
Context and Survey Report

Prepared for the City of Boulder Planning Department and the Boulder Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board by

Michael Paglia
Leonard Segal
Diane Wray

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Boulder, although a small town and relatively isolated from the big city hubs of creative activity, has nevertheless been unusually friendly to modern avant garde design.

The city’s small population provided the impetus for the making of interesting, sophisticated, experimental, even outrageous works of architecture. University faculty were at the forefront, but also the newly arrived professional and business people who made up our clientele. Most of them were young, and so were we. Innocence, some ignorance, and youthful daring moved us to explore the unprecedented.

Modern architecture in Boulder was polymorphous. We had our organic, earthy Wright/Goff school, we had our flat-roof Mesian purists and of course the usual large share of the banal ranch subdivision stylists. Charles Haertling was at the forefront of experimental imaginative invention.

I must confess nostalgia for the old Boulder, the years of its greening, its second pioneer days, when youth prevailed and all was excitement and beauty.

Tician Papachristou
Letter of May 25, 2000
This document defines the historic context of Modern architectural design in the city of Boulder, outlining the unique social, cultural and technological environment that led to its creation. The Historic Context discusses the history of Modern architecture in Boulder from 1890 to 1977, picturing twelve selected Modern buildings constructed between the years 1890 to 1947. The Survey of Modern Architecture includes sixty-six buildings constructed between the years 1947 to 1977, the period of Modernism’s greatest influence in the city.

The purpose of this survey is to provide an essential tool in promoting the historic preservation of Boulder’s significant Modern structures. It is intended to educate city planners, homeowners, business owners and the general public about the rarity and importance of these significant and non-renewable cultural resources. Due to the unprecedented development pressures of the present day, these buildings, the vast majority of which are less than fifty years old, are the most threatened historic resources in Boulder’s built environment. The immediate identification, landmark designation, and protection of these important structures is of paramount importance if a major chapter in the architectural history of the community is not to be completely erased.

The survey, as documented in this report, identifies the most important architects and sixty-six of the most significant buildings of the period from 1947 to 1977. The surveyed properties are presented in date order within each of eight architectural styles. Every style has been profiled, and its defining characteristics listed.

In summary, the survey identified sixty-six buildings in eight Modern architectural styles including the International Style (seven buildings dating from 1947 to 1963), Miesian (one building dating from 1955), Usonian (twenty-four buildings dating from 1948 to 1977), Expressionism (eighteen buildings dating from 1954 to 1973), Rustic Modernism (four buildings dating from 1964 to 1969), Formalism (four buildings dating from 1964 to 1970), Brutalism (four buildings dating from 1966 to 1971), and Late Modernism (four buildings dating from 1964 to 1977). Five of the buildings were constructed between 1947 and 1950, twenty-three between 1951 and 1960, twenty-eight between 1961 and 1970, and ten between 1971 and 1977. They represent the work of twenty-eight architects or architectural firms.
In terms of building use and function, thirty-three are single dwellings, two are multiple dwellings, one is a hotel, five are business buildings, two are organizational facilities, five are financial institutions, two are stores, one is the city hall, three are firestations, two are schools, three are research facilities, three are churches, one is a sports facility, one is a manufacturing facility, and two are clinics.

The survey was conducted between October 15, 1999, and June 1, 2000, by a private consulting team composed of Michael Paglia, Leonard Segel and Diane Wray. The three were founding members of the Modern Architecture Preservation League (MAPL) which, during the period from 1989 to 1996, played an important role in creating a national, regional and local constituency for the historic preservation of buildings in Modern architectural styles. The project was conducted by the consulting team through selective citywide survey, oral interviews and the review of archival materials available in both Boulder and Denver, Colorado. The six photographs on pages seven and eight of the Historic Context were taken by Leonard Segel. All other photographs were taken by Diane Wray.

Ruth McKeyser and Lara Ramsey served as project coordinators for the City of Boulder. Maps were prepared by Terry Stonich, GIS Manager of the City of Boulder Planning Department.

The activity that is the subject of this material has been financed in part with Federal funds from the National Historic Preservation Act, administered by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior and for the Colorado Historical Society, with matching funds provided by the City of Boulder. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Department of the Interior, the Society, or the City of Boulder, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute an endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior, the Society, or the City of Boulder.

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Director
Equal Opportunity Program
U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
1849 C Street
Washington, D.C. 20240
Project Area

The project area for this survey was pre-defined by the City of Boulder Planning Department as the approximately 16,000 acres (between 52 and 53 square miles) which comprise the city of Boulder, not including the campus of the University of Colorado. Maps which define the survey area in detail begin on Page 39.

The city of Boulder, Colorado, is located at the base of the Eastern Slope of the Rocky Mountains. It is characterized by dramatic mountain views, most prominently the Flatirons, a dramatic rock formation rising above Chautauqua Meadow against the backdrop of Green Mountain.

Legal location
The project area falls between four USGS Quadrangles:
- Boulder Quadrangle
- Eldorado Springs Quadrangle
- Niwot Quadrangle
- Louisville Quadrangle

It includes Townships 1 North and 1 South, Ranges 70 West and 71 West.
Modern architecture in Boulder may be understood within the contexts of art, architecture, landscape, planning, engineering, technology, construction craft and intellectual history.

In comparison to other cities of its size nation-wide, Boulder is particularly rich in fine examples of architecture related to the Modern movement. As a component of the built environment, Modern architecture has a more prominent place in Boulder than in any other city in the Rocky Mountain region, including the much larger Denver. More than anywhere else in the Rockies, Boulder welcomed architectural Modernism and embraced it, beginning in its earliest days. As a result, there are many more important examples of Modern architecture in Boulder than in other cities in the state such as Fort Collins, Colorado Springs or Pueblo. In these places, more conservative and less sophisticated styles representing revivals of historical architecture were typically favored, especially before 1950.

This enthusiastic acceptance is clearly revealed by the many buildings, in a variety of Modern styles, that are seen in Boulder’s residential neighborhoods and lining its commercial strips.

The Birth of Modern Architecture
Modern architecture may be defined as being a part of the larger Modern movement that revolutionized all the visual arts. Modernism in art and architecture arose in the final years of the 19th century in Europe and, simultaneously, in the United States. In architecture, it was an attempt at rationalization through functional tenets and is often seen to be a reaction to, and an accommodation with, the Industrial Revolution.

Modernism in architecture is understood to be a rejoinder to the decorative excesses of two-thousand years of European historical architecture dating from the Ancient Greeks up through the Victorians. A key component of Modernism is reductivism in which the traditional decorative vocabulary of historical European architecture, including such elements as columns with capitals, festoons and cornices, among a myriad of other ornaments, were simplified or even eliminated in Modern architectural styles. The development of Modernism marks one of the most dramatic style shifts in the history of Western civilization. Its continuing presence dominates
architecture, and the other visual arts — even Post Modernism where traditional ornamental devices are employed — may be understood to be a kind of Modernism. (1)

Modernism and the University
Unquestionably, it is the presence of the University of Colorado (CU), founded in 1876, that is the principle reason that vanguard architectural styles appeared in Boulder at about the same time as they did in Chicago or New York. It was on the campuses of the colleges and universities in the United States and Europe where Modernism found its first enthusiasts. (2)

The university community, including CU faculty, students and distinguished visitors, brought with them an intellectual sophistication that provided and still provides a fertile ground for the growth of Modern architecture. Modern architecture had a ready audience among the intelligentsia, not just in the arts, as could be expected, but in other fields, as well. Modernism was particularly appealing to scientists and engineers. Those in science and technology may have likened their own work to the rationalism inherent in Modern architecture.

Also making a contribution to Modern architecture in Boulder was the creation of a degree program in architectural engineering within the College of Engineering in 1925. This first program was directed by engineering professor W. C. Huntington. (3)

But even decades before that, the CU campus, located in the middle of town (though in an independent governmental jurisdiction) set the architectural tone for Boulder.
Campus buildings such as the 1890 Woodbury Hall and the 1892-95 Hale Science, both by F. A. Hale, make the case. Both are examples of the Richardsonian-Romanesque style (4), the most advanced architectural current internationally at the time. (5)

Not surprisingly, Richardsonian-Romanesque architecture also appeared in downtown Boulder in its residential variant Richardsonian-Shingle style (6), in a number of fine examples in the nearby Mapleton Hill neighborhood. Notable is the 1890 Harlow Platts mansion at 1040 Mapleton Avenue designed by the office of H.H. Richardson and the 1902 McClure residence at 637 Pine Street.

