U.S. Post Office, paid tribute to the earlier structure through the use of Colorado Yule marble for exterior walls and reflected Renaissance Revival influences.[95]

The city constructed a new Fire Station No. 3 (5DV.9361) at 2500 Washington Street in 1931 to serve the Five Points neighborhood. C. Francis Pillsbury designed the English Cottage-style building. Shelley Rhym, reflecting on the area in 1934, noted that "the new fire house at Twenty-fifth and Washington St. is equipped with the oldest fire engine in the city, but the all-Negro team is a thing of pride in the neighborhood."[96]

Also in 1931, Denver City and County Hospital (now Denver Health Medical Center) received an operating pavilion and new service building. During 1939-1940, the Robert W. Speer Memorial Building for Children (extant) was erected on Bannock between 6th and 7th Avenues and the Nicholson Building was completed. The exterior entrance notably included a mural. The complex did not receive another new building until the 1970s.

In 1932, the city dedicated the monumental $4.5 million Denver City and County Building (5DV.5989) on Bannock Street facing the State Capitol, completing the vision for a Civic Center begun under Mayor Robert W. Speer in 1904. The Allied Architects Association of thirty-nine local architects designed the four-story, gray granite Neoclassical building, whose construction required four years.[97] The building housed city and

county executive offices, the City Council chambers, the district and county court rooms, and the Denver Art Museum.[98]

Schools. Three Denver Public Schools buildings date to the 1930s, including two in Northwest Denver. Bryant-Webster School (5DV.378) opened in 1930 at 3635 Quivas Street after the district razed the older Bryant School and erected a new $245,000 Art Deco-style building with Native American influences. Architect G. Meredith Musick prepared the plans for the twenty-room school.[99] Horace Mann Junior High School (5DV.2077) at 4130 Navajo Street opened its doors in 1931. Temple H. Buell designed the H-shaped Art Deco building described by Thomas Noel as "a brickmason's tour de force."[100] The district also completed Steck Elementary School (5DV.2073) at 450 Albion Street in 1930. Designed by S. Arthur Axtens in the Art Deco style, the school served the Hilltop neighborhood. In addition, Whittier School in northeast Denver received a gymnasium/auditorium (5DV.6970) in 1931.[101]

Churches. A few major places of worship rose in the city during the 1930s. The Pillar of Fire Church completed its Alma Temple at East 13th Avenue and Sherman Street in 1937 after acquiring the site fifteen years earlier. Construction extended over several years, with the church initially meeting in the completed basement of the building. Church leaders announced they wanted a building that would harmonize with the nearby state government facilities of the Civic Center.[102] At the northeast corner of the same block Denver Baptists erected the First Baptist Church (5DV.803) at East 14th Avenue and Grant Street in 1938. The church acquired the parcel in 1917, but unsettled conditions resulting from World War I and impacts of the Depression delayed construction. Architect G. Meredith Musick designed the Colonial Revival-style church.[103] In the Baker neighborhood St. Joseph's Catholic Church (5DV.25) constructed a new school in 1937, a two-story pink brick building designed by John K. Monroe at West 6th Avenue and Fox Street.

The Growing Federal Civilian and Military Presence

The dream of Denver as a major center for federal activity captured the local imagination, with city political leaders and the Denver Chamber of Commerce attempting to convince federal agencies to locate their regional offices in the city. The 1931 New Customs House (5DV.153) provided additional space for federal workers, who also were housed in offices throughout downtown, including the Telephone, Patterson, and Kittredge buildings. Federal civilian employment totaled about 1,750 in 1933 and grew during the New Deal era as employees supervised public works projects and programs involving thousands of citizens. The New Customs House doubled in size in 1937. Boosters promoted Denver under a variety of names, including the "Little Capital of the United States," "Second Capital Program," Little Washington," "Washington of the West," and "Federal Capital of the West."[104] The campaign to secure government offices reflected the view that federal installations were clean enterprises, unlike industrial plants. As historians Lyle Dorsett and Michael McCarthy observed, "Smog, dirt, and noise did not accompany federal offices, the employees were not interested in unionizing, and they were relatively well paid. Government payrolls stimulated Denver's economy, and so did the extensive purchases of supplies by the various agencies."[105] Denver housed an estimated seven thousand federal workers in 1940. In 1943 the Chamber of Commerce counted 185 federal administrative offices represented in Denver, of which 134 were regional or national in scope.[106]

Denver government and business leaders also saw the economic potential in acquiring new military installations. The Denver region boasted just two federal military facilities at the beginning of the 1930s, the Army's Fort Logan and Fitzsimons General Hospital. Denver leaders led the effort to acquire the latter facility during World War I although the proposed location lay several miles outside the city boundary near Aurora. They reasoned that most of the benefits of the post would flow to the capital, the only city of size in the region. The same logic motivated Denver to support efforts to attract regional military installations before and during World War II.

When the Army Air Corps announced plans in 1934 to replace its training facilities at Chanute Field, Illinois, Denver supporters campaigned to secure the training base, arguing the Mile High City's favorable weather conditions for aerial photography and adequate space for a bombing range met the Army's criteria.[107] To facilitate the city's bid for the base, in 1935 Denver voters passed a bond issue to purchase the land and buildings of the Agnes Memorial Sanatorium (5DV.1494), a former tuberculosis hospital in east Denver established by Lawrence C. Phipps, Sr., at East 6th Avenue and Quebec Street. Selected from among eighty-two proposed sites, Congress authorized the War Department to establish the new Denver Branch of the Air Corps Technical Training School (soon named Lowry Field, 5DV.712).[108] Aurora lay a short distance to the northeast.

Lowry's physical facilities grew dramatically in the late 1930s, as the nation enhanced its military preparedness.[109] By the start of 1940, Lowry's military personnel included 44 officers and 1,350 enlisted men, of whom 600 were students. By the end of the year, $15 million in Army funds enlarged the facility with a second permanent hangar and a variety of new buildings; another 112 buildings were under construction.[110] The City and County of Denver acquired additional lands to support Lowry Field, including a 64,000-acre tract twenty miles to the southeast to be used as a bombing range, the largest such facility in the country at the start of World War II. In 1941, Denver also purchased 960 acres approximately seven miles east of Lowry Field as an auxiliary landing field, named Buckley Field. Pilots from Lowry landed at Buckley Field (5AH.169), loaded bombs, and then flew along a government-owned corridor to the bombing range, where the payloads were dropped.[111] By the summer of 1941, Lowry housed nearly 8,000 officers and 15,000 enlisted men; the base trained more than 15,000 men between July 1, 1941 and June 30, 1942.

