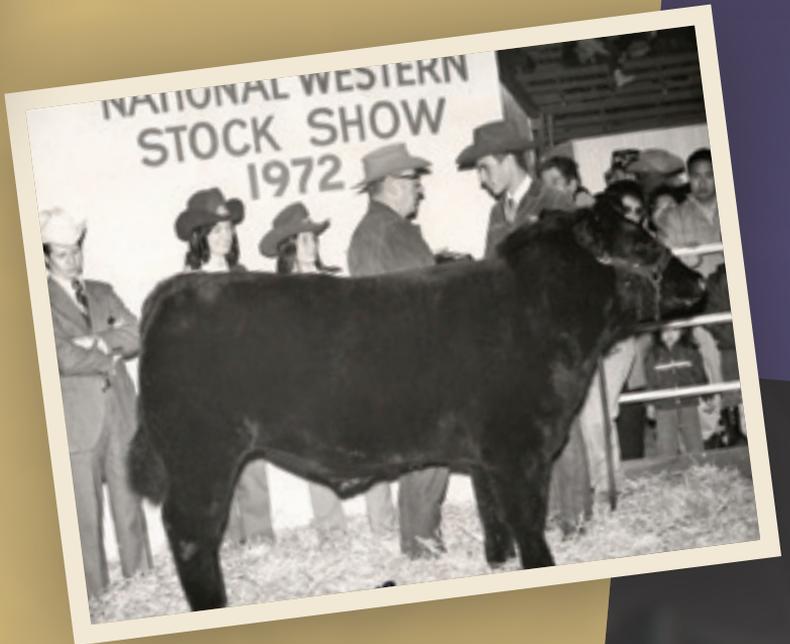


# Historical Studies Journal

Spring 2020 . Volume 37



University of Colorado  
Denver

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Spring 2020 . Volume 37

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# PREFACE

The University of Colorado Denver History Department is pleased to announce that this year marks the thirty-seventh edition of the department's *Historical Studies Journal*. The editing staff of the *Journal* carefully considered all student articles submitted for publication in order to maintain the high-quality standards the *Journal* has reflected in its long existence. The articles included in this journal discuss an array of topics including Colorado's history as well as international history.

The first article, Edward "Teddy" Scott's "A Lady by Footlight: Female Impersonation in Nineteenth Century Denver," argues that female impersonation, especially amongst actors, united diverse groups of people because the impersonators dwelled in an ambiguous social state. Mark Ortiz's "Art Deco, Exotic Revivalism, and Modernism in Denver's Fantasy Theaters" discusses the architecture of four Denver theaters: the Mayan, the Paramount, the Aladdin, and the Cooper. Mark argues that the architecture of each theater reflects the social and cultural environment in which they were created. Kayla Hladky's "The National Western Stockshow: For the Cattleman and the City Person Alike" discusses the role of the show in Colorado's history. She argues that careful planning and advertising played a large role in the show's success as a prominent, Colorado tourist attraction. Brittany Huner's "'Bless 'Em:' The Forgotten WACs of Colorado's Camp Hale" illuminates the forgotten role the Woman's Army Corps (WAC) played at Camp Hale, Colorado during World War II. Brandon Stanley's "Ancient Monarchies in a New Age: Austria-Hungary's Complicated Relationship with the Ottoman Empire" highlights the tenuous relationship between the empires during World War I. He argues that while the relationship between both empires was not perfect, they nonetheless were forced to work together during World War I.

Serving as senior editor of the *Journal* this year has been a great honor and privilege. The *Journal* could not have been completed without the dedicated effort of the assistant editors: Mark Ortiz, Edward "Teddy" Scott, Noah William Allyn, Joel Rosenstein, and Teresa Donahue. This publication is also grateful for the support of the CU-Denver History Department—especially Dr. Tom Noel, Dr. Dale Stahl, and Dr. Gabriel Finkelstein. This publication also owes much gratitude to Shannon Fluckey and Kristen Morrison for their roles as the *Journal's* graphic designers.

**Josef Maurer** | *Editor*



*An unknown artist's rendition of Richard Harlow playing the role of Isabella in Edward E. Rice's "1492."  
Credit: Rocky Mountain News, 1 Dec. 1895*

# A LADY BY FOOTLIGHT

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Female Impersonation in Nineteenth-Century Denver

**By Teddy Scott**

In 1895, a small, effeminate man sat in cell number 5 at Denver's police headquarters. He calmly answered questions from officers and the local press, who were curious about his "peculiar" lifestyle. Joe Gilligan was arrested that evening on charges of burglary and forgery, but this was not what readers of the *Evening Post* wanted to know about. They instead wanted to know why he was in possession of a lady's wardrobe, as well as several romantically suggestive letters between himself and other men. The suspect denied nothing, even revealing that Denver was filled with "others like himself," further baffling both officers and reporters with an apparent lack of shame over his unorthodox lifestyle. Seizing the opportunity to capitalize on a controversial story, the press delved into his personal correspondences, printed them in the papers, and further dragged the young man down with descriptions of his "girlish" behavior. They even went as far as to call him the "Oscar Wilde" of Denver, which in 1895 had unambiguously negative connotations.<sup>1</sup>

Just a few months after Gilligan began his sentence at the penitentiary, a professional actor named Richard Harlow took his bow on Denver's grandest stage, the Tabor Grand Opera House, to the sound of uproarious applause. While the operetta performed that evening might have left a lukewarm impression upon the audience, they nonetheless returned to the theater night after night to enjoy the grace and skill of the production's star performer. Both Gilligan and

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*Teddy is a native of Denver and is currently working toward his Master of Arts in American History, with a focus on the American West and a minor in Preservation. Originally a man of the stage, he received his Bachelor of Fine Arts in Musical Theatre from Elon University in North Carolina. He would like to thank Dr. Bill Wagner, Dr. Tom Noel, Dr. Gabriel Finkelstein, David Duffield, and Josef Maurer for their assistance in the research, writing, and editing of this paper.*

Harlow were female impersonators, but unlike Gilligan, Harlow's female illusion would gain him "emphatic praise" from the *Evening Post* for his "attractive impersonation" of the character of Isabella.<sup>2</sup>

These two examples highlight an apparent double standard. They raise the question: *why* was female impersonation socially acceptable (and even celebrated) during the late nineteenth-century, as long as it was confined to vaudeville or to legitimate theatrical stages?<sup>3</sup> Serving as the most public form of constructed female illusion, why did professional performers, like Richard Harlow, escape the charges and opprobrium subjected to non-professional counterparts like Joe Gilligan? The obvious answer to the question of social acceptance could be in the satirical nature of these performances — that female impersonation was acceptable within the realm of farce. While this was initially so for minstrel shows, where female impersonation had gained a foothold during the mid nineteenth-century, audiences evidently grew to value realistic female illusion over humor.<sup>4</sup> In fact, these impersonators were always billed under their male names to highlight their feats of femininity.<sup>5</sup>

While early scholarship on this topic focused primarily on the incompatibility of female impersonation and Western American attitudes, George Chauncey argues that the concept of the homo-heterosexual binary rose to prominence after World War II. Prior to this classification, both male homosexuality and female impersonation were associated with an "inversion" of a man's gender and not his sexuality. Historians have expanded on this point by claiming that professional female impersonators had to maintain public images as "normal" men so that their stage acts would be accepted by respectable audiences, thus highlighting their illusion while challenging the assumption of a gender inversion. However, the uniting theme reflected by multiple queer theorists is the notion that the boundaries of normal society were created by the classification of what was abnormal, thereby classifying normality as the opposition.<sup>6</sup>

What, then, allowed for audiences to praise one form of female impersonation and disdain others? I argue that the theater offered a place which allowed all participants to transgress boundaries of class, race, and gender across the safety of the "fourth wall."<sup>7</sup> Due to the rising social status of reputable actors during the second half of the nineteenth-century, professional female impersonation came to be accepted as an artform. As long as the practice was performed within a theater, it was celebrated while earning condemnation elsewhere.



*Denver's finest ever theater by far, the Tabor Grand Opera House at 16th and Curtis streets, opened in 1881 with the name of its builder, silver king Horace Austin Warner Tabor. Credit: Denver Public Library*

## AMERICA CLEANS UP ITS ACT

While standards regarding gender and sexual norms within public spaces likely did not change between the lighted streets and the darkened theaters of Denver, there was a schism between what performers could do and be on stage and what audiences perceived as acceptable in other public spaces. This, however, has not always been so with theater in the United States, which resembled something closer to concert saloons in the 1830s, complete with connected rooms for prostitutes and their patrons. Consequently, theaters were often associated with society's seamier side, catering almost exclusively to male audiences and maintaining an atmosphere in which no respectable woman could be spotted without being likewise labeled as "disreputable."<sup>8</sup> However, in an effort to attract larger audiences, mid nineteenth-century theater companies mixed elements of scientific exhibition, lecture, and variety shows in what came to be called museum theaters.<sup>9</sup> Offering clean and informative entertainment, women and children were finally inducted into the audiences of popular theater.

Matinee performances were introduced in the 1860s in an attempt to compete with the rising popularity of minstrelsy during a period of economic recession. As attendance to museum theaters grew, raunchier venues also cleaned up their acts. Prostitutes and bargirls were banned, and bawdy acts and heroic themes of masculinity gave way to melodramas and themes of social reform.<sup>10</sup> This feminization of the American theater also required a change in the relationship between the audience, the space, and the actors. In the 1840s, theater proprietors banned their customers from drinking, speaking loudly during performances, and acting lewdly. Lights were dimmed during performances and cushioned chairs replaced benches, transforming the parquet into the "dress circle."<sup>11</sup> All of this combined to strengthen the barrier of the fourth wall, which further highlighted the performers on stage while allowing the audience an increased sense of voyeuristic anonymity. These changes also further separated the polished, public atmosphere onstage from the working-class conditions hidden behind the scenes.

With more respectable venues for female members of the audience came an increase in the status of actors.<sup>12</sup> The former proximity of the theaters to saloons and brothels had associated female actors with prostitution, but if a theater company could attract women to their venue with clean content, the actors themselves gained in social standing.<sup>13</sup> This transformation provides insight into the precarious social positioning that many actors held within society.

It is worth noting that professional female impersonators were, above all, actors within professional theater companies. The use of male actors to play female characters had its origins before the nineteenth-century, but such widespread practice on American stages began with blackface minstrelsy. This was the nation's most popular form of theater from about 1840 to 1880, and it remained popular through the end of the century. Usually cast with white actors, performances consisted of disparate skits, songs, and dances that were meant to poke fun at middle-class values through the perspective of black slaves, which in turn was predominantly a white mockery of the perceived inferiority of African Americans.<sup>14</sup> Minstrel shows transgressed both race and gender boundaries as they eventually came to include black performers (still required to wear blackface make-up) and female impersonators.<sup>15</sup>

While the inclusion of black performers in minstrel shows reflects a disturbing exploitation of these individuals, it also blurred white society's strict racial boundaries. Audiences eventually accepted the blurring of these lines within the confined spaces of minstrel theaters.<sup>16</sup>

As late as 1897, Denverites consistently packed houses at the Lyceum Theater to watch "one of the finest all-colored minstrel shows on the road."<sup>17</sup> The Mahara Minstrels acquired an emphatic announcement on the pages of the *Rocky Mountain News* (a newspaper that catered almost exclusively to a white readership), as well as several positive reviews throughout their evidently popular run.<sup>18</sup> The featured star of the company was Leroy Bland, a female impersonator with an impressive soprano singing voice and unmatched dance-acclaim.<sup>19</sup> Further, aside from opening to a large audience on a matinee, the Lyceum continued its Wednesday and Saturday matinee performances, indicating the company's popularity with families. Evidently, white society was consistently transgressing its own racial and gender boundaries within the safe space of the theater. However, these social allowances only went so far: members of the troupe were still expected to wear blackface makeup, and Bland was expected to hide his masculinity.<sup>20</sup>

The female impersonators of early minstrel shows did not particularly resemble Leroy Bland, or those of legitimate and vaudevillian acclaim, because of the satirical nature of the performances. Just as vaudeville shows would eventually cast physically eccentric women to play men, minstrel shows cast men in female roles for the very purpose of accentuating an awkward, and therefore comical female impersonation.<sup>21</sup>

AMUSEMENTS.

1839.—1876.

**DENVER THEATER**

Monday Evening, June 19th,  
The original and only

**Peak Family**

Swiss Bell Ringers,  
SILVER CORNET BAND,  
ORCHESTRA, AND PAR-  
LOR CONIQUE TROUPE.

Fifteen First-Class Artists.

The Great original and only  
**ALF. WYMAN,**  
Comedian and Female Impersonator.

"DOT" and "SPARK"  
The wonderful Boy Artists.

**D. CLINTON SMITH,**  
The Great Cornet Soloist.

**THE PEAK FAMILY,**  
Mr. and Mrs. Wm. H. Peak, Fannie Peak, Ed. S.  
Peak and Frank Peak.

Reserved seats for sale now at Richard's.

The first announcement in Denver of Alf Wyman performing as a female impersonator.  
Credit: *Rocky Mountain News*, 16 June 1876.

It appears that when the practice moved over to variety shows (and eventually over to vaudeville) sometime around the 1860s, this type of female impersonation was meant to be a form of comic relief; however, it is unclear when and why the transition to realistic female impersonation began. In Bland's case and by the time the Mahara Minstrels performed in 1897, audiences were inclined to expect a realistic female illusion instead of gender satire.

The first actor actually billed as a "female impersonator" in nineteenth-century Denver was Alf Wyman, performing with the Parlor Comique Troupe in June, 1876. Comedic suggestions of his performance are marked by the name of the theater company, as well as his billing as a "Comedian and Female Impersonator."<sup>22</sup> Perhaps the evolution into realistic female illusion had not taken place yet as vaudeville was yet to become a part of America's mainstream entertainment.

According to the "Classified Advertisements" for the Palace Theatre in May and June of 1881, the next two female impersonators to appear in Denver were J. Arthur Doty and Gus Mills. Doty's billing only mentions that he was a female impersonator and that it was his first time performing at the Palace, while the "original and only" Mills also received the label of a "truly wonderful Female Impersonator."<sup>23</sup> Neither mention is particularly astonishing; however, the designation of Mills as an impersonator without a single mention of his comedic ability suggests that the introduction of true female illusion within Denver's theater houses had already taken place. A year later another advertisement for Mills included "comedian" at the end of a long list of his abilities, further suggesting that female impersonation had become a featured talent rather than just a comedic position within the theater company.<sup>24</sup>

The 1880s and '90s saw a speckling of theater companies granting their female impersonators top billing throughout the era, which is likely a reflection of their popularity among audiences. These billings also primarily excluded the classification of "comedian" in favor of highlighting their abilities of female illusion, often crediting another cast member as the featured comic relief. Speculation aside, printed reviews of the performances offer a glimpse into the popular reception of these artists, further underscoring their worth as illusionists rather than comedians. By 1897, it appears that an elevated standard had been set by Denver's audiences regarding the quality that was expected of female impersonators:

Mr. Stuart's performance... was excellent and merited the hearty applause which was given it. He is a female impersonator of the unusually meritorious sort, and has a voice of great range and sweetness. As a rule, when men essay to sing falsetto, the wonder is not so much that they do it well, but that they can do it at all... But in Mr. Stuart's case, there is no need to make reservations, he has a real soprano voice.<sup>25</sup>

With an obvious admiration for Stuart's feminine appeal, the review even implied dissatisfaction with impersonators who hadn't performed their illusions as convincingly, thus reminding audiences that they were witnessing a transgression of gender norms. Reviews of other performers at the time, however, suggested that more often than not, female impersonators were fairly adept in their abilities.<sup>26</sup>

## DENVER IN THE LIMELIGHT

What allowed for this shift in American theater from comedic cross-dressing to the celebrated art of female impersonation? To answer this requires an inquiry into the evolution of Denver's standards of entertainment, elements of which did not mirror those of larger cities such as Chicago, San Francisco, or New York City. Founded in 1858, Denver experienced a more rapid feminization of its theaters after 1870, the year that the Kansas Pacific Railroad connected with the Denver Pacific Railway, which brought more women to the city.<sup>27</sup>

The earliest theatrical performances in Denver typically included variety theater (mainly in saloons), minstrel shows, and burlesque, the content of which often overlapped with one another.<sup>28</sup> During Denver's frontier days (roughly the period between 1858 and 1870), most forms of theatrical entertainment blurred together, with variety shows displaying elements of burlesque, operettas featuring quirky side acts that eventually evolved into vaudeville, and minstrelsy largely reflecting variety shows, but with elements of blackface and racial commentary.<sup>29</sup> It is no wonder that William Byers, editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, saw respectable theater as a civilizing influence on the miners and laborers of the city, as he always gave traveling theatre troupes ample approbation within the pages of his newspaper.<sup>30</sup> Byers' logic was clear and simple: if Denver could attract and cultivate respectable entertainment, its citizens would achieve



Located in Denver at 15th and Blake Streets, The Palace Theatre was one of the venues where Gus Mills, J. Arthur Doty, and other female impersonators performed.  
Credit: Denver Public Library Digital Collections.



*Jeanette and Jack Langrishe were the Mother and Father of Colorado theater.  
Credit: Melvin Schoberlin, From Candles to Footlights  
(Denver, Colorado: The Old West Publishing Company, 1941).*

respectability in turn. Byers and the *Rocky Mountain News* ensured that Denver's society held entertainment to a high standard, expecting respectable modes of theatre from early on in the city's lifetime. Indeed, from concert saloons performed by candlelight over noisy gambling halls to the opening of one the grandest opera houses in the nation, Denver set an ambitious pace of cultural development during the nineteenth-century, the end of which witnessed the popular rise of the female impersonator.<sup>31</sup>

The pair who aided most in the civilizing of Denver's theatrical entertainment was Jack Langrishe, known as the "Father of Colorado Theater," and his wife Jeannette.<sup>32</sup> Their success derived from two factors. First, the couple had trained for decades with various theatre companies on the East Coast. Second, because of their experiences as actors and theater managers, they knew that their success relied on attracting both men and women to their shows with respectable offerings.<sup>33</sup> Opening in September of 1860 for "six nights only," the Langrishes extended their stay for a month, and eventually settled into a semi-permanent engagement.<sup>34</sup> The forms of theater that dominated the city at the time were variety and minstrel shows, often presented in drafty spaces that had been intended for other uses.<sup>35</sup> The Langrishes' theater company, however, offered something new by presenting legitimate theater, or theater consisting of one or two full-length plays, rather than a mixture of different stage acts. Despite the city's stagnant growth and predominantly male population in the 1860s, legitimate theatre thrived.<sup>36</sup> Laborers and businessmen alike came to Central City and Denver to enjoy the talents of Mr. and Mrs. Langrishe.<sup>37</sup>

Before long, Jeanette Langrishe had become a local favorite among the wealthiest ladies of the city.<sup>38</sup> A fan, writing to the *Rocky Mountain News* as early as 1861, praised Jeanette's charm: "When we can see all that is beautiful and amiable in a woman, in the most sacred

and private walks of life, combined with the ease, elegance and genius of an actress, language fails to express our feelings.”<sup>39</sup> Jeanette even went on to host several ladies’ socials among the wealthiest citizens of Denver, successfully bridging the gap that had separated actors from respectable women.<sup>40</sup> This social elevation of the Langrishes demonstrates how the mingling of both high and low within theater spaces positioned actors within a remarkably malleable class, neither fully rejected nor accepted by the city’s elite.