The university set aside its role as the city’s Modernist leader in 1921, when a revivalist architectural program was put in place, in which a Neo-Tuscan style was indicated for all future campus buildings. Though design guidelines still dictate that new buildings be compatible with the Neo-Tuscan style, truly Modernist structures have been built on campus since the 1960s. (7)

**Modern Architecture in Boulder**

Previous surveys in the Boulder Historic Context Project have identified buildings constructed before 1947. Many of these buildings are relevant to the history of Modern architecture in Boulder. As mentioned above, the Richardsonian-Romanesque and the Richardsonian-Shingle styles appeared in Boulder in the late 19th century.

In the early 20th century, Modern architecture gained a wide audience. Commonly seen in Boulder are the many houses in the Craftsman style (8), built during the first two decades of the 20th century. These Craftsman style
houses are the most abundant type of early Modern architecture in Boulder, with the most important examples sited immediately north and west of downtown, on University Hill and between downtown and the campus. The spectacular 1904 Lewis-Cobb residence by William L. Woollett at 401 Pine Street and the fine and substantial 1913 Armstrong residence at 721 Spruce Street are two excellent examples of Craftsman style architecture in Boulder’s Mapleton Hill neighborhood.

Also noteworthy among early Modern buildings in Boulder are the three Prairie style (9) residences from the early 1900s which with some certainty may be attributed to Glenn W. Huntington, an important Denver architect. These are the 1919 C. Flint Smith Residence at 1015 Pine Street, and two cottages, the Residence from 1920 at 948 Marine Street, and the Bennett Residence at 1338 Grandview Avenue, also of 1920.

Though these houses are simple, they are also extremely rare examples of an architectural style almost never seen in the Western United States, the Prairie style. Even Denver, the largest city in the region, has only a handful of houses in the Prairie style, with several of the most distinctive of those being designed by Huntington, notably the 1915 Frank Milton Residence at 3400 Federal Boulevard. (It is in comparison to the Milton Residence, and other known Huntngtons in Denver, that these three Boulder houses may be attributed to him.)

Less subtle in its significance is the 1932 Boulder County Courthouse at 1325 Pearl Street, by Boulder architect Glen H. Huntington, son of Glen W. Huntington. This pink confection looks like a miniature Art Deco (10)
skyscraper. Boulder County Courthouse is one of the state’s most significant structures of any type or date (11).

Nearby is another impressive Art Deco design, the 1935 Boulder Theater at 2032 14th Street by Robert Otto Boller. (The fine Art Deco styling by Boller is the product of a thorough remodel of an older theater building.) The spectacular Art Deco facade of the Boulder Theater is clad in polychrome terra-cotta panels most likely made by the Denver Terra Cotta Company.

The Moderne style (12) is another early Modern style seen in Boulder in the form of a major example, Boulder High School at 1604 Arapahoe Street from 1936 by Earl Chester Morris, with the younger Huntington serving as architect of record. There are few buildings in Colorado as well conceived and executed as is Boulder High School.

In Boulder, owing both to the appeal of Modernism among intellectuals, and to the great successes of historic preservation, it is possible to follow the entire course of Modernism from its beginning, with the Richardsonian - Romanesque style, right up to the Late Modern, Post Modern and Neo Modern buildings being constructed today. The efforts of the City’s Planning Office in preserving the established character of Boulder through landmarking and design review have set a national standard for successful urban design despite the pressures of growth. This same care must be extended to Boulder’s collection of significant Modern buildings, a rare and valuable resource in the Rocky Mountain states and a key component in the historic character of the city.
Mid-Century Modern Architecture

According to the parameters pre-defined by the City of Boulder’s Planning Department, the accompanying survey of Modern architecture focuses on the target period of 1947 to 1977.

Like the earlier Modern architecture, the buildings from this period make a significant contribution to the established character of Boulder.

In the first half of the twentieth century Modernism was simply one of several competing approaches to architectural design, but traditional architecture, in the form of historic revival styles, was much more popular. In the second half of the century, on the other hand, Modernism was unrivaled in its dominance of American architecture until the 1990s.

An unusual factor in the development of Modern architecture in the United States in the late 20th century was the widespread effect of the Second World War.

The rise of Nazism in Germany, and its later conquest of much of the rest of Europe, led to the mass migration to the United States of scientists, scholars, artists and architects. The Nazis denounced Modernism in the arts, in particular Modern architecture. Instead, they favored a romantic revivalist style based on Neo-Classicism, backward-looking to meet their reactionary politics. Modern architects were forbidden to practice, and those who weren’t sent to concentration camps fled with their lives, most of them winding up in the United States. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, European culture, notably the European wing of the Modern movement, was transported whole to the United States — chased here by the Nazis. (13)

Modern architecture in Boulder reveals the influence of European vanguard design especially in the buildings done in the International Style and its Miesian variant.

Another parallel current in postwar architecture that is seen in Boulder is the American-originated Modernism best represented by the many Usonian style buildings in the city. Frank Lloyd Wright developed the Usonian style in the 1930s. It was soon after adopted by a younger generation of post-war house designers. Usonian style buildings are even now being constructed.

Interestingly, those European designers, like the Usonians, were the conceptual heirs to the zeitgeist of America’s own Richardsonian-Romanesque and later Chicago style architecture including Prairie. So Modern architecture in the postwar period as seen in Boulder and across the country represents both European and American currents contemporaneously.
The Audience in Boulder for Modern Architecture
Beginning in the 1950s, CU grew substantially. This period also saw the establishment in town of several separate government-funded research institutions, and a number of private research and technology facilities. (14)

These research institutions, both public and private, also made a contribution to Modern architecture in Boulder by attracting the same kind of people as the university did — intellectuals. As noted above, intellectuals were then, as they are now, Modern architecture’s greatest supporters, with many having both the means and the interest to commission Modern buildings. The relatively high percentage of these college-educated people in Boulder is the reason why there is a higher than normal percentage of Modern style buildings in the city in comparison to other cities in the region.

Types of Modern Buildings in Boulder
Modern architecture constructed in the target period in Boulder falls into several building types. Residential architecture emerges as the most abundant building type and it is among Boulder’s houses that some of the finest Modern buildings in the city may be found. However, larger Modernist buildings, including commercial and industrial structures, offices, shops, churches and even a limited number of high-rises are also found in Boulder. (15)

Among the styles displayed in Boulder’s residences during this time, first and foremost is the Usonian style. Usonian style residences are the single largest category of buildings in this survey. Boulder has more fine Usonian residences than any other style and type of building.

Residences in other styles are also seen in Boulder dating from the target period including the International Style, Expressionism, Rustic Modernism, Formalism, Brutalism and Late Modernism.

The larger Modernist buildings also feature many of the same styles, but unlike those in the residential category, Usonian does not predominate. Instead the International Style and its stylistic progeny, the Miesian style, Formalism, Brutalism and Late Modernism, are more often seen.

Boulder’s Architectural Scene
This survey has identified a sophisticated and cutting-edge architectural scene in Boulder beginning in the 1950s and continuing to the present time. For a city with a population of approximately fifty thousand people in 1960, there were a surprising number of architects living and working in Boulder.

Before 1970, only two other cities in Colorado, both considerably larger — Denver and Colorado Springs — had the critical mass of architects necessary for a fully developed scene to emerge with its own unique characteristics. And Boulder had an additional advantage over its larger rivals, the presence of the University of Colorado’s architecture program, for most of the century, the only higher architectural training offered in the state.
The Architects of Boulder’s Finest Modern Buildings

This survey reveals that there were several first-rate architects and architectural firms working in Boulder at the time. These Boulder-based designers created a disproportionate number of the city’s most important Modern buildings in this survey. Many of these architects were originally drawn to Boulder to serve on the University of Colorado faculty.

 Surely the most heralded local Modern architect from this period is the late Charles A. Haertling whose work pushed Usonian to its Expressionist margins. Everything that Haertling designed is noteworthy (see http://www.atomix.com/haertling/). In twenty-five years of practice, beginning in 1954, he designed over forty buildings, mostly residences, almost exclusively in Boulder and the Boulder area. Before his untimely death at the age of fifty-five, Haertling’s singular creative genius produced a highly individualistic and innovative body of work, bringing regional architectural currents to national significance, much in the same way as Bruce Goff did in Oklahoma or Antoine Predock has done in New Mexico.

