THE JEWS OF CAPITOL HILL
By Phil Goodstein

EDITOR'S NOTE: Phil Goodstein is a native Denverite and professionally trained historian (Ph. D. from the University of Colorado at Boulder) who has chosen to turn his talents to the writing of "neighborhood histories." Goodstein defines "neighborhood history" as "historical portraits of residential areas which focus on individuals and institutions and their impact on the general development of Denver." He has published Denver's Capitol Hill (Denver Life Publications, 1988) and South Denver Saga (Denver New Social Publications, 1991) as exemplars of this genre. At the moment, Goodstein is at work on Exploring Jewish Colorado which will be released in Spring 1992.

This essay on "The Jews of Capitol Hill" traces the presence of several central Jewish institutions in the Capitol Hill location of Denver from the early twentieth century to the 1930s. Goodstein's article not only describes the establishment of synagogues and social organizations in the area, but traces some of the factors which led to a Jewish clustering in the neighborhood. Most significant, apparently, was the upward mobility of important segments of Denver's Jewry whose choice of Capitol Hill as a desirable residential area drew Jewish institutions after them. But, as Goodstein points out, anti-Semitism and the pollution of central Denver's air also played a role. What emerges from this exploration of one neighborhood of Jewish Denver is a realization that the history of even a portion of the city cannot be divorced from the whole and that the history of Denver itself must be placed within the larger context of the history of the nation.

Denver's oldest and best known kosher butcher shop, Meyer's Meat Market, is located at a seemingly incongruous site at 3211 East Colfax on Capitol Hill. There it is a survivor, a vestige of the day when Denver's Capitol Hill neighborhood was a major Jewish enclave. Near Meyer's were kosher delicatessens, synagogues, Jewish social and service clubs, National Jewish Hospital, and the forerunner of the Jewish Community Center of Denver.

"I definitely want them," Belle Marcus explained of her desire to acquire old East High School yearbooks when she was first gathering the materials for the Ira M. Beck Memorial Archives of the Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society in the 1970s. "There are many Jewish students in them," she explained. Her comments were indicative of how members of the Jewish faith influenced all aspects of life on Capitol Hill during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century. Only in the 1960s, when the Jewish Community Center moved to its current location at Alameda and Dahlia and the BMH relocated to South Monaco, did the Jewish presence in Denver's most historic neighborhood notably decline.

Capitol Hill is the section of Denver near and east of the Colorado Capitol building. Broadly defined, it encompasses the land from Broadway to Colorado Boulevard, 20th Avenue and City Park on the north, and Cherry Creek and First Avenue on the south. While it originally emerged as the elite residential section of Denver in the 1880s, by the turn of the century Capitol Hill had become the most diverse area. Particularly during the years when a heavy Jewish population was one of the keynotes, Capitol Hill was filled with apartment houses and single family residences, numerous small stores, and a variety of people and institutions. Given both the evolution of the neighborhood and the dynamics of
the Jewish population in Denver, it was only natural that Capitol Hill came to stand out as a center of the Jewish experience in the Queen City of the Mountain and Plain.

Capitol Hill's first Jewish settlers represented the neighborhood's extremely uneasy initial evolution. In 1858, what is today Cheesman Park was staked out as the Mount Prospect Cemetery--Denver's first burial grounds. Generally, it was a Protestant cemetery, leading Catholics to acquire the land which is today the Denver Botanic Gardens as their Mount Calvary Cemetery. Jewish residents, in turn, obtained the land east of York Street between Ninth and Eleventh avenues as the ten-acre Hebrew Cemetery. Only in the 1920s were the bodies moved from there to a special section of Fairmount Cemetery, known as Emanuel Cemetery. Some workers who were part of the effort subsequently to cut Josephine Street through between Eighth and Eleventh avenues insist that not all the bodies were moved.  

While burials still continued in the Hebrew Cemetery in the 1880s, Denver was suffering badly from air pollution. Despite Denver's early boasts of its pristine climate with air that was "an elixir to the breath and velvet to the cheek," nineteenth-century Denver suffered from the brown cloud. The coal-fired furnaces, the many factories and smelters in town, and the city's unpaved streets created an extremely dusty atmosphere where those who could get away from it by moving up a hill did so. Precisely the effort to escape the brown cloud of the day was responsible for the location of Capitol Hill's first Jewish institution, National Jewish Hospital.