Even with such unusual access to upward social mobility, the Langrishes could not escape their own transient identities as actors. Upon the arrival of Denver’s first railroad in 1870, the Langrishes and their theater company headed north to the mining towns of Wyoming, Montana, and the Dakotas.<sup>41</sup> While it is difficult to decipher their reasoning for leaving behind a community that held them in such high esteem, the Langrishes mirrored the majority of successful theater companies in the country by remaining in motion.<sup>42</sup> Even with access to social positions among the elite, they were compelled to live by the merit of their talents. They could never fully identify with any single societal role as they made their very living impersonating these roles for the public’s entertainment.

Denver further demonstrated its value of the theater with the creation of the Amateur Dramatic Association (ADA), a group of residents who volunteered to perform plays as fundraisers for the city’s growing poor. Opening with *Pizarro* in February of 1861, the company performed to a packed house and thus resolved to continue their efforts.<sup>43</sup> The creation of the ADA reveals two characteristics of Denver’s early residents: that their own amateur efforts strove to mimic the work of the Langrishes by attempting legitimate theater (as opposed to the seemingly easier forms of variety and minstrelsy), and that respectable local women were permitted to violate society’s gender boundaries in order to participate in the amateur productions. This suggests a surprisingly liberal view of actors; perhaps due to the Langrishes’ early efforts to dissociate their theatre company from lewdness and disreputable behavior.<sup>44</sup>

The couple returned to the area periodically, continuing to support the expansion of Denver’s theatrical entertainment until after the completion of the Tabor Grand Opera House in 1881. Even after the Langrishes’ departure, the city’s high standards for theater companies did not seem to fade with the rapid civic expansion of the 1880s and ‘90s.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, considering the frequency of female impersonators performing in Denver’s premier theaters by the 1880s, it seems that the city’s social acceptance of actors extended even to those who performed female illusions. Permitted to observe the contestation of gender boundaries safely on the other side of the fourth wall, audiences could witness the fragility of gender as a social construct while maintaining a certain level of anonymity.

## HE IS CALLED A FEMALE IMPERSONATOR

In the summer of 1883, the *Rocky Mountain News* announced that “it is a very uncommon thing for a man to be caught in Denver masquerading in the clothes of a woman.”<sup>46</sup> While perhaps it was true that female impersonation rarely graced the open streets of the Mile High City, gender illusion was certainly present throughout the region. Outside of the professional theater, female impersonation took on several forms, from nickel-saloon-singers to gun-wielding criminals.<sup>47</sup> In fact, few cases in Denver during the nineteenth-century appear similar. One likely link between these individuals was limited access to privacy.<sup>48</sup> Whether the act of female impersonation was the reason for an encounter, or whether the practice was exposed following an unrelated arrest, all cases seemed to be tied to an impersonator’s criminal activity and/or the violation of their limited private space. Above all, it appears that these disparate figures were linked through their heightened vulnerability to the law.

The arrest of Edward Martino serves as one of the most publicized examples of amateur female impersonation in nineteenth-century Denver. On the evening of July 1, 1883, officers of the Merchants’ police followed a flamboyantly dressed young woman on the suspicion that the subject was in fact a cross-dresser. After making several “mashes’ on the hearts of tender young men,” the subject was arrested and held overnight in jail. The following day, curious citizens filled the courtroom to gawk at the defendant’s evidently convincing display of female illusion. Permitted to dress in his full female attire during the trial, Edward Martino claimed to be wearing the clothing of his sister, whom he alleged was missing. Neither the judge nor the press found this to be a convincing defense, and after paying “\$25 and costs,” the accused was released.

Martino is the singular evident case of a man being arrested solely on the charge of impersonating a woman, but it is likely that other cases occurred. The element that seemed to have separated Martino’s gender-transgression from others was the blatancy of his actions. The Merchants’ police evidently knew of his cross-dressing, since an officer was sent to watch and follow the young man before he donned his “disguise.” As Martino admitted in court, this was not the first time that he dressed in this manner. In fact, he regularly ventured into the city streets wearing female attire, impressing onlookers as having made “a very handsome woman [who] had made himself up in the most ravishing and fascination style.” It is no wonder then that the officers saw his flirtations with various young men as unseemly.<sup>49</sup> Had Martino restricted the visibility of his female impersonation to the later hours of the night, or to the cordoned-off places where “vices” were permitted, it is probable that he would not have caught the attention of the police.<sup>50</sup>

What Martino’s exhibition highlights is the turning point when gender-expression crossed the line from spectacle to threat. But while Martino served as one of the most public and unabashed examples of amateur female impersonation, most cases involved individuals who attempted to keep their cross-dressing practices out of the public eye. In fact, the case that offers the clearest view into the personal lives of female impersonators involved an individual who fell under legal investigation for very different reasons. The *Evening Post* article from April of 1895 grabbed at the attention of readers with the headline “A Queer Case, This,” followed up with enlarged capitalized lettering stating that “JOE GILLIGAN IS PECULIAR.” Even though Gilligan was arrested alongside an ex-convict named Elmer



Pictured above, Joe Gilligan spent much of his life in and out of the prison system for forgery-related crimes. Though the photo is dated from 1910, the subsequent dates listed below allude to Gilligan's on-going struggle with the law. Credit: 1910 California Prison and Correctional Records, San Quentin, Marin County, California, "Joseph Gilligan." Ancestry.com.

Brown, his accomplice received a fraction of the press coverage for committing the same crime as his partner. The reason for this is probably because of what was found among Gilligan's belongings when the officers searched the boarding house room that they shared. Both men were charged with the crimes of burglary and forgery, but only Gilligan was found to possess a complete wardrobe of lady's clothing, including make-up, undergarments, and accessories.<sup>51</sup>

While the *Evening Post* article provided only a quarter of its space to recount these men's actual crimes and arrest, the majority of the article examined Gilligan's "girlish" behavior, the contents of his lady's wardrobe (which were immediately brought down to the station), and three letters that were found on his person. One, a love-letter from another man, was printed in its entirety, while only excerpts that hinted at homosexuality were printed from the other two. None of these social peculiarities had anything to do with the criminal charges against Gilligan. He was not caught in the act of impersonating a woman, nor was he seen having sex with another man. The *Evening Post's* focus on Gilligan's alleged transgressions of gender and sex were purely fueled by sensationalism, as the crimes of burglary and forgery held greater criminal sentences than female impersonation. Instead, proof of his cross-dressing was hauled needlessly down to the station, while officers and reporters proceeded in an examination of his feminine behavior.<sup>52</sup>

The tone of the article did not treat the subject of Gilligan's "inversion" as particularly dangerous to society, instead framing the event as a pathetic spectacle. While residents of Denver may have considered cross-dressing to be an unusual curiosity, the local press felt the need to highlight Gilligan's feminine behavior and potential homosexuality in an attempt to further brand him as a miscreant. Creating a spectacle out of these qualities simply underscored the taboo that readers would likely find more interesting.<sup>53</sup>

What seemed to be a more common occurrence of amateur female impersonation, and possibly a limited exception to the active enforcement of anti-cross-dressing laws, were those who dressed up for a night out at the saloons. The case of Robert Evans illuminates a curious example of the possible acceptability of female impersonation within the confines of the city's seedier nightlife. Arrested in 1898 for "vagrancy and drunkenness," Evans was said to "sings songs of all sorts in [saloons] and is called a female impersonator." Yet female impersonation was not the crime that he was charged with, and when Evans denied the accusation of vagrancy, he also claimed to believe that the police were picking on him. When asking if "they [got] down on everybody who sings in saloons," the arresting officer seemed to have hinted at the defendant's proclivity to excessive drunkenness

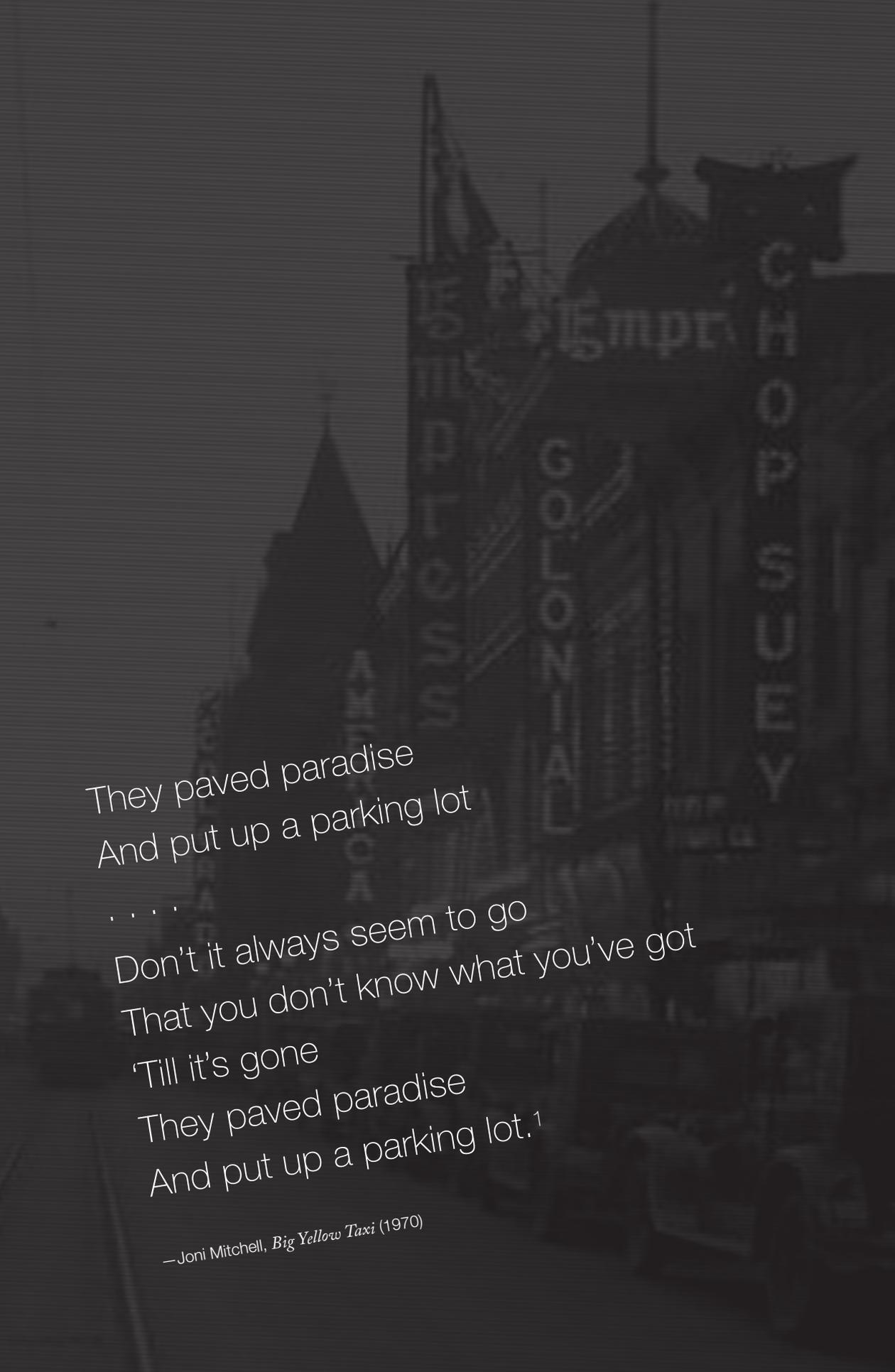
more so than others who did the same, namely other amateur female impersonators.<sup>54</sup> This might indicate a limited acceptance of cross-dressing provided that it remained within the prescribed confines of vice, specifically the saloon-oriented nightlife within close proximity to the city's Red Light District.<sup>55</sup>

This type of reluctant acceptance seemed to have extended to female-impersonating prostitutes as well. The evidence of male prostitution in Denver during the nineteenth-century is skeletal at best, but sources suggested that it did indeed exist.<sup>56</sup> Chauncey's studies into male prostitution in New York City during the era find that some of these individuals donned at least feminine make-up, and often also wore female attire.<sup>57</sup> Since sodomy was defined as "the penetration of a man's penis inside the rectum of an animal, of a woman or girl, or of another man or boy," anti-sodomy laws did not technically target male prostitutes, who often took a passive or "feminine" role in the coupling.<sup>58</sup> When it came to an infringement of the anti-crossdressing laws, it seems plausible that the same unspoken rules that applied to people like Robert Evans also applied to female impersonating prostitutes. As long as they avoided drawing attention to themselves, their cross-dressing was overlooked.

## CONCLUSION

In Denver during the nineteenth-century, amateur female impersonation was primarily seen as an indicator of a man's racial differences, unstable mental faculties, or the possible "inversion" of his male identity. With moderate yet vexatious legal repercussions and minimal targeting by police, the penalty for gender transgressions within Denver's respectable public spaces was primarily a social one, sensationalizing the practice as a sign of one's deplorable peculiarities, and therefore their evident incompatibility within the social norm. Likewise, actors suffered from a similar classification as lewd figures because of their proximity to brothels and saloons during the first half of the nineteenth-century. Even with the feminization of American theater in the mid-1800s and the subsequent social elevation of actors, ties to working-class conditions backstage and on the road, as well as the need to live by the merits of their talents, kept actors on the margins of respectability. As long as a theater company could make an audience forget about the lewd situation backstage and focus solely on the performance onstage, then actors could convince audiences of their propriety.<sup>59</sup>

Though fragile, this form of honorary respectability seemed to have granted actors certain allowances because of the popularity of their art. All of this combined to create an air of mystery, which appeared to have generated both admiration and distrust among the social elite. As for female impersonators, they were permitted (as long as they belonged to a reputable theater company) to transgress gender, race, and class boundaries because of their ambiguously defined position within society as actors. When Alison Kibler describes how theater spaces "drew high and low together onstage and in the audience, uniting the fractured cultures," she illuminates the mutual boundary transgressions that occurred for both audience members and actors alike through the invisible fourth wall.<sup>60</sup> As long as that barrier remained intact, actors could be permitted to breach the limitations of their class, race, or gender.



They paved paradise  
And put up a parking lot

....

Don't it always seem to go  
That you don't know what you've got  
'Till it's gone

They paved paradise  
And put up a parking lot.<sup>1</sup>

—Joni Mitchell, *Big Yellow Taxi* (1970)

Art Deco, Exotic Revivalism, and Modernism in

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# DENVER'S FANTASY THEATERS

**Mark Alexander Ortiz**

**B**y the 1920s, the movie theater had become America's primary social gathering place and entertainment center. Several of these public places of leisure, amusement, entertainment, enjoyment, and edification were known as much for their fantastic splendor as by the visual fantasy or the reality presented on their screens. Movie houses provide a unique reflection of a broad social and cultural phenomenon that prevailed in the decades of the twentieth century, and now in the twenty-first century. They did so for the nation as they did locally for Denver, Colorado. As important public places for Denver at leisure, movie theaters offered a world of fantasy, entertainment, revelation, knowledge, insight, and enjoyment to

*Mark A. Ortiz enjoys good movies that are intelligent, atmospheric, and cosmopolitan. He is most interested in "world-at-large" type movies. He was born in Denver, Colorado. As a Denver native he grew-up going to the theaters that he writes about as well as many others. He started seeing movies at the Mayan theater, which he has a special fondness for. He also has esteem for The Flick Movie Theater in Larimer Square that disappeared long ago. He is interested in the architectural design and character of older urban homes as well as movie theaters. In a class on Western Art and Architecture he encountered the history of the American West along with its architecture. He found it fascinating, significant, and personally meaningful. He is devoted to the intercultural character and arcs of encounter he finds in history. Mark worked for the United States Air Force (USAF) as a Technical Training and Travel Coordinator in the International Military Education Training Office (formerly the Foreign Training Office) at Lowry Air Force Base. He also taught for many years. He has served as the editor of the National History Day in Colorado Senior Paper Journal. He has traveled to East Asia. Domestically, he recently traveled to St. Augustine, Florida; Savannah, Georgia; and Charleston, South Carolina. Having great interest in interconnectivity in history he published an article on "Cinematic Inclusivity: American Westerns Pertaining to Chicanos, Hispanos, and Mexican Americans."*

patrons. Motion pictures brought inspiration and tremendous value into people's lives. Culturally and socially, movies inspired fantastic theater architecture. This paper primarily focuses on the stories of four Denver movie theaters. They are the Mayan, the Aladdin, the Cooper Cinerama, and the Paramount. Each of these wonderful theaters reveals insight into architectural style, design, and meaning. The remarkable story of their architecture and architects, and their histories and cultural attributions, are of significant value. The upshot is that these Denver movie theaters, and particularly their fantastic architecture, matter to people.

### **THE MAYAN THEATER: EXOTIC ART DECO MAYAN REVIVAL**

A visually stunning Art Deco movie theater, the Mayan was built in 1930. The architect Montana S. Fallis (1864-1938) designed the visually stunning and atmospheric Mayan Theater. Fallis was an important Denver architect who routinely received high status commissions during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Fallis graduated with honors from Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois, moved to Denver in 1886, and entered the architectural firm of Frank Edbrooke, the foremost Denver architect of the late nineteenth century. In 1905, he joined with John Stein to form the Denver architectural firm of Fallis and Stein (1905-1909). He left Stein in 1910, establishing the firm of Willison and Fallis (1910-1914). One of the best known buildings designed by that firm is the Oxford Hotel Annex, a white glazed terra cotta-clad Chicago Commercial Style building with a Neo-Classical ornamental vocabulary. It was built in 1912. The firm also designed the First Avenue Presbyterian Church, located on 120 West 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue in the Denver Baker neighborhood. Fallis and Stein and Fallis and Willison completed several commercial buildings located in downtown Denver's Central Business District (CBD). Many of them have been demolished, but four are on the National Register, including the Oxford Hotel Annex, the Buerger Brothers Building, the Joslin Dry Goods Company Building, and the Ideal Building, the first concrete "fireproof" building in Colorado.

In 1915 Fallis formed the architectural firm, Fallis and Myrlin Fallis, which lasted from 1915 to 1938. Myrlin was Montana's son. In the 1920s, Montana designed the two buildings on which his fame today is substantially based, the Buerger Brothers Building and the Mayan Theater, both began in 1929 and were completed in 1930. The Mayan Theater, however, stands out as a Mayan Art Deco masterpiece. The Buerger Brothers Building, located at 1732-40

Champa Street, is stylistically associated with the Mayan Theater in terms of its ornate Art Deco geometric style, and in the lavish and extensive use of colorful glazed terra cotta and geometric detailing.<sup>2</sup> *Terra cotta* (Italian for baked earth) became popular after the twentieth century improvements in production created a wide range of colors and glazing. The best known use of terra cotta in Denver is for certain commercial buildings such as the Buerger Brothers Building, the Oxford Hotel, and the Paramount Theater at 16th and Glenarm Streets.<sup>3</sup> The terra cotta details of both the Mayan Theater, originally called the Fox Mayan Theater, and the Buerger Brothers Building display an exuberant style.