Also first-rate are a group of Modern architects who like Haertling spent the preponderance of their professional careers in Boulder and who may be regarded, along with him, as acknowledged masters of local architecture. They are: James M. Hunter, Hobart D. Wagener, L. Gale Abels, Roger J. Easton, Thomas Nixon of Nixon and Jones (later Nixon Brown Brokaw and Bowen) and Art Everett of Everett/Zeigel Architects (later Everett Zeigel Tumpes and Hand).

Other architects with more limited careers in Boulder such as John A. Thacker and Carl Worthington may also be seen to be masters of local architecture from this important period. As may Tician Papachristou of Papachristou and Havekost, who worked only briefly in Boulder.


Two architects identified by the survey, Victor Langhart and Bruce Downing, went on to be founding partners in major firms that have designed hundreds of building constructed across the country. Langhart helped start Denver’s RNL, Downing, the Boulder firm of Downing Thorpe James.

Extant buildings by some architects identified by research, notably Cal Briggs, on the first faculty of CU’s architecture department, were not found.

Prominent out-of-town architects have also contributed Modern landmarks to Boulder’s city-scape. These include Ralph D. Peterson, Earl K. Decker and the firm of Ramsey and Reeves, all from Denver, and the firms of I.M. Pei Associates from New York and Pereira and Luckman Associates from California (16).
Modern Neighborhoods
Modern architecture from the 1940s to the 1970s is distributed throughout the city. Some areas, though, are particularly rich in fine Modern buildings including Chautauqua, West Baseline, Flagstaff and Wonderland Hill. The boundaries of these neighborhoods are often at least partially defined by the topographical features which characterize Boulder.

Boulder’s Topography and Modern Architecture
Boulder is distinguished by its location in a valley at base of the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, including the striking rock formations known as the Flatirons and several mesas.

In many cases architects, especially designers of residences, created unique architectural responses to the dramatic views of the mountains, foothills, and plains, or incorporated rock formations and other topographical elements into the siting, or within the houses themselves.

Some buildings, especially those downtown and near the campus, respond to the system of active and seasonal creeks which appear on the floor of the valley. The Usonian buildings in particular feature these relationships to the site, as the theories of Frank Lloyd Wright specifically address the relationship of buildings to the natural setting.

Losses to Boulder’s Modernist Legacy
Despite Boulder’s leadership in the field of planning and in traditional historic preservation, the city has not been a pace-setter in regard to the identification, documentation and preservation of Boulder’s significant examples of Modern architecture. (17) In comparison to many other American cities, including New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Miami, Palm Springs, Columbus (Indiana), New Canaan (Connecticut) and the entire state of Massachusetts, Boulder is some ten years behind the curve.

The unhappy result of this backwardness, so otherwise uncharacteristic of forward-looking Boulder, is that the city has already lost some of its best examples of Modern architecture including many publicly owned buildings. (18)

Boulder’s Modern schools have been particularly hard hit by needlessly inappropriate changes brought on by increased population pressures. As a result of the baby boom, the post-World War II period is the most important era of school building in our nation’s history. Though the Boulder Public Schools had a very high quality building program during this time, the original Modernist buildings have largely lost their integrity through serial additions, most of them overwhelming to the original school and insensitive to the original design.

(The city’s fire stations of the period, however, have largely retained their integrity, and a number are included in the survey.)
The loss of the original character of James M. Hunter’s 1961 Boulder Public Library is an incomparable tragedy. Had the library not succumbed to its 1990s renovation by Midyette-Seuerie-Architects it would now be regarded as the finest example of Hunter’s work in Boulder.

The establishment of two Landmark Districts — Flatirons Park and Bellevue Vista — are recommended (see Note 9 in Recommendations for Historic Preservation on page 27 and Note 1 in Recommendations for Further Survey / Research on page 30). Though these proposed districts have already suffered scrape-offs, inappropriate additions, and some radical alterations in scale and materials, they include a relatively high density of the sixty-six surveyed buildings, indicating that the social and architectural factors influencing the development of Modernism during the period from 1947 to 1977 were especially prevalent within these geographic areas. Other potential districts have already lost the integrity necessary to qualify for district status due to the same type of changes.

Also substantially diminishing the equity of historic Modern architecture in Boulder is the loss of the once intelligently planned 1950s complex by Ralph D. Peterson which comprises the former Harvest House Hotel and Harvest Manor Apartments and which was once integral with the adjacent Arapahoe Village Shopping Center by Raymond Harry Ervin. Only the Harvest Manor Apartments, included in this survey, remain in original condition. The hotel was crudely resurfaced in the 1980s, and, soon after, the shopping center was almost entirely lost through demolition and resurfacing, destroying its overall formal order and its sophisticated decorative scheme.

If preservation controls in the form of landmark protection are not accorded to the buildings on this survey within the next few years, it may be expected that many — if not most — will be lost.
Footnotes

(1) Post Modern, including its neo-traditional wing, is a part of the Modern movement. But vaguely traditional style buildings, the most common stylistic type in contemporary residential architecture, are not. The distinction between Post Modern and contemporary traditional style buildings is a subtle one. Post Modern buildings feature historical elements assembled in ways not indicated by their predecessors in historic architecture. In the traditional style buildings, on the other hand, references are made to historical architecture specifically, and within the framework of a customary formal order. This self-conscious reflexivism in traditional style architecture indicates that these new “old timey” buildings are not examples of Modern architecture, as Post Modern buildings are, but rather its polar opposite, historic revivalism.

(2) Boulder is really the only “university town” in the state of Colorado. Denver, Greeley and Colorado Springs were all established cities before their universities were inaugurated. Fort Collins is the only other city in Colorado that could be seen as a “university town.” But it was not until 1957 that Colorado State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts became Colorado State University. Even then, agriculture remained the principal economic focus of Fort Collins into the 1970’s. Nationally, however, Boulder can be found comparable to such “university towns” as Berkeley, California, and Madison, Wisconsin.

In addition, the CU architectural engineering program, founded in 1925, was the first such curriculum in the state. Today, Boulder still has the only undergraduate architecture program in the Colorado. The only graduate degree in architecture is offered at the University of Colorado, Denver campus.

(3) After CU’s Board of Regents rejected the establishment of a separate school of architecture, a degree program in architecture, still within the College of Engineering, was approved in 1949. Clarence Eckel, then the dean of the College of Engineering, appointed an advisory board of local architects to help establish an accredited degree program in architecture at CU. This advisory board was partly made up of prominent Denver architects of the time, including Robert Fuller, who served as chairman, along with Casper Hegner, Gordon Jamieson and Gordon White. Boulder’s James M. Hunter also served on this board.

It was in 1950, that CU first initiated a separate degree in architecture. In 1952, the Regents approved the creation of a Department of Architecture and Architectural Engineering within the College of Engineering. The new department’s first chairman was Thomas Hansen, with Cal Briggs, DeVon Carlson and Robert Rathburn serving as the original faculty.

(4) The Richardsonian Romanesque style has been defined as follows: “Like all Romanesque, this is a round-arched style. However, most of the buildings of the Richardsonian Romanesque are immediately distinguishable from those of the earlier Romanesque Revival by being wholly or in part of rock-faced masonry, while arches, lintels, and other structural features are often emphasized by being of a different stone from the walls. The resultant sense of weight and massiveness is reinforced by the depth of the window reveals, the breadth of the planes of the roofs, and (in the better examples) a general largeness and simplicity of form. Straight-topped windows, divided into rectangular lights by stone mullions and transoms, are employed in addition to, and often together with, the arched type; ribbon windows, their arches or lintels supported by colonnettes, occur frequently. In multistory urban buildings - public or commercial - the size of the arched openings, which form arcades behind
which from two to four stories may be grouped, often diminishes upward. In porches the Syrian arch is much used. Steep-gabled wall dormers may be prominent elements in the design. Roof dormers, on the other hand, are usually subordinated to the roofs by being hipped, or even reduced to "eyebrow" form. Square towers are crowned with pyramidal roofs and the characteristic round or polygonal turrets and projecting bays with conical. Chimneys are squat, heavy-set, and very plainly treated - often without as much as projecting caps. " Marcus Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780; A Guide to the Styles (Revised Edition), (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), page 133.