Population Trends during the 1930s

The Great Depression did not derail Denver's continuing growth. Unlike many parts of the state, the City and County grew 12 percent between 1930 and 1940, adding more inhabitants in the 1930s (34,551) than it did in the 1920s (31,370). The city's 1940 population of 322,412 made it the 24th most populous city in the nation; Denver remained the largest municipality between Kansas City and Los Angeles. Census data indicate Denver drew more than 20,000 net migrants over the decade, demonstrating the Queen City remained relatively attractive during the economic downturn.[112] Historian James F. Wickens judged part of Denver's relief burden during the Depression came "from the hundreds of Coloradans who moved to Denver when they lost their jobs, their crops, or their spirit."[113]

Census data showed Denver's population as 97.3 percent white in 1940. The African American population grew more slowly than the city as a whole during the 1930s. By 1940 there were 7,836 blacks in the City and County of Denver, an increase of 632 (or 8.8 percent) since 1930. Other racial groups comprised about 0.2 percent of the population: Japanese, 323; Indian (Native American), 195; Chinese, 110; and other Asian, 138. African Americans were the city's largest racial minority group but constituted only 2.4 percent of the total population. The de facto segregation of the city was reflected in the fact that 82 percent of African Americans resided in just two of the city's forty-four census tracts northeast of downtown, areas now part of the Five Points and Whittier neighborhoods.[114] In 1943 Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) remarked: "Denver, as everybody knows, is practically a Jim Crow town."[115] In the same year the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) began protests at city theaters and restaurants it alleged treated blacks unequally, but the District Attorney declined to bring charges against business owners.[116]

In a change from 1930 the Census Bureau, instead of tabulating Latinos separately, included these residents in the white racial category. The 1941 housing study noted earlier found two-thirds of Spanish-surnamed residents of the city living in five census tracts, principally in areas adjacent to the South Platte River.[117] Latino families arrived in Denver in large numbers in the early twentieth century after being enlisted to

harvest sugar beets in northern Colorado. The sugar beet industry began in Colorado following the Panic of 1893 to bolster the state's ailing economy. The labor-intensive harvesting of beets led sugar companies to recruit three successive waves of laborers: workers of German-Russian stock; Japanese workers; and Latino laborers from the Southwest and Mexico, some whose families had lived in the United States for generations, and more recent Mexican immigrants who came for railroad or other work.[118]

Latino sugar beet workers were paid for seventy-five days of work during the harvesting season. Most had no off-season housing near the fields and moved to cities, particularly Denver, for the colder months. Most Latino migrants congregated in West Denver along the South Platte River and in the Five Points area. Larimer Street in Five Points drew many, who referred to it as *Calle de Hambre* or Hunger Street.[119] The western edge of the La Alma-Lincoln Park area, along the east bank of the South Platte, was described by some as "Denver's Mexican-American barrio."[120]Housing was substandard and health problems resulted from inadequate plumbing and unclean water. Family funds were frequently inadequate to carry seasonal workers through the off-season, and families doubled up in already crowded housing. By 1929, 17,000 of the 28,000 sugar beet workers in northern Colorado were Spanish surnamed, of whom some 5,000 to 8,000 wintered in Denver every year.[121]

Many Latino families moved out of the area known as the river bottoms and into the western portion of the Baker neighborhood as their prosperity increased and brought new cultural traditions and businesses to the area. By 1940 Latino families were residing as far east as Cherokee Street in the southern part of Baker. The population of the area increased and became more renter-occupied.[122] The heavily Catholic newcomers swelled the ranks of St. Joseph's Catholic Church (5DV.25), while many area Protestant churches closed or relocated. Baker Junior High School (5DV.8045) created programs to incorporate Latino students in class discussions and extra-curricular activities. The school's one-hundred-member Spanish Chorus provided in-school and community entertainment in the 1930s and 1940s.[123]

5.3 Denver at War, 1941-45

In September 1939 Germany invaded Poland, and President Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed a "limited national emergency." In December 1940 he vowed the country would become "the great arsenal of democracy," with Germany occupying France and Britain under assault from the air. The War Department increased its efforts in all areas of military preparedness. The push for additional military installations and defense plants targeted inland locations with adequate transportation facilities, labor force, and other existing infrastructure, making Denver a logical candidate for wartime facilities. Historian Gerald Nash concluded: "Like the silver rushes of the 1870s, war mobilization provided extraordinary stimulus for Denver's economy."[124]

Denver Mayor Benjamin Stapleton supported war preparedness, but many Denverites and Coloradans clung to isolationism until Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. As historian Stephen J. Leonard described: "Within a year, Denverites were learning air-raid rules, sewing blackout curtains, saving tin and lard, and conserving gasoline and tires. . . . By the end of the war in August 1945, over 1,300 Denver area residents had lost their lives, while at home hundreds of thousands of others saw their lives and the city transformed."[125]

Historian James F. Wickens wrote that after 1941 "few if any visible traces of the Great Depression remained in Colorado," and Leonard and Noel wryly observed that "War was hell on the fighting front, but on the home front it brought prosperity."[126] Nearly 45,000 Denver residents served in the armed forces during the war and more than one thousand died in service.[127] The impact of the conflict was felt beyond military installations and war industries, as historians Dorsett and McCarthy described:

> Beginning in 1940, and growing throughout the war, an electric-like enthusiasm permeated the community. People were off relief, and high-paying jobs were available for ordinary

> people. Opportunities to get ahead were legion as Denver and its hinterland boomed to meet wartime needs. Denver's grain mills, sugar refineries, and meat-packing plants strained to capacity. The fifteen-year drought ended just as the war started, and America's allies needed as much food as farmers and processors could supply.[128]

By all accounts Denver enjoyed a good relationship with its World War II military facilities. Historian Phil Goodstein described the city as "a national model in dealing with military bases."[129] By contrast, base commanders in other large urban areas declared the cities "off limits" for military personnel. Denver police worked closely with their military counterparts in dealing with incidents. Mayor Stapleton lobbied for bars to close at midnight to reduce problems with intoxicated servicemen, and a shuttle service was operated between downtown Denver and Lowry Field, Fitzsimons General Hospital, and Fort Logan. Denver worked to limit prostitution in 1942, and in 1944 an inspection of 23,000 Lowry Field servicemen found only ten cases of venereal disease.[130] Many troops from Camp Hale near Leadville and Camp Carson near Colorado Springs also visited Denver on leave, and thousands of military personnel moved through Union Station by train. Historians Leonard and Noel estimated four million servicemen were introduced to the Queen City during the war.[131]

Wartime Military and Industrial Installations within Denver and the Region

Existing military posts, such as Lowry Field, Fort Logan, and Fitzsimons Army Hospital, received massive infusions of federal funds as America prepared for war. New facilities opened, including the Denver Ordnance Plant (now the Denver Federal Center in Lakewood), a bomber modification center at Denver Municipal Airport, the Denver Medical Depot in northeast Denver, Rocky Mountain Arsenal in today's Commerce City vicinity, and Buckley Field in present-day Aurora. While some of these facilities were located outside the Denver corporate limits, the city reaped most of the benefits and challenges of the military and defense build-up. Englewood, the next largest municipality in the region, had just 9,680 inhabitants in 1940.