Art Deco features bold design using vibrant color schemes and sleek geometric patterns. It grew out of a yearning to be rid of the past, particularly of the excessive ornamentation of the Art Nouveau style of the nineteenth century. Whereas Art Nouveau was passé by World War I, Art Deco embraced the future in all its man-made, machine-driven glory. Commercial buildings of the 1920s through the 1940s borrowed stylistic elements from both Art Deco and Art Moderne. By the 1920s, Deco and Moderne became the styles of smart New



*The front of the Mayan Theater features Itzamná ("Iguana House"). Known as the creator deity, he gave humankind writing and calendrics. The sculptors creatively divided, then integrated his features. Credit: Capitol Hill United Neighbors History Matters. CapitolHillUnitedNeighbors. <https://www.chundenver.org/history-matters.html>.*

York City stores such as Bloomingdale's and Tiffany & Co. New York City also became the American east coast epicenter of pacesetting Deco skyscrapers. Among the first were the Barclay-Vesey Building (1923-26), the Chrysler Building (1923-31), and the Empire State Building (1933). Commercial Deco buildings in the United States used designs of French origin and from German Expressionism. Art Deco's roots are in Paris, France. It is here the style first burst on the art and architectural scenes, representing modernism in an age of industrialization and grandeur. As for Denver, a remote, provincial, and conservative inland town, it was slow to accept Art Deco.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, it flourished in the Oxford Hotel Annex in lower downtown, the old "Ma Bell" building at 14<sup>th</sup> and Curtis Streets, and the fantastic architectural masterpiece known as the Mayan Theater at 110 Broadway.

The Mayan theater is a beloved movie house in large part because of its unique architectural features. It is clad in polychrome terra cotta, produced locally by the Denver Terra Cotta Company. The quality of the terra cotta is remarkable. The fabricators used several different glaze colors to make up borders, as well as the building's main god figure of Itzamná ("Iguana House") above the vertical sign. Itzamná is known as a creator deity who gave humankind writing and calendrics. The sculptors were creative in dividing the god's features into individual units yet they effectively integrated them so that he still appears as a single figure. The texture of the terra cotta is also interesting. Most terra cotta was molded into flat units, but the terra cotta produced in Denver in the 1920s and 1930s had a rippled texture like that used at the Mayan.<sup>5</sup> The rough texture and variegated glaze, a cream base with light brown and orange-brown highlights, resembled natural sandstone. The terra cotta at the Mayan Theater was oriented with vertical faux bedding planes, while sandstone used on the masonry was oriented with horizontal bedding planes. The faux bedding planes in the terra cotta of the Mayan Theater enhances the verticality of the Art Deco building that features distinctive exotic Mayan Revival architectural style.<sup>6</sup>

Unhappily, the building fell into disrepair enclosing a run-down theater. Patrons went there to watch movies at a dollar or even fifty cents, and some just to hang and smoke pot. The Mayan itself had gone to pot so to speak. By the early 1980s, it closed. It was abandoned and threatened with demolition. Fortunately, just before demolition could occur; however, the building was designated an individual landmark by the Denver Landmarks Preservation Commission. Denver's City Council declared the theater a landmark in February 1984. In 1986 it underwent a major restoration so that the incredible masonry of the Mayan Theater lives on; it is now ninety years old.

The front facade with its polychrome trim and terra cotta Mayan god image were cleaned and repaired, resurrecting the original artistry of Julius P. Ambrusch of the Denver Northwest Terra Cotta Company and the original hand painting by the Guiry Paint Company of Denver that is still around. Essentially, local artists created the theater. Inside, the splendid Mayan masks on the proscenium arch, the polychrome Jaguar god, whose name is Ek Bahlam,<sup>7</sup> the water lilies, and the Mayan hieroglyphics were all restored.<sup>8</sup> In Mayan belief jaguars protect people and communities. The Mayan Theater culturally protected and enhanced the community of the Baker neighborhood and South Broadway when in 1987 it sparkled once again as the crown jewel of the Broadway shopping strip known as the "Miracle Mile." Still anchoring South Broadway, the theater has had a tremendously positive impact with its intelligent "indie" films that bring the wider "world-at-large" to Denver.

Many varied businesses surround the Mayan. Some business owners acknowledge that the Mayan led to the revival of South Broadway. Gary Mobell, owner of the nearby Blue Bonnet Restaurant, commented on the venue's importance to the neighborhood: "I grew up going to the Mayan Theater and still frequent the films all the time. We are so lucky to have a landmark just blocks away from us. When I grew up in Denver there were so many movie theaters downtown and none of them are left."<sup>9</sup> He is right. The Denham, the Centre, the Towne, the Flick, the Orpheum, and the Denver Theater, among others, are gone. The Paramount remains, but it is no longer a movie theater. Most neighborhood theaters that showed motion pictures no longer do so, including the Ogden (Capitol Hill), designed in Mediterranean Revival by architect Harry W.J. Edbrooke, the Oriental (Berkeley), designed in Exotic Revival by architects Leo Andrew Desjardins and Paul Randolph, the Bluebird (Congress Park/City Park), the Vogue (Washington Park West), the Crest (North Park Hill), the Weber (Baker), and the Gothic in Englewood. Granted that the neighborhood buildings still remain, but they stopped showing films long ago. The only remaining older stand-alone Denver neighborhood theaters, not located in indoor malls, that still show movies are the Esquire (originally called the Hiawatha when it opened in 1927, and reopened as the Esquire in 1942) in Capitol Hill, the Chez Artiste in University Hills, and the Mayan in the Baker neighborhood. Landmark Theaters took over operations of these theaters.

"Help Save Me" was the plea on the marquee of the Mayan Theater. It was June 1984, and the ornate movie palace teetered on the brink. The newspaper headlines were dire: "Mayan Demolition Appears Certain" declared one.<sup>10</sup> It was February of 1984 and the historic Art Deco Mayan narrowly missed the wrecking ball. The then-owner, an out-of-state bank, intended to destroy the theater. Fortunately, a neighborhood organization, Friends of the Mayan, worked feverishly for two years to keep it from destruction. To do so, the Mayan Theater had to be declared an historic landmark. This met resistance from the bank; but Friends of the Mayan came to the theater's defense. Chris Citron, an attorney who developed an expertise after serving as part of a large *pro-bono* team that helped preserve New York City's Grand Central Station, headed Friends of the Mayan.<sup>11</sup> Citron had received a call asking her to help save the Mayan Theater. She recalled, "When I came in and saw it, that's all it took. It was a national treasure, not just a treasure for Colorado."<sup>12</sup> Denver's City Council declared the theater a landmark. For the first time in its history, the city designated a landmark despite the owner's protest.<sup>13</sup> It seemed like a turning point, but the battle was not over. The owner obtained demolition permits and the theater was prepped to be torn down. Friends of the Mayan had ninety days to save it thanks to a stay of execution issued by the Denver City Council. Friends of the Mayan kept near-constant vigil in front of the theater with signs to raise awareness. A lucky break came with an anonymous phone call to Representative Patricia Schroder (D-CO) of Colorado District 1. Like Deep Throat, the voice on the other end of the line offered a precious tip: Broncos' owner Pat Bowlen was going to buy the entire block, which included the theater.<sup>14</sup> Then, thanks to the intervention of Mayor Federico Peña, who called Bowlen's development team and asked that they keep the Mayan as is on behalf of the city, the theater was saved from becoming a parking lot.<sup>15</sup>

Renovated meticulously by Midyette-Seieroe & Associates of Boulder, Colorado, at a cost of nearly \$2 million, it is one of the country's three remaining theaters of six designed in the Art Deco Mayan Revival Style.<sup>16</sup> The two other cities with Art Deco Mayan Revival Style theaters are in Los Angeles, California and Detroit, Michigan. The Mayan Theater was cleaned up but kept to its original craftsmanship without being overly modernized. It was converted into a three-screen venue with a large auditorium, two small theaters, and an upstairs lounge. Denver's Mayan Theater came close to being demolished. Had it been, its visual presence and much of its history would have been lost forever.

Citron, who was nicknamed, "Mother of the Mayan," recognized the important history of the Mayan Theater during times such as the Great Depression. She commented, "Movie theaters provided much needed escapism from the dire state of the country."<sup>17</sup> Some movies in the 1930s certainly did that such as: *Grand Hotel* (1932), *Tarzan, the Ape Man* (1932), *The Mummy* (1932), *King Kong* (1933), *It Happened One Night* (1934), *Top Hat* (1935), *Shall We Dance* (1937), *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), and *Gone with the Wind* (1939). It is likely that the Mayan screened some of these escapist films within its escapist interior. Citron added, "The beauty we have preserved is worth all of the frustration and time."<sup>18</sup>

Friends of the Mayan celebrated the gorgeously preserved gem on its 85<sup>th</sup> birthday in 2015. Denver Mayor Michael Hancock, who graduated from the University of Colorado Denver, and Governor John Hickenlooper were on hand. The classic *Sunset Boulevard* (1950) was shown with Howie Movshovitz, director of film education in the College of Arts and Media at the University of Colorado Denver, presiding.<sup>19</sup> Ek'Balam, the Jaguar God, is known for protecting his community, but the contemporary Balam of the Baker neighborhood needed all the help he could get from the community to save and protect his Mayan temple-theater from the wrecking ball. Nearly lost, but fortunately not so, people within the community and outside of it saved the Mayan Theater for the benefit of Denver, of Colorado, of the United States, and of the world. It interconnected the local to the transnational.

World famous architect Frank Lloyd Wright also designed in the Mayan Revival architectural style as evidenced in the Hollyhock House in East Hollywood. He copied the shapes of temples from Palenque, which is located in the Mexican state of Chiapas. His modular unit construction and bas reliefs in his Ennis House and Freeman House in Los Angeles evoke the geometric patterns on the facades of temples in Uxmal, located in the Mexican Yucatán. Due to a fascination for intricate geometric designs and verticality in construction, Art Deco style lent itself to Mesoamerican influence. Thus, a syncretism of pre-Colombian artistic and architectural traditions blended into modern structures.

The "Father of the Mayan," Montana S. Fallis also designed the Egyptian Theater located in Delta, Colorado. Like the Mayan Theater, he used a then-popular revival style of another ancient culture, this time Egyptian, in the theater's décor. Built in 1928, it was beautifully restored to its original appearance in 1996 and continues to show movies. The theater was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1993.<sup>20</sup> The other theater he designed, the Fox Theater in Montrose, Colorado, opened in 1929 a few days after the Wall Street stock market collapsed. It was designed in splendid Moorish-Eastern style. Externally, it has an onion dome and a minaret, both of which survive today. The theater is now known as the Fox Cinema Center with two smaller theaters on either side of the

main theater entrance.<sup>21</sup> Fallis designed a house at 622 Ogden for his son Myrlin, and his own home next door at 624 Ogden in the Speer neighborhood. As a talented architect and structural engineer, he left a significant legacy to the development of structural support systems of large buildings for industry and commerce. He contributed many Neoclassical and exotic Art Deco commercial buildings to the cityscape of Denver before he died in 1938.<sup>22</sup>

## THE ALADDIN THEATER: EXOTIC ECLECTIC MUGHAL AND MOORISH REVIVAL

Movies – most magical of all the new wonders of the 1900s – inspired fantastic architecture. Motion picture houses strove to provide escape from the harassing trials and tribulations of life whether normal or anomalous. The adversities of life were compounded by economic depression, recessions, wars, protests, social anxieties, and cultural divisions. There was a time in the past of movie-going when the theater where people went to see a motion picture mattered as much, maybe more so, than the film they saw. One of Denver's most celebrated neighborhood theaters opened in October of 1926 to great fanfare. The public was in awe at what they found inside: Thick luxurious carpets in jade green, an expansive auditorium ceiling painted sky blue with Brenograph projected clouds, and over two thousand twinkling lights that looked like stars when the house lights were dimmed. Patrons found Arabian murals and sumptuous artistic decorations, Persian stenciling, Moorish arches, wrought iron embellishments, and even a bubbling fountain.<sup>23</sup> There was intricate Moorish geometric latticework, possibly copied from the Alhambra in Granada, Spain, and blown glass hanging lanterns. Undoubtedly, the opulence of the Aladdin Theater was an epicurean exotic delight for the eyes and the imaginations of the appreciative and dazzled audiences, most of them Denver Metropolitan residents, or simply called Denverites.

Just as classical Mayan architectural style provided a theme for one of Denver's finest atmospheric theaters, the Taj Mahal influenced Denver's opulent Aladdin Theater. Inspired by the Mughal architecture of the Taj Mahal in Agra, India, theater mogul Harry E. Huffman hired architect Frederick W. Ireland, Jr. to design the movie palace



*The Aladdin Theatre located at 2000 Colfax Avenue in 1927. It was one of Denver's most celebrated neighborhood theaters when it opened in 1926. The public was in awe at what they found inside. Credit: Denver Public Library/Western History Collection/X-24785. <https://denverite.com/2016/09/17/denvers-lost-venues-looking-back-aladdin-orpheum-rainbow-music-hall/>*

built at 2000 East Colfax, in 1926. It was Denver's version of Mumtaz Mahal's lavish mausoleum. Although a Mughal Indian landmark inspired the architecture, Huffman chose the Arabian name Aladdin for his theater perhaps because it conjured up the fantastical magic lamp and tales of *Arabian Nights*. The name Aladdin is derived from Arabic 'Alā' ad-Dīn; it connotes nobility of faith or nobility of religion. Simulated with the illusion of clouds and stars, along with domes, ogee arches, *Muqarnas* (a form of ornamented vaulting), arabesques, geometric tiling, palm trees, and elaborately polychrome terra cotta; of Huffman's theaters, this was his favorite. *Muqarnas*, known in Iberian architecture as *Mocárabes* and in Persian architecture as *Ahoopāys*, are an archetypal form of Islamic architecture of three-dimensional space enclosures exhibiting tiered honeycomb type patterns. The Aladdin Theater's *Muqarnas* were impressive. The Aladdin was the only theater that Huffman, who was known in Denver as "Mr. Movies" during the 1920s and 1930s, built, among the dozen he owned and operated over the years.<sup>24</sup>

Denver architect Frederick W. Ireland Jr., of the architectural firm Ireland & Parr, used themes from the "*Arabian Nights*" stories for both the exterior and the interior. A six-story dome capped the "Garden of Allah" auditorium, which enchanted moviegoers with its wall niches and minarets.<sup>25</sup> The Aladdin Theater was an entrancing dream and an architectural gem. It was where *Arabian Nights* met the Rockies.



*The Aladdin Theatre combined exotic eclectic Mughal style with Moorish revival style in movie house architecture. A fantastical architectural gem, it was where the Arabian Nights met the Rockies. Credit: Denver Public Library/Western History Collection/X-24786. <http://cinematreaures.org/theaters/19047/photos/204515>*

Prior to its opening on October 28th, 1926, *The Denver Post* writer Albert DeBernardi gushed about the new theater: “Denver is going to blink its eyes and gasp with pleasurable surprise when it views for the first time the colorful splendor of the three quarter million dollar Aladdin Theater . . . The lobby . . . is a magic carpet that will transport one . . . into an ethereal land . . . where fantastic tales of ‘Arabian Nights’ will come to life! What a theatre! It is an entrancing dream, a living vision.”<sup>26</sup>

The Aladdin Theater opened in the days of the silent movies, but management was quick to pick up on the latest technology – sound. The Aladdin was the first theater in the region to offer it. In 1927, the public was treated to a run of *The Jazz Singer* (1927), starring Al Jolson, which is generally recognized by movie historians as the popular film that ushered in the “talkies.” Naturally David Lean’s epic historical drama film *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) played at the Aladdin. *The Sound of Music* (1965) premiered at the Aladdin in the mid-1960s and played there for an incredible 112 weeks.<sup>27</sup> *Earthquake* (1974), one of the few films done in Sensurround where the audience could actually feel the movie, entertained and shook up viewers. The Aladdin showed *The Duchess and the Dirtwater Fox* (1976), which was filmed in Central City and in the environs of Denver Union Station, *The Omen* (1976), *King Kong* (1976), *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (1979), and *Urban Cowboy* (1980), among others. The Aladdin had several successful motion picture runs going into the late 1970s and right up to the start of the 1980s. The theater had a long colorful history, but in the late 1970s its revenues started to drop. Part of the reason was the continuing flight by many moviegoers to the suburbs, the growing popularity of the smaller suburban-esque multiplex theaters, and the perception of the social decline of the Aladdin’s Capitol Hill and Cheesman Park neighborhoods. By that time East Colfax, Capitol Hill, and Cheesman Park had gained a reputation as being sketchy, shady, and cruisy. Many people were reluctant to travel to the area, particularly after dark. The Aladdin Theater itself went dark for a while until it was leased by a local live performance impresario named Robert Morise. Morise removed the sound system and the huge screen. These actions made it costly to reinstall a film system, which proved to be the theater’s undoing when Morise’s company, the Aladdin Theater Co., folded within a few years.<sup>28</sup>

By 1984, the Aladdin Theater was up for sale. Though Denver City Council authorized the theater to be leveled for a planned retail and condo complex, Capitol Hill United Neighbors (CHUN) fought to save the building by obtaining a landmark designation. The building’s owners, however, feared and fought the dreaded “Historic Landmark Designation.”<sup>29</sup> Presumably, they were aware of the actions taken by Friends of the Mayan months before to save that exotic Art Deco Theater not far from the Aladdin. In that case the preservationists had compelled the Mayan Theater owners to choose renovation over demolition. CHUN worked to get a Landmark Designation, but was not powerful or fast enough to overtake or dissuade the owners. When CHUN learned of the plan for demolition, its membership spoke in front of the Denver City Council in an attempt to have the Aladdin designated a landmark to preserve it. The council was concerned that there was no future for inner city theaters. Rich Vincent, a spokesman for CHUN, pointed out to them, “the Aladdin had always done well when it had a successful film and someday new theaters would come back into downtowns, but never build [*sic*] a theatre like the Aladdin again.”<sup>30</sup> The landmark designation was eminent but there was a 90 day waiting period

before it would take effect. “During that time the owner, realizing he would lose his ability to redeveloping [*sic*] the land, razed the theatre with no notice to avoid public outcry.”<sup>31</sup> Before City Council could vote to landmark the building, it was demolished with little warning.<sup>32</sup> The Aladdin had a vibrantly colorful history until its demise in 1984, when developers summoned the wrecking ball to solve what they considered a problem. In August 1984, the onion dome (equivalent to a six-story building) was smashed like an eggshell, dooming the architecturally celebrated and precious piece of Denver’s history to be replaced by a Walgreens store. There is now a nearby liquor store called Aladdin Liquors on 2032 East Colfax.

It was a tragic and senseless end to what was arguably the most beautiful atmospheric theater in the Rocky Mountain region. Tragically, this historic grand landmark on East Colfax was demolished before it could be protected and saved. Perhaps the loss of the Aladdin was the impetus for future efforts to save Denver historic landmarks. A living ethereal vision of a building was lost to the wrecking ball. It could have undergone restoration. The treasured gem of a theater beloved by Denverites in general and moviegoers in particular could have been saved. Instead of being callously destroyed, it should have been preserved to be appreciated, enjoyed, and used by generations to come.



*A premier Cinerama House, the spectacular Cooper gave the audience an amazing movie going experience with its immense round shape, spacious pristine lobby, contoured curved arc, etc.*

*Credit: Home Theater Forum – Reincarnation of Denver's Cooper Theater.*

<https://www.hometheaterforum.com/community/threads/reincarnation-of-denvers-cooper-theater.352684/>

## THE COOPER CINERAMA: SPECTACULAR MODERNISM

In May 1960, the Joseph H. Cooper Foundation hired Richard L. Crowther to create the renowned Cooper Cinerama Theater located at 960 South Colorado Boulevard in Glendale, an enclave of the City of Denver. The Cooper Theater was the first theater designed for Cinerama. It was built specifically to show the curved-screen three projector process of Cinerama. The modernist form follows function design of the Cooper was popularized as a modern architectural triumph wherein the theater of tomorrow became manifest today. The future had arrived, and it was evidenced in modern avant-garde architecture. As a modern structure, the Cooper Cinerama was intended for people to go to see grand-sized movies. No more, no less.