When members of the city's Jewish community became concerned about the numerous poverty-stricken consumptives who were wandering the streets in the nineteenth century, they realized that the establishment of a sanatorium required a site well isolated from the grime and pollution of central Denver. By the time the forerunner of National Jewish Hospital, the Jewish Hospital Association, was organized in 1890, land considerably to the east of Capitol Hill, near Colfax and Monaco, had been staked as the exclusive Montclair (the "clear mountain") development. In between, near Colfax and Jackson, the Jewish Hospital Association acquired property for a sanatorium catering to poor consumptives.

Among those pushing the establishment of this institution was Frances Weisbart Jacobs (1843-1892), Denver's "Mother of Charities." She and many other members of the established Denver Jewish community were deeply disturbed by the influx of numerous East European Jewish consumptives in the 1880s. Opposed by the city's first Jews, who were mostly of German Reform backgrounds and who sought to integrate themselves into Denver's customs and character, many of the East European Jews who then came to the city suffering from tuberculosis were Orthodox and brought with them habits from the old country.

During this time, Denver's view of consumptives was changing. Originally the city had boasted of the marvelous character of its climate, making Denver the ideal place where affluent victims of tuberculosis could recover from that disease. By the late 1880s, as Denver emerged as a mecca for "lungers," as those suffering from TB were known, many in Denver started to give a cold shoulder to the plight of poor consumptives.

To keep members of the Jewish community from being stigmatized by the visible presence of East European Jewish consumptives who brought supposedly "uncivilized" habits with them from the old country, supporters of the Jewish Hospital Association aimed to open a sanatorium where Denver's Jews would take care of their own. Not only was the hospital to cure poor consumptives of TB, but it was also to reform their alleged religious superstitions as cured patients were to leave the hospital as healthy, well-rounded Americans.

Though the cornerstone of what was originally named the Frances Jacobs Memorial Hospital was laid in 1892, its opening was considerably delayed by the Panic of 1893. The economic crash of that year left the hospital without operating funds. Only in 1899, with the assistance of national Jewish organizations, particularly the B'nai B'rith, did the institution, now known as the National Jewish Hospital for
Consumptives, finally opens its doors. By the time it did so—helping attract Jewish residence to the eastern sections of Capitol Hill—the neighborhood had its first synagogue, Temple Emanuel, at the southwest corner of 16th and Pearl.6

Temple Emanuel was established in October 1874, and its first synagogue was built in 1875 at 19th and Curtis. Many Jews had then settled near Curtis Park at 32nd and Curtis and in old East Denver (i.e., close to the original East High School which was located on the block between 19th, 20th, California, and Stout). Growth required Temple Emanuel to move to a larger building at 2400 Curtis in 1881. When that structure was badly damaged by fire on November 5, 1897, Temple Emanuel considered all its options.

In view of Capitol Hill's growing reputation by the 1890s as the city's most distinguished residential district, many of the Temple's members had already moved to Capitol Hill prior to the fire. They led the effort to see that Temple Emanuel joined many of the city's other distinguished religious structures on Capitol Hill.

During the late nineteenth century and well into the 1920s, the story was the same with many of the city's major religious bodies. After uneasy starts in other parts of the city, especially in old East Denver and what is today downtown, they decided they needed new distinguished homes on Capitol Hill. These churches frequently hired nationally-prominent architects to design their new homes. Gothic and Romanesque structures particularly dominate such surviving churches as the Episcopal St. John's in the Wilderness at 14th and Washington, the Catholic Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception at Colfax and Logan, and Central Presbyterian Church at 17th and Sherman.7

Temple Emanuel wished to be second to none in designing its new home. After acquiring three lots at the southwest corner of 16th and Pearl for $7,750 in June 1898, it hired architects John H. Humphreys and Thielman Robert Wieger to build a synagogue with a Moorish/Oriental theme.8 The structure cost $26,500 exclusive of the stained glass, wiring and decorations.

Old Temple Emanuel 16th and Pearl St.

Upon its dedication in January 1899, Temple Emanuel was hailed as one of the most beautiful and unique religious structures in Denver. Potted plants and a row of incandescent lamps added to its eastern allure. To note that the Reform Temple Emanuel had not completely broken with the Orthodox custom of segregating men and women in the sanctuary, there was a special entrance for women only to the sanctuary's balcony. The presence of Temple Emanuel on Capitol Hill, in turn, drew many Jews to the neighborhood.

Not all of the Jews who moved to Capitol Hill at this time were affluent. By the turn of the century, Capitol Hill had come to be filled with many apartment houses and simple duplexes and single family homes. Indeed, members of the city's self-confessed "Smart Set" so bemoaned this that many of them moved further east and south away from Colfax and the Capitol to the new Quality Hill, Morgan's Addition and Country Club areas.9

Still, settling on Capitol Hill was a sign of success for many Jews. Rarely did immigrants
directly locate there. Often they had lived in a number of different sections of town before mov-
ing to Capitol Hill. A stopping-off point was frequently the Curtis Park/old East Denver Neighborhood which more affluent Jews were then abandoning. This was particularly seen in the fate of the former Temple Emanuel at 24th and Curtis. When Temple Emanuel transferred its operations to Capitol Hill, the 2400 Curtis structure was sold to the recently formed BMH.10

The story of the Beth HaMedrosh Hagadol (BMH—the Big House of Study) of Denver embodies the Orthodox experience on Capitol Hill. The BMH dates to a prayer group which initially gathered at 1449 Larimer Street in July 1897. Opposed to the many small Orthodox congregations which were then emerging in Denver to the west of Cherry Creek and to the north of the Platte River, the BMH sought to create an Orthodox synagogue for the East Side.

The BMH’s relations with Temple Emanuel were strained from the start. When the BMH eyed the badly damaged 24th and Curtis building, it claimed that Temple Emanuel was trying to extort a completely unreasonable price for a structure that needed to be virtually rebuilt. Temple Emanuel, in turn, decried the fact that the BMH wanted the synagogue for next to nothing. This was but one of the rivalries which soon emerged between the two bodies.

Both synagogues took pride in being led by charismatic young rabbis who prominently represented them on the city’s religious scene. In 1889, Temple Emanuel hired William Friedman, a twenty-one-year-old graduate of the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati. He led the congregation for the next forty-nine years and he took a leadership positions in the operations of National Jewish Hospital, the Charity Organization Society (the forerunner of the United Way), and interfaith services and cooperation. His home at 733 East Eighth Avenue was one of Denver’s Jewish landmarks which many long-time members of Temple Emanuel recall visiting during Friedman’s leadership of the congregation.11

The BMH, in turn, employed the twenty-three-year-old Charles E. Hillel Kauvar in 1902. Born in Vilna, but educated in New York City, he was selected as a dynamic young leader for the BMH who would combine the best of European Jewish scholarship and the Jewish community's adaptation to American life. Eventually settling at 1316 Gilpin, Kauvar quickly rivaled Friedman in many ventures, helping found and support the Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society, working with internationally-renowned Denver Juvenile Court justice Ben Linsey on the problem of juvenile delinquents in Denver, and establishing the forerunner of the Judaic Studies program at the University of Denver.12

As the BMH grew under Kauvar’s leadership in the early years of the 20th century, it became increasingly uneasy with its Curtis Park home. Many of its members also had by then moved to Capitol Hill and the congregation was considerably aided by one of its more colorful members, Isadore Rude.13

Rude had come to Denver in 1895, broke and suffering from tuberculosis. He failed at his early job experiences in the Mile High City until he had returned to his original calling as a tailor. One very large customer was particularly condescending to Rude, a short, stocky fellow who was only around five-feet tall. "You'll have to get on a ladder to measure me," his customer reportedly said. Rude took him literally, fetching a stepladder for the occasion. He then printed up business cards showing himself fitting a customer while standing on a ladder, billing himself "The Little Tailor."