Major Denver regional wartime facilities and their missions are briefly described below:

Lowry Field (5DV.712). Beginning in 1942, the War Department assigned Lowry, the region's largest military base, the ambitious task of training 55,000 troops each year. To meet its expanded role, Lowry created a new self-contained unit entirely for training aircraft armor technicians, known as "Lowry Field Number 2." By 1944, more than six hundred buildings, many of them characterized as temporary construction, stood at Lowry Field. In all, approximately 168,000 persons attended courses at the installation during the war.[132]

Fort Logan (5DV.694). Located in southwest Denver, Fort Logan, the city's oldest military post, became a substation of Lowry Field in 1941. It functioned as an Army Air Corps clerical training school for 1,500 students and officers. The post became independent of Lowry in 1942 but continued the same role. Fort Logan also served as an army reception center, processing volunteers and draftees from Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, who remained at the post from the time of induction until they departed to assigned locations. The old post encompassed 200 buildings and 5,500 military personnel during the war[133]

Denver Medical Depot (5DV.5142). Denver Medical Depot at East 38th Avenue and York Street was the only World War II military facility created within the city limits of Denver. Designed by Temple H. Buell and erected by the F.J. Kirchhof Construction Company, the eleven-building brick complex included two immense warehouses and covered 37.4 acres. The Denver facility became one of eleven branch medical depots operated by the Surgeon General of the Army during the war.[134] The facility opened in September 1942 and received, repackaged, and shipped approximately 250 million tons of medical supplies, supporting the Army's general (such as Fitzsimons), station, and post hospitals in the eight Rocky Mountain states and western Texas.[135] A small group of Army officers managed the facility's civil

service workforce. In June 1943, more than eight hundred people worked at the Denver Medical Depot. The workforce included blacks and Latinos, and 47 percent of those employed were female.[136]

Continental-Denver Modification Center. Denver Municipal Airport in northeast Denver became the site of the Continental-Denver Modification Center for bomber aircraft in July 1942. Continental Airlines operated the facility under the supervision of the Army Air Forces. A *Denver Post* article explained the Modification Center did not manufacture aircraft but was "devoted to altering, equipping, and fitting new bombers with whatever additional equipment may be needed for any specific flying task at any particular moment."[137] In 1943 about eight hundred people worked in three shifts modifying Boeing B-17 "Flying Fortress" heavy bombers. In April 1943 the Army announced plans to build Modification Center Number 13, a larger facility on ninety acres of land just north of the airport. Costing approximately $5 million, the new hangar and support buildings opened in October and were also operated by Continental Airlines; the Army retained the old center for testing heavy bombers. The new Denver facility was the largest modification center in the country for the B-17 and outfitted a variety of other planes, including the B-29 Superfortress and planes used for photoreconnaissance over Japan. By February 1945, 3,200 people (37 percent women) worked round-the-clock to modify aircraft.[138]

Rocky Mountain Arsenal (5AM.628). Operated by the Army Chemical Warfare Service, the Rocky Mountain Arsenal initially covered twenty-seven-square-miles east of present-day Commerce City and north of the Denver Municipal Airport. Construction began in June 1942, with initial operations starting in December.[139] The last chemical arsenal built during the war, the $50 million installation employed about three thousand people and included almost three hundred buildings.[140] To construct the facility the government condemned farmland and relocated families.[141] The Arsenal housed the Western Chemical Warfare School and manufactured and assembled chemical, toxic, and incendiary munitions, including chlorine, distilled mustard, Lewisite, and napalm.[142] Loading and clustering of incendiary bombs became a major function of the facility, where workers filled shells with phosgene gas. While chemical weapons were not used during the war, incendiary bombs produced at the Arsenal caused 83,000 deaths in a March 1945 raid on Tokyo. The *Denver Post* boasted "69 cities were reduced to smoldering ash heaps with compliments of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal."[143] The facility also housed captured German and Italian prisoners of war.[144]

Denver Ordnance Plant (5DV.1048). Located on 2,080 acres in what is now Lakewood, the Denver Ordnance Plant became the region's largest wartime industrial facility. In January 1941 the War Department executed a $122 million contract with the Remington Arms Company to supervise construction and operate a plant to manufacture 30-caliber small arms ammunition, including ball, armor-piercing, and tracer cartridges. Initial construction costs were $20 million, with machinery and operation totaling $102 million.[145] Dedicated in October 1941, the complex contained 265 buildings divided into four separate production units; the facility grew throughout the war, with building construction eventually totaling $52 million. West 6th Avenue west of Kalamath Street became Colorado's first freeway to serve war workers commuting to the plant. The facility employed about 40 percent of Denver's factory workers (about 19,500 men and women) in 1943.[146] Later in the war, industrialist Henry J. Kaiser produced heavy munitions and K rations at the site.[147] In the postwar period, the facility became the Denver Federal Center, housing a wide range of federal agencies.[148]

Fitzsimons General Hospital (5AM.123). Denver led a successful effort to obtain a military installation for the region during World War I. The army erected Fitzsimons General Hospital (originally General Hospital Number 21) east of Denver, in what is now Aurora, in 1918-19. Specializing in the treatment of returning veterans suffering from respiratory diseases such as tuberculosis, the installation provided jobs and purchased supplies from local businesses, playing an important role in the regional economy.[149] By the 1920s, reports described Fitzsimons as the largest active military hospital in the world and the largest

tuberculosis hospital in the United States.[150] Beginning in 1939, the army undertook extensive projects to renovate its existing medical facilities, including Fitzsimons, and in 1941 a new $3.75 million main building, reportedly "the largest single hospital structure ever built by the Army" to that time, opened at the post.[151] Faced with wartime labor shortages, civilians took over jobs enlisted men traditionally held, and members of the Women's Army Corps also filled roles at the facility.[152] During 1942 Fitzsimons received additional hospital and staff facilities, a post chapel, a one-thousand-student technician's school, and fifty-nine other buildings.[153] The hospital continued to grow during the war and by 1945 reached a bed capacity of 3,417.[154]

Buckley Field (5AH.169). In 1942 the War Department announced plans to construct Buckley Field, the region's second air training post, at a cost of $20 million. Located east of Lowry Field in present-day Aurora, the base accommodated 12,000 men and 350 officers. Buckley Field engaged in specialized aerial warfare training, preparing students to maintain and calibrate aircraft weapons. Using standardized plans, the workers toiled in two shifts from sunrise to sundown to complete the base in July 1942.[155] The installation included more than seven hundred buildings, including barracks, schools, administrative headquarters, hospital buildings, churches, stores, and movie theaters, with a coal-fired heating plant and water, sewer, and electrical systems. As the war continued Buckley added training facilities for armament, military police, and flying, as well as operating three basic training camps on the bombing range and serving as an Army Air Forces convalescent center.[156] Buckley graduated thirty thousand airmen in armament training during the first six months of 1943, and another ten thousand completed basic training. After peaking in 1943, the number passing through the camp decreased, and in July 1945 Buckley became a sub-post of Lowry Field. In that year the Chemical Training Center of the Army Air Forces and the Camouflage Training Center moved to Buckley, which continued to operate in the postwar period.[157]

Wartime Industries

In addition to military installations, civilian manufacturing firms played an important role in Denver's wartime economy. Leonard and Noel observed the city's war industries were "less visible, indeed sometimes cloaked in secrecy."[158] Denver companies expanded output, retooled their focus, and increased workforces to produce a wide variety of items needed for the military. Historian Gerald R. Nash opined "probably Denver could have had even more war industries had its conservative business community made more aggressive efforts."[159]

Gates Rubber Company (5DV.48, mostly demolished), the city's largest manufacturing concern, increased production to meet wartime needs despite losing a number of employees to military service. Although women had been part of the company workforce from its beginning, hundreds of them filled jobs men previously held and joined other employees who worked six-day, forty-eight-hour weeks. The plant at South Broadway and West Mississippi Avenue covered more than twenty acres with a complex of interconnected brick and concrete buildings. Gates manufactured an array of military equipment during the war, including belts for invasion boats; tires for trucks, jeeps, and planes; various parts for tanks, ships, bombers, and fighter aircraft; rubber TNT buckets; and hoses for moving shipping cargo. With most Asian rubber supplies cut off by Japan, Gates formed a consortium with other rubber companies to develop a synthetic product. Military equipment and supplies developed at Gates during the war included gas masks, high speed flat belts, wire braid hydraulic hose and plastic garden hose, and rubber-faced steel plates. In 1943 Gates negotiated its first contract with United Rubber Workers Local No. 154, making it one of the city's largest unionized workplaces. The United States awarded Gates the Army-Navy "E" Award in July 1943 for its wartime production, including the first synthetic rubber belt. The honors went to industrial plants for outstanding performance in manufacturing war equipment; only about 5 percent of the plants doing war work in the country received the awards.[160]