The Cinerama was not designed to look like an exotic temple or a *faux* palace because people did not actually go to temples or palaces to see movies anyway. Nor did they go to a movie theater to pray, worship, or sacrifice to the gods. Therefore, a theater had no reason to look like a temple. And if it did for some outmoded or absurd reason, it was pointless at best and whacky at worst. Patrons did not go to theaters to pretend at being royalty in ersatz surroundings filled with replicas and curiosities. Thus, a theater should not put on the airs of *faux* splendor. To do so was unnecessary, old hat, and simply ridiculous. As form follows function, a movie theater should look the part -- structural austerity for showing films suffices. Patrons, after all, go to a theater to watch a movie not to marvel at Art Deco. Theaters should therefore be free of *accoutrement*, or what the modernist outlook regards as clutter.

Modern architecture is minimalist. Thus, the Cooper Theater exhibited minimalism. There were no images of exotic faces on the walls or bas reliefs or murals. Ornamentation was out. The Cooper's curtain wall was made of metal and enamel. There were no terra cotta or art deco motifs. They were superfluous. Instead, there were outside mono-panels painted bittersweet orange, creating a circular uniform color display that, when lit, could be viewed for miles. The 3,000 square foot lobby was visible from the exterior entrance plaza via glass doors and glass walls. There was a huge curtain of glass for patrons to see in and out. Modernist structures often exhibit transparent glass-fronted enclosures that tend to be aquarium-like, akin to a glass container like a terrarium or a fish tank. Crowther intended for people outside to have their attention drawn to look inside the Cooper, thereby observing others doing something.<sup>33</sup> Crowther embraced the outside-looking-in modernist architectural style of aquariums. People live in glass houses to be seen and to see. The Jetsons, after

all, lived under glass. Considered futuristic for some time, the Cooper Cinerama Theater was Crowther's iconic architectural masterwork.

Crowther had some formal training in architecture, but primarily learned design and architecture on the job. He was born in Newark, New Jersey, and moved to San Diego, California where he worked as a neon light designer. After he came to Denver in 1948, Crowther designed ride entrances at Lakeside Amusement Park such as the Lightening, the Cyclone, the Spider, and the Wild Chipmunk. He also designed White Spot restaurants and King Soopers® grocery stores, though these were practical buildings for practical-related activities. White Spot restaurants, of course, had big glass windows in the front in geometric shapes along with parabolic-type roofs. Crowther designed the Esquire Theater on the corner of Sixth and Downing, which is noticeable as an austere square box. There are no domes, Moorish arches, flying carpets, projected clouds, arabesques, Muqarnas, wall masks, Mesoamerican glyphs, Mayan imagery, terra cotta in polychrome, fantastic art motifs, or elaborate themes. It is unornamented Plain Jane. Crowther also contributed to the layout of the rectangular cuboid Buckingham Square in Aurora, which contrasts in style with his design of the Art Moderne entrance to the Fox Aurora Theater, located at 9900 East Colfax.

Crowther made contributions to the look of mid-century Denver in the Neufeld House and other modern style homes in East Denver's Hilltop neighborhood. Like Fallis, Crowther designed his own residence which is located at 500 Cook Street in Cherry Creek. Some of his solar buildings in Cherry Creek North survive. He also helped design and implement the Atmospheric Science CSU Solar House Environmental Village project at Colorado State University in Fort Collins, where he implemented holistic and ecological ideas in his architecture.<sup>34</sup> He made the relationship of structure to the environment a key part of his commercial and residential designs. His architectural ecology is found in the energy efficient homes and buildings he designed utilizing solar energy systems that are located in the Hilltop, Cherry Creek, and Country Club neighborhoods. Crowther was also strongly opposed to smoking. He outlined reasons why smoking was bad for people's health and for the environment in his book, *The Paradox of Smoking* (1983). Living a rigorous lifestyle, Crowther made it to the age of ninety-six.

In February 1961, Crowther, who was a member of Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, expanded his architectural firm, Richard L. Crowther & Associates, located at 257 Fillmore Street in Cherry Creek, to include associates Jack Kruse and Gary Landin. The newly expanded firm was credited with the avant-garde design of the Cooper Theater. Construction began on the Cooper in May, 1960, at a cost of \$1 million, and opened on March 9th, 1961. Colorado's Democratic Governor from 1957 to 1963, Stephen Lucid Robert McNichols presided at the Theater's opening night with special guest Lowell Thomas, who was a graduate of the University of Denver and had careers in newspaper reporting, television news casting, as well as a regular radio news series broadcast.

As Crowther donated his materials to the Denver Public Library's Western History Department, the Crowther Collection of architectural drawings, blueprints, newspaper clippings, and photographs can all be viewed there. In regard to the Cooper, Crowther claimed that he designed everything except the people.<sup>35</sup> This included, for example, the immense round shape of the Theater, the spacious pristine lobby, the fiberglass covered walls, the cushioned seats set in a contoured curved arc, the "louvered" movie screen of 105 feet

wide by 38 feet tall, the hanging grills, and even the bathrooms with partitions instead of doors so that patrons could get out faster and not waste time.<sup>36</sup> Features of his work are indicative of modernism, e.g., spaciousness, practicality, minimalism, form that follows function, a glass-fronted vast transparent enclosure, pristine facades and interiors, and new design.

The Cooper Cinerama was not meant to be a neighborhood theater. Rather, it was a great place to enjoy special event epic movies. The Cooper was famous for a full immersion, surround-sound movie experience. The curving-walled and steeply raked auditorium immersed the audience.<sup>37</sup> Cinerama promoted the notion that it “puts you in the picture.” Its sound system was the first to utilize the transistor instead of the usual vacuum tube thereby enhancing the hi-fi reproduction of Cinerama sound that played to all areas of the theater, not just the auditorium.<sup>38</sup> A sampling of some famous movies shown at the Cooper include: *How the West Was Won* (1962), which played there for a year, *Grand Prix* (1966), *2001 A Space Odyssey* (1968), *Krakatoa, East of Java* (1969), *Jaws* (1975), *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), *Alien* (1979), *Pink Floyd - The Wall* (1982), and the original *Star Wars* episodes.

Even though Crowther’s form follows function design of the Cooper was successful and famous, and was copied in the Cooper Cinerama theaters in Omaha, Nebraska and Minneapolis, Minnesota, the novelty and the luster of its modernity wore off. By its nature modernism is impermanent and relatively short-lived. No longer considered spectacular, the Cooper was demolished in 1994 for a Barnes & Noble bookstore. As for Crowther, he lived to 2006. The Cooper Theater did not have a neighborhood, such as in the cases of the Mayan or the Aladdin, to rise up vigorously to try to save the building. There seems to have been no Friends or United Neighbors of the Cooper Theater. No one seemed to care that much to save it. Modernism did not have its protectors, backers, or supporters in the way that exotic Art Deco Mayan Revival or exotic eclectic Mughal Moorish architecture had. Reports simply tell that it was razed. It came, and then it went. Modernism seems to have that ephemeral quality. It comes and goes, marked by clever variations, and at times by bold *au courant* visions and arrangements. Basically, it is modern, intriguing, and cutting edge for a particular moment; it then declines in popularity and becomes retro or vintage. Eventually it is ignored. As for the late great Cooper, it came to a minimalist end.

## THE PARAMOUNT: DOWNTOWN DENVER'S LAST GRAND ART DECO MOVIE PALACE

The Paramount Theater at 16th and Glenarm, a 1930 creation of Denver architect Temple Hoyne Buell (1895-1990), is the only grand movie palace left in downtown Denver. It is, in fact, the last remaining example of the seventeen grand movie palaces built in the Denver metropolitan area. Built by Buell for Publix Theaters, the Paramount Theater became the foremost movie house in Denver. It surpassed the standards of dozens of theaters that lined the streets of downtown Denver, and has remained the only local theater of its time to maintain its original façade and elegance. The Paramount was known for its glitz and glamour. It is significant as an excellent illustration of Art Deco design and craftsmanship, and is an outstanding tribute to the architect who made considerable contributions to the City of Denver.

The Art Deco showpiece is enlivened by cast plaster moldings, intricate geometric shapes, and East Indian figures. Moreover, the silk wall tapestries feature *commedia dell'arte* (comedy of the profession) with characters such as Arlecchino (Known in French as Arlequin or Harlequin), Columbina, Pierrot and Pierrette, Pantalone, and Scaramuccia (also known as Scaramouche). Similar *commedia dell'arte* characters by Vincent Mondo were repeated in various Publix Theaters across the nation. The Paramount's interior set an unsurpassable standard for not only Denver metro area theaters, but regional ones as well. Although the double grand staircase with efflorescent designs and an iron railing was lost in 1985, the still playable mighty twin-console Wurlitzer organ with its 1,600 pipes endures.<sup>39</sup> The organ is one of the largest to have been installed in the Rocky Mountain area. Along with the Wurlitzer in New York City's Radio City Music Hall, it is one of the final two magnificent musical instruments of their kind still in operation in the United States.

The Paramount Theater was the premier movie house in Denver, and its architect was a major developer and society figure, as well as Colorado's senior architect in his later years. Buell built several important buildings in Denver and is credited for founding the regional "western style" of architecture. A sample of his architectural work includes: the Art Deco Mullen Building, the State Service Building, and schools such as Knight Elementary, Horace Mann Middle



*The Aladdin Theatre located at 2000 Colfax Avenue in 1927. It was one of Denver's most celebrated neighborhood theaters when it opened in 1926. The public was in awe at what they found inside. Credit: Denver Public Library/Western History Collection/X-24785. <https://denverite.com/2016/09/17/denvers-lost-venues-looking-back-aladdin-orpheum-rainbow-music-hall/>*



*The Paramount Theater is Downtown Denver's Last Grand Art Deco Movie Palace. A designated historic landmark and impressive building; it is the only local theater of its time to maintain its original façade.*  
 Credit: D0303 Moscow Ballet Paramount Theatre.  
<https://do303.com/events/2014/12/12/moscow-ballet>.

School, and John F. Kennedy High School of the Denver Public Schools, and the private denominational Catholic high schools of Regis and Mullen. Buell played a part in designing structures at Lowry Air Force Base, and the City and County Building, as well as work on various college structures, including Norlin Library at the University of Colorado Boulder.<sup>40</sup> Among his many successes, Buell claimed the Paramount as the finest example of his work.<sup>41</sup> Buell also became a prominent developer. He designed the comely outdoor mall that became known as the Cherry Creek Shopping Center. Completed in 1953, it was built on land that had actually once been a city dump before Buell developed it into a delightful pedestrian mall, one of the first in the nation.<sup>42</sup>

The Paramount Theater is an unrivaled testament to Art Deco design and craftsmanship of the Jazz Age. The façade is enhanced by glazed terra cotta moldings that reflect the popular design of the period. Terra cotta elements create the illusion of extra vertical height for a three-story building. The ornate details above the windows and on the sills showcase a recurrent interior motif of rosettes, ferns, and feathers. Green-tinged black marble at the street level above each window give contrast to exterior elements. The interior represents an excellent American “zigzag” Art Deco design, the fanciful and ornamental architectural expression popularized in the United States during the Jazz Age. Zigzag design was a particularly American contribution to Art Deco style. The building was also equipped with luxuries consistent with the golden age of film, such as the splendidly ornamented lobby, indirect theatrical lighting, a vaulted sunburst ceiling, cut glass chandeliers, Egyptian lights, Italian marble, and a neon marquee. Exotic and flamboyant decoration – Aztec figures, East Indian figures, floral motifs, sun rays, and the ziggurat design are consistent both in the building’s interior and exterior. They are replicated and patterned in minute details in the stairways and radiator grills.<sup>43</sup>

Buell designed what is now the last picture palace left in Denver. The horrific economic downturn by 1930 and the Depression-era blues did not stop him from producing an exuberant Art Deco delight, liberally frosted with terra-cotta and vertically reaching upwards with Buell-esque spires and florescent plumes. The restoration of the architectural gem in 1985 shifted the lobby of the Paramount from 16<sup>th</sup> Street to Glenarm Street. Happily, the gilded detailing and the *commedia dell'arte* tapestry and figures were saved. The restored Paramount endures. Because it was not lost, Denverites and visitors from anywhere will marvel at its elegant, vibrant design. They can enjoy it today and in the future.

The historic Art Deco Paramount Theatre had more than once been on the verge of falling to the wrecking ball. Historic Denver, Inc. helped save this Denver picture palace. Fortunately, the Paramount Theater was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1980 and named an historic landmark by the City of Denver in 1988. It thus became integral to the Downtown Denver Historic District. Unlike the other downtown theaters, the Paramount Theatre was preserved. It remains a vibrant multi-event facility where patrons can go enjoy a wide variety of entertainment options, including, on occasion, movies. Tragically though, they cannot marvel at the impressive beauty of the Art Moderne Centre Theater, demolished in 1981, or the Denver Theatre, demolished in 1980, or the Denham, demolished in 1980, or the Orpheum, demolished in 1967, and now a parking lot.<sup>44</sup> Nor will they ever experience Denver's Theater Row on Curtis Street with the Tabor, Empress, and Victory. These treasures of the American West were demolished. All are gone. A world once of Denver that has been lost forever.

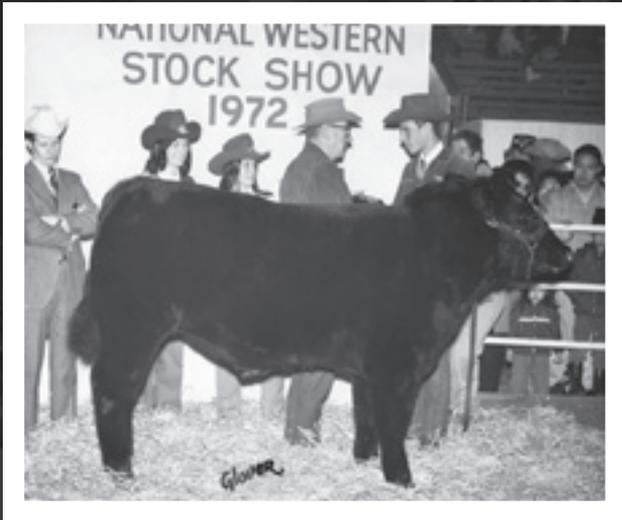
## DENVER'S FANTASTIC FOUR THEATERS SAVED AND LOST: TIME CAPSULES AND PLACES OF ENJOYMENT

Many of Denver's treasured theaters reveal that Denver is an architecturally significant city. Movie theaters opened, then closed, or were repurposed as tastes and trends changed. The Mayan, the Aladdin, the Cooper Cinerama, and the Paramount theaters are the Mile High City's treasures through time. They can be considered as architectural fantasies of Exotic Art Deco Mayan Revival, Exotic Eclectic Mughal and Moorish Revival, spectacular Modernism, and Jazz Age Art Deco. Though the Cooper was not designed with an exotic themed venue in mind, it nonetheless expressed modern luxury with a futuristic ambience. It was as escapist in its way as were Art Deco and historic revivalism theaters, all built with fantasies in mind. As public places of leisure and aesthetics many of Denver's architecturally remarkable and memorable theaters are tragically lost; others nearly so. To those who treasure, appreciate, and value the designs of specific movie theaters, their fantastic architecture matters plenty. That is why the few that are left should be treasured.

The fantasy theaters of Denver are invaluable time capsules. They are significant as an excellent illustration of a *mentalité* in time. They offer a unique reflection of social and cultural phenomena that prevailed in the Mile High capital city of Colorado. The Mayan and the Paramount are architectural treasures that were saved; the Aladdin and the Cooper were architectural treasures that were lost to the wrecking ball. In 1926, 1930, and 1961 these four beautiful theaters opened to the amazement of audiences. Through time and place these variegated movie houses have brought the world-at-large to their audiences edifying and entertaining them. These theaters are known for the splendor of their fantastic architecture that enclosed people for special times and moments of enjoyment.



*Downtown Denver Theater Row, c. 1927 - Curtis Street, known as "the best lit street in the world," at the time the city had a total of 66 theaters of various persuasions. A February 1914 issue of Denver Municipal Facts featured an article titled, "Denver Ranks Among the First as a Theater Center." Credit: Land Use Law 101 – A History of Planning Law Stuart Meck. <https://www.law.du.edu/documents/rmlui/conference/powerpoints/2013/Merriam-Land-Use-Law-101.pdf>.*



1972 Grand Champion steer, Big Mac.  
Credit: The Tom Noel Collection.

# THE NATIONAL WESTERN STOCK SHOW:

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For the Cattleman and the City Person Alike

**By Kayla Hladky**

The National Western Stock Show has deep roots in Colorado's history. With humble beginnings in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as a resource for cattlemen, ranchers, farmers, and livestock commission merchants, the Stock Show has evolved into a thriving tourist attraction. The Western Stock Show Association boasts of its western heritage and its appeal to locals and tourists alike as, "one of Colorado's preeminent tourist destinations, held every January for 16 days."<sup>1</sup> Even the mission of the Western Stock Show Association, in addition to education, innovation, and competition, promotes entertainment as one of its guiding principles. As the event grew over the years, and as the public became more enamored with the fading western way of life, the Western Stock Show Association began to capitalize on heritage tourism concepts to promote the National Western Stock Show. Through the use of advertisements and rhetoric, strategic planning, and program development, the Western Stock Show Association has played a large part in Colorado's heritage tourism for the last 114 years.

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With the formal incorporation of the Western Stock Show Association in 1906, founding members recognized the importance of the tourist. To be successful and guarantee the longevity of the event, measures were taken by senior officers to ensure there would be a crowd. For example, in the first year the Stock Show offered free admission. In addition, street cars ran every three minutes to the Denver stockyards and the Burlington Railroad offered special regional roundtrip train rides to and from the show.<sup>2</sup> The free admission gave tourists the opportunity to experience the show and the optimized transportation routes made sure the masses got there. It was important for the new stock show to establish itself as a premiere event valuable to the stockman and also accessible to the general audience.