(5) The first generation of buildings on the CU campus which line the Norlin Quadrangle illustrate a variety of styles in addition to the Richardsonian-Romanesque of Woodbury Hall and Hale Science. These styles range from the Victorian Italianate of Old Main from 1876 by architect E. H. D imick, to the Collegiate Gothic style of the Mackey Auditorium designed in 1909 and completed in 1922 by the distinguished Denver firm of Gove and Walsh.

The year before, in 1921, Hellems Arts and Sciences was built, the first of many Neo-Tuscan style buildings constructed on the campus. Hellems was designed by Philadelphia architect Charles Z. Klauder who also served as campus planner. Klauder developed CU's characteristic Neo-Tuscan style in which Italian ornamental devices have been used on simple rectilinear buildings. These Klauder buildings have rough-hewn Lyons sandstone walls and red terra-cotta tile roofs. In addition to Hellems, Klauder designed many campus buildings and with them established the distinctive character of the campus. Even today, buildings on campus must adhere to strict design guidelines that stipulate that new construction be compatible with the Klauder-originated Neo-Tuscan style.

(6) Richardsonian Shingle style (Shingle style) has been defined as follows: "The walls of the upper stories at least, and often of the ground story too, have a uniform covering of shingles; even the posts of verandas and porches may be shingled. Where the ground-story walls are not shingled, they are typically of stone-coursed or random rubble or sometimes fieldstone boulders. Windows are small-paned and often of horizontal hands; a single Palladian window occasionally appears. Roofs may be hipped or gabled or both, intersecting as in the Queen Anne style; the gambrel roof (not a Queen Anne feature) was used quite frequently. Roofs generally are of moderate pitch with broad gable ends; there is a well-defined type of house in which the main front is unified by a single broad gable. Sometimes a roof will sweep down from the ridge without a break to shelter a veranda. Segmental bays and round turrets are not uncommon, and the roofs to dormers sometimes take convex or polygonal forms. The over-all effect is altogether simpler and quieter than in the Queen Anne style, with more horizontal emphasis and much less variety of color and texture." Marcus Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780; A Guide to the Styles (Revised Edition), (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), page 127.

(7) The Neo-Tuscan style launched on campus by Philadelphia architect Charles Z. Klauder dominated the design of campus buildings from the 1920s to the 1950s. In the 1960s, however, genuinely Modernist buildings, incorporating a few key elements characteristic of the Neo-Tuscan style, notably the use of rough-hewn Lyons sandstone and red terra-cotta roof tiles, began to be built. The first of these was the Brutalist style Engineering Sciences Center from 1963 by Architectural Associates of Colorado, with W. C. Muchow serving as partner-in-charge. The Formalist style 1965 Regent Hall by Meyer and Ayers is another example of a 1960s Modernist building designed to be compatible with the existing Neo-Tuscan style of the campus established by Klauder.
(8) The Craftsman style (Western Stick style) has been defined as follows:
"Emphatic expression of wood-framed structure in conjunction with accentuation of the horizontal characterizes this style. Roofs are broad and of gentle pitch; the eaves are of great projection, often with the rafters and purlins projecting further still, and in many cases are supported by diagonal struts or by more or less elaborate brackets constructed of straight stickwork. Over a gable the eaves may be perforated, or carried out as an uncovered extension of the roof frame. Beams and other horizontal framing members - most noticeably in the porches and verandas - are practically universal features of houses in the style - commonly project up to a foot or more outside the posts supporting them; lintels similarly may extend visibly some way to either side of the window openings. In porches and verandas the larger framing members are sometimes frankly built up of standard scantlings in duplicate, the general effect being of construction with a limited number of standard elements. Shingles are the commonest wall covering in the earlier examples of the style, vertical boards with battens in the more recent. Departures from the rectilinear, in either plan or elevation, are rare. This does not, however, preclude a free adaptation of the plan to the site." Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780; A Guide to the Styles (Revised Edition)*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), page 209.

(9) The Prairie style has been defined as follows: "Most Prairie houses are of two stories, a few of three. Often single-story wings reach out in more than one direction; these wings, which may open up into porches or carports at their extremities, frequently (and obviously) contain a single large room. Roofs are low and may be hipped or of double pitch, with eaves projection equalled only in the Western Stick Style. Emphasis is on the horizontal; dormers are never used, and even the chimneys are presented as oblong masses. Ribbon windows with wooden casements carry on the theme of horizontality, which may be yet further developed by dark wood stripping that continues the sill line around the house; some vertical stripping may represent the studs of the wall frame behind the plaster - even half-timbered effects are found - but the corners of the building are usually free of any such accentuation. Piers supporting the roofs of porches or verandas are of rectangular plan and massive appearance. Sometimes the end of the house is clasped, as it were, between similar but much larger piers. The tops of all piers, as also of the parapets of porches and steps and balconies, are strongly defined by projecting caps or copings. Plaster over wood frame is the type of construction in which the fullest range of Prairie house motifs is seen. But brick is used too, both as the principal material and in combination with wood-frame construction." Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780; A Guide to the Styles (Revised Edition)*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), page 201.

(10) The Art Deco style has been defined as follows: "Art Deco is first of all a style of ornament. This ornament is predominantly rectilinear, with geometrical curves playing a secondary role. The commonest motifs of all are fluting and reeding, often flanking doors or windows or forming horizontal bands above them. Chevrons or zigzags and various frets are much employed. Such ornament is normally in very low relief with a flat front plane. Another type, of greater saliency, consists of square or oblong blocks and other rectangular projections composed symmetrically around entrances or forming repeating patterns across the upper stories. In frame buildings the piers are normally devoid of ornament, except sometimes at the top, while the spandrels show one or other of the customary types or, at the very least, are faced with a different material, probably contrasting in color or texture with the cladding of the piers. Polychromatic effects are achieved by a variety of means, ranging from the use of fâilence for surfacing walls to the application of gold leaf. Verticality is emphasized in most Art Deco buildings. In
skyscrapers, setbacks are universal features as a result of the zoning regulations in force by the middle 1920's in all major American cities, the building as a whole often having somewhat the appearance of having been chopped out of a single tall block of material - this effect is increased by the treatment of the piers, which as a rule are neither stopped under a cornice nor crowned with pinnacles.” Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780; A Guide to the Styles (Revised Edition)*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), page 235.

(11) Glenn W. Huntington, the architect of the Boulder County Courthouse, is an acknowledged master of local architecture. The Courthouse is a fine and rare example of an unusual style in this part of the country, Art Deco. The Courthouse exemplifies the defining characteristics of the Art Deco style. The building features the highest level of construction craft of its period. The masonry is constructed of locally quarried and finely laid sandstone. The style of the building is further enriched by elaborate decorative interior and exterior features worked in terrazzo, metal and terra cotta.

(12) The Moderne style (Streamline Moderne style) has been defined as follows: “First of all, Streamline Moderne is a horizontal style. In the overall form of the building as a rule, and always in the main elevations, horizontality prevails, with vertical features (if employed at all) reserved for the entrance. Secondly, it is a style of curved surfaces - curved end walls, curved corners, curved bays, and cylindrical projections. Thirdly, it is a style quite without ornament, apart from stringcourses and other trim emphasizing the horizontality of the design. In larger buildings the upper stories are often set back. Roofs are flat and parapeted. The parapets are often surmounted by pipe railings, producing a nautical effect that may be intensified by pipe railings on balconies and outside stairs, by round windows like portholes, and even by imitation rivets. Walls, brick or concrete, are usually plastered. Glass block is much used for translucency and textural contrast.” Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780; A Guide to the Styles (Revised Edition)*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993), page 241.

(13) The Nazis were relentless in their malevolence and in addition to their well known genocide directed against Jews, Gypsies, gays and communists, they also sought to extinguish cultural Modernism in Europe. The Nazis hated Modern art and architecture, labeling it “degenerate,” “Bolshevik,” and “Jewish.”

As early as 1933, Adolf Hitler and his Nazi Party had attacked Modern art and architecture. It was in that year that the Nazis closed the Bauhaus, the German art school that was a center for Modernism and the International Style. Among its faculty were some of the greatest architects of the 20th century including Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer. They and many of their colleagues and former students wound up in the United States where they joined the faculties of America's premier architecture schools. Other Modern architects and teachers from elsewhere in Nazi-occupied Europe also immigrated to the United States before, during and after World War II. These emigres encouraged the establishment of Modern architecture which then became the dominant mode in the United States in the second half of the 20th century.