The Midwest Steel & Iron Works Company (25 Larimer Street, 5DV.339) received construction contracts for military installations in Colorado and Wyoming, winning a Navy "E" for excellence award in 1944. Midwest was also one of eight Denver steel fabricators participating in "the first dry land ship building project for the United States Navy."[161] The firms fabricated steel hull sections for aircraft carriers, escort vessels, and landing craft which were shipped by railroad to Mare Island Navy Yard in California for assembly. The program produced components for 39 destroyer escorts and 301 landing craft, including the *U.S.S. Brennan*, the first destroyer escort built under the program, launched in August 1942.[162] Thompson Pipe and Steel Company served as prime contractor for a program to manufacture 150-foot-long barges (floating piers or landing craft) for the military. The craft carried supplies on its interior and heavy equipment on its deck. Led by Thompson, the consortium of fifteen subcontractors fabricated the craft in sections for shipment and final assembly at the port of embarkation.[163]

An array of smaller companies also supported the war effort. Staff of the Smaller War Plants Corporation surveyed area plants for capabilities and capacity and then sold them on the idea of making "items entirely foreign to their normal product."[164] Cobusco Steel (Colorado Builders Supply Company) produced long range artillery shells at South Lipan Street and West Dakota Avenue. The Griswold Ski Company received a contract for 33,000 pairs of snowshoes. Carothers Clark, Inc., employed 180 workers at its dehydration plant to make powdered eggs; Bluhill Foods at 711 South Broadway packaged cans of peanuts; and General Foods supplied field rations. Allied Chemical and Dye and General Chemical provided sulfuric acid, while Bay Petroleum Company produced butane. Electromatic Typewriters, Inc., crafted torpedo firing mechanisms; Wright Engineering Supply fabricated fuse setters and spare parts; Denver Tent and Awning produced tents; and the Winter Weiss Company manufactured general utility truck trailers for Army use.[165] Leonard and Noel observed that "the small and large defense plants rapidly changed Denver from a city of unemployment to one with a labor shortage."[166]

Homefront Support of the War

Denverites supported the war on the homefront by engaging in salvage drives for such items as tin, paper, fat, iron, aluminum, rubber, and silk. Residents planted an estimated sixty thousand Victory Gardens to supplement food supplies. A civil defense network was put in place, air raid drills staged, and nighttime blackouts observed. The federal Office of Price Administration from its "arsenal of bureaucracy" in the Kittredge Building (5DV.139) imposed price controls and rationing for scarce goods and commodities, including gasoline, butter, sugar, meat, shoes, and cooking oil. Gas rationing increased streetcar ridership and ride-sharing.[167]

United Service Organization (USO) clubs were established in various parts of the city, providing social opportunities and recreation and entertainment for armed forces personnel. The main USO was located in downtown Denver at 1417 California Street with satellite clubs at the YMCA (25 E. 16th Ave., 5DV. 2049) and Union Station. Reflecting the segregation of the military, a club at 26th and Welton streets in Five Points was established for African American servicemen.[168] World War II brought better times to the Five Points neighborhood, as these members of the military visited for recreation and entertainment. Since hotels outside Five Points denied them accommodations, many black families in the area provided lodging for soldiers and airmen on leave. In addition, neighborhood businessman Ben Hooper rented sleeping space to African American military men upstairs in his Ex-Servicemen's Club.[169]

Emily Griffith Opportunity School (5DV.1819) in downtown Denver expanded during the war and played a vital role in training more than 24,000 people for defense work. The complex received a new school shop for national defense training, offering classes related to homefront activities and instruction for women replacing men in jobs needed for the war effort. The University of Denver taught women laboratory skills for work at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal.[170]

Construction Resulting from Wartime Activities

From a Depression-era low of 314 units built in 1934, construction recovered during the late 1930s. By 1940 the city ranked ninth in the nation in the number of new houses built, with a total of 1,829.[171] Permits were also issued for apartments and bungalow courts holding nearly seven hundred units citywide.[172] L.D. Webber, the head of the Building Department, commented, "As fast as they are completed, a family moves in. There seems to be little speculative building. Most contractors are building for individuals, or they have a prospective purchaser ready to buy or rent."[173] Construction peaked in 1941 and 1942 with more than two thousand parcels built out. With wartime restrictions on non-essential construction in effect, building dropped sharply in 1943 and 1944 before posting a slight improvement in 1945.[174]

To insure the nation's priorities focused on war-related tasks, the government limited availability of construction materials to those projects deemed essential to the war effort. As early as 1941, a University of Denver study found a housing shortage in the city.[175] Rents rose as government restrictions limited nonessential civilian construction. Only 529 new housing units were built in 1943, but owners remodeled existing buildings to provide rentable living space.[176] Leonard and Noel reported: "Old Capitol Hill mansions became apartment houses besieged by would-be boarders. Stores were converted to residences, and hotels overflowed with war workers and military personnel."[177] The trend toward conversion of dwellings to multi-family units and the erection of new apartments continued in the Capitol Hill and North Capitol Hill areas during World War II. Such conversions were less expensive than construction of new dwelling units and utilized less building materials.

Companies engaged in essential war work were able to secure construction priorities for expansion. For example, the activities of the Gates Rubber Company (5DV.48), which supplied items directly to the military and provided necessary components to other critical manufacturing plants, were deemed essential, permitting the enterprise to access scarce building materials and labor. Gates constructed at least $271,090 worth of additions and new buildings at its Denver factory during the war years.[178]

Federal officials also authorized the construction of additional classroom space to accommodate children of war workers and military personnel. Federal funds through the Federal Works Agency provided for the 1943 erection of Montclair Elementary School (5DV.8063) at 1151 Newport Street to serve hundreds of children whose parents worked at the nearby Lowry Field. Architect Gordon White designed the school.[179] The population of the unincorporated Westwood area of southwest Denver exploded during the war as many of the thousands of workers at the Denver Ordnance Depot settled there. Funds through the Federal Works Administration permitted construction of Belmont School (1945, 5DV.1676) on Morrison Road and Irving School at South Irving Street and West Kentucky Avenue.[180] Denver annexed the area in 1947.[181]

Bomber modification activities at Denver Municipal Airport during the war substantially improved and expanded the facility. By war's end, the airport more than doubled its original area, covering 1,435 acres. The airfield employed more than 1,200 workers and included four runways, six hangars, an air traffic control tower, and a post office. In August 1944, Denver renamed the facility Stapleton Airport (demolished) in recognition of Denver Mayor Benjamin F. Stapleton's efforts to construct a municipal flying field in 1929.[182]