As the show continued to grow, one can see how the internal workings of the Western Stock Show Association became more formal, efficient, and influential. For the second Stock Show, the Executive Committee rearranged the timing of the show to coincide with several other meetings going on in Denver. These meetings included the Colorado Cattle and Horse Growers Association, the American National Livestock Association, the National Dry Farming convention, and the National Agronomists and Grain Growers. By arranging the Stock Show to coincide with other like-minded professional conventions, the Executive Committee made strategic moves to optimize event numbers stating, “those who attend can combine business, pleasure, and education.”<sup>3</sup> More strategic moves were made in 1909 with the erection of the National Amphitheater. Costing \$200,000, paid for by the Denver Union Stock Yard Company for the use by Stock Show, and built on Denver Stockyard property, the new structure could seat 6,000 people and many more standing. Livestock judging would take place during the day, and at night the National Amphitheater would be used for entertainment. Hosting shows for the purpose of entertainment, such as horse show riding and driving classes, the Western Stock Show Association wanted to make the most of the new event space.<sup>4</sup>

Other strategic plans deployed by the Executive Committee sought to bring more tourists to the Stock Show and increase event numbers. During the 1912 Annual Members’ Meeting, Mr. A. E. de Ricqlès “moved that the Executive Committee be requested to stir up exhibits of cattle from the South western territory in order that this branch of the show become of more value.”<sup>5</sup> Board members requested more diverse exhibits to benefit the entertainment value of the Stock Show. At the Members’ Meeting the following year, on January 24, 1913, the Board discussed expanding the physical landscape of the Stock Show and adding additional buildings. The recorded minutes state: “It was pointed out that the show advanced to a point where it could no longer increase because of all the available room is now taken up and no further increase in the show can be made unless additional buildings are provided.”<sup>6</sup> In a few short years, the National Stock Show had grown so much, the Executive Committee was struggling to keep up; growing pains in the form of limited space, too many exhibits, and continual growing attendance numbers, all point to the National Western Stock Show emerging as a tourist attraction in Colorado. At the 1916 Annual Members’ Meeting, Dr. T. F. DeWitt “called attention to the fact that the poor transportation facilities to the yards were seriously interfering with the attendance of the show.” A special committee was formed to follow up with the City of Denver concerning direct street car access, connecting the city and the stock yards.<sup>7</sup> These kinds of actions

speak to the influence the National Western Stock Show held even in its early years. As a source of heritage tourism that brought people to the Queen City of Denver, Stock Show leaders moved to foster the continued attendance of tourists.

Further, people and organizations outside the Western Stock Show Association recognized the important role the event played in Denver's tourism. Local publications, such as the newsletter *The City of Denver*, boasted: "at no performance during the entire week is there any room to spare."<sup>8</sup> As the reputation of the National Western Stock Show grew, the organization established itself as a staple within the Denver community. Another newsletter published by the city of Denver, *Municipal Facts*, put the growth of the Stock Show in perspective in the January-February 1927 publication:

While it is impossible to estimate the number of visitors in Denver during the stock-show week, it is figured that there were more than 50,000 guests in the city. The number of out-of-town cars at the stadium was estimated as 75%. Guests include people as far away as Australia, who have come to America and to Denver for the express purpose of studying and buying at the show.<sup>9</sup>

The influential pull created by the National Western Stock Show is staggering. For 50,000 tourists to travel to Denver just to take in the information and the entertainment the Stock Show was offering indicates the event's popularity. Moreover, the prominence of the automobile highlights the rise of tourists' mobility. It was now even easier for tourists to get where they wanted to go, without being limited by means of transportation. Lastly, the fact that there were international visitors participating in the Stock Show emphasizes the event's global reputation. With the ability to attract not just local but international visitors, the National Western Stock Show had the capacity to promote educational tourism and heritage tourism attributes within the city of Denver and the State of Colorado. What's more, the National Western Stock Show established itself as a professional resource for cattlemen to rely on and an attraction for the general public to enjoy as well. With the goal of combining education and entertainment, the National Western Stock Show attracted a wide range of people, cowpoke and city person alike.

As the show progressed into the 1940s and 1950s, the period proved to be a time of great growth for the Western Stock Show Association; further highlighting the large role the show played in Colorado's tourism industry, the National Western Stock Show went to great lengths to cater to its visitors. As the event grew larger still,

it became evident that the show needed more space. According to Thomas J. Noel's *Riding High: Colorado Ranchers and 100 Years of the National Western Stock Show*, overcrowding was such a problem that many people joked, "If you stand still, someone will tie an animal to you."<sup>10</sup> In order for the show to continue its progress, changes needed to happen. John T. Caine III was the man hired to do it. As the new general manager in 1944, John Caine made strategic moves to ensure that the National Western Stock Show was going to be the best in the nation. Caine advocated for the greater involvement of youth, as they were to be the generation to continue the western tradition found at the Stock Show.<sup>11</sup> In addition to the promotion of youth involvement, Caine added more entertainment and tourist attractions to the Stock Show, such as the crowd favorite Catch A Calf Contest. A 1956 Stock Show program states: "A great favorite with everyone at the National Western is the 4-H Catch-It-And-You-Can-Have-It Contest, which provides spectators with exciting entertainment, and gives the lucky 4-H contestants a start in a livestock career."<sup>12</sup> For the enjoyment of the crowd and for the benefit of the budding stockman, calves were let loose in the arena for young men to catch, sometimes wrestle, and then halter. Once caught, the calf belonged to the lucky young contestant. Caine also implemented other changes that led to greater audience numbers. For the 1944 show, the general manager expanded the horse exposition. For the 1946 Stock Show season, Caine started the event on a Friday, instead of a Saturday, to allow for more entertainment shows such horse shows, rodeos, and cutting horse events.

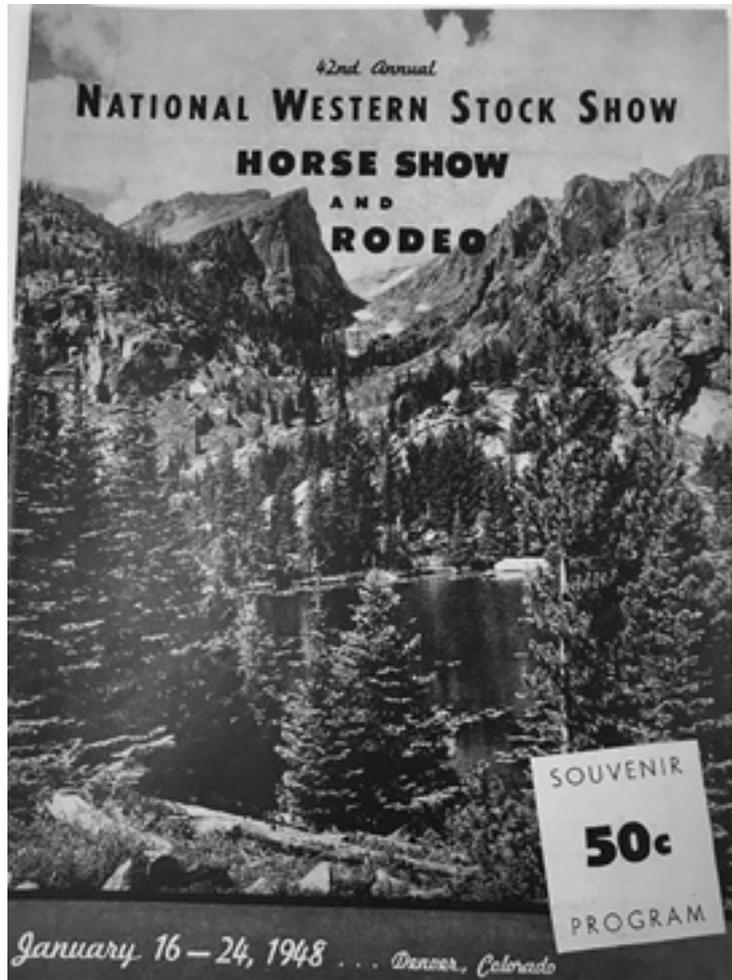
The largest change Caine endorsed not only impacted the Stock Show, but also changed the landscape of Denver as well. Caine, amongst others, pushed for a new stadium and campaigned to have a government bond issued to pay for the estimated \$2.5 million coliseum. The new stadium would not only service the National Western Stock Show, but would be municipal building that could be used by the City of Denver for other large city events. In 1947 the bond came to a vote and Denver citizens voted in favor of a \$1.5 million bond issue. It is important to note however, that this was only possible through the support of other businesses such as the Colorado and Southern Railroad, Union Pacific, and the Denver Union Stockyard Company. These businesses recognized the influence the National Western Stock Show carried in education and heritage tourism and supported the organization through donations of land to build the coliseum and parking lot.<sup>13</sup>

Ground broke for the coliseum in 1949 and the city had high hopes for its new multipurposed venue. Thomas L. Seymour, the coliseum manager was quoted in *The Denver Post* saying,

“This is the place,” said Seymour. “Anything Madison Square Garden can do, we can do it better. It’ll be ideal for television. There isn’t a poor seat in the house—no poles, no heads in front of you to look over. It’s really planned. It’ll be ideal for booking. There’s enough light here to cremate the fighters. We can seat 8,000 in permanent seats and another 3,000 in portable seats. It’s the show place of the west.”<sup>14</sup>

The Coliseum became the show place of the west, and the National Western Stock Show took center stage. After the building’s completion in 1952, the National Western Stock Show entered a new era of acclaim. The 1952 Stock Show season was the biggest and best to date; there was more room for exhibitor booths, famous Hollywood trick riders Shirley and Sharon Lucas performed at the rodeo, and ticket income reached an all-time high.<sup>15</sup> Every aspect of the National Western Stock Show catered to tourism. The largest aspect was education tourism, as laid out in the organization’s 1943 Charter and By-Laws. Of particular importance to the organization was the exhibition of livestock and its products to enhance member’s knowledge “in the breeding, feeding, care and fattening and improving of livestock,” as well as the goal to “encourage and promote the livestock industry among the members of this association in particular, and generally in the western states.”<sup>16</sup> The next largest aspect of the show was heritage tourism. The expansion of the show both physically, with the addition of the Coliseum, and organizationally, with the addition of new programs and entertainment options, point toward the importance of the tourist to the Western Stock Show Association and Denver. Tactics employed by the Western Stock Show Association to lure in the tourist and cater to those seeking a glimpse at the lifestyle of the cowboy, can be seen in the organization’s rhetoric, promotional material, and souvenir programs.

The Western Stock Show Association courted the professional rancher or farmer from the plains of Colorado, but also the family visiting from suburbia. Every year, the National Western Stock Show produced a program that welcomed visitors and donors, provided scheduling information, highlighted special shows and exhibits, and included basic need to know information about the show. These programs were, and still are, used by the Western Stock Show Association to bridge a gap between the professional agricultural businessman and the tourist who is enamored by the western way of life. Included in the 1946 souvenir program was an informational exposé titled “The Lingo of the Cowpoke.” Beginning with, “Every trade has its own peculiar vocabulary, and none is more picturesque and colorful than that of the cowboy. Here are a few examples of the expressive words and phrases that flow fluently from the lips of rodeo performers,” the article goes on to list the need-to-know terms to make it in a cowboy’s world.<sup>17</sup> Pieces of writing such as this, frame the life of a cowboy, rancher, or farmer, as exciting, foreign, but attainable at the National Western Stock Show. Tourists visit the Stock Show to get a glimpse of a life that is foreign and different from their own. By promoting heritage tourism grounded in the western way of life, the National Western Stock Show was able to market western ideals to wide range of visitors.



1948 National Western Stock Show Program. Credit: Records of the National Western Stock Show, Agricultural and Natural Resources Archive, Colorado State University.

Imagery employed by the Western Stock Show Association framed Colorado as wild and western, yet attainable. The cover of the 1948 National Western Stock Show souvenir program is reminiscent of the argument put forward by William Philpott in *Vacationland: Tourism and Environment in the Colorado High Country*. In a ploy to attract tourists to Colorado's high country, influencers framed Colorado as a nice balance of nature and easy access to outdoor activities, while also having the ability to have a casual and comfortable lifestyle.<sup>18</sup> Images of beautiful, undisturbed mountain scenes allowed tourists to imagine all of Colorado this way. Because of this tourist imagery, notions of Colorado being a balance of nature and easy suburbia living prevails today. The National Western Stock Show used a classic image on

the cover of their 1948 program, showing high mountain peaks in the background and a clear cool mountain lake surrounded by pine trees and wildlife. The Stock Show grabbed a marketable version of Colorado that appealed to tourists.<sup>19</sup> By participating in the events and shows provided at the Stock Show and using the lingo of the cowpoke, tourists can then feel a part of this western way of life, even if only for the afternoon.

The 1956 Stock Show, celebrating the National Western Stock Show's fiftieth anniversary, continued the ongoing trend of promoting heritage tourism. All are welcome at the Stock Show and the Western Stock Show Association wanted to make that very clear as they celebrated their fiftieth anniversary. In order to make it another fifty years, the Stock Show depended on the tourist's involvement. An article in the 1956 program states, "No other stock show in America is so truly an all stockmen's livestock exposition - for the rancher and the farmer, for the rich or the poor, for the large and the small operators, for the livestock producer and the feeders....for the cattleman, sheepman, hogman, horseman, and city person alike."<sup>20</sup> The National Western Stock Show had something for everyone. Ranging from educational exhibits for the professional businessman or entertainment programs such as dog shows and rodeos for the city slicker, the Stock Show bolstered Colorado's heritage tourism by providing a slice of the western lifestyle for everyone. Further rhetoric used by the Western Stock Show Association to cultivate heritage tourism can be seen in the article "Where To Go: Points of Interest in the Denver Area" in the 1956 program. Listings included the State Capitol Building, City Park Zoo, Denver Museum of Natural History, Denver Art Museum, and the United States Mint.<sup>21</sup> While tourists were in town for the Stock Show, the Western Stock Show Association aimed to highlight that Denver had many more entertainment options to enjoy as well. By emphasizing the diversity of Denver and its activities, the National Western Stock Show was able to help frame Denver as a worthwhile tourist destination. Moreover, by placing the National Western Stock Show in relation to other tourist attractions such as the Denver Museum of Natural History, now known as the Denver



*Professional rodeos are a fan favorite at the National Western Stock Show. Credit: The Tom Noel Collection.*

Museum of Nature and Science, and the Denver Art Museum, the Stock Show marketed itself as a premier tourist destination.

Even though the National Western Stock Show has clearly proven itself over the years to be a tourism staple for Denver citizens and out-of-state visitors alike every January, the Western Stock Show Association continues to work on framing the event in the most marketable fashion. Mediums such as posters and advertisements allow the Stock Show to accomplish this goal. A 1994 poster for the Coors Western Art Exhibit and Sale, pictures a cowboy carrying a saddle through a wadi.<sup>22</sup> This painting turned poster advertisement adds a sense of refinement to the National Western Stock Show. Appealing to gallery visitors and art connoisseurs, the Coors Western Art Exhibit offered yet another medium for tourists to consume American West culture. Further, a poster from 2003 makes clear that the National Western Stock Show has many things to offer the family visitor, claiming: “It’s a Rodeo and More!”<sup>23</sup> Events and programs available at the 97th National Western Stock Show included a Mexican rodeo extravaganza, exciting horse shows, wild west shows, dancing horses, the Coors Western Art Exhibit, Colorado’s largest trade show, and the super bowl of livestock shows.<sup>24</sup> The rhetoric in this poster alone is meant to entice tourists. The Stock Show framed itself as the biggest and the best in order to get visitors through the doors. Moreover, the diverse programing offered seeks to appeal to a wider audience and create more opportunities for tourists to enjoy what the Stock Show has to offer. Over the years, the Western Stock Show Association has made strategic decisions to expand educational programs, entertainment options, and exhibitors to make the Stock Show a worthy tourist destination in Colorado.

From the National Western’s inaugural show in 1906 to the 2020 National Western Stock Show, which attracted more than 700,000 visitors, the organization has proved itself to be capable of great things.<sup>25</sup> Plans were made in 2013 to continue the expansion of the show. Reminiscent of the problems witnessed in the 1930s and 1940s, the Stock Show had once again outgrown its current and outdated facilities. In looking to the future, the Western Stock Show Association signed a Memorandum of Understanding in 2013 with influential partners such as The City and County of Denver, Colorado State University, the Denver Museum of Nature and Science, and History Colorado. All of the previously mentioned organizations hold a significant amount of influence in the Denver community and have the capability to influence tourism in Colorado. In March of 2015 a Master Plan was adopted by the Denver City Council for the new National Western Center. Denver voters again, as they did in 1947 for the then new Coliseum, voted in favor of a bond to fund the master plan for the remaking of what is now called the National Western Center. The City and County of Denver also received a grant in 2015 from the Regional Tourism Act worth \$121 million over thirty-six years, with the understanding funds are “specific to tourism elements of the future site.”<sup>26</sup> Evocative of the past changes within the National Western Stock Show’s history, current strategic moves still point toward the Western Stock Show Association’s eagerness to appeal to the tourist. As the expansion of the show in the 1950s through 1990s was welcomed by show participants and visitors alike, the same can be hoped for with the upcoming changes to the National Western Complex.

Throughout the Western Stock Show Association’s existence, the organization has been able to prove its capacity for growth, innovative planning, and an ability to promote tour-



*Layout of the future National Western Center in Denver, Colorado.  
Credit: The Mayor's Office of the National Western Center.*

ism in Colorado. Beginning with an emphasis on education tourism, which brought tourists from as far as Australia, the National Western Stock Show has widened its audience appeal by offering diverse means of entertainment. Ranging from trade shows and dancing horses, to Mexican rodeo extravaganzas and the Superbowl of livestock shows, the National Western Stock Show has successfully framed itself as a tourist attraction accessible to all. Whether a person is a professional cattleman from the plains of Colorado or a city person from a Denver suburb, anyone can come to the National Western Stock Show to enjoy what the western way of life has to offer. Through the successful implementation of program development, calculated physical expansion, influential images, and rhetoric, the Western Stock Show Association has created an event that has bolstered Colorado's heritage tourism and established itself as a premier tourist destination in Colorado every January.

*This is our war...*

*Join the WAAC*

**WOMEN'S ARMY AUXILIARY CORPS  
UNITED STATES ARMY**

**APPLY AT ANY U. S. ARMY RECRUITING AND INDUCTION STATION**

*"This Is Our War" WAAC Recruitment Poster.  
Credit: recruitment poster by the Office of War Information, 1941,  
World War II Posters Collection, National Archives, 515781.*

# “BLESS ‘EM:”

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## The Forgotten WACs of Colorado’s Camp Hale

**By Brittany Huner**

Located near Leadville, Camp Hale is one of the largest surviving indications of Colorado’s contributions to World War II. The state has treated the camp’s history with pride, especially the stories of the Tenth Mountain Division, which trained the soldiers who went on to found many of Colorado’s ski areas. There are, however, another set of stories about the camp that have not received adequate attention. These involve the other division that was assigned here—the members of the Women’s Army Corps.

### THE CAMP

In 1942, the United States military began to plan for the construction of a high-altitude training camp to train soldiers for fighting in Europe. The Finnish ski troops, skilled in fighting the Russians, had impressed two members of America’s ski association, C. Minot Dole and Roger Langley. They wondered how to use the Finnish tactics in the American military.<sup>1</sup> In 1941, Dole and Langley convinced General George C. Marshall to establish a division of ski troops and the search then began for an appropriate location for a training base.