Though far from either front, Boulder was nonetheless heavily impacted by World War II in ways other than the appearance of European-inspired Modern architecture. In the 1940s the Department of the Navy established the Navy Language School which brought hundreds of sailor-scholars to the campus, flooding the then-small town of Boulder.

With the defeat of the Nazis in 1945, there began a post-war boom in Boulder's
population which led to a surge in building. The GI Bill of Rights provided financial aid for veterans who swamped the nation’s colleges and universities, including CU. This rapid increase in CU’s enrollment and consequent increase in Boulder’s population created the urgent need for new buildings.

Another impact of the second world war was the development of new synthetic materials some of which would find uses in construction technology.

(14) A political decision was made in Boulder in the post-war era to attract clean industry and not to allow heavy industry. More than anyone else, one individual — Bascombe Birmingham — was responsible. Birmingham personally lobbyed the Eisenhower administration so that the National Bureau of Standards (now NIST/NOAA/NTIA) would be built in Boulder in the 1950s. The bureau is housed in a significant Modern building. Other government research facilities followed, as did private firms which were also often quartered in first-rate Modern buildings, notably the National Center for Atmospheric Research. In this case it was Ed Wolff who lobbyed in Washington. These institutions, both public and private, attracted the same kind of people that the CU did — educated professionals. And, it was among this demographic group that Modern architecture found its most ardent supporters.

(15) The experimental nature of Modern architecture in Boulder could not have been achieved without the exceptional talents of construction engineers and contractors who developed new materials and methods of building. These firms solved design and structural issues related to the creation of dramatic and unconventional forms, expansive areas of glass, finished cast-in-place concrete, foam shell forms and exposed structural elements.

(16) During the course of this survey, a broad group of biographical information, historical material, and building lists were collected reflecting the history of the architects, architectural firms and architectural organizations which appear in this survey. Copies of all these materials have been donated to the Carnegie Library for use by future researchers. Additional recommendations to continue expanding the collection of these resource materials have been made in the File Search Results section on pages 21 and 22.

(17) Though the City of Boulder’s Landmark Ordinance does not preclude the listing of buildings less than fifty years old, only one such building has been individually listed as a landmark. The City of Boulder’s “Structure of Merit” program, which has identified some significant buildings less than fifty years old, is intended as a “recognition-only” program and does not include preservation controls or basic historic documentation.

(18) Even now, the city-owned Atrium building is threatened, though no real replacement plan exists for its site. This survey has identified the 1969 Atrium building, originally the Midland Savings and Loan building, as being among the finest Modern buildings in the city. It is one of the most important commissions for its architect, Hobart Wagener, who has been identified by this survey as one of the acknowledged masters of Boulder's Modern architecture.
Research Design

According to the guidelines of the *Colorado Cultural Resource Survey Manual*, a publication of the Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, June 1998 edition, a program of research design should be developed prior to the initiation of any survey in order to establish survey objectives, the proposed scope of the project, planned survey methodology, expected results (the kind, number location and character of expected resources) and to summarize the file search results and previous work in the area. The following outlines the research design for this survey:

The objectives of the survey were to define the historic context of the development of Modern architecture in Boulder from 1890 to 1977.

The proposed scope of the survey project was to identify approximately sixty-five individual sites within the boundaries of the city which represented the finest buildings by the most accomplished architects from the period from 1947 to 1977.

According to the planned survey methodology, buildings for possible survey inclusion were to be identified by:

- The review of existing resources including a 1996 survey of Boulder Modernism by the Modern Architecture Preservation League, an undated photo survey of Boulder Modernism by Sharon Rosall of the Boulder Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, and local, regional and national research resources located in Boulder and Denver.
- Physical examination of properties within the geographic limits of the survey area.
- Interviews with members of the architectural and historic preservation community.
- Research in period archival materials.

Buildings were to be selected for final survey inclusion on the basis of:

- Their ability to convey the chronological and stylistic development of Modernism in Boulder.
- Their conformance with criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, including Criteria Consideration G for any
buildings less than 50 years old on the basis of exceptional significance.

The approximately sixty-five selected Modern resources were expected to be scattered throughout the city, and reflect a variety of building uses or functions possibly including commercial offices, retail shops, multi-family housing, medical, utility and research facilities, post offices, municipal buildings, schools, fire stations, libraries, fraternity and sorority houses, residences, churches, fraternal lodges, and theater and recreational facilities.

The selected resources were expected to represent a variety of individual architectural styles including International Style, Usonian, Expressionism, Formalism, Brutalism and Late Modernism.

If geographic concentrations of selected Modern buildings emerged, district recommendations were to be made, and locational patterns of other surveyed buildings were to be identified on maps.

File search results were limited. Please see the separate report section entitled *File Search Results* which follows.

No previous work was determined to have taken place in relation to defining or surveying Modern architecture in Boulder with the exception of a partial building list included in *architecture/colorado*, a 1966 statewide survey conducted by the Colorado Chapter of the American Institute of Architects.
Boulder Public Library
Issues of the Boulder Camera, the city’s daily newspaper, have been recorded on microfilm going back to the 1890s and are stored at the Boulder Public Library. Unfortunately, those issues dating from 1947 to 1977 have not yet been indexed and access was therefore beyond the scope of this project. At some time in the future when indexing is completed, this will form a valuable source for research on Boulder Modernism.

Boulder Carnegie Branch Library
The Boulder Public Library’s Carnegie Branch Library for Local History is the city’s principle repository for books, manuscripts, documents, clippings, photographs and various ephemeral items related to the history of Boulder.

Though the Carnegie does have some material relevant to the history of the city’s built environment, including the results of the previous studies of historic architecture prepared for the City of Boulder’s Planning Office, the branch has collected little else of genuine value to historians of local architecture.

An illustration of this failing is the fact that only two of the many Boulder architects identified by this survey are the subject of individual files at the Carnegie. And these files have come to the Carnegie not by design but through serendipity. The Hunter clippings were donated as part of the Paddock family collection, and the more complete documentation of Haertling’s career was given to the Carnegie by the architect’s son, Joel Haertling.

The legacy of this dearth of material is already seen in regard to the architectural history relevant to the city’s already documented older buildings, and as a result only a tiny percentage of them may be firmly attributed to an architect. First-hand participants and observers are now mostly deceased, and so the architects for the majority of the city’s buildings constructed before the Second World War will never be known. That the city’s building permits do not record, or even provide an opportunity to record, the name of the architect, exacerbates the situation.
Fortunately in the case of Boulder architecture from the period targeted for this survey, 1947 through 1977, many architects, clients, and others with certain knowledge concerning the history of Boulder’s Modern architecture are still living. Many have collected material related to this history. It was through direct contact by the consultants with these individuals that it was possible to learn the identity of the architect for every building in this survey. This is an unprecedented accomplishment compared to previous surveys conducted for the City of Boulder’s Planning Office.

It is urgent that the Carnegie reach out immediately to those surviving eye-witnesses to the development of Modern architecture in Boulder in order to conduct oral history interviews, and to solicit the donation of documentary items. Time is of the essence, since the people who designed or commissioned or appreciated Boulder’s best Modern buildings are an aging group, and many are already deceased, notably James M. Hunter, Charles A. Haertling, L. Gale Abels and Thomas Nixon.

The consultants will donate to the Carnegie all the documentary material including the interviews recorded on audio tape gathered in preparation for this survey and would be happy to assist the Carnegie in soliciting additional materials of relevance.

**Western History Department of the Denver Public Library**

The Western History Department of the Denver Public Library has some clipping files related to Boulder’s architectural history, but they have not collected material specifically on the subject or with the enthusiasm they have taken in regard to Denver architecture which is much more thoroughly documented.

In addition, Boulder publications have not been indexed in the card files or in the data base as have Denver sources such as the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Post*, both of which are stored on microfilm.

Photocopies made by the consultants of clippings and of microfilm originals found at the Western History department of the Denver Public Library will be donated to the Carnegie.
Methodology

This survey was conducted between October 15, 1999, and June 1, 2000, by a private consulting team composed of Michael Paglia, Leonard Segel and Diane Wray. Ruth McKeyser and Lara Ramsey served as project coordinators for the City of Boulder. Maps were prepared by Terry Stonich, GIS Manager of the City of Boulder Planning Department.

This was a “selective survey” as defined by the Colorado Cultural Resource Survey Manual, a publication of the Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, June 1998 edition. Thus it recorded only those cultural resources in the survey area (the City of Boulder) that meet specific identification requirements (the most important buildings in Modern architectural styles designed by the most accomplished architects and constructed between 1947 and 1977).