This gimmick was a gold mine. Rude soon emerged as one of the most prominent and successful cloth merchants in town and rapidly expanded into other endeavors. Always remembering his early poverty, he gave freely to numerous worthy causes including helping to pay for Rude Park near 14th and Decatur, the National Home for Jewish Children near 20th and Lowell, and Beth Israel Hospital. To get the BMH on Capitol Hill, Rude donated land to the synagogue at the southeast corner of 16th and Gaylord in 1918. He further donated a mansion directly to the east of this property at 1567 York to the BMH which opened the Bessie Rude Community Center in 1919.
Old BMH, 16th and Gaylord

By the time the BMH moved to Capitol Hill in 1921 (its old building was subsequently taken over by the newly-established Beth-Joseph—the Joseph was Joseph Mandel who was Rude's father-in-law), a major Jewish club was near by at the southwest corner of Colfax and Williams, the Progress Club.\(^\text{14}\)

This institution was very much a product of anti-Semitism and the Denver ruling elite’s desire to emulate national trends. Jews played important roles in early Denver businesses and helped establish the Denver Club in 1880. Soon, however, they were excluded from it. In face of this, they resolved they needed a club of their own, leading to the establishment of the Progress Club in May 1885.

The Progress Club soon settled in old East Denver at 2047 Glenarm. It headed to Capitol Hill in the summer of 1912 when it moved into an elaborate building designed by architect Park A. French on Colfax that included a gymnasium, swimming pool, bowling alley, meeting rooms, an auditorium, and a caretaker’s apartment. Though the Progress Club soon flourished on Capitol Hill and was the site for numerous receptions and banquets during the 1910s and 1920s, members were never completely satisfied with it. In addition to being excluded from the Denver Club and the Denver Athletic Club, Jews were also denied membership in the Denver Country Club. Desiring such a facility of their own, members of the Progress Club acquired the estate of Verner Z. Reed Jr. in 1928 where they relocated their operations at Green Gables Country Club. The Capitol Hill structure, in turn, was sold to another prominent Jewish organization in search of a clubhouse of its own.\(^\text{15}\)

The B’nai B’rith had been a vital part of the Denver Jewish community since the nineteenth century. It had pushed for a home of its own which was to serve as a general community center. With the monies acquired for this purpose in the intervening years, and a $25,000 donation from Rude, the B’nai B’rith acquired the Progress Club building for $47,500 in September 1929. Dedicated as the B’nai B’rith-I. Rude Community Building, the B’nai B’rith wanted no nonsense in the structure. It hired a live-in caretaker and prohibited all gambling on the premises.

Members in front of the old Progress Club on Williams Street and Colfax Ave., c.1920's
Despite this interdiction, for years the B'nai B'rith headquarters was one of the main poker spots in Denver. Hidden away in back rooms were stacks upon stacks of poker chips that especially attracted the Jewish card players of Denver. In addition, the building housed day camps, craft classes, swimming, basketball, wrestling and cultural performances. Nor were activities in the structure restricted to Jews. Groups as diverse as the Daughters of the American Revolution, Denver Civic Ballet, and Big Brothers used the hall, since the B'nai B'rith-I. Rude Community Building was precisely that; a community center that served Capitol Hill as a whole, not just members of one religion.

By the end of World War II, the center was suffering from a lack of direction. The B'nai B'rith, after all, was a fraternal organization, not a social or athletic club. In face of this, the Jewish Community Center of Denver took over the building in 1949. It sought to recruit members who would partake in activities at both the Colfax and Williams structure and the Guldman Community Center which had been established in 1932 at 16th and Irving for West Colfax Jews.

Through the 1950s, the old Progress Club building continued to serve as a center for many Jewish activities. But the structure was aging. What had been a modern gym in 1912 was now a pitifully inadequate, undersized facility. Nor was Capitol Hill any longer the notable Jewish neighborhood it had been in the pre-World War II era. Consequently, in 1958, the Jewish Community Center resolved to relocate to Alameda and Dahlia which, it claimed, was the geographic center of Denver Jewry. It moved to the new structure in 1962, abandonning the B'nai B'rith-I. Rude Community Building.

With the Jewish Community Center gone, the Colfax and Williams edifice was virtually a ghost building. Only the B'nai B'rith remained in it, operating a three room office. While that organization at first continued occassionally to use the building for some of its larger functions, soon it was holding them elsewhere and the former community center was put on the market.

Frontier Oil was the purchaser. When it came time for it to demolish the Rude Community Building for a filling station in 1964, the architects and engineers figured they did not need totally to excavate the Progress Club's foundations. Rather, they found the 18 to 40 foot basement swimming pool ideally located to anchor the main gas tank for the service station, leaving behind one remnant of the Jewish presence on Capitol Hill.16

By the time the Jewish Community Center had relocated on Hilltop, so had Temple Emanuel. It had grown so rapidly during its first years on Capitol Hill that, already in 1908, it contemplated moving to a larger structure. By 1920, it eyed a site by the Hebrew Cemetery at the southeast corner of 11th and Josephine and it hired an architect to design its new home there.

This plan collapsed in May 1922. After reviewing the whole matter, Temple Emanuel decided to stick to its 16th and Pearl location, leading to a massive expansion of the existing synagogue in 1924. Temple Emanuel's physical size was virtually doubled when a new wing was added to the south of the original building. The synagogue then boasted of having a capacity for 1,500 worshipers, a fine organ, excellent library, lounge and social room. The enlarged Temple well served the congregation until the end of World War II.17

By the late 1940s, Capitol Hill was drastically being transformed. Since the 1920s, more and more apartments had filled the area. They not only included distinguished new units which were erected during the 1920s and into the 1930s, but also many old single-family houses that were cut up into upwards of a dozen different units. An extremely diverse crowd then started making Capitol Hill home as the northern portion of the neighborhood started to emerge as something of a bohemian section of Denver. Many who longed for a peaceful, family neighborhood, in turn, started to move to the suburbs.18

Among those joining the drift out of Capitol Hill were members of the Jewish community. Many identified their homes on Capitol Hill with the bad memories of the economic hard times of the Great Depression. Postwar Denver as a whole, simultaneously, had come to define old as being bad and new as good whereby developments
ever further from the central city were strongly encouraged by planners, boosters and the city's newspapers.

As many Jews headed to the newly developing Hilltop section of Denver, the president of Temple Emanuel, Philip Milstein, encouraged the congregation to follow them. Together with other leaders of the congregation, in 1952 he personally paid $1,500 as a down payment on an option for the property near First and Grape where Temple Emanuel is located today. Members of Temple Emanuel simultaneously complained about the age of their Capitol Hill building, its massive steps, the limited size of school facility, ever-present parking problems, and lamented that the neighborhood "was run down and surrounded by taverns and other objectionable enterprises."19

Ground for the new temple was broken on June 5, 1955. Temple Emanuel held its last services on Capitol Hill on May 31, 1957. The Pearl Street building was sold to the recently organized First Southern Baptist Church of Denver for $150,000 in September 1957. After the Southern Baptists moved out of the former Temple Emanuel in 1977, the building was acquired by a Holly Roller sect, Lovingway Inner-City United Pentecostal Church. It sold the building to a land speculator in 1981. The latter did not believe that the old synagogue had much to offer the neighborhood and put out demolition bids on it in 1982. A broad-based community drive eventually saved the structure which has been declared a Denver landmark and turned into the Temple Center as a special meeting/performance arts complex.

About the same time that Temple Emanuel was moving from Capitol Hill, the congregation suffered a split. In 1955, members associated with the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism complained that the synagogue's school no longer taught the values of the traditional Reform Judaism of Rabbi Friedman, leading them to create the Denver School for Reform Judaism in July 1955. A year later, in September 1956, they expanded this into the East Denver Hebrew Congregation which quickly took the name Congregation Micah. It initially gathered for services on Capitol Hill in the old Bosworth Mansion that was then the local headquarters of the American Association of University Women at 1400 Josephine. Temple Micah soon thereafter moved into the old First Plymouth Congregational Church at 1400 Lafayette which the First Unitarian Church of Denver had acquired as its headquarters in 1957. The synagogue remained on Capitol Hill until moving to its new quarters at Cedar and Monaco in 1962.20

Nor did all go well with BMH during its years on Capitol Hill. Not just Capitol Hill residents attended the BMH. The entire area north of Capitol Hill included many Jews during the first half of the twentieth century, including many who had settled there before moving to Capitol Hill proper. Rabbi Kauvar, for instance, lived at 2211 High before moving to near Cheesman Park.