*Brittany recently graduated from CU Denver with a master’s degree in History, with a minor concentration in Public History - Museums. While there, she focused on women’s military history and finished her thesis: “Forgotten Soldiers: Memory and Perspectives of American Women’s Military Corps in World War II.” Before attending CU Denver, she earned a bachelor’s degree in History at the University of Northern Colorado, with minors in theatre and political science and wrote her undergraduate thesis on the WASPs of World War II. She presented her paper on Camp Hale’s WACs and her thesis at the University of Alabama’s Conference on Power and Struggle in September 2017 and at CU Denver’s Research and Creative Activities Symposium in April 2017 and April 2018. For the past three years, Brittany has also worked at the University of Colorado’s College of Nursing History Center at the Anschutz Medical Campus. In the fall, she will be starting her PhD work in history at the University of North Texas, where she will expand her work with both women’s history and military history.*

Colorado's winter and range of mountains put it on the short list, but several other states, such as Oregon, Washington, and Vermont, were considered as well. Ski troops initially trained at Mount Rainer, but the National Parks Service imposed too many restrictions on the camp.<sup>2</sup> Pando, Colorado, a remote stop on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad about fourteen miles northwest of Leadville, was then chosen almost a year after General Marshall had authorized the creation of the ski division. The town's high elevation (9,250 feet), its location on the railroad, and its heavy snowfall made it an ideal location for the ski troops to train.<sup>3</sup>



*View of Camp Hale in the Pando Valley, Colorado Credit: Photograph by David B. Allen. 1943-1944. 10th Mountain Division Resource Center Collection, Denver Public Library Digital Collections. TMD-743.*

Camp Hale was built between April and December of 1942. For most of the early months, the camp had few facilities. There was no laundry, dining hall, or any sort of club or entertainment.<sup>4</sup> That, in combination with the smog that got trapped in the valley, resulted in the nickname of “Camp Hell.”<sup>5</sup> Since the purpose of Camp Hale was to prepare soldiers to fight in the mountains, the men went through very different trainings than at other military camps. Summer months were geared towards climbing and mountaineering. This training involved six days of class, followed by practice on the one-hundred-foot cliffs near the camp.<sup>6</sup> The men also rappelled down the walls of the atrium of the Brown Palace Hotel for additional practice.<sup>7</sup>

Another part of the training done at Camp Hale was with animals. Soldiers taught sled dogs and mules “how to adjust to life in the army.”<sup>8</sup> Camp Hale had around one hundred dogs, mostly German Shepherds, huskies, and St. Bernards that were trained to carry messages and supplies and to act as sentries.<sup>9</sup> The “Mule School” of Camp Hale also prepared animals for specialized work. Mules had been used as pack animals in the Pando and Leadville areas during Lake County’s mining boom in the late 1800s. However, in World War II, “the mules were used by supply and artillery units alike to move equipment, weapons, and ammunition.”<sup>10</sup>

The best-known aspect of training was the skiing. This activity didn’t attract universal interest. George Hurt, one of the instructors, recalled that “We had some guys who would break their legs on purpose rather than try and learn how to ski.”<sup>11</sup> A few other soldiers stood barefoot in the snow hoping for a transfer.<sup>12</sup> Many of the instructors could barely ski better than their students. The camp newspaper reported that an instructor once told his class, “If anyone laughs, I’ll jam these ski poles down your throat.”<sup>13</sup>

It didn’t take long before skiing caught on. The men even traveled to Aspen to race for fun.<sup>14</sup> Other men also remembered their training fondly. Harris Dusenberry described standing on watch in the mountains as “the army, the mountains, and a late-night hour of winter can make a man feel very humble before the natural forces of his environment.”<sup>15</sup> Hal Burton recalled that:

it was training that made the 10th Mountain Division effective, and it was training that helped English and American troops in Italy overcome a fear of heights, to learn how to move confidently through rough, broken terrain, and to learn how to conserve their energy so they could fight when they hit battle stations.<sup>16</sup>

Troops earned the reputation as “an elite force.” But the men were not the only people stationed at Camp Hale who were blazing a new trail. There was another division that arrived shortly after the camp opened.

## THE WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS (WACS)

The journey of the WACs began well before planners conceived of Camp Hale. Women had served in a military capacity during World War I, mostly in the Navy as part of the Yeoman (F) program. Government officials considered a women's army corps as a way to supplement manpower as early in the war as 1938, before Germany invaded Poland the following year.<sup>17</sup> Early in 1941, before the United States entered the war, Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers told General Marshall that she planned to "introduce a bill to establish an Army women's corps, separate and distinct from the existing Army Nurse Corps."<sup>18</sup> The bill was not introduced in Congress until December 31, 1941 and, after a compromise, it was finally passed on May 14, 1942.<sup>19</sup> Public Law 554 established the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAACs), who worked "not *in* the Army, but *with* the Army. Women would be placed in unskilled, menial-type jobs, releasing more men for combat."<sup>20</sup> Oveta Culp Hobby was appointed director.

According to the *Camp Hale Ski-Zette*, there were "more than 100 companies ... on duty at nearly 100 different Army posts, doing or being trained to do 142 different kinds of Army jobs."<sup>21</sup> In addition to office work, WAACs also worked as "weather observers and forecasters, cryptographers, radio operators and repairmen, sheet metal workers, parachute riggers, link trainer instructors, bombsight maintenance specialists, aerial photograph analysts, and control tower operators ... draftsmen, mechanics, and electricians."<sup>22</sup> WAACs served in most Army jobs that did not involve combat, especially the Motor Corps, which drove staff cars and light trucks and serviced their own vehicles.<sup>23</sup>

Within a few months the program underwent a major change. On July 1, 1943, the US Army incorporated the WAACs as the "Women's Army Corps" (WACs). Members received the same ranks and grades as the regular army and enjoyed similar benefits, such as "Government insurance, allotments, and free mailing privileges."<sup>24</sup>



"Woman's Place in War Radio Repairing," WAC Recruitment Poster Credit: Recruitment poster by the Office of War Information, 1942-1945, World War II Posters Collection, National Archives. 513709



*WACs Working on Truck Engine. Credit: Photograph by the United States War Department, Army Signal Corps, February 1944, National Archives. 138926220.*



*Camp Hale's Own Musical Comedy "Hale and Hearty."  
Credit: "Hale's Own Musical Comedy,  
'Hale and Hearty,' Shows February 22-23,"  
Camp Hale Ski-Zette, February 18, 1944.*

In a surprise move, the US Army paid the WACs on the same scale as the men of equal ranks as "an integral part of the Army of the United States."<sup>25</sup>

For the most part, the men and women stationed at Camp Hale got along well with each other. The men dubbed the WACs bunks as "the WAAC/WAC Shack." The camp newspaper dedicated a whole column to the WACs almost weekly. The title of the column depended upon who wrote it. Male soldiers picked "Bless 'Em ... The WACs," (or WAACs), and female soldiers chose "DET [detachment] WAC Camp Hale."<sup>26</sup> Generally, the articles discussed the many social events organized between the WACs

and the men. One recalled a picnic event between the WACs and 605<sup>th</sup>, with "fried chicken and fixin's ... volleyball equipment, soft ball and bat ... and no less than a portable organ 'round which everyone gathered and sang vigorously."<sup>27</sup> The WACs also joined their male counterparts in skits, like the "Camp Hale and Hearty" and the "Camp Halerities" shows.<sup>28</sup> Some weeks the WACs participated in recreational activities almost every day, such as playing baseball, visiting hospital patients, auditioning for one of the camp shows, and attending a dance.<sup>29</sup> In addition to boosting morale and performing their regular duties, the WACs volunteered for KP duty on Thanksgiving and spent time at the Service Club, where they wrapped presents for the families of the soldiers.<sup>30</sup>

The story of the Camp Hale WACs is not all positive, however. There was one scandal that might have smeared their name. In February 1944, a soldier named Dale Maple aided in the escape of two German prisoners.<sup>31</sup> The group reached Mexico before being arrested. Maple was sentenced to a term of ten years in prison.<sup>32</sup> His investigation revealed that other American soldiers had acted inappropriately, included five WACs who had exchanged notes with the German prisoners.<sup>33</sup> Three of the five captured the attention of the newspapers and received sentences ranging from four to six months in prison.<sup>34</sup> The scandal put the camp under a cloud of shame.<sup>35</sup>

Even though the POW scandal had given the WACs some bad press, the *Ski-Zette* reported positive stories during the final year of the camp's operations. The men hosted more dances and parties, which the WACs greeted with enthusiasm.<sup>36</sup> In February of 1944, the WACs and soldiers put on the "Hale and Hearty" musical show.<sup>37</sup> The men and women of Camp Hale continued to work together, as well as have fun. The various events helped to boost morale and enjoy being at camp when they were off duty.

In June 1944, the 10th Mountain Division was transferred from Camp Hale to Camp Swift, Texas. Shortly after placing the rest of the camp on standby, the War Department closed it.<sup>38</sup> The WACs and other remaining divisions that had been at Camp Hale were then transferred to various posts both in and outside of the United States. Most of the WACs found new assignments to the South Pacific or to Camp Crowder in Missouri.<sup>39</sup> WAC duties became harder. "The conditions at Camp Crowder were dramatically different than those from Camp Hale. The climate was hot and humid, making drill and calisthenics less pleasant. The WACs found the atmosphere less relaxed, more military, more regimented."<sup>40</sup>

Despite the vital work of the WACs at Camp Hale, the WACs' story has remained largely unknown. In 2004, however, Dr. Monys Hagen, a Metropolitan State University professor, published years of research on the WACs stationed at Camp Hale as an online exhibit through the university. When touring Camp Hale and museums related to the 10th Mountain Division, Dr. Hagen "always was told either that there had been no women stationed there or that there was no information regarding their service."<sup>41</sup> As a consequence, she decided that "the historical questions about the lives and work of these women at Camp Hale needed to be answered."<sup>42</sup> Her website not only includes the story of Camp Hale and the WACs, but also links to related newspaper articles and transcripts of her interviews with former WACs who were stationed at Camp Hale.

*The Denver Post* praised Dr. Hagen for the originality her for her research.<sup>43</sup> In response, however, the *Colorado Central Magazine*

contended that “WACs at Camp Hale Were Hardly a Secret.” The article claimed that “it’s a little more complicated than that, and even this magazine has offered evidence that the women were not forgotten ... their presence could hardly have been a secret unknown until this fall. Last February, we published an article by Allen Best about an American soldier, Carl Maple,” who aided in the escape of two German prisoners of war.<sup>44</sup> Even though the article misnames Dale Maple as “Carl Maple,” it provides a good example of the shaky historic memory of Camp Hale’s WACs. Most of the early sources, including the memoirs of people who served at Camp Hale, leave the WACs completely out of the picture. Other sources, like the *Central Colorado Magazine*, only mention the WACs involvement with the German prisoners of war. According to the pre-2004 sources, it would appear the WACs rose to prominence because of their involvement in scandal and then disappeared into the woodwork. Otherwise, they receive little attention.

Unfortunately, despite the breadth and originality of Dr. Hagen’s research, the WACs of Camp Hale remain largely forgotten. At present, Dr. Hagen’s website serves as the only reputable source on the work done by the WACs at Camp Hale. David Witte’s book on Camp Hale (2015) dedicates a whole chapter to the WACs, but no other book has been published that affords the women of Camp Hale a bigger role in the Camp Hale history.

Does it really matter that the Camp Hale WAC story is still largely unknown? On a recent trip to the Denver Public Library to find any information on the WACs, a fellow researcher told me that “there weren’t that many WACs stationed there,” and “there’s not really anything to say about them.” As the *Central Colorado Magazine* implies, if historians and writers cover the WAC-POW scandal at Camp Hale, they don’t omit the women from the narrative.

Out of the seventy-two issues published, the *Ski-Zette* includes 250 articles that show up in reference to “WAC” or “WAAC.” In the newspaper’s last issue before the camp closed, an article appeared on the first page with the title “WAC Detachment Big Help Here.” The article wished the WACs well on their future endeavors. It stated, “It was with regret that we said good-bye and good luck to the girls who marched off to Camp Crowder, MO. We hope they are settled now and are enjoying their new assignment ... There has been much sewing of stripes lately. Congratulations, girls, you deserve them.”<sup>45</sup> The WACs obviously meant much to the men of Camp Hale and they filled their articles about their female counterparts with feelings of pride and camaraderie.

Dr. Hagen’s interviews with the women who served at Camp Hale discovered that “the women interviewed for this project were

aware that their contributions had been eclipsed or ignored in the history of Camp Hale. Nevertheless, they were proud of their work and their role in the war effort ... They look back on their experience and acknowledge that because they and other WACs succeeded, they secured a permanent place for women in the military.”<sup>46</sup> Witte, the other major historian of the WACs, also notes the pride the WACs felt towards their work at Camp Hale. He states that “these women were proud to be a part of the ski troops and truly put forth their best effort to serve the soldiers of Camp Hale.”<sup>47</sup> In concluding his chapter devoted to the WACs at Camp Hale, he notes that

The WACs changed the dynamics of Camp Hale for the better, as just over two hundred of them called Camp Hale home during the war. Their relentless devotion to the soldiers and to their country was exemplary and effective in making Camp Hale a success in its mission to train mountain troops. The history of this cantonment would not have been the same without their commitment and service.<sup>48</sup>

Witte agrees with Hagen that the WACs served an irreplaceable role at Camp Hale. Without them, the two historians argue, the results of the 10th Mountain Division and other troops trained at Camp Hale would not have been as successful.

## CONCLUSION

The male soldiers stationed at Camp Hale saw the importance of the WACs with the utmost clarity. Notwithstanding, historians have written a limited amount about the WACs. Given their vital role to Camp Hale, particularly, and the overall war effort, generally, their stories require further study. They earned the respect of their male counterparts and their place in Colorado history. The WACs took pride in the work they performed and the Camp Hale men felt proud of their counterparts. As the story of Camp Hale continues to unfold, the WACs deserve the attention commensurate with their war efforts. To quote the *Ski-Zette* once more, “Congratulations, girls, you deserve them.”<sup>49</sup> To which it might be added, the WACs hold an undervalued place in Colorado’s history.



*WACs Learning Code. Credit: Photograph by the United States War Department, Army Signal Corps. 1944. National Archives. 138926522.*



*Archduke Franz Ferdinand's shirt after his assassination in 1914. "Credit: J.M. Winter and Blaine Baggett. The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century. (New York, N.Y.: Penguin Studio, 1996), [https://library-artstor-org.aurarialibrary.idm.oclc.org/asset/SS36434\\_36434\\_32377098](https://library-artstor-org.aurarialibrary.idm.oclc.org/asset/SS36434_36434_32377098)"*

# ANCIENT MONARCHIES IN A NEW AGE:

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Austria-Hungary's Complicated Relationship  
with the Ottoman Empire

**By Brandon Stanley**

On June 29th, 1914, Henry Morgenthau, the American ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul, learned of the assassination of archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary. When news of this arrived, there was a general feeling of shock in the American embassy as well as a feeling that something momentous had happened. After a couple days, the other Americans in the embassy began talking about it and speculating about what Austria-Hungary's. At this time, Henry Morgenthau went to an unrelated meeting with Ottoman minister of the interior, Talaat Pasha, who didn't bring up the event at all. After his meeting with Talaat, Morgenthau went to meet with one of the ambassadors of Germany,

*My name is Brandon Stanley, my major is history, I'm a third-year undergraduate, and I hope to go to graduate school to obtain a PhD in colonial and imperial history with a focus on Europe and Africa. I'm also working on a minor in anthropology, a certificate in indigenous studies, and learning the German language. In history, I prefer to focus primarily on 19th century colonialism and imperialism, but I have studied other subjects such as pre-colonialism, early colonialism in the Americas and southern Africa, and the legacies left by colonialism (such as globalization of markets and culture and the state of newly independent countries). I work at FedEx Ground on weeknights for about four hours a night. I've always been very interested in history; however, I didn't know how complicated it was until I began majoring in it after a failed attempt at studying chemistry. When I was younger, I thought that studying history would mean studying all history available rather than just specific subjects. I love writing about any subject in history if I feel confident with my sources, but I particularly like writing about colonialism and imperialism. I wrote my paper because I was interested in learning exactly why the Ottoman Empire would fight alongside Austria-Hungary during the First World War despite their contentious history.*

von Mutius, and a correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The Germans discussed the event enthusiastically and stated that when war broke out the Americans would be able to dominate trade in Mexico and South America. The last ambassador that Morgenthau met with shortly after the fateful assassination was Marquis Johann von Pallavicini, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. Pallavicini received Morgenthau “solemnly” and stated in almost a whisper, as if he had lost a son, “Ja ja, es ist sehr schrecklich” (yes yes, it’s very terrible) and then stated that Serbia would pay for such an act. On July 4th, 1914, the entire diplomatic corps in Istanbul attended a requiem mass hosted by the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic corps in honor of the late archduke. Little did Morgenthau know, this would be the last time that the entire diplomatic corps in Istanbul would be in a room together.<sup>1</sup>

For both Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, the years preceding the First World War were tumultuous for a variety of reasons. Both countries had grown closer as they went into decline. From the mid -19th century up until the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was being undermined by various revolutions within its borders as well as from the encroachments of France, Great Britain, and Russia. Similarly, the Austrian Habsburg aristocracy that controlled territories in the Balkans and Central Europe was pressured by both Russia and Serbia from without and by nationalist



*An early photograph of the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman Empire's center of government. "Credit: Sebah & Joailier. Sublime Porte – [Sublime Porte, Istanbul]. (Special Collections and College Archives, Musselman Library, Gettysburg College), [https://library-artstor-org.aurarialibrary.idm.oclc.org/asset/SS7731291\\_7731291\\_10908791](https://library-artstor-org.aurarialibrary.idm.oclc.org/asset/SS7731291_7731291_10908791)"*

ethnicities from within. Despite the antagonism that the Habsburg monarchy had felt for the Ottoman Empire, it understood the necessity of working with the Ottoman Empire in order to survive the turmoil caused by the First World War.

Austria-Hungary's relationship with the Ottoman Empire was borne out of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 -1878. Sultan Abdul Aziz and the Sublime Porte wished to build a stronger army and this required the centralization of the Ottoman government, which caused the suppression and revolts of minority groups.<sup>2</sup> Russia responded by declaring war on the Ottoman Empire with the pretext that it was the protector of Orthodox Christianity in the Balkans. Another reason that Russia went to war was because Tsar Alexander II was concerned that Austria-Hungary and Greece would expand their regional influence if Russia didn't interfere.<sup>3</sup>

Russia didn't want to threaten Austro-Hungarian interests in the Balkans to the point that it provoked an additional war. To avoid the chance of this, they made a secret agreement on March 18, 1877 with Austria-Hungary that gave it the right to occupy the Ottoman Balkan provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina if Russia made any permanent territorial gains in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>4</sup> Once assured that Austria-Hungary wouldn't interfere, Russia declared war on the Ottoman Empire on April 24, 1877.

By late 1877, Russian and Romanian forces were approaching the straits at Istanbul and Austria-Hungary was becoming nervous that Russian influence in the Balkans might overpower Austro-Hungarian influence. Count Andrassy, the foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, went so far as to discuss the possibility of war with Russia should it refuse more.<sup>5</sup> Russia reassured Austria-Hungary, but talks of Austro-Hungarian mobilization resumed when the Treaty of San Stefano was signed. The treaty was signed in late March 1878, giving Russia land in place of indemnity payments that the Ottoman Empire couldn't afford. Austria-Hungary felt that it was entitled to additional concessions along with Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>6</sup> It's also likely that Austria-Hungary believed that Russia would back out of its agreements, since Austria-Hungary was working with the Porte in April 1878 to gain an invitation from Sultan Abdul Hamid II to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. By June 1878, however, prospects for a European war were disappearing as the Congress of Berlin began to discuss the settlement of the Russo-Turkish War.