The sources that were employed to identify a preliminary building list for survey evaluation were in accordance with the Research Design as outlined above (Page 19), including the review of a 1996 survey of Boulder Modernism by the Modern Architecture Preservation League, an undated photo survey of Boulder Modernism by Sharon Rosall of the Boulder Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board; local, regional and national research resources located in Boulder and Denver; physical examination of properties within the geographic limits of the survey area; and interviews with members of the architectural and historic preservation community. The existing surveys, copies of related articles listed in the bibliography, interview tapes, and written materials donated during interviews are all available for review at the City of Boulder Planning Office or have been donated to the Carnegie Library by the survey team.

The preliminary building list as determined above was then evaluated through site inspection and photographic review according to the practice of comparative analysis, the traditional method for evaluating buildings used in the field of architectural history.

In this logical deductive process, any building may be evaluated objectively through comparison to others of the same approximate date and type.

First, buildings are sorted according to architectural style. Buildings are then compared and evaluated within their particular styles, which are by definition date specific. It is only in this way that the finest examples of a
specific style, and thus the finest buildings of their time, may be accurately discerned.

Next, the buildings within each style are classified according to the quality of their design and its relationship to the broader currents of architecture.

Various criterion are used in ranking buildings through comparative analysis. The standard of the construction craft and the relationship of the structure to its site are examined. Any special technological or material features the building might have are identified as are any specific associations it might have to architectural theory or history either locally or nationally. Any regional peculiarities the building might incorporate are noted. Buildings were also evaluated and compared on the basis of other factors identified by the guidelines of the National Register of Historic Places (Page 31) and the City of Boulder Landmarks Ordinance (Page 35).

This type of comparative analysis is essential in order to avoid judgements based on personal taste and trends rather than those based on architectural significance, which can be objectively evaluated by comparative analysis.
Results

The survey found that in comparison to other cities of its size state-wide, Boulder is particularly rich in fine examples of architecture related to the Modern movement. As a component of the built environment, Modern architecture has a more prominent place in Boulder than in any other city in the Rocky Mountain region, including the much larger Denver. More than anywhere else in the Rockies, Boulder welcomed architectural Modernism and embraced it, beginning in its earliest days. As a result, there are many more important examples of Modern architecture in Boulder than in other cities in the state such as Fort Collins, Colorado Springs or Pueblo. In these places, more conservative and less sophisticated styles representing revivals of historical architecture were typically favored, especially before 1950.

This enthusiastic acceptance is clearly revealed by the many buildings, in a variety of Modern styles, that are seen in Boulder’s residential neighborhoods and lining its commercial strips.

The resulting survey, as planned, identifies sixty-six individual sites within the boundaries of the city that represent the finest buildings by the most accomplished architects from the period from 1947 to 1977.

A list of surveyed resources with addresses and site numbers is included in the Architectural Survey Log section of this report which follows on page 57. Two versions of the log are included: one in street order which identifies those buildings eligible for national and local, individual and district landmark listing, and a second version which is sorted in date order by architectural style, which includes the names of building architects.

The final survey results were largely in accordance with the expected results as outlined in the Research Design section above on page 19. There were two exceptions. First, a slightly abbreviated group of building uses or functions fell into the top tier of sixty-six buildings, though important Modern examples were discovered in all building uses or functions. Thirty-three of the surveyed buildings are single dwellings, two are multiple dwellings, one is a hotel, five are business buildings, two are organizational facilities, five are financial institutions, two are stores, one is the city hall, three are firestations, two are schools, three are research facilities, three are churches, one is a sports facility, one is a manufacturing facility, and two are clinics.
Second, in regard to expected architectural styles, an additional stylistic category, Rustic Modernism, was created to accommodate a style of architecture that appears nationally but has not yet been defined or named in current national works on architectural history. Architectural historians have already stylistically located what this survey identifies as Rustic Modernism in relation to both the earlier Formalism and the later Post Modern styles. The survey identified sixty-six buildings in eight Modern architectural styles including the International Style (seven buildings dating from 1947 to 1963), Miesian (one building dating from 1955), Usonian (twenty-four buildings dating from 1948 to 1977), Expressionism (eighteen buildings dating from 1954 to 1973), Rustic Modernism (four buildings dating from 1964 to 1969), Formalism (four buildings dating from 1964 to 1970), Brutalism (four buildings dating from 1966 to 1971), and Late Modernism (four buildings dating from 1964 to 1977).

In terms of date, five of the buildings were constructed between 1947 and 1950, twenty-three between 1951 and 1960, twenty-eight between 1961 and 1970, and ten between 1971 and 1977.

The surveyed buildings represented the work of twenty-eight architects or architectural firms.

The exterior of each building selected for inclusion in this survey has been determined to survive in largely original condition and to possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, as defined by the National Register criteria.
Recommendations for Historic Preservation

(1) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should immediately request that the City of Boulder building permit form be revised to include the name of the architect on every permit. During the course of research, it was discovered that building permit forms as currently recorded in the City of Boulder do not include the name of the architect. Due to this shortcoming in building records, many previous surveys have been unable to identify architects for more than a handful of buildings. The complete attribution of buildings in this survey was only possible due to the relatively recent age of the buildings, where first-hand participants were able to identify architects.

(2) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should immediately send letters to the appropriate offices of the federal government, copied to the Colorado Historical Society’s Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, formally notifying them that the National Center for Atmospheric Research and the Bureau of Standards have been identified as important cultural resources in the city of Boulder, and that all future maintenance and construction at these facilities must comply with Secretary of the Interior Standards for Historic Preservation.

(3) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should immediately send letters to the appropriate municipal agencies and departments to inform them that the buildings owned by the city of Boulder including the City of Boulder Municipal Building, the Atrium Building (former Midland Savings Bank), the Community Montessori School (former University Hill Elementary School), the South Boulder Recreation Center, and the three fire stations at 2225 Baseline, 1585 30th Street, and 2441 13th Street, have all been identified as important cultural resources in the city of Boulder, and that all future maintenance and construction at these facilities must comply with Secretary of the Interior Standards for Historic Preservation.

(4) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should immediately identify buildings that fall within their control through city overview of large scale, multi-building properties, including the US Bank (former Boulder National Bank) at the corner of 16th and Arapahoe at Crossroads Mall. The Harvest House complex would probably also fall into this category, at such time that renovations and infill construction are planned. These properties should be identified in city planning files for historic preservation in any such re-development plans.
(5) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should immediately contact all private property owners of survey buildings included in the Structure of Merit program and inform owners about the benefits of national and local landmark listing. The Board should pursue local and national landmark listing for the survey buildings.

(6) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should immediately examine the value of the Structure of Merit program in relation to top tier buildings less than fifty years old since the program is intended as a "recognition-only" program and provides none of the benefits or protections of Landmark designation.

(7) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should inform and educate private property owners about the economic incentives for historic preservation including state and federal tax credits for historic preservation, State Historical Fund grants for State and Boulder landmarks, and the tax benefits of easement donations. A number of owners of the selected survey properties were the individuals that originally commissioned the buildings. Many original owners as well as subsequent owners who specifically purchased the properties for their architectural qualities will be receptive to insuring the historic preservation of these valuable cultural assets.

(8) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should immediately coordinate with Boulder County regarding fine, top tier buildings by important Boulder architects outside of Boulder’s city limits but within Boulder County. Many buildings located in the county form an important part of Boulder’s context of Modernism, most prominently the Hobart Wagener Residence and Charles Haertling’s Menkick residence. Many fine Modernist residences also appear in Boulder Canyon and Sunshine Canyon.

(9) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should proceed on the consulting team’s historic district recommendations for the proposed Flatirons Park and Bellevue Vista Landmark Districts. See Note 1 in Recommendations for Further Survey / Research (Page 30).

(10) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should utilize this historic context and survey document to develop a community educational program to raise awareness of the rarity and importance of these significant and non-renewable Modernist cultural resources. This should include press releases and historical and photographic shows at Boulder libraries and municipal buildings. The assistance of Historic Boulder could be enlisted in the preparation of a driving tour pamphlet, and this survey could serve as an upcoming “Landmarks of the Future” tour, similar to those which Historic Boulder has conducted with great success in the past.