Construction of public housing projects planned before the war also proceeded. In 1937 the federal government enacted the Public Housing Act to eliminate slums, re-house low-income families, and boost the construction industry. The Public Housing Administration was created to assist local communities in planning, building, financing, and managing rental homes for low-income families who could not afford to buy or rent private homes. The city established the Denver Housing Authority (DHA) to plan and administer

public housing for low-income families. Lincoln Park Homes at West Colfax Avenue and Mariposa Street (1940-43) comprised the city's first public housing project. Designed by architect Temple H. Buell, the 422-unit complex of two-story masonry buildings opened in stages between 1940 and 1943. During the war, some units were made available for rental to displaced defense workers. In Five Points DHA began to build Platte Valley Homes at 31st and Stout Streets in 1941. The project covered a full city block and contained seventy-seven units in ten buildings. The 184-unit Las Casitas (5DV.895, demolished) project opened in 1942 at Eliot Street and West 11th Avenue.[183] DHA planned each housing project to serve different racial/ethnic populations, with whites found in Lincoln Park, Latinos in Las Casitas, and African Americans in Platte Valley.[184]

Military installations and war industries stimulated residential construction in their proximity, some in newly-platted subdivisions and some in older additions with undeveloped lots. Businesses catering to military personnel and workers along the periphery of the posts prospered. Based on an analysis of Denver Assessor data, neighborhoods with large numbers of parcels built out during the 1937-45 period included Montclair, Hale, Westwood, University, and South Park Hill. In South Park Hill, C.S. Glascoe and B.F. Swan of Denver platted the Mont View Park Addition in 1939. The subdivision was largely built out during the war due to its proximity to Lowry Field to the south and Denver Municipal Airport and the Continental-Denver Bomber Modification Center to the north.[185]

To provide housing for married, noncommissioned officers stationed at Lowry Field, the federal government built a $400,000 125-unit housing project immediately north of the base. At the suggestion of Lowry's commander, the development was called "Encio Village," a take on the acronym for noncommissioned officer (NCO).[186] Denver supplied fire and police protection and maintained the streets.[187] Fred Hobbs lived in the development as a boy in the 1940s and recalled: "The population consisted mostly of the families of air corps sergeants and civilian wartime workers. The homes were brand new, but very small modest frame structures designed to be temporary."[188]

Mayfair Park, platted in 1942 northwest of Quebec Street and East 3rd Avenue, received nearly four dozen dwellings in 1943. In northeast Denver the 1943 Russell Arms Apartments occupied an entire city block at East 37th Avenue and York Street, immediately west of the Denver Medical Depot. The $60,000 development for war workers at the depot consisted of eight, four-unit masonry bungalow courts.[189]

A boom came to Westwood during the war due to its proximity to the Denver Ordnance Plant. Seeking less expensive housing in outlying areas, war workers found cheap lots and a lack of building restrictions in the unincorporated area. More than seven hundred parcels were developed in Westwood between 1937 and 1945, including dwellings and businesses, such as corner groceries and roadhouses.[190]

Population Growth and Annexations during the War

By November 1943 the Census Bureau estimated Denver's population totaled 335,364, a 4 percent rise from 1940.[191] One unexpected group adding to the city's population increase was Japanese Americans. Encouraged by Colorado Governor Ralph Carr's opposition to President Roosevelt's incarceration and relocation order, some West Coast Japanese Americans came to Denver in early 1942 on their own volition before their forced removal to assembly centers and relocation camps occurred. Other Japanese Americans, who had been sent to the Granada Relocation Center (Camp Amache) in southeast Colorado, were permitted to leave beginning in 1943, and some gravitated to the state's largest city. Both groups of newcomers generally settled in the area between 21st and 28th Streets on the western edge of Five Points, site of an existing small Japanese American community.[192] The Japanese Methodist Church (5DV.103.31) played an important role in this community in the 1940s. Founded in Five Points in 1907, the congregation purchased an existing church at 25th and California Streets in 1935. The church drew a mixture of inner city and rural families, welcoming displaced families from the West Coast and supporting Japanese Americans

serving in the armed forces.[193] Many former evacuees recalled the neighborhood's Burlington Hotel (5DV.3351) with its street-level Doi Pharmacy as a place where Japanese American newcomers to Denver sought lodging. Wartime events significantly expanded Denver's Japanese American population, which grew from 323 persons in 1940 to about 5,000 by 1945. The influx resulted in a six-fold increase in Japanese American-owned businesses, especially along Larimer Street.[194]

During the war Denver initiated its first annexations since 1902. To accommodate expansion of Denver Municipal Airport (renamed Stapleton Airfield in 1944) the city added an area to the south, lying between Smith Road and East 26th Avenue and Yosemite and Havana Streets. Other annexed areas were planned for residential growth, including Mountain View Park (1943) and Davis Ranch (1944) at the southwest edge of the city and University Hills No. 1 (1944) and Kirkland No. 1 (1945) subdivisions on the south. The four annexations added 3.2 square miles to Denver.

5.4 Conclusion

In discussing the Great Depression and World War II, historians Lyle Dorsett and Michael McCarthy concluded: "While the depression brought lasting alterations to Colorado's showplace city, World War II left a wake of change as profound as anything since the silver boom of the 1870s and 1880s."[195] Denver's "Little Capital" program, by which the city's leaders attracted government offices and military facilities to the Mile High City, became so successful that by the end of the war the federal government was the largest employer in the metropolitan area.[196]

Denverites greeted the end of the war in August 1945 with joy tempered with concern over the possible return of economic hard times. The economy remained strong, however, and the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union ensured retention of the region's wartime facilities. Fitzsimons and Lowry operated until closing in the 1990s, while a much-expanded Buckley Air Force Base still functions. The Rocky Mountain Arsenal ceased operations in 1982, leaving a highly polluted property that with remediation became a national wildlife refuge. The Air Force acquired the Denver Medical Depot and operated its Accounting and Finance Center there until 1977; the facility now houses private businesses. The Denver Ordnance Center became the Denver Federal Center, a complex serving thousands of federal civilian employees from numerous agencies. The Bomber Modification Center facilities were incorporated into the operations of Stapleton Airport, which expanded to become the nation's fifth busiest airfield until its closure in 1995.

During the war, Denver earned a reputation among military personnel as "the Good Neighbor" when its residents opened their homes to servicemen stationed in the city.[197] Historians Dorsett and McCarthy observed that wartime military personnel "moved through the metropolitan area with a frequency reminiscent of miners during the gold rush days."[198] Many veterans who had been stationed at local military posts or who had visited the city returned to Denver after the war. Some pursued higher education or obtained home mortgages under the 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act, popularly known as the "GI Bill of Rights." Many married and started families—their children forming part of the Baby Boom generation. These impacts stimulated a surge in construction and initiated a period of economic growth which continued until the 1980s. Between 1940 and 1950, Denver's population climbed 29 percent to 415,786 inhabitants, many of them looking for new homes and a prosperous life in the city.

Endnotes

[1] T.H. Watkins, *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993), 81.
[2] Phil Goodstein, *From Soup Lines to the Front Lines: Denver During the Depression and World War II, 1929-1947* (Denver: New Social Publications, 2007), 221.
[3] Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 210.
[4] The phrase in quotes was the motto of the Works Projects Administration.
[5] James F. Wickens, *Colorado in the Great Depression* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), 4.
[6] Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1985), 56.
[7] Lyle W. Dorsett and Michael McCarthy, *The Queen City: A History of Denver* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing, 1986), 242.
[8] R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Overview History of Denver Neighborhood Development," prepared for the Denver Landmark Preservation Commission and Office of Planning and Community Development (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., January 1995), 57. Population by small area for 1920 and 1930 was obtained from unpublished U.S. Census data. The enumeration districts of 1920 were aggregated to create comparable geographic units to the 1930 election districts.
[9] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, Vol. III (Washington: U.S. Government Printing House, 1931), 1 and 316. The Bureau of the Census explained: "Persons of Mexican birth or parentage who were not reported as white or Indian were designated 'Mexican' in 1930 . . ."
[10] Ira De Augustine Reid, *The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado* (New York: The National Urban League for the Denver Interracial Commission, 1929). The Denver Interracial Commission commissioned the study.
[11] Watkins, *The Great Depression*, 51.
[12] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), 73.
[13] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 204.
[14] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 204.
[15] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 202.
[16] Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Rocky Mountain Gold* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Continental Heritage Press, 1980), 142.
[17] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 205-06; Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 314-15.
[18] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 293, 295, and 297. Grace Methodist (no longer extant) was located at the southwest corner of W. 13th Avenue and Bannock Street.
[19] Noel, *Rocky Mountain Gold*, 138.
[20] Judy Busk, "'Always Lend a Helping Hand': Sevier County Remembers the Great Depression," New Deal Network, http://newdeal.feri.org (accessed 3 April 2015).
[21] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 207.
[22] Watkins, *The Great Depression*, 53.
[23] Stephen J. Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs: A Colorado Portrait of the Great Depression* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1993), 22.
[24] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 212; LeRoy R. Hafen, *Colorado and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1948), 550.
[25] Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, 553.
[26] Much of the information in the summaries comes from The Living New Deal, www.livingnewdeal.org. See also Colorado Historical Society, *The New Deal in Colorado, 1933-1942* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 2008).
[27] Harry Hopkins, *Spending to Save: The Complete Story of Relief* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1936), 120.
[28] *People's World*, 8 November 2013.
[29] The New Deal Network, newdeal.feri.org/ala/al3639.htm.
[30] The Living New Deal, livingnewdeal.org.
[31] No compiled checklist of New Deal era construction presently exists. The resources discussed herein were taken from published histories and newspaper clippings but should not be assumed to be comprehensive.

[32] Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 236.
[33] Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 236.
[34] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 96.
[35] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 217-18.
[36] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 232; Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 99.
[37] Nancy L. Widmann, *The Baker Historic District* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1999), 42; Thomas J. Noel and William J. Hansen, *The Montclair Neighborhood* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1999), 92-93.
[38] Sally Everett, "Art Deco Days: Early Modern Architecture in Denver, 1925-1940" *Colorado Heritage* (1989): 26.
[39] Thomas J. Noel and Barbara S. Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects, 1893-1941* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1987), 137.
[40] *Colorado Year Book, 1962-1964*, 5; *Year Book of the State of Colorado, 1941-1942*, 324.
[41] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 99-100.
[42] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 226; "South Denver Bids Opened," *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 October 1937, 8; "Open House Held For Thousands," *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 March 1940, 4. Post office plans, dated December 16, 1938, show the building to be a project of the Treasury Department Procurement Division, Public Buildings Branch, with Lewis A. Simon as the supervising architect.
[43] R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Historical and Architectural Survey of Selected Denver Public Schools, 2005," prepared for Denver Public Schools (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., February 2006), 15; Sharon R. Catlett, *Farmlands, Forts, and Country Life: The Story of Southwest Denver* (Boulder, Colorado: Westcliffe Publishers, 2007), 152.
[44] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 99-100.
[45] *Denver Post*, 12 October 1935, 2. Included in the program were East High School; Lake, Morey, and Skinner Junior High Schools; and Alcott Elementary School.
[46] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 321-22.
[47] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 97; *Denver Post*, 16 September 1939, 21.
[48] *Denver Post*, 24 August 1939, 20.
[49] Phil Goodstein, *North Side Story* (Denver: New Social Publications, 2011), 81, 346, and 437.
[50] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 333-34; Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects*, 137.
[51] Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 236.
[52] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 213.
[53] *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 December 1937, 13.
[54] *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 May 1939, 1; *Denver Post*, 26 May 1940, 7.
[55] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 106.
[56] *Denver Post*, 15 November 1940, 38; Catlett, *Farmlands, Forts, and Country Life*, 184.
[57] Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects*, 170-172.
[58] Watkins, *The Great Depression*, 250.
[59] Mary Motian-Meadows and Georgia Garnsey, *The Murals of Colorado* (Boulder: Johnson Books, 2012), 240-47.
[60] Motian-Meadows and Garnsey, *The Murals of Colorado*, 93. This may not be a comprehensive list of all WPA-funded murals. Some WPA murals are no longer extant or their whereabouts are unknown.
[61] Jack A. Murphy, *Geology Tour of Denver's Buildings and Monuments* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1995), 26.
[62] Motian-Meadows and Garnsey, *The Murals of Colorado*, 240. Allen Tupper True also produced murals commissioned by this program for the old Colorado Psychiatric Hospital in Pueblo.
[63] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 214.
[64] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 87.
[65] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 52 and 87. The diorama of 1864 Denver remains one of the most popular exhibits for visitors at History Colorado.
[66] *WPA Worker*, July 1936, 10-11.
[67] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 87.
[68] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 87.
[69] *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 February 1938, 1, 2 July 1938, and 29 October 1938, 2. The farm was located east of Loretto Heights College adjacent to the South Platte River. The WPA canned much of the farm's output.

[70] Census data show population losses in the central part of Denver for the 1920-30 period. It may be that residential areas adjacent to the river, railyards, and industry were viewed as less desirable for new construction by the 1930s.
[71] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 346.
[72] Thomas H. Simmons, R. Laurie Simmons, and Dawn Bunyak, Historic Residential Subdivisions of Metropolitan Denver, 1940-65, National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form, 22 October 2010, 126. Photographs of the development were published in the Urban Land Institute's 1947 *Community Builders Handbook*; Garrett served on the ULI board.
[73] Michael Paglia and Diane Wray Tomasso, *The Mid-Century Modern House in Denver* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 2007), 13-15.
[74] Denver Planning and Community Development, *Westwood Neighborhood Plan* (Denver: Denver Planning and Community Development, 1986), 9.
[75] *Municipal Facts*, May-June 1930, 6.
[76] *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 November 1937.
[77] Everett, "Art Deco Days," 29.
[78] R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "East Colfax Avenue Commercial Corridor, Denver, Colorado, Historic Buildings Survey, 2006-07," prepared for the Colfax Business Improvement District (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., July 2008), 23.
[79] Rhonda Beck and Diane Gordon, *Northwest Congress Park Neighborhood* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 2004), 74-75 and 84-85; Annette L. Student, *Historic Cheesman Park Neighborhood* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1999), 18.
[80] Everett, "Art Deco Days," 30-31; Colorado Historic Building Inventory Form, 110 16th Street, 5DV1880.
[81] Diane Wilk, *The Wyman Historic District* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1995), 32-33.
[82] *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 January 1984.
[83] *North Capitol Hill/City Park West Plan*, July 1980, 3.
[84] John A. Harris, *Whittier Neighborhood Analysis* (Denver: Denver Planning Office, August 1982), 10.
[85] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 204.
[86] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 346. Goodstein does not elaborate on this observation. Property owners may have chosen to eliminate older, non-revenue producing buildings rather than continue paying property taxes during the economic downturn.
[87] Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 175.
[88] Barbara Gibson, *The Lower Downtown Historic District* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1995), 86.
[89] *Denver Post*, 26 July 1935, 15; *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 September 1935, 5.
[90] *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 January 1937; Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 133 and 137; John M. Tess, Railway Exchange Addition and New Building, National Register Nomination Form, 30 December 1996; Paglia, Wheaton and Wray, *Denver: The Modern City*, 26-27.
[91] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 341.
[92] Thomas J. Noel, *Denver Landmarks & Historic Districts* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1996), 117-18.
[93] Simmons and Simmons, "East Colfax Avenue Commercial Corridor," 54 and 60.
[94] *Denver Planning Primer*, 37; Noel and Leonard, *Denver*, 227.
[95] Noel and Leonard, *Denver*, 232.
[96] Rhym, "Five Points, '34."
[97] Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 174.
[98] Leonard, *Trials and Triumphs*, 87; Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 174-177.
[99] Ruth E. Wiberg, *Rediscovering Northwest Denver: Its History, Its People, Its Landmarks* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1976), 20; Kenton Forrest, Gene C. McKeever, and Raymond J. McAllister, *History of the Public Schools of Denver: A Brief History (1859-1989) and Complete Building Survey of the Denver Public Schools* (Denver: Tramway Press, 1989), 28.
[100] Noel, *Denver Landmarks & Historic Districts*, 103.
[101] "A Manual History," manuscript copy of centennial celebration history provided by Jim McNally, 1994, 16.
[102] *Municipal Facts*, March-April 1923.

[103] Maud Stevens and Wilbourn Batts, *A Century of Baptist Faith, 1864-1964* (Denver: First Baptist Church of Denver, 1963), 8; Louisa Ward Arps, *Faith on the Frontier* (Denver: Colorado Council of Churches, 1977), 23; Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 165.
[104] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 419; *Colorado Year Book, 1941-42*, 443; *Denver Post*, 1 January 1940, 7A.
[105] H. Lee Scamehorn, *The First Fifty Years of Flight in Colorado*, University of Colorado Studies, Series in History No. 2 (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1961); Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City,* 220-221.
[106] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 232.
[107] Michael H. Levy and Patrick M. Scanlan, *Pursuit of Excellence: A History of Lowry Air Force Base*, 1937-1987 (Lowry Air Force Base, Colo.: History Office, 1987), 9-10; *Denver Post*, 2 September 1937. The Army Air Corps became the Army Air Forces in June 1941.
[108] Lieutenant Francis B. Lowry was the only Denver aviator killed in action during World War I.
[109] *Denver Post*, 23 October 1938, 15, *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 April 1940, 3; Lowry Technical Training Center and Officer's Row Historic Districts, Denver Landmark Application, June 1995.
[110] Levy and Scanlan, *Pursuit*, 17-21; *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 December 1940; Melvin Porter, *A Forty Year Look at Lowry Air Force Base* (Lowry Air Force Base, Colo.: Lowry Technical Training Center, 1978), 22.
[111] In 1942, the size of the auxiliary landing field increased substantially. *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 March 1939, 24, and 19 May 1939, 2.
[112] An estimate of net migration was produced using a residual method: net migration equals total change minus natural increase (births minus deaths).
[113] Wickens, *Colorado in the Great Depression*, 12. Denver may well have drawn migrants from hard-hit plains states to the east.
[114] F.L. Carmichael, "Housing in Denver," University of Denver Reports, Bureau of Business and Social Research and the School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance Series (Denver: University of Denver, 1941), 15 and 16.
[115] Quoted in Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 308. Wilkins made his remarks in the NAACP's *Crisis* publication.
[116] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 308-09; *Rocky Mountain News*, 18 August 1932, 1; *Denver Post*, 18 August 1932, 4. A 1932 Young Communist League effort to integrate the swimming beach at Washington Park sparked a riot by area whites, who attacked the group with clubs and rocks.
[117] Carmichael, "Housing in Denver," 15 and 16.
[118] Theodore D. Rice, "Some Contributing Factors In Determining the Social Adjustment Of the Spanish-Speaking People in Denver and Vicinity" (MA thesis, University of Denver, 1932), v, vi.
[119] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 227.
[120] Noel, *Denver: Rocky Mountain Gold*, 141. According to Noel, the "worst part of the barrio" was torn down to build the Lincoln Park public housing project.
[121] Rice, "Some Contributing Factors," 115-6.
[122] Carmichael, "Housing In Denver," 11, 14, 17.
[123]Rice, "Some Contributing Factors," 116; "Spanish Speaking People," CWA Files, 29 December 1941, 7; Thomas J. Noel, *Colorado Catholicism and the Archdiocese of Denver, 1857-1989* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1989), 360; PTA Yearbook Series and Baker Junior High School Newsletters, 1930s-1940s, Baker Middle School archives, Denver, Colorado.
[124] Nash, *The American West Transformed*, 82.
[125] Stephen J. Leonard, "Denver at War," *Colorado Heritage* 4(1987): 31.
[126] Wickens, *Colorado in the Great Depression*, 379; Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 225.
[127] Leonard, "Denver at War," 31, 35.
[128] Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 237.
[129] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 428.
[130] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 428; Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 223.
[131] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 223.
[132] Wesley F. Craven and James L. Cate, eds. *The Army Air Forces in World War II: Men and Planes*. Vol. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1955; reprint 1983), 127 and 468; Levy and Scanlan, *Pursuit*, 21, 24, 29, and 31; *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 July 1941 and 1 April 1942; Wilson and Co., *Master Plan: Lowry Air Force Base, Denver, Colorado* (Denver: Wilson and Co., 1955).
[133] *Colorado Year Book, 1941-42*, 488-89; Barbara Norgren, Fort Logan, Inventory Record and Architectural/Historical Component Form, 5DV.694, November 1982.

[134] *Denver Post*, 2 April 1942, 1.
[135] Charles M. Wiltse, ed., *Medical Supply in World War II* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, Office of the Surgeon General, 1968), 17, 128, 566; *Denver Post*, 26 March 1942 and 10 June 1942.
[136] *Denver Post*, 31 December 1942, 11A, 7 April 1943, 3 and 8 June 1943; *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 July 1945, 11; Clarence M. Smith, *The Medical Department: Hospitalization and Evacuation, Zone of Interior, United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, Office of the Chief of Military History, 1956), 137; *DMD News*, Anniversary Number, 1943.
[137] *Denver Post*, 20 April and 20 September 1942.
[138] *Denver Post*, 16 January, 20 April, 31 May, 5 September and 7 December 1943 and 31 August 1945; *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 May and 31 August 1945; Robert J. Serling, *Maverick: The Story of Robert Six and Continental Airlines* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1974), 76. The new center extended from Syracuse east to Ulster Street and from East 32nd Avenue north nearly to the Union Pacific Railroad tracks.
[139] Michael G. Schene, "Rocky Mountain Arsenal," HAER Documentation, No. CO-21, c. 1985, 64.
[140] Army Service Forces, *History of Rocky Mountain Arsenal*, vol. 1, part 1, 3-11.
[141] *Colorado Year Book, 1941-42*, 492-93.
[142] Rocky Mountain Arsenal Contamination Control Program Management Team, *Installation Restoration at Rocky Mountain Arsenal, Selection of a Contamination Control Strategy for RMA*, vol. 1, Final Report, September 1983, 1-1.
[143] Schene, "Rocky Mountain Arsenal," 64.
[144] Schene, "Rocky Mountain Arsenal;" Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 223-224 and 351-352.
[145] *Year Book of the State of Colorado, 1941-1942*, 491-92; Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, 614-15.
[146] *Denver Post*, 4 September 1989, 13 A; Leonard, "Denver at War," 34.
[147] Leonard, "Denver at War," 34.
[148] *Colorado Year Book, 1941-1942*, 491-92; *Denver Post*, 4 September 1989, 13A.
[149] John S. Stewart Post No. 1, Veterans of Foreign Wars, comp., *Fitzsimons General Hospital: The Story of a Great Institution, 1918-1938* (Denver: John S. Stewart Post No. 1, Veterans of Foreign Wars, 1938), 13; *Fitzsimons Army Medical Center* (N.p.: National Military Publications, 1984), 2.
[150] *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 August 1937; *Annual Report of the Surgeon General*, 1939, 186.
[151] U.S. Department of the Army, Office of the Surgeon General, *Annual Report of the Surgeon General (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1940)*, 188; *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 August 1937.
[152] Clarence McKittrick Smith, *United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services, the Medical Department: Hospitalization and Evacuation, Zone of Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1956), xi and 33.
[153] Smith, *United States Army,* 195-196.
[154] Smith, *United States Army*, 306; *Fitzsimons Army Medical Center*, 4.
[155] *Denver Post*, 2 April and 30 June 1942; *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 April 1942; Carl Vincent McFadden and Leona McFadden, *Early Aurora* (Aurora, Colo.: Aurora Technical Center, 1978).
[156] *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 July 1942, 4 April and 24 October 1943; *Denver Post*, 30 June 1942, 24 October 1943, 6 February 1944.
[157] Craven and Cate, *The Army Air Forces*; *Denver Post*, 21 December 1944; McFadden and McFadden, *Early Aurora*; Charles Whitley, *Colorado Pride: A Commemorative History, 1923-1988* (Buckley Air National Guard Base, Aurora, Colo.: Colorado Air National Guard, 1989).
[158] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 223.
[159] Nash, *The American West Transformed*, 82.
[160] R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Gates Rubber Company Plant (5DV.48), Colorado OAHP Level II Historic Resource Documentation, 2012-13," prepared for Broadway Mississippi Development LLC (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., 10 October 2014), 44-46.
[161] Nash, *The American West Transformed*, 82.
[162] Kathryn M. Kuranda and Howard Needles, Midwest Steel & Iron Company, Historic American Engineering Record, 9. The destroyer escort, locally dubbed the *Mountain Maid*, was christened into British Service in August 1942 as the *H.M.S. Bentinck* before her transfer to the U.S. Navy in January 1943 as the *U.S.S. Brennan*.
[163] Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, 618-19.
[164] Hafen, *Colorado and Its People*, 619.

[165] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 224 and 226; Leonard, "Denver at War," 34; Heritage Research Center, Ltd., "WWII Industrial Facilities: Authorized Federally Funded Facilities," http://www.heritageresearch.com (accessed 28 January 2010); Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information Collection, Winter Weiss photograph, number LC-USE6-D-001113, June 1941, Washington, DC..
[166] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 225.
[167] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 229-30.
[168] Leonard, "Denver at War," 32.
[169] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 223-24; Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 240.
[170] Leonard, "Denver at War," 33 and 35.
[171] *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 January 1941, 3.
[172] Bungalow courts consist of a group of three or more detached (or connected with party walls), one-story single-family dwellings arranged around a central courtyard/entrance pathway under a common ownership. The bungalow court emerged in southern California in the late 1900s, tended to attract less affluent city dwellers, and addressed issues of density, privacy, and community.
[173] *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 December 1940, 10.
[174] The statistics were calculated from the parcel file available from the Denver County Assessor's Office. The accuracy of the Assessor's reported dates of construction should be relatively reliable for this period as contrasted with earlier eras.
[175] Carmichael, "Housing in Denver," 30.
[176] *Denver Post*, 3 September 1989.
[177] Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 231.
[178] Simmons and Simmons, "Gates Rubber Company Plant," 46.
[179] R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Historical and Architectural Survey of Selected Denver Public Schools, 2000-01," prepared for Denver Public Schools (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., August 2001), 12-13.
[180] Catlett, *Farmlands, Forts, and Country Life*, 95.
[181] Denver Public Schools, "Brief Histories of Denver Public Schools" (Denver: Denver Public Schools, 1952).
[182] Jeff Miller, *Stapleton International Airport: The First Fifty Years* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Press, 1983), 49.
[183] Denver Housing Authority, *Homes for People: A Fifteen Year Report, 1940-1955* (Denver: Denver Housing Authority, 1955), 6-10; Tina Griego, "Raising Sun Valley: 'The Hill' Born, Torn," *Denver Post*, 6 December 2010; Bill West, "The History of Curtis Park," www.curtispark.org (accessed 10 July 2015).
[184] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 504. Historian Phil Goodstein characterizes DHA policies in this regard as Jim Crow.
[185] Simmons, Simmons, and Bunyak, "Historic Residential Subdivisions," 162. The subdivision is located in the South Park Hill neighborhood between East 23rd and East 26th Avenues and Kearney Street and Monaco Parkway. The year 1937 was selected as the starting point for possible war-related resources since Lowry Field construction began that year.
[186] *Denver Post*, 27 July 1941, 6.
[187] *Rocky Mountain News*, 21 and 25 March 1941.
[188] Fred Hobbs, "A Drink at the Castle," November 2014, The Writers at Windsor Gardens, http://www.wg-wg.com (accessed 9 July 2015).
[189] Goodstein, *From Soup Lines*, 431.
[190] Denver Planning and Community Development, *Westwood Neighborhood* Plan (Denver: Denver Planning and Community Development, 1986), 9. Westwood incorporated in 1944 and voted for annexation to Denver in 1945, but the area did not become part of the city until 1947.
[191] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County Data Book: 1946* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), 78 and 84.
[192] William C. Jones, and Kenton Forrest, *Denver: A Pictorial History from Frontier Camp to Queen City of the Plains*, 3rd ed. (Golden, Colorado: Colorado Railroad Museum, 1993), 256.
[193] Andrew Cleary, "Simpson United Methodist Church," (Arvada Colo.: Simpson United Methodist Church, 1984), 4-6; "Seventy-fifth Anniversary Celebration, Simpson United Methodist Church," 1982, 5.
[194] William Allen West, *Curtis Park: A Denver Neighborhood* (Denver: Historic Denver, 1980), 13; Henry Okubo, videotaped oral history interview by Thomas H. Simmons, 10 February 1994, Denver, Colorado, in the files of the Colorado Historical Society, Denver, Colorado; "Resettlement in Denver," Densho Encyclopedia,

http://encyclopedia.densho.org (accessed 12 May 2015). Many of the Japanese American residents moved out of Five Points following the war and there were relatively few Japanese Americans left in the area by the middle 1950s.

[195] Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 237.

[196] Noel, *Denver: Rocky Mountain Gold*, 146.

[197] *Denver Post*, 3 September 1989.

[198] Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 238.