The Treaty of Berlin was the most important diplomatic event in the history of Austro-Hungarian-Ottoman relations. Signed a month after the Congress of Berlin began, the Treaty resulted in the emancipation of Montenegro, Serbia, and Romania from the Ottoman Empire, as well as the autonomy of Bulgaria. The Treaty was also credited for avoiding a large-scale European conflict that would have been triggered by an Austro-Hungarian declaration of war against Russia.<sup>7</sup> Ironically, Austria-Hungary profited most from the Treaty. Article XXV awarded Austria-Hungary the right to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the right to build roads and station garrisons in an Ottoman-controlled strip of land between the southern borders of Montenegro and Serbia known as the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, Article XXIX of the Treaty forbade Montenegro from constructing a navy and gave Austria-Hungary the right to police the coast.<sup>9</sup> Austria-Hungary also made a separate secret agreement with Sultan Abdul Hamid II that preserved the Sultan's sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina and labeled the occupation as an interim measure.<sup>10</sup> Although Austria-Hungary's sphere of influence was drastically

strengthened in the Balkans and the Adriatic thanks to the Treaty, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire still shared a common interest in maintaining the status quo in the Balkans. This was made evident in August 1878 when the Austrian ambassador to Istanbul warned the Grand Vizier at the Sublime Porte that the Treaty might provoke instability in the Balkans.<sup>11</sup> Despite this, Austria-Hungary only signed treaties with other European powers for the maintenance of the status quo.

Most of the treaties were that Austria-Hungary signed with other European powers were alliances meant to prevent war in Europe. These included an alliance signed in June 1881 between Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany, along with an alliance treaty between Serbia and Austria. Both treaties had primarily a defensive focus and they had expiration dates of 1884 and 1891 were no renewal to be made.<sup>12</sup> Some articles within the treaty between Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Germany dealt with maintaining the status quo within the Ottoman Empire while the Austro-Serbian alliance treaty was a mutual defense pact between Serbia and Austria-Hungary against other powers with interests in the Balkans, including the Ottoman Empire. Both treaties were initiated a series of treaties that Austria-Hungary made with other powers in an attempt to limit the influence of the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary's place in the Balkans.

Article I of the Treaty between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia stated that if any one of them were to go to war with Turkey, then all three must agree on the results of the war before guaranteeing their neutrality, while their neutrality would be guaranteed by default for any other conflict against any other power.<sup>13</sup> The agreement to maintain neutrality in a conflict with the Ottoman Empire or with another power was important because none of the three powers wanted to risk provoking a larger war like the Russo-Turkish War almost had. Article II of the Treaty stated that any territorial modification to the Ottoman Empire or the Balkans by one of the three powers must be approved by the other two before it would be considered legal.<sup>14</sup> Article III, the last article that dealt with the Ottoman Empire, stated that all three powers recognize the Bosphorus as closed and that, if the Ottoman Empire gave preferential treatment to any power pertaining to the Bosphorus, then the three powers would consider the Treaty of Berlin void in relation to Turkey for having upset the status quo.<sup>15</sup> The imperialist attitude of all three powers was apparent in this treaty. By contrast, the Austro-Serbia alliance treaty of 1881 didn't deal with imperialist ambitions as much, but it still threatened Turkey's suzerainty in the Balkans.

Article II of the Austro-Serbia alliance stated that neither Austria-Hungary or Serbia would tolerate political or religious intrigues that threatened Bosnia, Herzegovina, the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, or Serbia itself.<sup>16</sup> Article II was aimed more at controlling Serbian aspirations to unite with Bosnia and Herzegovina through either political or religious insurgencies. Article V stated that Austria-Hungary and Serbia would observe neutrality towards each other if one of them went to war and Article VII stated that Austria-Hungary would support any expansion south that Serbia desired with the exception of the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar.<sup>17</sup> Article VII was particularly interesting because it effectively encouraged trouble in the Balkans through Serbia at the expense of Turkey. Austria-Hungary wished to build a better relationship with Serbia to expand its influence in the Balkans while simultaneously decreasing Turkey's influence. The Austro-Serbia alliance was extended in

1889, but before that more treaties and agreements were made that further served to entangle Austria-Hungary's policy in the Balkans.

On May 20, 1882, the first treaty of the Triple Alliance between Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy was signed.<sup>18</sup> This treaty was purely defensive, but it, along with the growing colonial and imperial sentiments arising in countries across Europe, set the foundation for the second and third treaties of the Triple Alliance signed in 1887 and 1891. The second treaty of the Triple Alliance was the same as the first and was signed on February 20, 1887.<sup>19</sup> On the same day the treaty was signed, Austria-Hungary and Italy made an agreement that would find itself in all subsequent Triple Alliance treaties. The agreement stated that Italy and Austria-Hungary must use their influence to maintain the status quo in the "Orient".<sup>20</sup> This agreement was the beginning of Austro-Italian intervention in Ottoman domains. Furthermore, the agreement also states that if the maintenance of the status quo in the Balkans or the Ottoman coasts of the Adriatic and Aegean seas became impossible, then Austria-Hungary or Italy could occupy Ottoman or Balkan territory to stabilize the region as long as the other power was compensated.<sup>21</sup> In the same month that the second Treaty of the Triple alliance was signed, Austria-Hungary found itself working with Great Britain to maintain the status quo in the Mediterranean.

The first Mediterranean agreement between Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Great Britain simply stated that, although the powers didn't have the same interests in the Mediterranean, maintaining the status quo in the "Orient" benefits all three powers.<sup>22</sup> The second Mediterranean agreement was signed in December 1887 and further explained the purpose of the agreement.<sup>23</sup> The powers agreed that the independence of the Ottoman Empire was important for the maintenance of the status quo in the Mediterranean region and that if the Ottoman Empire did anything to disturb the status quo, such as allowing Bulgaria to become its own nation, then the three powers would consider themselves justified in occupying Ottoman territory in order to secure their interests.<sup>24</sup> The philosophy that peoples under Ottoman control couldn't nationalize tested in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with a variety of consequences.

On February 9, 1889, a prolongation of the Austro-Serbian alliance was signed.<sup>25</sup> The biggest change was the promise that Austria-Hungary would use its diplomacy to convince the Ottoman Empire to fight with Serbia against Montenegro and that it would interfere militarily if need be.<sup>26</sup> On May 6, 1891, the third treaty of the Triple Alliance was signed and the agreement that Italy and Austria-Hungary came to during the signing of the second treaty of the Triple Alliance became official as article VII of the third treaty.<sup>27</sup>

Despite all the talk of maintaining the status quo in the Balkans and Turkey, Austria-Hungary was once again gaining an appetite for expansion. This was apparent due to an unpublished memorandum written in 1894 by the man behind the Bosnian annexation crisis of 1908, Count Aehrenthal.

Aehrenthal's goal was to negotiate with Russia over the Bosphorus question and Austria-Hungary's desire to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>28</sup> Aehrenthal acted on his desire to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908.<sup>29</sup> In the meantime, Austria-Hungary and other powers still felt that it was important to maintain the status quo. However, the preservation of the status quo began to become difficult after a war between Turkey and Greece broke out in 1897.<sup>30</sup>

Austria-Hungary and Russia both agreed to prevent Serbia and Bulgaria from interfering in this conflict.<sup>31</sup> Bulgarian plans to unite with Macedonia or plans for the division of Macedonia between Christian states in the Balkans while the Ottoman Empire was occupied with fighting Greece didn't come to fruition because of Russia's and Austria-Hungary's desire to maintain stability in the Balkans at the benefit of their own interests.<sup>32</sup> In an attempt to temper the relationship between the Balkan peninsula and the rest of the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary and Russia put pressure on the Sultan to make reforms in the Balkans.<sup>33</sup> The Sultan, however, failed to act, and in consequence the region of Macedonia erupted in unrest until 1902, when the Sultan sent forces to suppress the revolts.<sup>34</sup> The growing unrest in the Balkans was a sign to Austria-Hungary that drastic measures had to be made to retain the status quo, beginning with an agreement with Italy concerning the Ottoman territory of Albania.

On December 20, 1900, a year after the unrest in Macedonia began and three years after the conclusion of the Greco-Turkish war, Austria-Hungary and Italy came to an agreement concerning Albania.<sup>35</sup> Due to the risk of more unrest in the Balkans, Albania was becoming an increasingly important region to imperial circles in both Austria-Hungary and Italy. This was because if another Balkan country took Albania from the Ottoman Empire, then then the status quo of the Adriatic Sea would be disturbed.<sup>36</sup> The agreement between the two powers was to maintain the status quo or, if this became impossible, to advocate for the independence of Albania from the Ottoman Empire to keep it out of the grasp of the Balkan states.<sup>37</sup> Although this agreement seems like an insignificant and predictable move by Austria-Hungary, it had far-reaching consequences for the Balkans. A similar agreement, known as the 1903 Mürzsteg Program, also dramatically affected the state of the Balkans.

The Mürzsteg Program was initiated by a memorandum from Austria-Hungary and Russia sent to the Sultan in February 1903.<sup>38</sup> Austria-Hungary and Russia were concerned that the status quo of the Balkans was threatened by the lack of reform in Macedonia. Both Russia and Austria-Hungary pressured the Sultan with the memorandum to allow foreign officers to manage the forces that were sent to Macedonia, along with allowing civil agents from both countries into Macedonia to make sure that reforms were being made.<sup>39</sup> A year after the implementation of the Mürzsteg Program, Russia and Austria-Hungary came to another agreement concerning the status quo of the Balkans. In October, 1904, Austria-Hungary and Russia agreed to a mutual promise of neutrality.<sup>40</sup> Like earlier treaties that Austria-Hungary made with other powers, this was primarily a defensive treaty in the event of war.<sup>41</sup> However, there was an exception to this rule: neither Russia or Austria-Hungary could take advantage of the instability in the Balkans to expand their empire militarily.<sup>42</sup>

In 1907, the new foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, Count von Aehrenthal, promulgated a foreign policy consisting of territorial expansion, the introduction of pro-Slav reforms, and expansion of the Dual Monarchy's sphere of influence.<sup>43</sup> To achieve these goals, Austria-Hungary began building closer ties with the Sultan in 1907 to help ensure the maintenance of the status quo in the Balkans.<sup>44</sup> In January, 1908, Aehrenthal announced plans to build a railway through the Sanjak of Novi Bazar to link up with the Turkish railways in the Balkans and give Austria-Hungary access to Salonica and by extension the Aegean Sea.<sup>45</sup> Aehrenthal announced in February, 1908 that permission was given by the Sultan to begin the Sanjak of Novi Bazar project.<sup>46</sup>

The February declaration by Aehrenthal sped up revolutionary sentiments that had been brewing in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>47</sup> On July 6, 1908, the Young Turk constitutional movement, also known as the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), revolted.<sup>48</sup> The CUP's goal was to force the Sultan to abdicate, make radical changes in the Empire, and to establish a parliament.<sup>49</sup> The revolution succeeded and on July 24, 1908, the Sultan restored the constitution of 1876.<sup>50</sup> One of the first things on the new regime's agenda was to use its foreign policy to gain as many European allies as possible.

Although the CUP was built upon a foundation of nationalism and anti-Europeanism, it still realized the importance of aligning themselves with as many European powers as possible.<sup>51</sup> To accomplish this, Ahmed Riza, one of the CUP's leaders, set out to visit various European capitals beginning with London in August 1908.<sup>52</sup> After London, Riza went to Paris.<sup>53</sup> While he was there, he got in touch with the German embassy and continued to Berlin in September 1908 where he built a good relationship with the Germans.<sup>54</sup> The CUP was also trying to reach out to the Balkan States and Balkan revolutionary movements.<sup>55</sup> This method of trying to appease multiple powers continued on through the Bosnian annexation crisis in October.<sup>56</sup>

In September 1908, Aehrenthal was beginning to go through with the plan outlined in his 1894 memorandum: the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina through the appeasement of Russia.<sup>57</sup> On September 16, 1908, the Buchlau Conference between Aehrenthal and Alexander Isvolsky, the Russian foreign minister, took place.<sup>58</sup> Both Aehrenthal and Isvolsky agreed on a quid pro quo: Russia would support the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina if Austria-Hungary would support Russian ambitions in the straits.<sup>59</sup> Aehrenthal and Isvolsky also agreed on the return of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar to Turkey,

repealing the rights of European powers to interfere with Turkish affairs, and relinquishing their post office capitulations in Turkey.<sup>60</sup> In October, despite these agreements, circumstances arose that forced Aehrenthal's hand.

After the reinstatement of the constitution in Turkey, Bulgaria wanted to gain their independence from the Ottoman Empire. In September 1908, Marquis Johann von Pallavicini and Marschall von Bieberstein, the ambassadors in Istanbul for Austria-Hungary and Germany, tried to mediate talks between the Sublime Porte and Bulgaria, but the Porte wasn't willing to cede anything to Bulgaria.<sup>61</sup> On October 2, 1908, Great Britain began its attempt to stop Bulgaria from declaring independence and asked Germany, France, Russia, and Austria-Hungary to put pressure on Bulgaria as well.<sup>62</sup> Austria-Hungary was the only country that didn't put any pressure on Bulgaria since they believed that Bulgarian action wasn't imminent.<sup>63</sup> Ironically, the rumor that Austria-Hungary was about to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina was enough to spur the Bulgarian government into declaring independence on October 5, 1908.<sup>64</sup> Only two days later, the Sublime Porte faced another crisis: the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On October 7, 1908, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina and evacuated its troops from the Sanjak of Novi Bazar.<sup>65</sup> The following day, Turkey vehemently protested the annexation, citing it as a violation of the Treaty of Berlin, and began a boycott of all Austro-Hungarian goods.<sup>66</sup> On October 11, 1908, *The Times* reported that Aehrenthal believed that the annexation hadn't contravened the Treaty of Berlin because the Sultans sovereign rights over Bosnia and Herzegovina were never mentioned, but that he believed that the Sanjak of Novi Bazar was still Turkish territory.<sup>67</sup> On October 12, 1908, *The Times* reported that official Austrian publications stated that Austria-Hungary wouldn't move any further south.<sup>68</sup> It also stated that Turks in Istanbul were wearing Kulakhs, a grey hat without a string, instead of fezzes because most fezzes were made in Austria-Hungary.<sup>69</sup> Despite the evident protests in Istanbul, the CUP was still attempting to build close ties with whomever they could, including Austria-Hungary.

On October 27, 1908, Enver Bey, another prominent member of the CUP, met with the Austrian consul at Salonica to try to ease some of the tension that had built up because of the annexation and to seek a way to resolve the annexation crisis.<sup>70</sup> The CUP was interested in cultivating a relationship with Austria-Hungary because of the support that it could lend them in the Balkans if need be. However, Turkey was still playing both sides, as on October 24 Ahmed Riza asked Britain and France to find a way to give Turkey compensation for Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, by November Austria-Hungary was forced to promise compensation for the annexation in order to end the boycott on Austrian goods.<sup>72</sup> Compensation for the annexation was granted in 1909.

In January 1909, Pallavicini offered the Porte £2,200,000 as an indemnity.<sup>73</sup> Following the payment, Austria-Hungary and Turkey came to an agreement about more concessions on both sides. On February 26, 1909, Austria-Hungary stated that Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina had equal rights to the rest of the country, that they will still be able to pray and announce prayer, and that they would still answer to the religious establishment and the Sultan on religious matters.<sup>74</sup> Austria-Hungary also renounced its rights to the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar, promised to back Turkey if it attempts to abolish British and French economic capitulations in the empire, and promised to pay 10%-15% tariff rates as long as other powers

would have to as well.<sup>75</sup> In return, the Ottoman Empire stated that they would buy resources from Austria-Hungary.<sup>76</sup> The concessions improved trade between Austria-Hungary and Turkey. For example, by 1912, Austria-Hungary had the third highest tonnage of shipping in Ottoman ports.<sup>77</sup> Austria-Hungary also benefitted from a large trade deficit with the Ottoman Empire. In Baghdad in 1909-1913, for instance, the value of exports that went to Austria-Hungary only increased by £7,010 (from £13,684 in 1909) while the value of imports from Austria-Hungary increased by £166,568 British pounds (from £97,666 in 1909).<sup>78</sup> The status quo in the near east was secured until yet another crisis in the Balkans began in 1912: the Balkan Wars.

Austria-Hungary seems to have been the first to sense another crisis in the Balkans. On August 14, 1912, Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, advised the Great Powers to strengthen the Ottoman Empire, decentralize the Macedonian government, and maintain stability in the Balkans.<sup>79</sup> Despite the Great Power's agreement with Austria-Hungary, the Balkan powers of Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece still had a vested interest in getting Turkey out of Europe, specifically out of Macedonia, and they all declared war on the Ottoman Empire in October, 1912.<sup>80</sup> The outbreak of this war evidently triggered a renewal of the Triple Alliance Treaty two years early on December 5, 1912.<sup>81</sup> Beginning in January, 1913, Turkey was overwhelmed by the war and had to attend the London Peace Conference.<sup>82</sup> As a result of Turkey joining the conference, Kiamil Pasha, the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, was deposed and his war minister was killed during a coup orchestrated by Enver Bey and other Turks who didn't want the Ottoman Empire to lose footing in the Balkans.<sup>83</sup>

The Treaty of London, signed on May 30, 1913, didn't end tensions in the Balkans.<sup>84</sup> This was due in part by a decision by Austria-Hungary and Italy: the formation of Albania with a provisional government headed by a German prince, William of Wied.<sup>85</sup> Serbia claimed the territory, but Italy and Austria-Hungary couldn't allow the status quo of the Adriatic Sea to be disturbed.<sup>86</sup> This caused Serbia, backed by Greece, to demand land from Bulgaria as compensation. When Bulgaria refused in June, 1913, war again broke out.<sup>87</sup> The war only lasted a month, but in this time Bulgaria lost most of its new territory and the Turks, under the leadership of Enver Bey, were able to reclaim Adrianople and some of Europe while the rest of the Balkan states grew.<sup>88</sup>

In January 1914, Enver Pasha (formally Enver Bey) was promoted to the minister of war, a move that both the new Sultan, Mehmet V, and the Austrian ambassador to Istanbul, Pallavicini, found disturbing. Mehmet V thought that Enver Pasha was too young to hold the posi-

tion of minister of war while Pallavicini was concerned about Enver's aspirations to expand the Ottoman Empire back into the Balkans.<sup>89</sup> The appointment of Enver Pasha, a proud Turkish nationalist and expansionist, affected both Austro-Hungarian and German diplomacy in Turkey for the duration of the war. Pallavicini was also particularly worried about Ottoman influence in Albania because, if the Ottoman Empire retook it, then Austrian hopes for constructing a naval base there would be shattered and the new status quo of the Adriatic would be disturbed.<sup>90</sup> Unbeknownst to Pallavicini, however, the Turks had an officer roaming throughout Albania distributing weapons and explosives for a revolt in favor of Essad Pasha, an Ottoman-Albanian officer.<sup>91</sup> When Pallavicini learned of this, he was infuriated and went so far as to demand that the CUP step down from government.<sup>92</sup> Despite Pallavicini's mistrust of the, in a few short months Austria-Hungary asked Turkey to join an alliance with Germany to fight the other great European powers.

The Turkish government didn't pay any respects to Archduke Franz Ferdinand.<sup>93</sup> Despite this slight, Enver Pasha considered joining the Central Powers because of the prestige the alliance would lend to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>94</sup> Austria-Hungary proposed allowing the Ottoman Empire into the Triple Alliance in mid-July 1914, but Germany considered Turkey to be a worthless ally.<sup>95</sup> The majority of the CUP was also concerned about the costs of the war.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, Austria-Hungary and Germany had to find a way to entice Turkey into the war if they wanted any chance of victory.