A major concept in such educational press releases, tours and shows should be creating community understanding about the difference between architectural judgements based on taste and those based on architectural significance, which can be objectively evaluated by comparative analysis. This concept can be illustrated by a 1982 article in the Boulder Camera in
which architects were asked to name the best and worst buildings in Boulder. The Geological Society of America appeared as one of the best buildings on many lists and the Boulder County Courthouse appeared as one of the worst. According to the results of this survey, both buildings are the finest of their styles in the city. Of course in fairness, architectural historians in the 1980s were just beginning a new, appreciative re-evaluation of the Art Deco style. Yet this serves to demonstrate that judgements of personal taste without adequate scholarship or consideration are responsible for the loss of an overwhelming number of important historic buildings.

(11) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should encourage the Carnegie Library to immediately establish a fundraising and outreach program to create an archive related to the historic context of Modernism in Boulder. (Refer to additional notes in the File Search Results section (Page 21) for a description of the current state of the Carnegie archives in relation to Modernism.)

Tape recordings, written notes, and biographical and building list documentation collected during this survey’s interview process are all being donated to the Carnegie Library along with copies of related news articles, publications and building permits. Contact information regarding all interviewees, as well as the names and contact information for other surviving architects, clients and related individuals are also being donated. All of these individuals should be contacted by the Carnegie library and asked to donate oral histories and archival materials.

(12) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should commission a professional architectural photographer to document the survey buildings including exteriors and key surviving original interior spaces, gaining owner permission for property access. This permission is necessary due to the difficulties in effectively photo-documenting the survey buildings due to their large, irregular footprints, their frequent siting on private roads and rugged inaccessible lots, and the prevalence of privacy fencing and heavy landscaping. These photos will provide a basis for future preservation and would also provide the photographic materials necessary for a public exhibit promoting the survey.

(13) Both the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the American Institute of Architects will hold their national conferences in Denver over the next two years. Modernist preservation will be an important topic at both. These conferences will provide an excellent opportunity for Boulder to disseminate this survey to a national audience and to extend the city of Boulder’s recognition as a leader in historic preservation, recently lauded by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, into the field of Modernist preservation.
Recommendations for Further Survey / Research

(1) It should be noted that an important body of second tier Modernism exists in both of the proposed new landmark districts of Flatirons Park and Bellevue Vista. An additional survey should be undertaken at the earliest opportunity to identify these buildings for inclusion as contributing district structures. This additional survey will define the exact boundaries of the historic district.

(2) A future survey should include the documentation of all the surviving works of architects defined by this survey as "masters of local Modernism" including Charles A. Haertling, James M. Hunter, Hobart D. Wagener, L. Gale Abels, Roger J. Easton, Thomas Nixon, Art Everett, John A. Thacker, Carl Worthington and Tician Papachristou. To facilitate such a survey, building lists provided by a number of architects interviewed during the survey process are being donated to the Carnegie Library.

(3) The Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board should undertake a similar survey of architecture from the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, if only to gather research materials while the architects are still alive and/or in practice. Such a survey should overlap this survey in terms of date, style and architects to better represent the later generation that were not fully featured due to constraints on the date range and because of the limited number of properties the consulting team was directed to identify.

(4) This survey has identified twenty-five buildings that, in addition to architectural significance, are important in the context of intellectual history, which has been defined as having an key role in the development of Modern architecture in Boulder. Additional research on the topic should be pursued.
National Register Eligibility Assessment

According to the United States Department of the Interior's National Register, buildings may be evaluated as eligible for individual or district listing in the National Register of Historic Places if they possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and are:

A  Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

B  Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

C  Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D  Yield or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Each building selected for inclusion in this survey has been determined to possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.

Each building selected for inclusion in this survey meets three basic guidelines for architectural distinction, each associated with National Register eligibility criteria "C":

- Significant for its association with the development of the Modern movement in architecture in Boulder.
- Significant for its embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of an identifiable architectural style.
- Significant for the high standard of the construction craft.

Some buildings selected for inclusion in this survey meet additional guidelines for architectural distinction, each associated with National Register eligibility criteria "C":

- Significant because it is the work of an acknowledged master of either local, national or international architecture.
- Significant for the relationship of the building to the topography of its site.
- Significant for its relationship to associated landscape design.
- Significant for distinguishing material use, or special engineering features.
- Significant for the appearance of natural stone walls, a prominent feature in Boulder’s architecture which relates it to the University of Colorado campus and to many historic buildings off-campus.
- Significant for its geographic location on a prominent city street or because it constitutes an outstanding geographic landmark in the surrounding landscape.

Some buildings selected for inclusion in this survey meet a guideline for historic distinction associated with National Register eligibility criteria “A”:
- Significant for its association with intellectual history, or with the themes of the arts, technology, engineering, science, research or medicine in Boulder.

The survey forms detail how each individual building meets the criteria outlined above.

**Criteria Consideration G**

Since most of the Modern buildings on this survey are less than fifty years old, ordinarily they would not be eligible for listing on the National Register. However, buildings and districts may be evaluated to have "exceptional architectural significance" according to the guidelines set forth by the National Register of Historic Places if they satisfy Criteria Consideration G, an exception to the fifty year rule.

Only five buildings on this survey are at least fifty years old and will individually qualify for National Register listing without satisfying Criteria Consideration G. They include the Masonic Lodge of Boulder, Hampton House and Greider House, all of 1948, the former University Hills Elementary School of 1949 and the Public Service Building of 1950.

Two buildings are located in established historic districts. Such buildings meets Criteria Consideration G because they are integral parts of districts that are eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The Colorado Building at 1919 14th Street is within the Downtown Boulder Historic District, and the Boulder Valley Eye Clinic at 2401 Broadway falls within the Mapleton Hill Historic District. These buildings are automatically eligible for listing under Criteria Consideration G.

The National Register Bulletin *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, provides
guidance in establishing whether or not properties and districts satisfy Criteria Consideration G.

First, according to the Bulletin "In evaluating and justifying exceptional importance, it is especially critical to identify the properties in a geographic area that portray the same values or associations and determine those that best illustrate or represent the architectural, cultural or historical values being considered. Thus the first step in evaluating properties of recent significance is to establish and describe the historic context applicable to the resource." The preceding Historic Context of Modernism in Boulder 1890-1977 (Page 4) establishes just such a context in which the exceptional architectural significance of the survey buildings can be understood.

Second, the Bulletin identifies the importance of establishing the existence of a body of scholarly evaluation of a context of Modern architecture within which the survey properties may be evaluated. There is no question that a large body of scholarly work now exists on Post-War Modernist architecture.

The Bulletin also indicates that "Previous National Register nominations may assist in establishing appropriate context and additional scholarship." One pertinent National Register nomination is that of Arapahoe Acres, a post-war residential subdivision of 124 individual homes dating from 1949 to 1956 in Englewood, Colorado. This nomination successfully met Criteria Consideration G and was listed as a National Register Historic District in 1998. Arapahoe Acres was eligible for National Register listing under Criterion A for social history and under Criterion C for architectural distinction, for its significance in community development, for its distinction in landscape architecture, for its innovative construction techniques and materials, and for its association with a pioneer Modernist designer/developer, a prominent local architect and a single individual considered a regional master of mid-20th century architecture.

The Arapahoe Acres nomination reflects many social, cultural, technological and architectural issues parallel to the development of post-war Modernism in Boulder. Though the sixty-six buildings in this survey are non-contiguous (for the most part), unlike the 124 homes of Arapahoe Acres, and were not designed as part of a single cohesive development, they do share a significant related historic context deeply rooted in the post-war history of the City of Boulder. Taken individually, each of the sixty-six buildings in this survey exceeds the quality of even the finest of the 124 houses in Arapahoe Acres in terms of siting, landscape design, architectural design, engineering and construction.

The Bulletin also provides examples of the successful applications for Criteria Consideration G: "It is often challenging to evaluate architectural properties of the post-World War II era one at a time. Several States have effectively used a thematic approach and the Multiple Property Documentation Form to evaluate and nominate groups of properties that usually qualify under Criterion C as examples of particular architectural
styles or methods of construction. The National Register listed several residences in North Carolina nominated under the name *Early Modern Architecture Associated with North Carolina State University School of Design.* Dating from 1950 to 1968, the nominated buildings employed structural innovations, were publicized widely in national and regional architectural periodicals, and form a distinctive body of work with identifiable traits from the beginning to the end of the period of significance.” This particular example provides a direct parallel to the utilization of the *Historic Context of Modernism in Boulder 1890-1977* to justify Criteria Consideration G listing for the sixty-six individual buildings and two districts identified by this survey.