In 1911, the BMH suffered a split when some members who lived mostly to the north of Capitol Hill argued that the majority of the

Old Congregation Oheb Zedek, 2222 Marion St.
synagogue was far more interested in their social status than their religious commitment. Dissidents formed their own congregation, Oheb Zedek (Those Who Love Justice). It initially gathered for services at the old El Jebel Shrine Temple at the southeast corner of 18th and Sherman. In 1920, Oheb Zedek was second to the BMH as the largest Denver Orthodox synagogue. But the congregation was unable to survive the Depression. It merged back into the
BMH in 1940, selling its home to a black Methodist church.\textsuperscript{21}

In the meanwhile, the BMH had expanded its operations. It destroyed the mansion at 1567 York, which had been used as its Hebrew School, and laid the cornerstone for the United Hebrew Center at the southwest corner of 16th and York in 1938. Dedicated in February 1943, the $40,000 building was designed as an annex to the synagogue (linked by a tunnel) and was the central Hebrew school of Denver for some years. In 1952, upon Kauvar's golden anniversary as rabbi—and the year during which he retired as active rabbi of the BMH—the United Hebrew Center was renamed the Kauvar Hebrew School.\textsuperscript{22}

After surviving a vicious fire at its 16th and Gaylord building on December 23, 1950, the BMH eventually followed its members to southeast Denver. In 1963, it purchased 6.2 acres at 550 South Monaco and launched a building drive. The Kauvar Hebrew School was abandoned in the mid-1960s and was subsequently occupied by the Denver Public Schools for special education programs. The BMH finally moved out of Capitol Hill in 1969, though the funeral of Rabbi Kauvar was held in the 16th and Gaylord sanctuary in 1971.\textsuperscript{23}

Like Temple Emanuel's Capitol Hill structure, the former BMH building experienced an uneasy fate after being abandoned as a synagogue. For a while, it was the home of the American Indian Center. Then the self-proclaimed fourteen-year-old incarnation of God, the Guru Maharaj Ji, explored getting his hands on it. Hollywood used the structure as the temple of controversial religious leader Aimee Semple McPherson when it shot a television special on her in the late 1970s. By the early 1980s, the former synagogue was causing an uproar when the structure was transformed into the Swallow Hill Community Center, a rock concert hall that caused massive noise, litter and crime problems. In 1983, Harry Tuft of the old Folklore Center, and Sam Brown, an ex-community activist and politician, bought the building. They turned it into "The Events Center." Everything from jazz aerobics to folk music concerts to Denver Free University classes to wedding receptions were held there. Despite the owners' best intentions, things never worked out ideally at the old synagogue. Lack of renovation of the structure, especially of its sanctuary, combined with parking shortages, forced them to sell the structure at a loss in 1987. The old BMH has continued to host exercise classes as well as being the home of St. Cecilia's Parish of the Orthodox Catholic Church of America.\textsuperscript{24}

One very exclusive Jewish organization survived on Capitol Hill until the late 1980s, the Town Club. Despite Jewish high society selecting the Green Gables Country Club as its preferred headquarters, many Jewish businesspeople and professionals long met for a weekly lunch at the Tea Room of the Daniels and Fisher Department Store. After World War II, to obtain more permanent quarters and to have a city-based club to complement the Green Gables Country Club, they helped establish the Town Club. With membership limited to 300, the Town Club obtained the Crawford Hill Mansion at the southwest corner of Tenth and Sherman as its home in 1947. While it frequently opened its quarters to Zionist fund-raising affairs, the Town Club generally kept a low profile. In 1989, a declining membership led it to dissolve and sell the mansion to a law firm.\textsuperscript{25}

Though no large, specifically Jewish organization remain on Capitol Hill, many Jews have continued to call the neighborhood home. Working with other residents, they have endeavored to bring together the best of the area's past and present, being part of a group which helped forge the destiny of this section of Denver.
NOTES

Abbreviations used in the Notes

DP: Denver Post
DPL: Denver Public Library, Western History Department
DT: Denver Times
IJN: Intermountain Jewish News
RMN: Rocky Mountain News

1. Interview with Belle Marcus, October 10, 1978.


5. A particularly biting indictment of Denver’s treatment of poor consumptives is Thomas Galbreath, Chasing the Cure in Colorado (Denver, 1907).

6. Temple Emanuel’s history is treated in its Temple Emanuel: Denver, 75th Anniversary (Denver, 1949); and Hornbein, Temple Emanuel. Also see Ida Libert Uchill, Pioneers, Peddlers, and Tsadikim (Denver, 1957), 73-78; and Allen D. Breck, A Centennial History of the Jews of Colorado, 1859-1959 (Denver, 1960), 32-34, 56-68, 84-87. Edward T. Miller, "One Hundred Years of Brotherhood Activity of Congregation Emanuel," (manuscript at DPL, 1974), also contains material of interest on the evolution of the congregation.

7. Goodstein, Capitol Hill, part five discusses the church buildings and the history of the various religious organizations on Capitol Hill.

8. Thomas J. Noel and Barbara Norgren, Denver: The City Beautiful (Denver, 1987), 166, 206, 222. The Moorish/Oriental style had become traditional for synagogue architecture by the mid nineteenth century. It proclaimed the building a religious structure, but the motifs borrowed from the Middle East visually distinguished the synagogue from Christian churches.


10. A good demographic study of Denver Jewry and a pinpointing of precisely where
major sections of the city’s Jews lived is virtually necessary. The BMH story is covered in Uchill, *Pioneers*, 209, 219-20; and Breck, *Centennial History*, 88-90, 266-69. Also see the following newspaper accounts: DT, July 1, 1897; RMN, October 16, 1919; RMN, September 18, 1921; RMN, October 2, 1921; RMN, August 18, 1928; IJN, October 16, 1936; DP, March 10, 1948; and IJN, March 25, 1948.

11. The William Friedman story is extensively covered in newspaper articles in the clipping file on him at DPL. Also see Hornbein, *Temple Emanuel*, chaps. 6-11; *Dedication of William S. Friedman Building of the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives* (Denver, 1916); and the Friedman Scrapbook in the manuscript collection at DPL.


13. The Isadore Rude story is mostly compiled from newspaper and magazine articles. See in particular: *Municipal Facts*, April-May 1921, p. 5; DP, September 11, 1930; RMN, September 14, 1933; RMN, February 22, 1934; RMN, February 27, 1934; RMN, May 21, 1941; DP, May 21, 1941; IJN, May 23, 1941; and "I.Rude: Prince of Givers," *B’na’i B’rith Magazine*, 44 (November 29, 1937), 59-60.


15. The records of Lodge #171 of the B’nai B’rith are in the Ira M. Beck Archives of the Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society at the University of Denver. They contain minutes on the acquisition and subsequent disposal of the Progress Club Building. Also see Uchill, *Pioneers*, 73-74, 133-39, 228-29, Breck, *Centennial History*, 29-13, 226, 249; and RMN, September 16, 1929.

16. Goodstein, *Capitol Hill*, 117-20; DP, September 19, 1932; DP, March 2, 1949; *Empire Magazine* of the DP, March 31, 1951; DP, August 19, 1958; DP, July 12, 1959; RMN June 6, 1962; DP, June 17, 1962; DP, October 31, 1962. DPL has a collection on the old community centers of Denver that is being processed. I also have relied on personal memories about the B’nai B’rith Building since my father was the secretary of Lodge #171 at the time building was abandoned and sold. Belle Marcus, interview, October 10, 1978, shared her recollections about the building and its backroom gambling activities.


21. Uchill, Pioneers, 220, 229; Breck, Centennial History, 119; IJN, September 14, 1990. Oheb Zedek is the way the congregation transliterated its name; more properly it should be Ohev Tsedek.


25. Uchill, Pioneers, 132-33; IJN, October 9, 1987; IJN, May 12, 1989; Life on Capitol Hill, July 21, 1989; and Historic Denver News, September 1989. The Town Club records have been turned over to the Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society, in part.

The Town Club was located in the old Hill mansion at 769 Sherman St.

National Jewish Hospital Lewisohn chapel, erected 1906.
21. Uchill, *Pioneers*, 220, 229; Breck, *Centennial History*, 119; *IJN*, September 14, 1990. Oheb Zedek is the way the congregation transliterated its name; more properly it should be Ohev Tsedek.


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