When William of Wied was overthrown by pro-Turkish insurrectionists in Albania and replaced with Essad Pasha, Austria-Hungary chose to appease the revolutionaries.<sup>97</sup> Since Austria-Hungary was at war and was trying to get the Ottoman Empire on their side, Pallavicini advised his government not to interfere.<sup>98</sup> Talaat Pasha, the Ottoman Empire's Minister of Interior, stated that both German and Austro-Hungarian ambassadors constantly tried to "trick" Turkey into entering the war.<sup>99</sup> According to Talaat, a German admiral in charge of some Turkish ships in the Black Sea bombarded Russian ships and some Russian towns in late October 1914.<sup>100</sup> Although the Sublime Porte and Talaat Pasha were still cautious about entering the war, they felt like they had to go to war to keep what they felt was their only ally, Germany, and because there were reports of Russian forces building up on the Caucasian border.<sup>101</sup>

After the sealing of the alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary, Enver Pasha's confidence skyrocketed.<sup>102</sup> Since the Germans were initially reluctant about forming a military alliance with Turkey, the relationship with Austria-Hungary improved.<sup>103</sup> Despite this, Enver Pasha's vanity made it difficult for Austria-Hungary to

work with Turkey during the war. General Liman von Sanders, a German general in the Ottoman army, wanted Turkey to move into the Black Sea and attack Odessa.<sup>104</sup> Conrad von Hötzendorf, a field marshal for Austria-Hungary, agreed with the Germans and also thought that the Ottoman army should invade Serbia from the south.<sup>105</sup> However, Enver didn't agree with Hötzendorf or von Liman and instead offered to place mines at the mouth of the Danube River to keep the Russians out.<sup>106</sup> When Pallavicini complained that this wouldn't be enough to reduce Russian pressure on Austria-Hungary, Enver Pasha stated that he fought for the Sultan and not for Franz Joseph.<sup>107</sup> The CUP wanted to focus on taking Egypt, but this campaign failed in January, 1915.<sup>108</sup>

Three months after this defeat, Turkey prevailed at Gallipoli. According to Henry Morgenthau, the victory sparked a surge of Turkish nationalism.<sup>109</sup> This encouraged the CUP to lie about their allies in Turkish newspapers.<sup>110</sup> In Spring, 1915, Pallavicini was arrested on the false charge that he had been smuggling Armenian revolutionaries, but he was quickly released.<sup>111</sup>

Beginning in April 1915 with the Van uprising, the Armenian Genocide bred more contention between Turkey and its allies Austria-Hungary and Germany.<sup>112</sup> Although the Germans were passionately opposed to the Armenian Genocide, the Austrians didn't want to lose Turkey as their ally and, therefore, did not protest as much as the Germans did.<sup>113</sup> Despite their lack of protest, it was still clear that Austro-Hungarian diplomats in the Ottoman Empire were shocked by the genocide. On September 30, 1915, for example, Pallavicini's deputy ambassador spoke to Talaat Pasha about the Armenian Genocide and stated that Talaat Pasha proudly told him that there were no more Armenians in Erzurum.<sup>114</sup> The deputy ambassador then lamented of the horrors that the Armenians were going through and that their extinction was imminent.<sup>115</sup> The horrors of the Armenian Genocide made Germany question its alliance with the Ottoman Empire. Austria-Hungary, on the other hand, still desperately needed to keep Turkey in the war and continued to maintain good relations.

Despite Austria-Hungary's attempts to build a good relationship with the CUP, by early 1916 the Turks within the Empire were beginning to resent both German and Austro-Hungarian influence.<sup>116</sup> The Turks reacted to this influence by arresting Christians and Jews with ties to Germany or Austria-Hungary.<sup>117</sup> In Baghdad, Turks destroyed Austro-Hungarian shops partially in retaliation to the shopkeepers who refused to learn the Ottoman-Turkish language.<sup>118</sup> Conversely, Austria-Hungary in particular had a good relationship with Turks in Istanbul. This was due to a multitude of public relations projects, including displaying Austro-Hungarian artillery on street corners and in parades.<sup>119</sup> Austria-Hungary gave children wooden models of Austro-Hungarian artillery during parades.<sup>120</sup> Austria-Hungary also invested in public projects for Istanbul, including a health clinic that became very popular among the urban Turks of Istanbul.<sup>121</sup> Although Austria-Hungary had invested heavily in the Ottoman Empire, both Austria-Hungary and Germany wanted to eliminate Turkey from the war as a drain on resources and because Talaat Pasha and Enver Pasha were too stubborn to coordinate their operations with their allies.<sup>122</sup>

In February 1916, the CUP began attempting to play Austria-Hungary off against Germany. This was done through a number of concessions, including oil in Syria, that the



A photograph of Charles I of Austria from 1913.  
"Credit: Kohn Brothers. Erzherzog Karl Franz Josef [Emperor Karl Franz Josef].  
(Hardford, C.T.: Trinity College, Watkinson Library),  
[https://library-artstor-org.aurialibrary.idm.oclc.org/asset/SS35428\\_35428\\_21622078](https://library-artstor-org.aurialibrary.idm.oclc.org/asset/SS35428_35428_21622078)

Porte made to Austria-Hungary in an attempt to buy more of its friendship.<sup>123</sup> Pallavicini was also told by a CUP official that Austria-Hungary could annex Albania if it chose to and that it would be better off under the Dual Monarchy's control.<sup>124</sup> Later that year, the Ottoman Empire asked both Germany and Austria-Hungary to abolish the Treaty of Berlin, the Treaty of Paris (1856), and the Treaty of London (1871). Although both Germany and Austria-Hungary refused to do this, the foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, Stephen Burian, still wanted to use the treaties as leverage to establish a protectorate over Albanian Catholics.<sup>125</sup>

On November 21, 1916, Emperor Franz Joseph died and was replaced by I, who proceeded to reshuffle the Austro-Hungarian government.<sup>126</sup> Charles I was fonder of his Turkish allies than his disrespectful German ones.<sup>127</sup> After the ascension of Charles I, commerce and trade with the Ottoman Empire increased dramatically and, as a consequence, Austria-Hungary's relationship with the Ottoman Empire improved.<sup>128</sup> Charles I also wanted to build a good relationship with the Ottoman Empire because they both wished to exit the war.<sup>129</sup>

To do so, the CUP began drastically reducing funds to the military and Enver Pasha in an attempt to force him out of office and initiate peace talks with France and Great Britain.<sup>130</sup> As late as July and August of 1917, Austria-Hungary was still investing in the Ottoman Empire through the establishment of agricultural, biological, and medical institutes.<sup>131</sup> At the same time, the Austrians worked to trigger food riots in Istanbul to force Talaat Pasha out of office.<sup>132</sup> By the summer of 1918, however, neither Talaat Pasha nor Enver Pasha had been forced out of office and one final blunder took place under their command.

The republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan seemed like an easy target to these leaders.<sup>133</sup> Both Germany and Austria-Hungary rejected an invasion of the Transcaucasian republics as a horrible idea, but Enver Pasha transferred supplies and manpower from the Palestinian front to the Caucasus's border anyways.<sup>134</sup> This sufficiently weakened the Palestinian front and allowed Entente forces to advance towards Anatolia. This crisis was exacerbated by another crisis on September 29, 1918: the surrender of Bulgaria to the Entente.<sup>135</sup>

In October 1918, Talaat Pasha was replaced by Izzet Pasha and the previous imperial squabbling that had taken place four years ago over Albania resumed when Izzet accused Pallavicini of wanting to exclude Turkey from Albania completely. However, these imperialist arguments didn't last much longer, as on October 30, 1918, Izzet Pasha was forced to sue Britain for peace.<sup>136</sup> Most of the Austro-Hungarian and German officials in Istanbul left before the Mudros armistice was signed on October 30, but Pallavicini stayed until November 30, 1918.<sup>137</sup> Dr. Gaston Bodart, an Austro-Hungarian observer in the Ottoman Empire, described the final battles of the war in the Middle East as devastating to the Central Powers.<sup>138</sup>

Between the Russo-Turkish War up until the end of the First World War, Austria-Hungary aimed to control the Ottoman Empire. Despite this focus on maintaining the stability of the Balkans, there's irony in the fact that the First World War not only changed the status quo in the region but eliminated the Habsburg Empire forever.



# NOTES

## A Lady by Footlight

### Female Impersonation in Nineteenth-Century Denver

Teddy Scott

1. This occurred during the same year as Wilde's infamous Cleveland Street Scandal, therefore the comparison between Gilligan and Wilde was meant to have homosexual connotations.
2. "A Queer Case, This," (Denver, *Evening Post*, 25 Apr. 1895); "Sentence Day." (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 June 1896); "Amusements." (Denver, *Evening Post*, 3 Dec. 1895).
3. The term "legitimate" when referring to a type of theater means that the production featured one or two full-length plays or operettas rather than the more mixed media selection found at vaudeville and minstrel shows.
4. J. Stanley Lemons, "Black Stereotypes as Reflected in Popular Culture, 1880-1920," *American Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1977): 102-107; Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 31-32 & 98.
5. "Multiple Classified Advertisements." (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 June 1882); "Multiple Classified Advertisements." (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 June 1886); "Elitch Gardens." *Rocky Mountain News* [Denver, Colorado] 28 June 1891. The subject of transgendered identity certainly could have been an element in many of these cases, and likely was a prominent component. However, the perspectives and vocabulary of the era leaves a great deal to speculation, especially when exploring the differences between sexual identity, gender identity, and sheer circumstance. I will not be exploring the likelihood that any given case was a genuine example of homosexuality or transgendered identity because without further specialized research, I cannot adequately do justice to what would doubtlessly be an expansive scholarly undertaking. Aside from contextual reference, I also will not thoroughly explore the subject of male impersonation, because while this shares many commonalities with female impersonation during the era, the circumstances, experiences, and cultural reactions were markedly different and deserve further scholarly consideration. For further reading regarding Transgender Studies: Susan Stryker, *Transgender History*, (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008); Heidi M. Levitt and Maria R. Ippolito, "Being Transgender: The Experience of Transgender Identity Development," (*Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 21, 2014), 1727-1758; For further reading regarding male impersonation: Peter Boag, *Re-dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011); Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Laurence Senelick, "The Evolution of the Male Impersonator on the Nineteenth-Century Popular Stage" (*Essays in Theatre*, 1, 1982) 30-44.
6. Terry Mangan, "The Gay West," (Denver, Unpublished Article at the Colorado Historical Society, 1979), 2-3; George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 47-62; Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 11-12; Peter Boag, *Re-dressing America's Frontier Past*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), 15.

7. The “fourth wall” is a theater term for the side of the stage that is open to the audience. While actual walls could be constructed on three sides of the stage, the fourth wall was figurative, thus allowing the audience to view the actors on stage.
8. The fact that these concert saloons primarily operated at night also contributed to the exclusion of “respectable” female patronage. “Respectable” refers to status quo of public comportment for middle and upper-class women during the nineteenth-century; Richard Butsch, “Bowery B’hoys and Matinee Ladies: The Re-Gendering of Nineteenth-Century American Theater Audiences,” (*American Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 3, Sep., 1994), 378-380; M. Alison Kibler, *Rank Ladies: Gender and Cultural Hierarchy in American Vaudeville* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 87.
9. Busche, “Bowery B’hoys,” 383.
10. The ideal middle-class woman was socially required to be the “moral compass” of the family, therefore a symbol of American morality. Theatrical performances needed to reflect such themes.; Busch, “Bowery B’hoys,” 389.
11. Butsche, “Bowery B’hoys,” 378-383; Melvin Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights* (Denver, Colorado: The Old West Publishing Company, 1941), 56-58.
12. I use the term “actor” to include both female and male performers.
13. Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 87-88.
14. Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 8-9; Lemons, J. Stanley, “Black Stereotypes as Reflected in Popular Culture, 1880-1920,” (*American Quarterly* 29, no. 1, 1977), 102-106.
15. For the sake of context, the racial boundary that I refer to is the allowance of black actors to perform on stage alongside white actors, and to predominantly white audiences. The racial boundary violated by white performers impersonating black slaves, rooted in institutionalized racism is a different discussion that deserves its own scholarship.
16. “Amusements,” (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 May 1897); “Coming Amusements,” (Denver, *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, 3 Sept. 1878); “Amusements,” (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 20 Apr. 1892).
17. “Theatrical World,” (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 May 1897).
18. “The Plays Players,” (Denver, *Evening Post*, 6 May 1897).
19. Among all the mentions that I have read reviewing the performances of female impersonators, few mention their dancing skills, and none have as many praises as Leroy Bland. “The World of Players,” (Denver, *Evening Post*, 3 May 1897); “Amusements,” (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 May 1897); “At the Theaters,” (Denver, *Evening Post*, 1 May 1897).
20. Clare Sears used the term “problem bodies” in her book to label the populations who were considered too disreputable or unsightly to share public spaces with normative society. These included prostitutes, cross-dressers, physically deformed people, Chinese immigrants, African Americans, and others.
21. Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 8.
22. “Multiple Classified Advertisements,” (Denver, *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, 16 June 1876).
23. “Multiple Classified Advertisements,” (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 May 1881); “Multiple Classified Advertisements,” (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 June 1882).
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26. "The World of Players," (Denver, *Evening Post*, 3 May 1897); "Amusements," (Denver, *Evening Post*, 3 Dec. 1895); "Amusements," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 20 Apr. 1892); "Amusements," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 Mar. 1892).
27. Thomas J. Noel, *The City and the Saloon: Denver, 1858-1916* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1996), 31-32.
28. Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights*, 30-31; "Local Matters," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, Feb 12, 1863).
29. I demarcate Denver's frontier period as ending with the arrival of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, therefore in 1870.
30. "Local Items," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 Sep. 1859); I am using Byers' announcement of the very first theater company to arrive in Denver as a general example of his support, which can be seen in nearly every theatrical announcement during this period.
31. Alf Wyman was the first person was billed as a "female impersonator" in 1876; "Multiple Classified Advertisements," (Denver, *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, 16 June 1876); Henry Miles, *Orpheus in the Wilderness: A History of Music in Denver, 1860-1925* (Denver, Colorado Historical Society, 2006), 204-205; Schoberlin, *From Candles*, 261.
32. In all fairness, Jeanette Langrishe deserves to be called the "Mother of Colorado Theater," but mid 20<sup>th</sup>-century sources tend to mostly discuss her in relation to her husband; Alice Cochran, "Jack Langrishe and the Theater on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier," (Houston, Texas: MA thesis, Rice University, 1968).
33. Margaret and Charles Lauterbach, *Comedian of the Frontier: The Life of Actor/Manager Jack Langrishe, 1825-1895, Kindle Edition* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2016), 178; Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights*, 50-53.
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35. Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights*, 19-31.
36. Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights*, 13-15.
37. "Local Matters," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 Jan. 1861); "Local Matters," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 8 Oct. 1860); "The Montana," (Central City, *Tri-weekly Miner's Register*, 14 Apr. 1863).
38. "Amusements," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 20 March 1866).
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40. Lauterbach, *Comedian of the Frontier*, 94.
41. Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights*, 10-22.
42. Oscar G. Brockett, *Century of Innovation: A History of European and American Theatre and Drama Since the Late Nineteenth Century* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973).
43. "The Amateur Performance," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 Feb. 1861); "Local Matters," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 5 Feb. 1861).

44. I can assume that the two women listed in the reviews were not prostitutes because it would disqualify the attendance of respectable ladies at the performance. I assume as well that these two women were not career-actors because it was a self-professed amateur production.
45. Even though the Langrishes remained an instrumental part of Denver's theatre development until 1885, they spent much of their time touring the region after 1870; Schoberlin, *From Candles to Footlights*, 210-241; Denver's population went from 4,759 in 1870, to 107,000 by 1890, to more than 133,000 by 1900. Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, "History of Denver," updated 19 Oct. 2019, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Denver#cite\\_note-22](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Denver#cite_note-22).
46. "Personating a Woman," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 July 1883).
47. "Female Impersonator Evans," (Denver, *Evening Post*, 3 Jan. 1898); "Masculines in Petticoats," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 March 1886).
48. While I found six different examples of amateur female impersonation in and around Denver during the nineteenth century, all of them were lower or working-class individuals.
49. "In Female Attire," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 July 1883); "Personating a Woman," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 July 1883).
50. "Personating a Woman," (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 July 1883).
51. "A Queer Case, This," (Denver, *Evening Post*, 25 Apr. 1895).
52. "Sentence Day." (Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 June 1896). While the penalty for public female impersonation appeared to be a \$25 fine, Gilligan was sentenced to eighteen months in the penitentiary for burglary and forgery.
53. While the homosexual-heterosexual binary was not strictly defined well into the 20th century, I am referring to the substantive evidence that Joe Gilligan potentially engaged in romantic or sexual relationships with other men. This does not take into account the possibility of Gilligan having a transgendered identity; such a speculation would require further scholarship and examination which is beyond the scope of this paper.
54. "Female Impersonator Evans," (Denver, *Evening Post*, 3 Jan. 1898).
55. Noel describes Denver's Red-Light District during the period as being located between Nineteenth and Twenty-third Streets along Holladay (now Market) Street; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Denver, Denver County, Colorado*. Sanborn Map Company, 1887. Map. [https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn00985\\_001/](https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn00985_001/); Thomas Noel, *The City and the Saloon*, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 87.
56. Mangan, "The Gay West," 21-25; "City and Vicinity," (Denver, *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, 28 Apr. 1877).
57. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 33-46.
58. William N. Eskridge, Jr., *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America, 1861-2003* (New York: Viking, 2008), 28; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 55-61.
59. When I refer to a lewd situation backstage, I am referencing the unpolished surroundings, intersection with manual labor, and the frequent occasion when actors were forced to change costumes directly in the wings because a lack of time to return to their gender-appropriated dressing rooms.
60. Kibler, *Rank Ladies*, 8.

## Art Deco, Exotic Revivalism, and Modernism in Denver's Fantasy Theaters

Mark Alexander Ortiz

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4. Noel and Norgren, 125.
5. "The Terra Cotta of the Mayan Theater," *The Masonry of Denver: Chronicling the Masonry of the Mile High City and Its Environs*, 1-4. [www.masonryofdenver.com/tag/montana-s-fallis](http://www.masonryofdenver.com/tag/montana-s-fallis).
6. "The Terra Cotta of the Mayan Theater."
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13. Thomas J. Noel and Nicholas J. Wharton, *Denver's Landmarks & Historic Districts* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2016), 138.
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22. Noel and Norgren, 198.

23. Noel and Norgren, 130.
24. East Colfax Avenue – Denver Public Library (DPL), Western History Resources.
25. Comments about Aladdin Theatre in Denver, CO – Cinema Treasures, 1-3. <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/19047/comments>.
26. Comments about Aladdin Theatre in Denver.
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28. Comments about Aladdin Theatre in Denver. Specific comment written by Rich Vincent, May 27, 2012.
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For the Cattleman and the City Person Alike

Kayla Hladky

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## "Bless 'Em:"

### The Forgotten WACs of Colorado's Camp Hale

Brittany Huner

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## Ancient Monarchies in a New Age:

### Austria-Hungary's Complicated Relationship with the Ottoman Empire

Brandon Stanley

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## The National Western Stock Show:

For the Cattleman and the City Person Alike

Kayla Hladky

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## “Bless ‘Em:”

The Forgotten WACs of Colorado's Camp Hale

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