The survey has identified two potential districts for listing as Historic Districts: a Flatirons Park Historic District and a Bellevue Vista Historic District. Both proposed districts meet the same qualifying criteria as a group as they do as individual properties. Both proposed districts (see Maps on pages 45 and 46) display a relatively high density of the sixty-six surveyed buildings, indicating that the factors influencing the historical and architectural significance related to the development of Modernism during the period from 1947 to 1977 were especially prevalent within these geographic areas. Additional survey is needed to finalize potential district boundaries and to identify second tier Modernism which is also abundant in these geographic areas (see *Recommendations for Additional Research/Survey* on page 30).
Local Landmark Eligibility Assessment

The following criteria have been defined by the Landmark Preservation Advisory Board for determining whether a building qualifies as an Individual Landmark in the City of Boulder:

**Historical Significance**
The place (building, structure, site, area) should show character, interest or value as part of the development, heritage, or cultural characteristics of the community, state or nation; be the site of a historic, or prehistoric event that had an effect upon society; or exemplify the cultural, political, economic, or social heritage of the community:

1. Date of Construction: This area of consideration places particular importance on the age of the structure.
2. Association with Historical Persons or Events: This association could be national, state or local.
3. Distinction in the Development of the Community of Boulder: This is most applicable to an institution (religious, educational, civic, etc.) or business structure, though in some cases residences might quality. It stresses the importance of preserving those places which demonstrate the growth during different time spans in the history of Boulder, in order to maintain an awareness of, our cultural, economic, social or political heritage.
4. Recognition by Authorities: If it is recognized by Historic Boulder, Inc., the Boulder Historical Society, local historians (Barker, Crossen, Frink, Gladden, Paddock, Schooland, etc.), State Historical Society, *The Improvement of Boulder, Colorado* by F.L. Olmsted, or others in published form as having historical interest and value.
5. Other, if applicable.

**Architectural Significance**
The place should embody those distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen, a good example of the common; be the work of an architect or master builder, known nationally, state-wide, or locally, and perhaps whose work has influenced later development; contain elements of architectural design, detail, materials or craftsmanship which represent a significant innovation; or be a fine example of the uncommon.

1. Recognized Period/Style: it should exemplify specific elements of an architectural period/style ... such as described by any other published source of universal or local analysis of "style."
2. Architect or Builder of Prominence: A good example of the work of an architect or builder who is recognized for expertise in his field nationally, state-wide or locally.

3. Artistic Merit: A skillful integration of design, material, and color which is of excellent visual quality and/or demonstrates superior craftsmanship.

4. Example of the Uncommon: Elements of architectural design, detail, materials, or craftsmanship that are representative of a significant innovation.

5. Indigenous Qualities: A style or material that is particularly associated with the Boulder area.

6. Other, if applicable.

Environmental Significance
The place should enhance the variety, interest and sense of identity of the community by the protection of the unique natural and man-made environment.

1. Site Characteristics: It should be of high quality in terms of planned or natural vegetation.

2. Compatibility with Site: Consideration will be given to scale, massing placement, or other qualities of design with respect to its site.

3. Geographic Importance: Due to its unique location or singular physical characteristics, it represents an established and familiar visual feature of the community.

4. Environmental Appropriateness: The surroundings are complimentary and/or it is situated in a manner particularly suited to its function.

5. Area integrity: Places which provide historical, architectural, or environmental importance and continuity of an existing condition, although taken singularly or out of context might not qualify under other criteria.

6. Other, if applicable.

Each building selected for inclusion in this survey meets three basic guidelines which satisfy Boulder Landmark eligibility criteria for Architectural Significance (Items 1 and 3):

- Significant for its association with the development of the Modern movement in architecture in Boulder.

- Significant for its embodiment of the distinctive characteristics of an identifiable architectural style.

- Significant for the high standard of the construction craft.

Some buildings selected for inclusion in this survey meet additional guidelines which satisfy Boulder Landmark eligibility criteria for Architectural Significance (Items 2, 3, 4 and 5):
Significant because it is the work of an acknowledged master of either local, national or international architecture.

Significant for distinguishing material use, or special engineering features.

Significant for the appearance of natural stone walls, a prominent feature in Boulder's architecture which relates it to the University of Colorado campus and to many historic buildings off-campus.

Some buildings selected for inclusion in this survey meet additional guidelines which satisfy Boulder Landmark eligibility criteria for Environmental Significance (Items 1, 2, 3 and 4):

- Significant for the relationship of the building to the topography of its site.
- Significant for its relationship to associated landscape design.
- Significant for its geographic location on a prominent city street or because it constitutes an outstanding geographic landmark in the surrounding landscape.

Some buildings selected for inclusion in this survey meet additional guidelines which satisfy Boulder Landmark eligibility criteria for Historical Significance (Items 2 and 3):

- Significant for its association with intellectual history, or with the themes of the arts, technology, engineering, science, research or medicine in Boulder.

The survey forms detail how each individual building meets the criteria outlined above.

Since the Boulder Landmark Ordinance has no age restrictions for listing (i.e. a "Fifty Year Rule"), it is not necessary to detail any additional qualifying criteria due to the age of the surveyed buildings.

The criteria for determining whether a potential district qualifies as a District Landmark in the City of Boulder is the same as the Individual Landmark criteria except it lacks Items 4 and 5 in the category of Environmental Significance, and adds a single item to Architectural Significance (Architectural Identity: The area should display common characteristics or continuity, and represent a distinguishable entity that possess an integrity of appearance, and/or feeling or mood).

The survey has identified two potential districts for listing as Boulder Historic Districts: a Flatirons Park Historic District and a Bellevue Vista Historic District. Both proposed districts meet the same qualifying criteria as a group as they do as individual properties. Both proposed districts (see Maps on pages 45 and 46) display a relatively high density of the sixty-six surveyed buildings, indicating that the factors influencing the historical,
architectural and environmental significance related to the development of Modernism during the period from 1947 to 1977 were especially prevalent within these geographic areas. Additional survey is needed to finalize potential district boundaries and to identify second tier Modernism in these areas (see Recommendations for Additional Research/Survey on page 30.)
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The maps above were prepared by Terry Stonich, GIS Manager, City of Boulder Planning Department.

## USGS Maps defining survey area boundaries

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Overview map defining Detail Maps which follow. Map produced by the City of Boulder Planning Department.
Detail Map One.
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Map produced by the City of Boulder Planning Department.
Detail Map Three.
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Map produced by the City of Boulder Planning Department.
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Detail Map Five including proposed Flatirons Park Landmark Historic District (Framed Area). Boulder CO Quadrangle, Township 1 North, Range 71 West, Section 36. Map produced by the City of Boulder Planning Department.
Detail Map Six including proposed Bellevue Vista Landmark Historic District (Framed Area). Boulder CO Quadrangle, Township 1 North, Range 70 West, Section 31 and Township 1 South, Range 70 West, Section 6. Map produced by the City of Boulder Planning Department.
Detail Map Seven.
Eldorado Springs CO and Louisville CO Quadrangles, Township 1 South, Range 70 West,
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Map produced by the City of Boulder Planning Department.
USGS Boulder CO Quadrangle, Townships 1 South and 1 North, Ranges 70 West and 71 West. Dark shaded areas show Boulder city limits, the boundaries of the survey area.
USGS Eldorado Springs CO Quadrangle, Townships 1 South and 1 North, Ranges 70 West and 71 West. Dark shaded areas show Boulder city limits, the boundaries of the survey area.
USGS Niwot CO Quadrangle, Townships 1 South and 1 North, Ranges 70 West and 71 West. Dark shaded areas show Boulder city limits, the boundaries of the survey area.
USGS Louisville CO Quadrangle, Townships 1 South and 1 North, Ranges 70 West and 71 West. Dark shaded areas show Boulder city limits, the boundaries of the survey area.
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Full dates, notes and tapes of interviews will be donated by the consultants to the Carnegie Library. Interviewees included, in alphabetical order:

Bill Bowen
DeVon Carlson
Bill and Betty Chronic
Roger Easton
Joel Haertling
Richard Kreuger
Margaret Hansen
Daniel Havekost
Tician Papachristou
Dave Paulson
Silvia Pettem
John Thacker
Rigomar Thurmer
Carl Worthington
Hobart Wagener
Alan Zeigel
Tom Zimmerman
Recommended references on architectural styles include:

