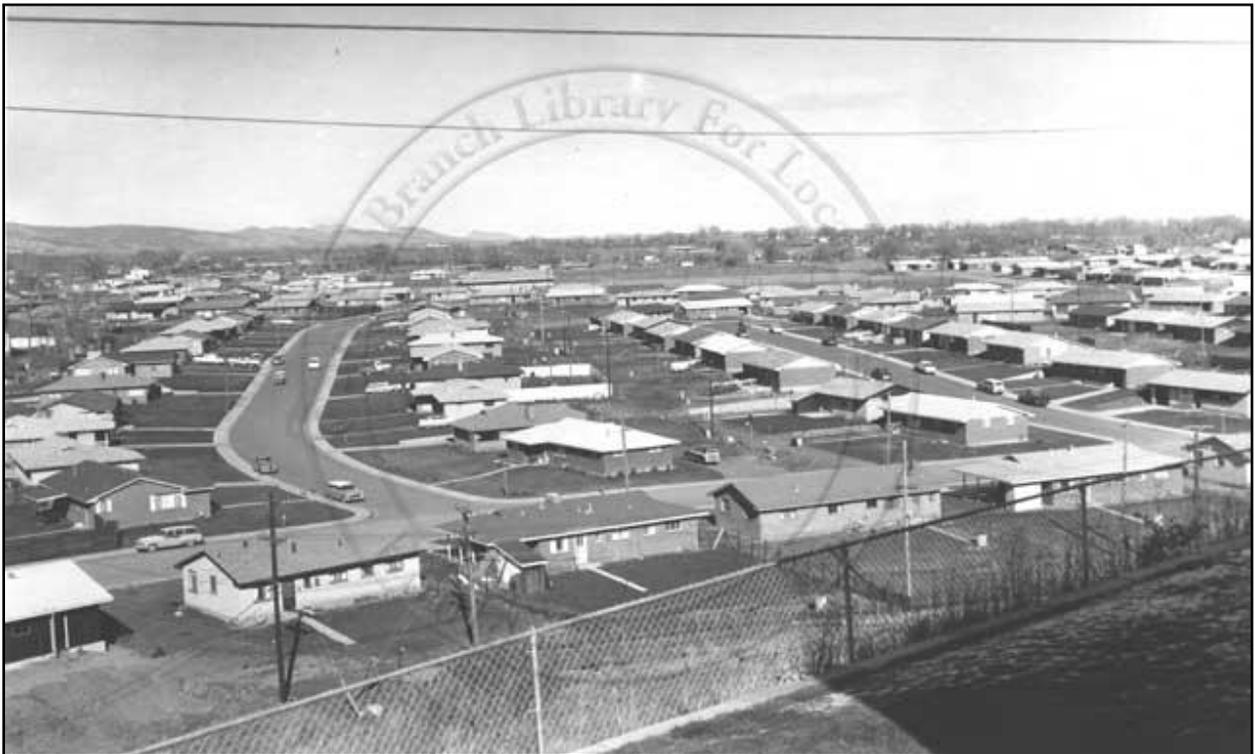


Historic Context and Survey of Post-World War II Residential Architecture Boulder, Colorado

FINAL



Prepared for the
City of Boulder, Colorado

In association with the
State Historical Fund
Colorado Historical Society

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The Colorado Historical Society's State Historical Fund (SHF) was created by the 1990 Colorado constitutional amendment allowing limited gaming in the towns of Cripple Creek, Central City, and Black Hawk. The amendment directs that a portion of the gaming tax revenues be used to promote historic preservation throughout the state. Funds are distributed through a competitive grant process, and all projects must demonstrate strong public benefit and community support. The City of Boulder, Historic Preservation Program has been awarded a SHF grant to develop a historic context related to the theme of post-World War II residential architecture in the City of Boulder.

Cover: This circa (ca.) 1953-1956 photograph shows the Edgewood subdivision in north-central Boulder, looking northwest. *From the Carnegie Branch Library of the City of Boulder Public Library.*

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Following World War II, Boulder experienced a population surge that quickly transformed the small university town of 12,958 residents in 1940 to a lively city of 72,000 residents by 1972. With 12 million returning servicemen and women nationwide, the postwar boom caused a desperate housing shortage that initiated a wave of construction that radically impacted every aspect of the nation, including Boulder. Interstate highways, roads, shopping centers, and vast expanses of residential subdivisions altered the landscape and expanded Boulder's city boundaries in all directions. Fueled by urgency and expediency, developers and builders created new housing developments on former farmland on the city's outer fringes. The architecture and design of the new housing and its neighborhoods were markedly different from those built before the war. They emerged in the form of Ranch, Split-Level, and Bi-Level houses set on curving roads and cul de sacs, and provided house-hungry buyers a place to call home and start a family.

Since the end of the postwar era, popular architectural trends in housing have continued to evolve, and now postwar housing stands out for its own architectural merits. House types like the Ranch and the Split-Level are being recognized for their significant departure from prewar housing, while the vast acreage devoted to postwar subdivisions at the outer edges of the cities permanently impacted the American landscape. Today, as many of these houses remain in place and continue to provide housing for Boulder's populace, redevelopment pressures encourage major alterations and demolition. As a result, intact, unaltered postwar houses and subdivisions are becoming a disappearing resource in Boulder.

Few states and cities, including Colorado and its municipal districts, have undertaken historic studies of their postwar housing subdivisions and other residential developments constructed during the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. This is partially due to the relatively recent age of resources built after 1945, and because architectural surveys are typically completed only for buildings and structures that have turned 50 years of age; the threshold in which all buildings are evaluated under standard National Register of Historic Places (National Register) criteria (National Park Service 1997). The City of Boulder has surveyed the majority of its buildings constructed prior to 1947, but has little analysis on its residential subdivisions dating from the postwar years. In 1999-2000, the City of Boulder undertook a city-wide survey of Modern architecture built between 1947 and 1977 to examine its individual, custom-designed residential, commercial, and public buildings that express a variety of Modern architectural styles and building types (Paglia, Segel, and Wray, 2000). This report has a different focus from this previous study by studying only postwar residential subdivisions, which differ from their custom-designed residential counterparts because they are builder-driven, mass-produced groupings of a limited number of house models and often are marketed to a different demographic as well. The

housing types examined here are also not limited to Modern architectural styles or building types, while the previous examined avant garde approaches to the Modern Movement in the city. This study examined a number of additional factors and influences that make postwar residential subdivisions and housing different from other types of architectural resources.

A second reason for the lack of postwar housing inventories is that the vast number of buildings makes intensive survey a daunting prospect to many cities and towns that have literally thousands of these resources. As large-scale building activities met an urgent demand during the early postwar housing crunch, efficient construction methods resulted in uniformity of design, form, and landscape characteristics. Many residential subdivisions contained hundreds of houses built from only a handful of architectural plans or models. This uniformity of design and architectural form, and landscape characteristics requires a different approach from traditional survey methods. It also allows an opportunity to explore more efficient survey methods that emphasize the significance of a subdivision as a whole, as well as the individual components of that subdivision. These considerations informed the approaches and methods of the historic context and survey results presented in this report.

This project constitutes the first in-depth study of postwar housing in Boulder. Informed by primary and secondary research, oral history interviews, field survey, and analysis of historic significance; it consists of a historic context theme and a selective intensive survey of 105 representative housing types in Boulder from the period between 1947 and 1967. The purpose of this study is to identify and evaluate housing types and subdivisions from that period, to educate and inform the community about postwar residential architecture in Boulder, and where appropriate, make recommendations to the City of Boulder for the management of identified potentially significant resources.

This report is organized into eight chapters, including Chapter 1, Introduction. Chapter 2 describes the total acreage and legal locations of the study area and selective survey. It includes one overview map of Boulder and 10 maps depicting each of the ten postwar subdivisions investigated, color-coded by each parcel's approximate date of construction.

The study's Research Design and Methods are presented in Chapter 3. This chapter describes the project's windshield survey and reconnaissance survey that led to the identification of the resources included in the selective survey within each of the ten subdivisions studied. This selective inventory consists of 105 examples of postwar housing types within the subdivisions of Baseline, Edgewood, Flatirons Park, Highland Park, Interurban Park, Martin Acres, Park East, Sunset Hills, Table Mesa, and Wagoner Manor. Chapter 3 also describes the resources and materials used to prepare the historic context of postwar housing in Boulder, and the approaches developed to undertake the intensive survey.

Chapter 4 presents the National Historic Context, which is an essay on the historic background of the architectural, social, and physical environment in which the post-World War II residential neighborhoods unfolded in the United States. While this report focuses on the period of residential construction between the years 1947 and 1967, the historic context encompasses the broader historic setting in which new ideas, construction technology, and architectural types emerged leading up to and encompassing the postwar era of the late 1940s through the 1970s. Examination of national trends concerning urban planning, transportation development, residential construction, and architectural movements illuminates Boulder's relationship with national patterns and influences that impacted the city during this period.

A historic context of Boulder is located in Chapter 5 and focuses on the growth and development of Boulder leading up to and encompassing the postwar period. Included is historic research concerning patterns of development, commonly found housing types, and other influencing factors on residential development unique to Boulder. This context includes a history of each of the ten neighborhoods surveyed during this project.

Architectural descriptions of the housing types that were observed and analyzed during survey and evaluations are presented in Chapter 6. These housing types and/or architectural forms serve as a guide and supplement to the intensive survey analysis, results, and Architectural Inventory Forms completed for the Intensive Selective Survey.

Chapter 7 presents the results of the selective survey of 105 representative housing types in the ten neighborhoods surveyed. Informed by research data and intensive-level fieldwork, evaluations of architectural and historic significance were made for each of the 105 properties in the selective survey. Evaluations were made in accordance with the National Register Criteria for eligibility and with local landmark eligibility criteria set forth by the City of Boulder. These evaluations include historic district eligibility for the National Register and local historic districts, where appropriate. The recommendations presented in Chapter 7 are intended to provide the City of Boulder with suggestions as to how findings of the study may be used to manage buildings and areas of historic, architectural, or environmental significance. This chapter also suggests alternative management techniques and or/criteria for evaluation to preserve the character of identified areas of significance and potential eligibility within the City of Boulder.

All references and citations are included in Chapter 8, Bibliography. The Appendices include copies of the 105 Architectural Inventory Forms, as well as survey databases, historic photographs, and newspaper advertisements to expand on topics of research summarized in the report text.

Appendix A is the Survey Log of the selective intensive survey data and findings, organized both by address and by site number.

Appendix B is a research database of Builders and Models Research Data, Housing Types by Subdivision, City Directory Records, and Subdivision Filing Dates.

Appendix C is a table of black-and-white photographs scanned from the City of Boulder's Assessor Records archived at the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, of the Boulder County Public Library system. These photographs illustrate the original appearance of many of the properties intensively surveyed in this study.

Appendix D is a compilation of newspaper advertisements scanned from The Daily Camera newspaper. These advertisements are organized by surveyed subdivision (as available) while the remaining ads are grouped by builder, or by other subdivisions noted but not surveyed in this study.

Appendix E is a timeline of the major historical events in Boulder between 1859 and 1971.

TEC Inc. prepared this report under a contract with the City Boulder. Preparers include Jennifer E. Bryant, Historian; and Carrie Schomig, Architectural Historian; with assistance from Marcy Cameron, Field Assistant; Melissa Johnson, GIS Specialist; and Allison Parrish, Field Assistant. Contributors to this effort include the City of Boulder Historic Preservation Planners James Hewat and Chris Meschuk, and Tim Plass, Chair of Boulder's Landmark Preservation Advisory Board. TEC Inc. would also like to thank the librarians and research staff of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, of the Boulder County Public Library system.

2.0 PROJECT AREA

The project area for the selective intensive survey in this report totals approximately 1,130 discontinuous acres. This total comprises the combined acreage of the parcels within all ten residential subdivisions surveyed in the city of Boulder. The following 11 maps depict the project area.

The city of Boulder, Colorado, is located in Boulder County at the base of the Eastern Slope of the Rocky Mountains. The project area covers four U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) Quadrangles, which are the Boulder Quadrangle, Eldorado Springs Quadrangle, Niwot Quadrangle, and Louisville Quadrangle. The ten subdivisions surveyed encompass the following Quadrangles, Township, Range, and Sections (Table 1).

Table 1. Legal Locations of 10 Subdivisions Surveyed

Subdivision	U.S.G.S. Quadrangle	Township	Range	Section
Baseline	Boulder	1N	70W	32
	Niwot	1N	70W	32
Edgewood	Boulder	1N	70W	19, 30
Flatirons Park	Boulder	1N	71W	36
Highland Park	Eldorado Springs	1S	70W	5, 6
Interurban Park	Eldorado Springs	1S	70W	6
Martin Acres	Eldorado Springs	1S	70W	5
	Louisville	1S	70W	4, 5, 8
Park East	Niwot	1N	70W	33
Sunset Hills	Boulder	1N	70W	30
Table Mesa	Eldorado Springs	1S	70W	7, 8
	Louisville	1S	70W	8
Wagoner Manor	Niwot	1N	70W	33

Figure 1 is a USGS Map showing the location of all ten subdivisions within the Boulder, Eldorado Springs, Louisville, and Niwot U.S.G.S. Quadrangles. Figures 2 through 11 below include an overview map of all ten subdivisions relative to each other in the City of Boulder and ten maps depicting each subdivision studied in this report. Each subdivision map is color-coded according to the City of Boulder’s estimated dates of construction for each parcel.

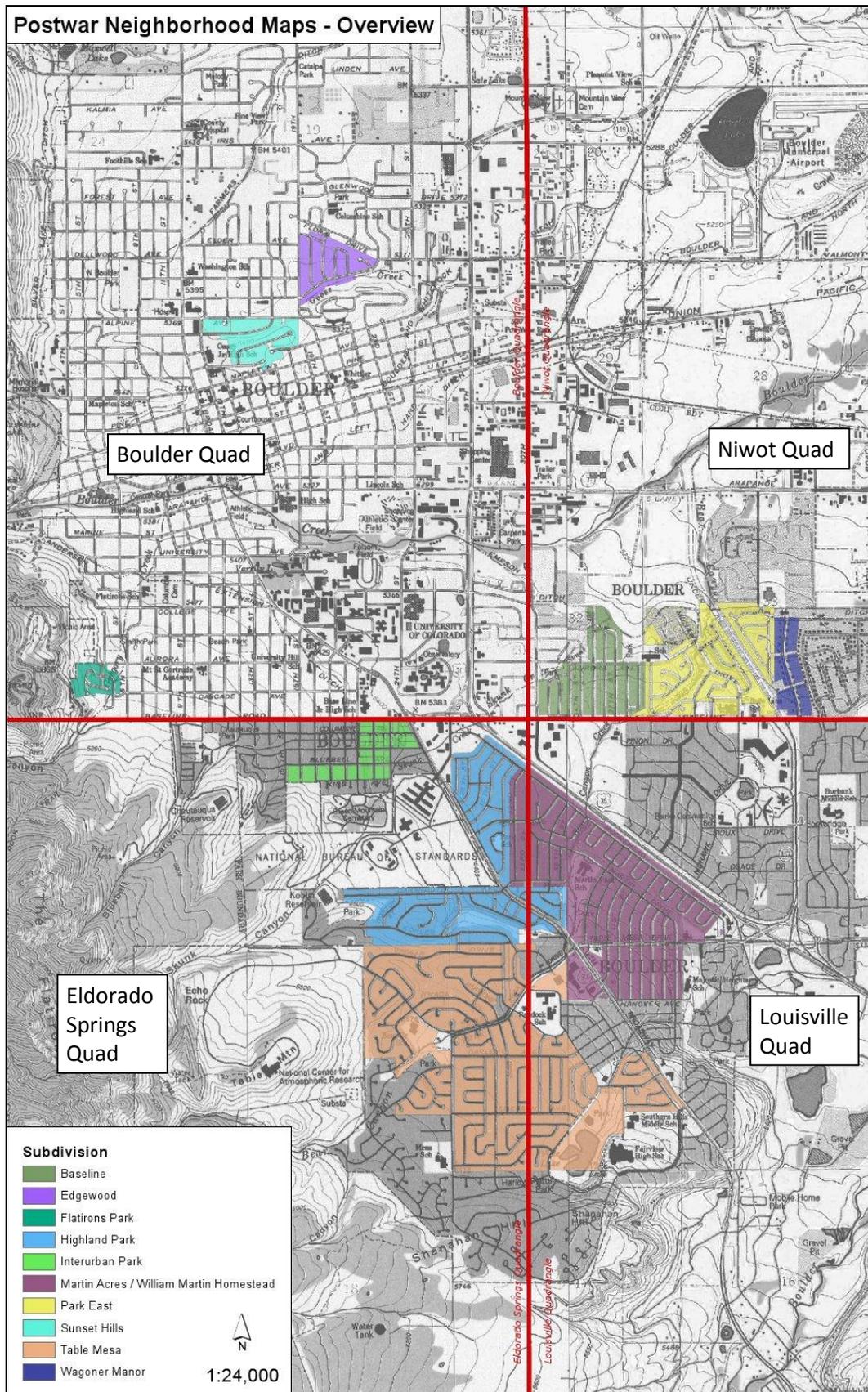


Figure 1. USGS Location Map of 10 subdivisions

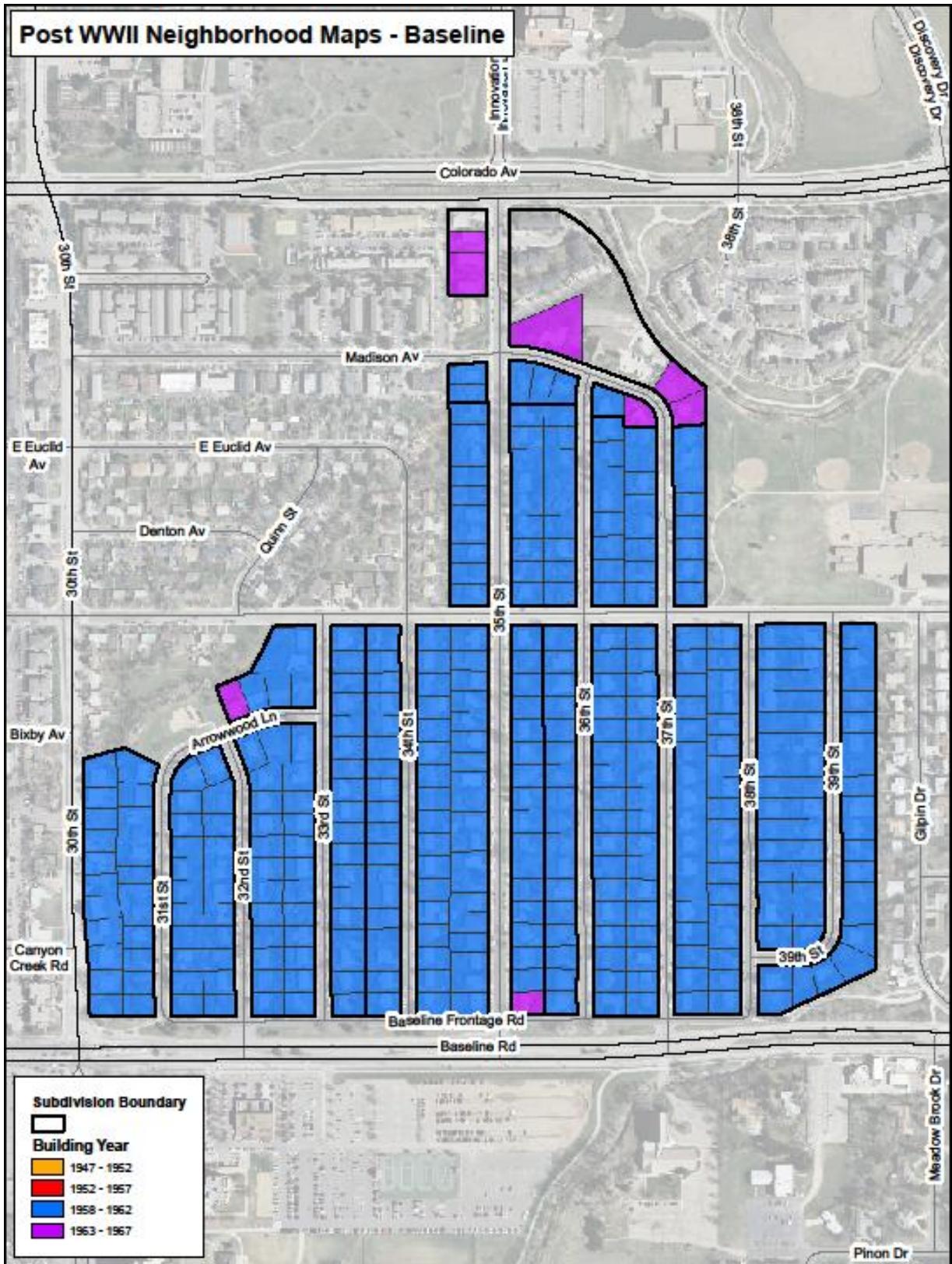


Figure 2. Baseline Subdivision



Figure 3. Edgewood Subdivision

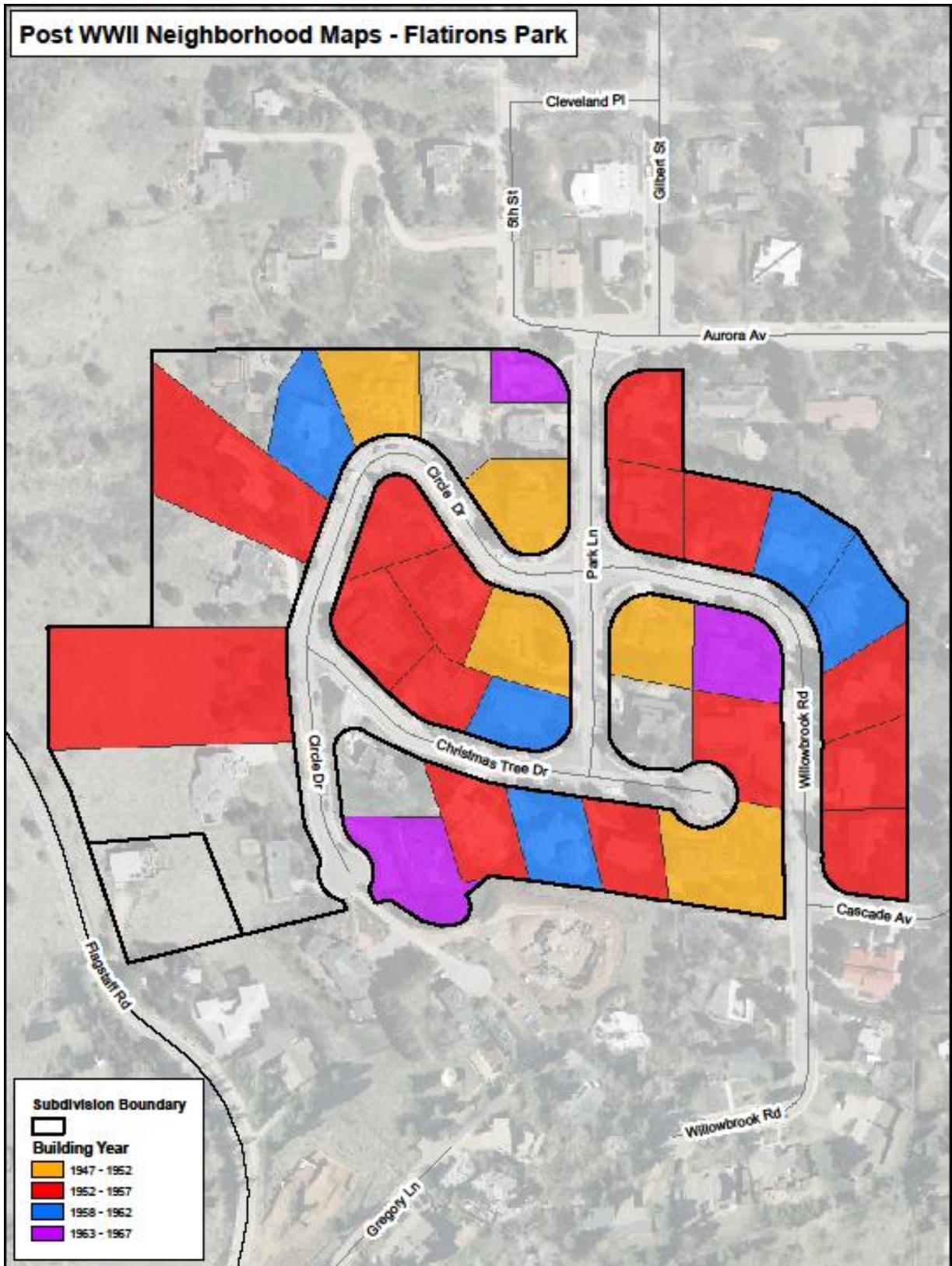


Figure 4. Flatirons Park Subdivision

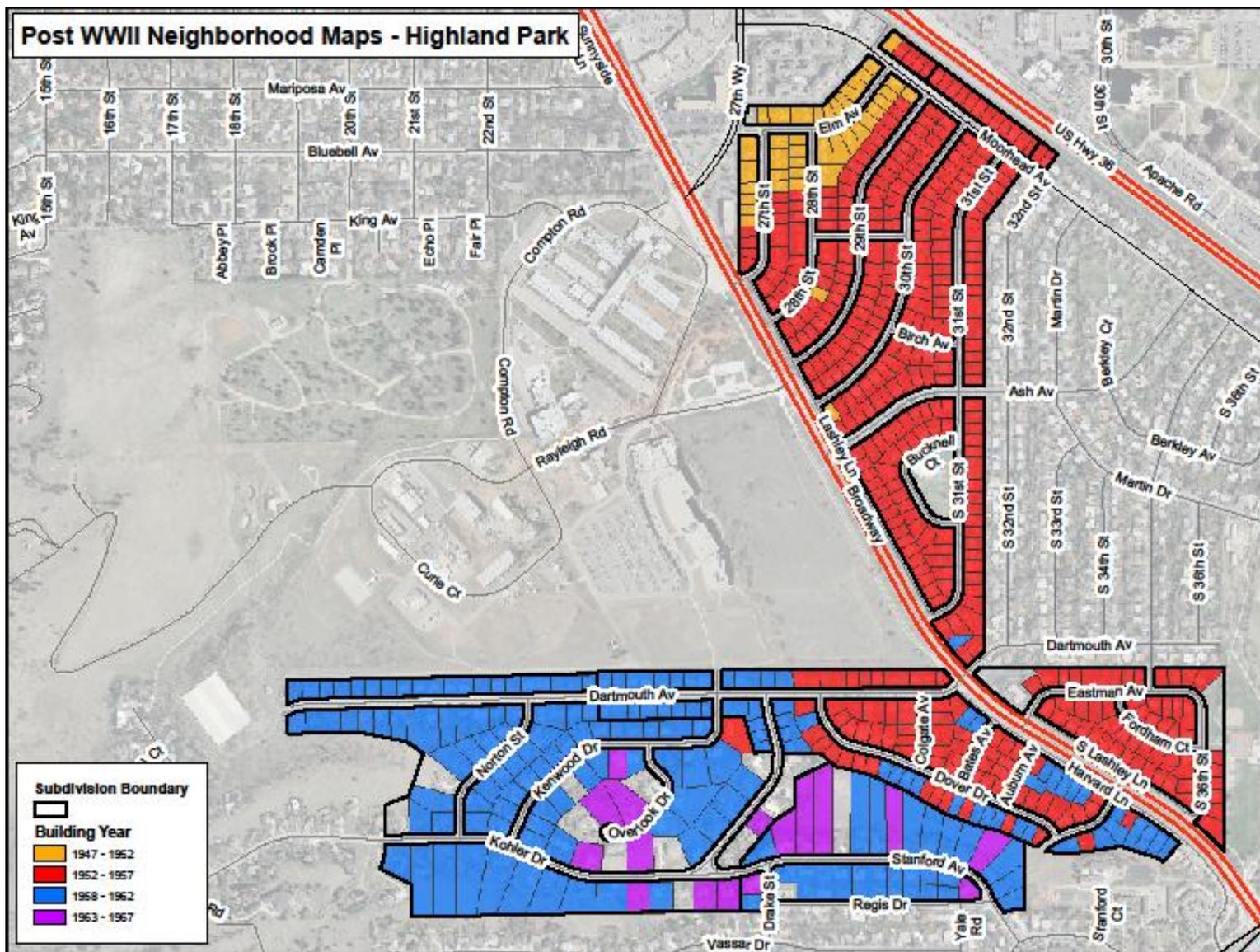


Figure 5. Highland Park Subdivision

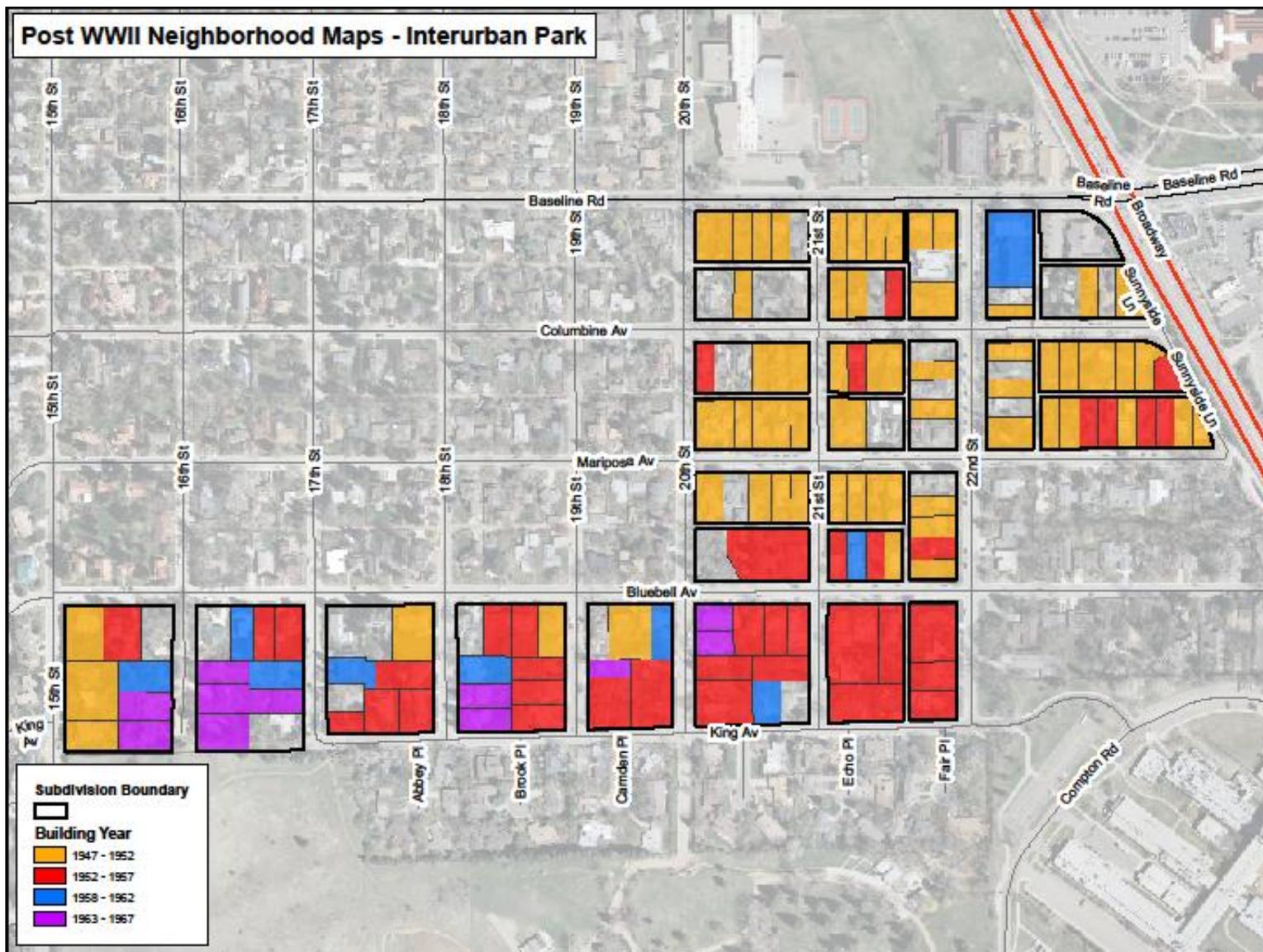


Figure 6. Interurban Park Subdivision

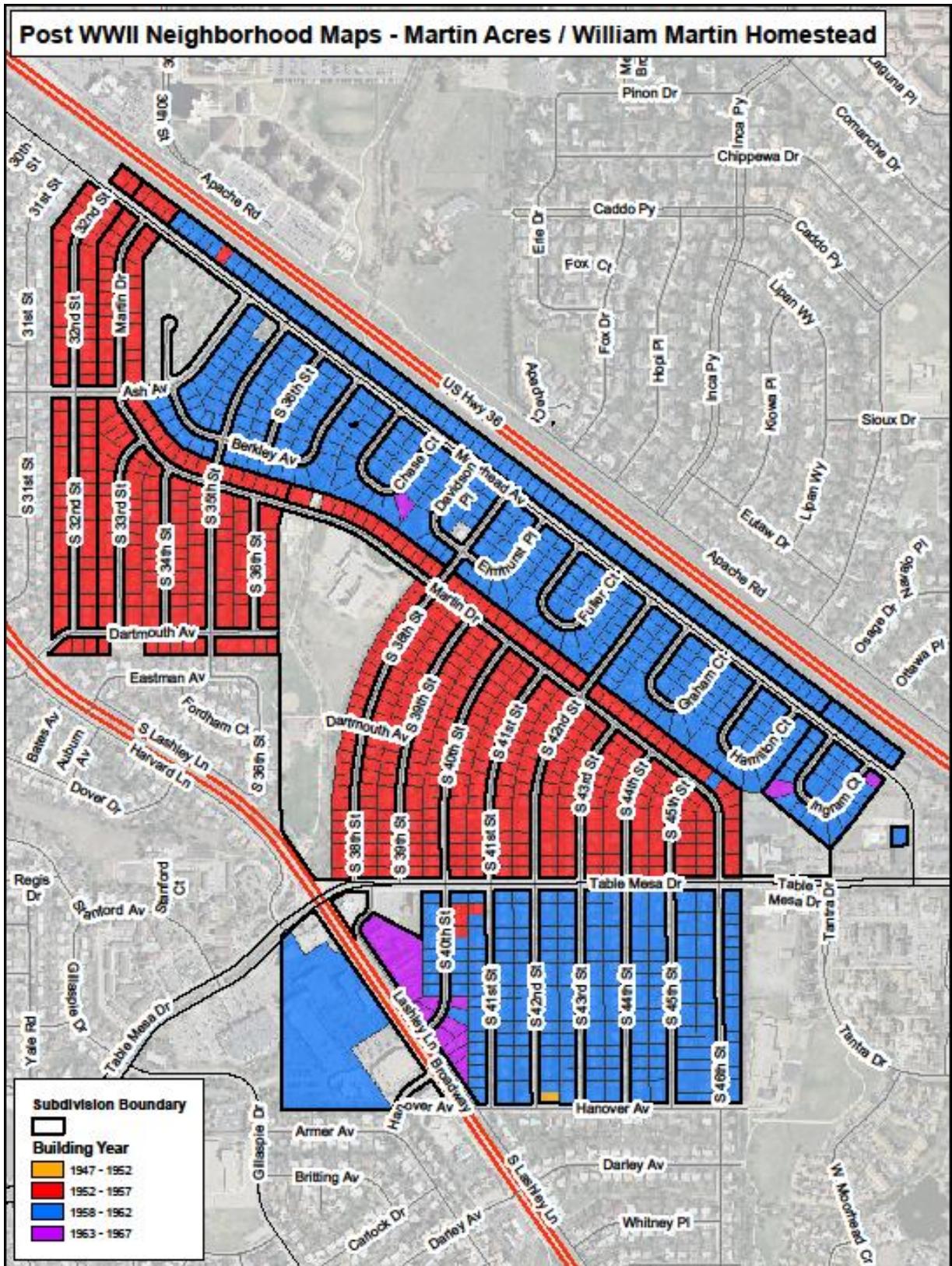


Figure 7. Martin Acres Subdivision

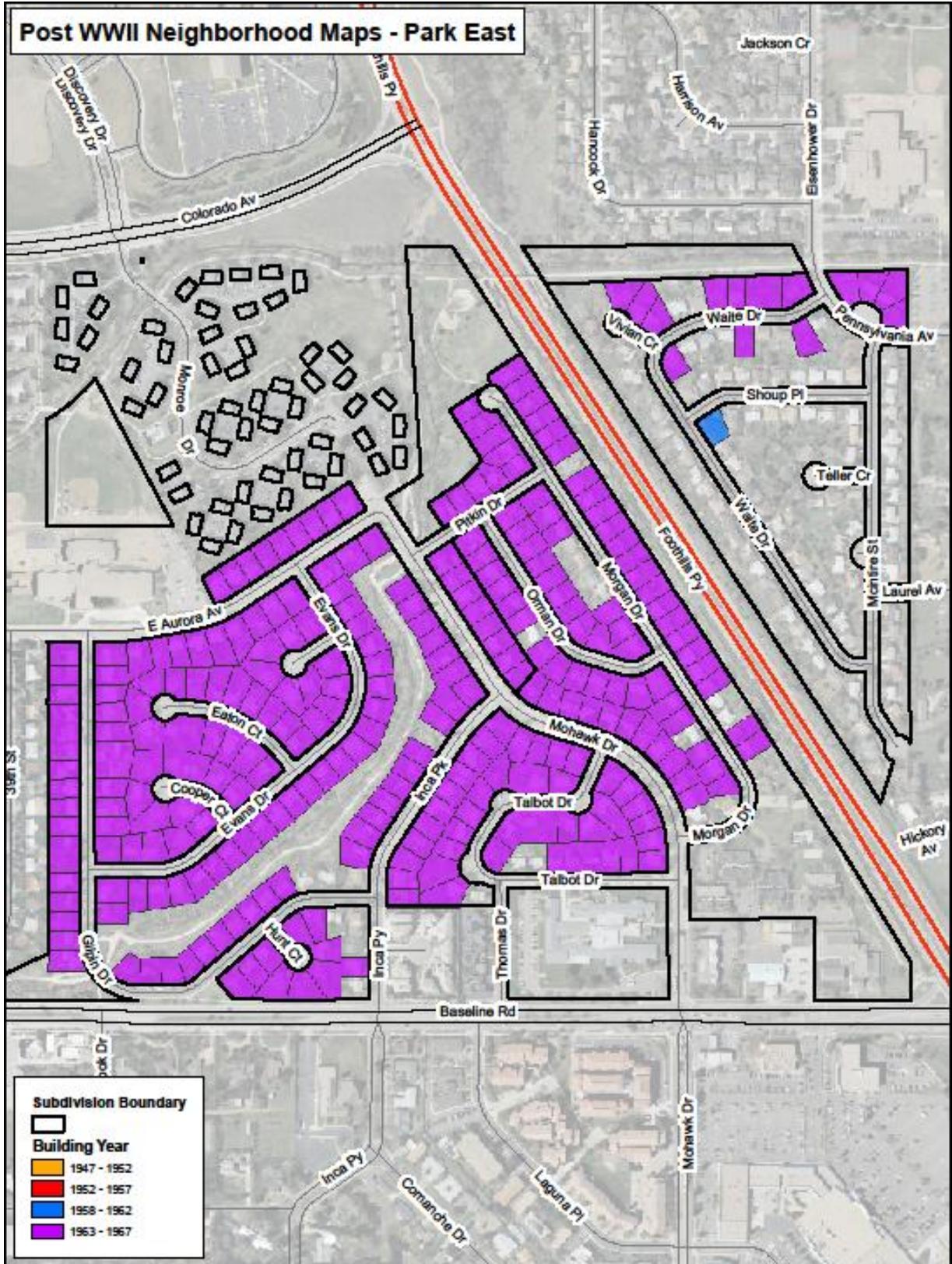


Figure 8. Park East Subdivision

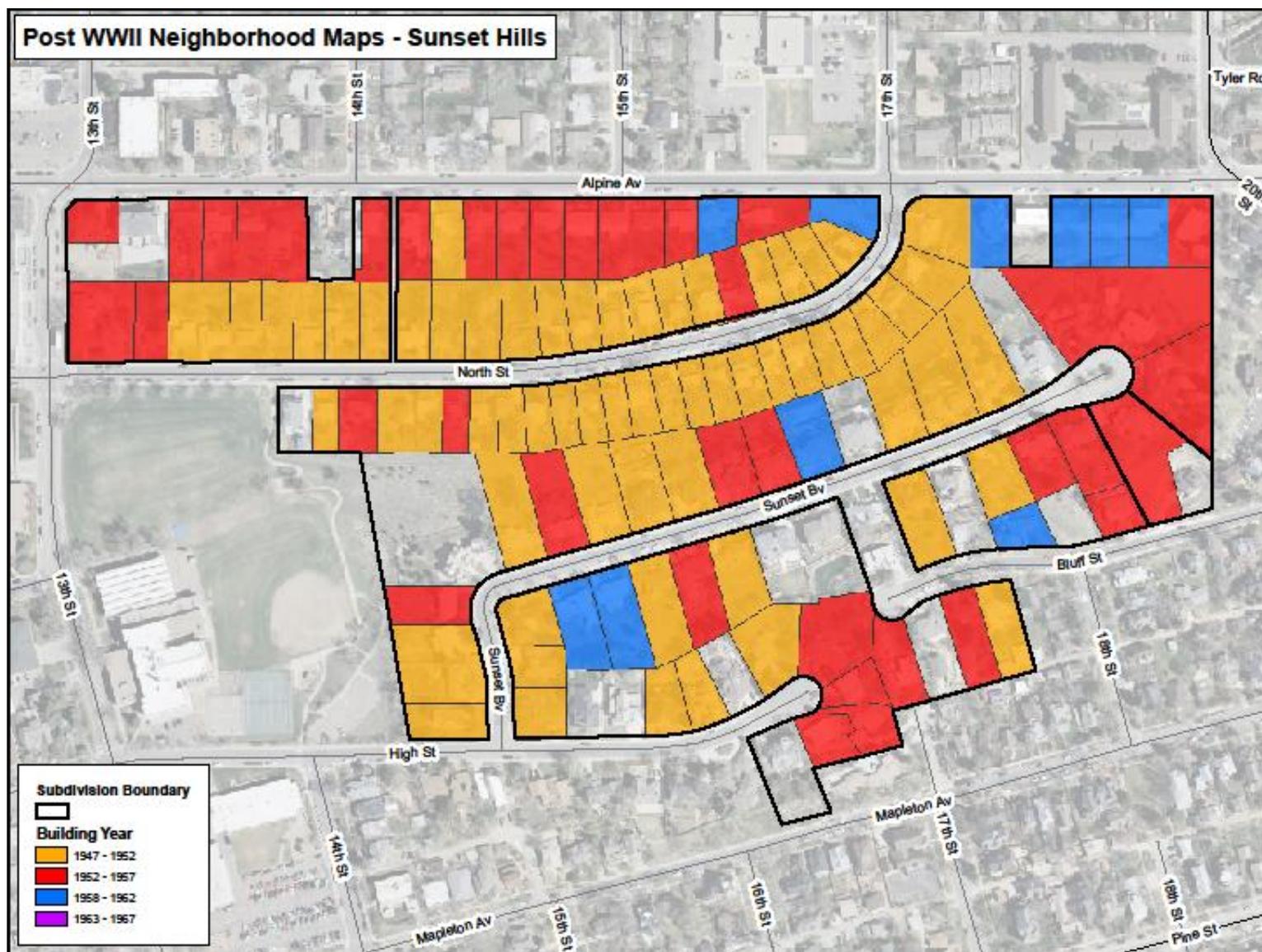


Figure 9. Sunset Hills Subdivision

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The uniformity of postwar housing's architectural design, building form, and landscape characteristics requires a different approach from traditional survey methods. These differences also allow an opportunity to explore more efficient survey methods that emphasize the subdivision as a whole, while regarding the individual houses as components of that subdivision. These characteristics informed this study's research design, which consists of a phased approach that is driven by the historic context, a reconnaissance survey of ten subdivisions, and a selective sampling of representative housing types for intensive survey. The overall approach was to gain a baseline understanding of the ten subdivisions and their representative housing types.

In light of the large number of postwar houses in Boulder, a variety of approaches were used to complete the survey. The City and TEC's approach to this project was divided into four phases consisting of the following:

1. Historic Context Development
2. Windshield Survey of Ten Selected Subdivisions
3. Reconnaissance Survey of Ten Selected Subdivisions
4. Intensive Selective Survey and Evaluations

TEC began the project with the development of a Historic Context to provide a baseline understanding of the history of the development of the postwar subdivisions in Boulder. This historic background constantly informed the other three steps, which involved a variety of fieldwork and additional research. The second phase involved a windshield survey, which was an automobile tour of the subdivisions proposed for inclusion in this study, to gain a cursory visual assessment of each subdivision's existing conditions. This information, combined with the historic research and city data, identified the ten postwar subdivisions subsequently studied in this project. The third step consisted of a reconnaissance survey to collect baseline information for every parcel within each of the ten subdivisions. Unlike the windshield survey, which can be undertaken quickly from an automobile in order to gain an overall impression of a neighborhood, the reconnaissance survey involved precursory field data collection and photography of every parcel. This information was used to identify the 105 properties for intensive selective survey, the project's final phase. Only the best representatives of each housing type within each subdivision were intensively surveyed in order to gain a cross-section of the architectural variations of each neighborhood. Both the intensively surveyed properties and the housing subdivision as a whole were then evaluated for historic significance under National Register and the City of Boulder's Significance Criteria.

3.1 Background Research and Historic Context Development

In order to determine if any postwar housing had been previously surveyed in Boulder, TEC conducted a file search using the Colorado Historical Society's Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's (OAHP) Compass online cultural resource database in July 2008 and again in February 2010. The file search results indicated that no housing subdivisions within the City limits had been previously surveyed. Three single-family residences (5BL.833, 5BL.2108, and 5BL.10102) and one multiple-family residence (5BL.8673) built during the 1947-1967 period had been previously surveyed for a variety of compliance surveys within the city. None of these buildings were found to be field-eligible or officially eligible for inclusion in the National Register. Additionally, the Compass search identified 27 postwar residences that were recorded as part of a survey on individual, architect-designed buildings of the Modern Movement in Boulder in the report, *Historic Context and Survey of Modern Architecture in Boulder, Colorado, 1947 – 1977* (Paglia, Segel, and Wray), conducted for the City of Boulder in 2000. The locations of these 27 residences are spread throughout the city. The report recommended that all 27 residences surveyed be individually eligible for inclusion in the National Register; however, the OAHP's official determinations of the report's findings have not yet occurred. Because the report's historic context and survey focused on one-of-a-kind buildings that express the Modern architectural movement in Boulder, it did not examine the developer-driven, large-scale residential subdivisions that were built at the same time. Thus, although the report highlighted themes that carried over to the historic context of postwar subdivision development, such as architectural changes and postwar growth, the custom-designed houses examined in this report are different from the mass-produced houses of subdivisions examined here, and conversely, many postwar subdivisions did not feature Modern architecture. Rather, this postwar housing survey set out to examine housing for the masses in response to the overwhelming population growth that occurred during the postwar period.

TEC developed a historic context in order to inform the other three steps in the project. The preparation of the Historic Context was accomplished by conducting research using archival, primary, and secondary sources.. Preliminary research identified a two-decade period within the postwar era, 1947 through 1967, that was in need of in-depth study. For the study period between 1947 and 1967, the year 1947 was selected because few neighborhoods were built in Boulder during the very early postwar period between 1945 and 1947. This delay was common nationwide as the country struggled to redirect funding and materials to domestic building in the wake of the monumental war-mobilization effort. The 20-year study period is bracketed by the end-year of 1967. While the end of the postwar era is generally recognized to have occurred between 1965 and 1970, 1967 was chosen as a result of the major planning policies that emerged from the City of Boulder. These policies include the establishment of the city's open-space program that helped curtail late-postwar subdivision development at the city's outer edges.

Utilizing this information, TEC and the City of Boulder narrowed down a list of postwar neighborhoods that would benefit from in-depth study.

3.2 Windshield Survey and Selected Subdivisions

In an effort to identify ten residential subdivisions in which to focus this study, TEC and the City of Boulder staff conducted a windshield survey of the postwar subdivisions within the city limits. The goal of the windshield survey was to identify the most intact neighborhoods that collectively represent a diverse range of qualities and characteristics of subdivisions in Boulder. Key considerations included a subdivision's period of construction, geography, housing types, landscape design, builders or developers, and socioeconomics. The team also looked for the level of alterations to individual houses. The windshield survey was thus a key component of the project's early stages because it provided an on-the-ground understanding of each subdivision's existing conditions. This information supplemented the research data, which consisted of the City building records and the information gleaned from the historic context.

The combined results of the windshield survey and the research data allowed the team to narrow the list of subdivisions to those primarily established during the postwar period between 1947 and 1967. The team began with the City's color-coded maps that show each parcel's date of construction. These maps identified concentrated areas of postwar suburban growth along major transportation routes that emerged during this period. The maps indicated a concentration of postwar subdivisions located on the east side of Boulder, north of Baseline Road including the subdivisions of Baseline, Park East, and Wagoner Manor. On the north side of Boulder, the Sunset Hills and Carolyn Heights subdivisions were chosen to represent development on lands that served as farmland prior to World War II. Mapping and housing construction dates identified a vast number of postwar housing and growth in south Boulder, south of Baseline and to the east and west of Broadway. These areas were dominated by the Interurban Park, Highland Park, Martin Acres, and Table Mesa subdivisions, which appeared to represent a variety of large-scale building approaches.

After selecting nine neighborhoods, including Baseline, Park East, Wagoner Manor, Carolyn Heights, Sunset Hills, Highland Park, Martin Acres, Interurban Park, and Table Mesa, TEC and the City undertook the automobile tour—or windshield survey—of these neighborhoods. The windshield survey revealed that the Carolyn Heights subdivision in north Boulder possessed considerable demolition and total remodeling of the majority of the houses that was not reflected in the research data. These alterations have caused a cumulative impact to the neighborhood as a whole, and as a result, the Carolyn Heights neighborhood no longer conveys its original character as a 1950s-60s residential development. At the same time, the windshield survey identified the Edgewood subdivision in north-central Boulder as an intact grouping of postwar houses with fewer alterations. This discovery led to the replacement of

Carolyn Heights with the Edgewood subdivision for further study in this project. The windshield survey also identified Flatirons Park at the west end of Boulder as a subdivision that stood out for its larger, semi-custom-designed postwar housing types and for its conformity to the subdivision's hillside topography. Although the windshield survey revealed that many houses in Flatirons Park have been remodeled or otherwise dramatically altered, the subdivision's unique setting prompted interest in further research of its historic context and of the remaining intact houses. Finally, the windshield survey confirmed that all of the neighborhoods in east and south Boulder identified using mapping and city building records would benefit from further study and inclusion in the project as representatives of larger-scale postwar housing developments. Information from the windshield survey was further informed by historic research that was undertaken concurrently for the development of the historic context. Neighborhood-specific research resulted in the final list of the ten subdivisions included in this study, which are: Baseline, Edgewood, Flatirons Park, Highland Park, Interurban Park, Martin Acres, Park East, Sunset Hills, Table Mesa, and Wagoner Manor. Each is divided geographically as follows:

- North Boulder
 - Edgewood
 - Sunset Hills
- East Boulder
 - Baseline
 - Park East
 - Wagoner Manor
- West Boulder
 - Flatirons Park
- South Boulder
 - Interurban Park
 - Highland Park
 - Martin Acres
 - Table Mesa

These subdivisions are described as follows, and their locations are illustrated in Figure 12, below.

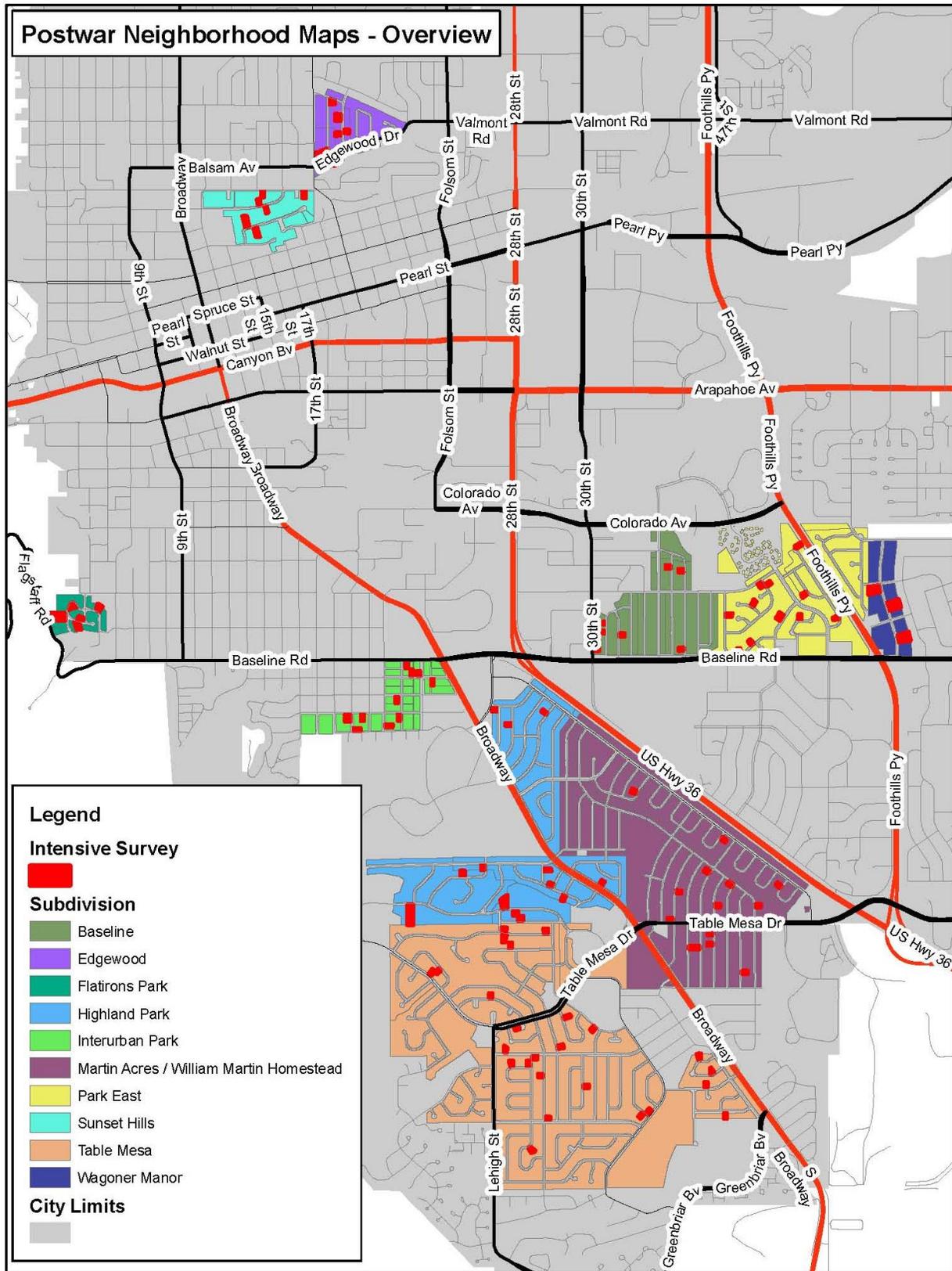


Figure 12. Ten Subdivisions Selected for Survey in Boulder

Baseline: The Baseline subdivision in east Boulder is located between 30th Street to the west, 40th Street to the east, Baseline Road to the south, and Colorado Avenue at its northern extension. The subdivision consists of 345 houses constructed between 1958 and 1967. Baseline is included in this survey project as an example of a relatively intact, late-era postwar subdivision that developed in the eastern area of Boulder.

Edgewood: The Edgewood subdivision is located in north-central Boulder (Edgewood Drive becomes Balsam Avenue to the west and Valmont Road to the east) and consists of 159 single-family houses built ca. 1953-59. It is bounded by 19th Street to the west, Edgewood Drive to the south, Floral Drive to the north, and 23rd Street to the east. Edgewood is included in this survey as an example of a middle-era postwar subdivision that developed in the north-central area of Boulder.

Flatirons Park: The Flatirons Park subdivision is located along the west edge of Boulder against the foothills of Flagstaff Mountain. It is a small subdivision of 29 properties that backs up to Flagstaff Road at its west edge, with Aurora Avenue forming its north edge, and includes Circle Drive, Christmas Tree Drive, and Willow Brook Road. Flatirons Park's first generation of development consisted of houses built between 1947 and 1967. Flatirons Park is included in this survey as an example of a postwar subdivision that conformed to a hilly landscape in west Boulder, and for its atypical examples of semi-custom and custom-designed houses built during its first era of postwar development.

Highland Park: The Highland Park subdivision is located south of Boulder, south of Baseline Road. Broadway divides the subdivision into two sections. The larger section east of Broadway is bounded by US 36 to the east, Dartmouth Avenue to the south, and Elm Avenue to the north. The smaller western extension of the neighborhood at the west side of Broadway is bounded by Regis Drive to Dartmouth Avenue between Eastman Avenue and Moorhead. Highland Park is included in this survey project as an example of a relatively intact, early postwar subdivision in south Boulder.

Interurban Park: The Interurban Park subdivision is located in south Boulder between 15th Street to the east, Sunnyside Lane to the west, King Avenue to the south, and Baseline Road to the north. The Interurban Park subdivision contains 135 houses constructed between 1947 and 1967. Interurban Park is included in this survey project as an example of a postwar subdivision in south Boulder along Baseline Road that began to develop as early as 1908, but whose primary development occurred throughout the postwar era.

Martin Acres: The Martin Acres subdivision is located in south Boulder between Broadway to the west, US 36 to the east, and from Hanover Avenue at the south to Moorhead Avenue, which runs parallel to

US 36 at a northwest angle. The subdivision contains 1,200 houses. Martin Acres is included in this survey project as an example of a relatively intact, early postwar subdivision in south Boulder.

Park East: The Park East subdivision is located in east Boulder between 39th Street to the west, McIntire Street to the east, Baseline Road to the south, and Colorado Avenue to the north. The subdivision has two parts that are located east and west of Foothills Parkway in east Boulder. Developed from 1963 into the early 1970s, it consists of 289 properties; however, only 16 houses were built prior to 1967 east of Foothills Parkway, with the majority of houses built in 1968 through 1970. Park East is included in this survey project as an example of a relatively intact, late postwar subdivision in east Boulder.

Sunset Hills: The Sunset Hills subdivision is located in north-central Boulder between 13th Street to the west and 19th Street to the east, High Street to the south, and Alpine Avenue to the north. It consists of 113 properties developed between 1947 and 1962, with the majority of the original houses built before 1952. Sunset Hills is included in this survey project as an example of an early-to-middle-era postwar subdivision in north-central Boulder.

Table Mesa: The Table Mesa subdivision is located in south Boulder along Table Mesa Drive west of Broadway. Approximate subdivision boundaries are Regis and Vassar Drives to the north, Heidelberg Drive to the south, Emporia Road to the west, and Gillaspie Drive to the east. Table Mesa contains 1,270 residential houses built between 1962 and 1967. The subdivision is included in this survey project as an example of an intact and large-scale, late-postwar subdivision in south Boulder.

Wagoner Manor:

The Wagoner Manor subdivision is located in east Boulder between Foothills Parkway to the west, Crescent Drive to the east, Baseline Road to the south, and Pennsylvania Avenue to the north. The neighborhood contains 28 houses built between 1954 and 1962 along Brooklawn Drive. Wagoner Manor is included in this survey project as an example of a middle-era postwar subdivision in east Boulder, and for its distinctive property types.

3.3 Reconnaissance Survey

The reconnaissance survey identified the various housing types within the ten subdivisions and confirmed preliminary information yielded from the windshield survey. Historic Preservation Planning interns with the City of Boulder's Community Planning and Sustainability Department conducted the reconnaissance survey fieldwork, with oversight from TEC and City staff. From November 2008 through January 2009, all 5,144 individual properties within the ten subdivisions identified above were digitally

photographed and documented for levels of alteration. For the purposes of the reconnaissance survey, one of three levels of alteration—unchanged, moderate changes, or major changes—was identified for each house recorded. The three levels are described as follows:

- **Unchanged**
Unaltered houses are those that have not sustained any alterations. These houses include their original siding, windows, and doors, and have no additions to the exterior. The house appears as it did when it was first built.
- **Moderate changes**
Moderate-level alterations include houses with new windows, new doors, or the addition of vinyl siding over the original siding. Small additions may have been added at the rear of the house, but they are not visible at the front of the house.
- **Major changes**
Major changes include houses with substantial alterations, such as large additions that are clearly visible from the front of the house; or an accumulation of many smaller alterations, such as new siding *and* new windows *and* a small addition or porch. These cumulative changes can result in a substantial alteration overall. A common example of a major change to a postwar house is a two-story addition to a one-story house.

For the purposes of this study, minor or moderate changes do not necessarily mean that a property is historically significant, only that it is relatively intact with regard to the 1947-1967 period.

The City of Boulder entered all reconnaissance survey fieldwork data into a searchable database that is linked to the city's GIS mapping system. This database allowed the results of the preliminary integrity analysis to be shown on subdivision maps which color-coded each property according to its level of integrity. An example of this color-coding is shown for Martin Acres (Figure 13). The mapped results identified areas where numerous properties with each level of change existed in the subdivision. This information aided in the analysis of how geographic relationships and adjacencies may or may not have affected the way in which neighborhoods around Boulder have changed.

The goal of the intensive survey was not to record all of the buildings within each of the subdivisions selected, but instead, to record a representative sampling of the most intact examples of each house type or model within a subdivision. Because these representative examples were identified from the results of the reconnaissance survey, the results of the reconnaissance survey were a critical component of this project in selecting which buildings were included in the intensive selective survey. Using the

reconnaissance database, representative examples of each housing type within each neighborhood were chosen for intensive survey. The goal of this selection was to identify and categorize housing types that were intact examples of certain house models or housing types within the neighborhood or subdivision studied. In light of the relative uniformity of tract postwar housing, the selection of the intensively surveyed properties focused on a property's ability to represent common housing types, of which there could be numerous other similar examples. Contrary to traditional survey methods, individual properties in this study were not inventoried because they stood out within their neighborhood due to unusual form or ornamentation, for example, but rather for their ability to serve an intact example of many other similar housing types. Additionally, properties were not chosen due to their association with any person or event of significance within Boulder due to the nature of this survey.

It is also important to emphasize that the intent of examining the individual representative properties was to study the parts that comprise the subdivisions as a whole, rather than focus on the individual significance of these properties on their own, separate from their larger context. The emphasis of the intensive selective survey was therefore to represent each subdivision in its entirety.

The process of identifying these representative properties first resulted in more housing types than were permitted under the parameters of the project, which was to intensively survey no more than 105 individual properties. In an effort to cull the list of housing types, which initially exceeded 130, outliers—i.e. odd housing types that were not common within their neighborhood—were removed from the intensive survey list. These outliers were not part of the original subdivision plan, were usually located at the edges of subdivisions, and were often built outside of the 1947-1967 postwar period. Furthermore, housing types that were very similar to one another and displayed only subtle differences were combined as one housing type. The final list of properties comprised 105 of the most intact representative properties of their respective neighborhood.

Photographs and the reconnaissance survey data were used to identify the most intact examples of each property type in each subdivision. In cases where no intact example of a housing type was identified, a house with a moderate level of change was alternatively chosen as the most intact example. Alterations to these houses were noted in the intensive survey results and on the OAHF Architectural Inventory Forms.

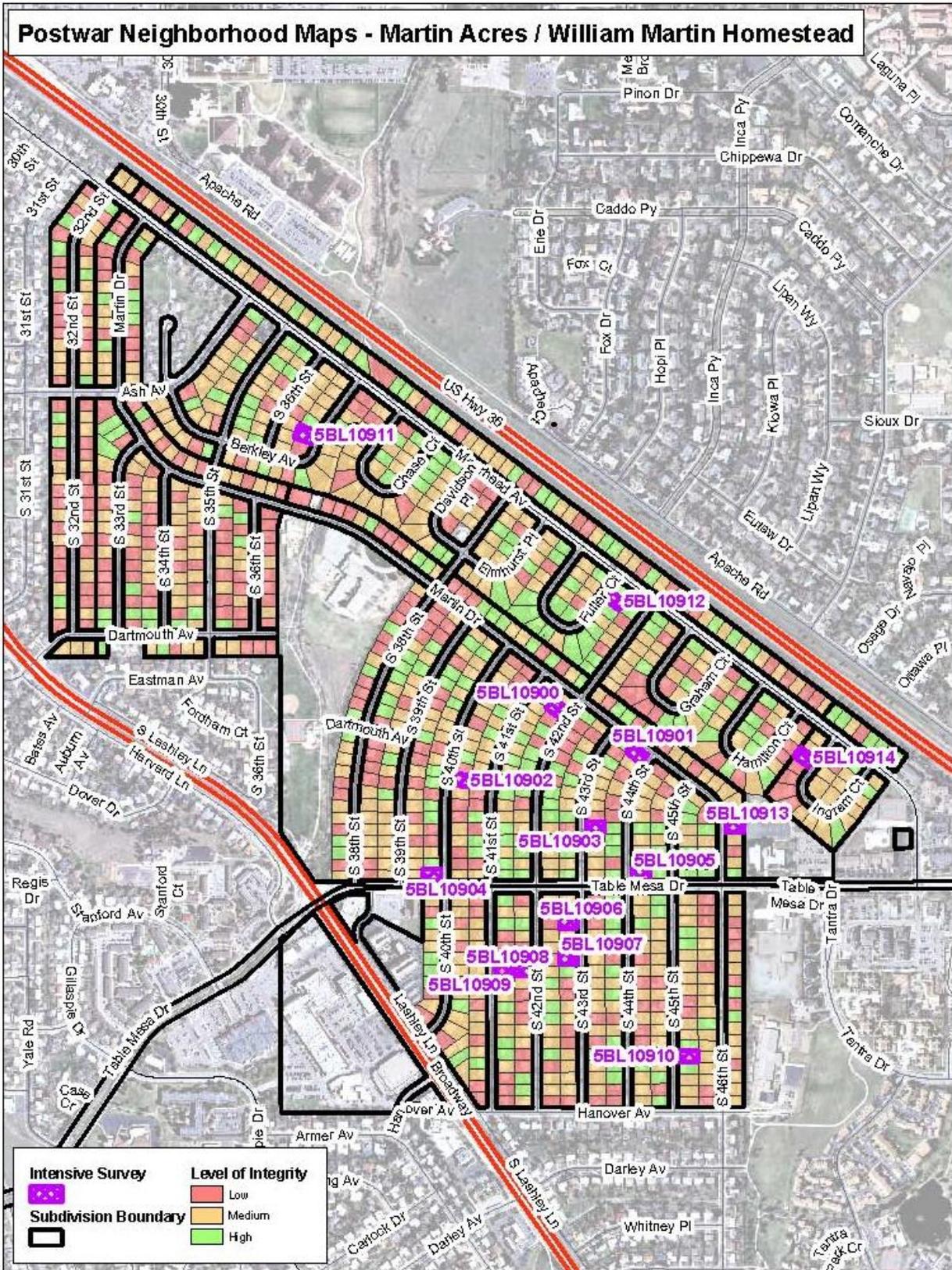


Figure 13. Example of the reconnaissance survey results, showing Martin Acres

As anticipated, the neighborhoods with the largest variety of housing types, such as Interurban Park and Table Mesa, resulted in larger numbers of property type categories due to the nature of the neighborhood’s diversity. At the same time, some smaller neighborhoods with more uniformity of housing types and fewer models resulted in fewer properties that required intensive survey. The final selection of 105 properties for intensive survey was approved by the City of Boulder in February 2009. Each property was assigned a site number issued by the OAHF that identifies it as a discrete property within the OAHF Compass database. These are listed in Table 2, below:

Table 2. Intensively Surveyed Properties by Subdivision

OAHF Site Number	Address	Construction Date
<i>Baseline Subdivision</i>		
5BL10856	710 30th Street	1961
5BL10857	715 37th Street	1961
5BL10858	750 32nd Street	1961
5BL10859	755 31st Street	1961
5BL10860	785 31st Street	1961
5BL10861	965 37th Street	1961
5BL10862	975 36th Street	1961
5BL10863	1980 Edgewood Drive	1958
5BL10864	2811 20th Street	1956
<i>Edgewood Subdivision</i>		
5BL10865	2247 Edgewood Drive	1957
5BL10866	2840 19th Street	1956
5BL10867	2840 21st Street	1955
5BL10868	2841 21st Street	1955
5BL10869	2901 21st Street	1956
5BL10870	2921 21st Street	1957
5BL10871	2990 20th Street	1956
<i>Flatirons Park Subdivision</i>		
5BL10872	412 Christmas Tree Drive	1956
5BL10873	425 Christmas Tree Drive	1960
5BL10874	850 Circle Drive	1954
5BL10875	825 Circle Drive	1956
5BL10876	870 Willow Brook Road	1959
<i>Highland Park Subdivision</i>		
5BL10877	2605 Stanford Avenue	1963

OAHF Site Number	Address	Construction Date
5BL10878	2795 Regis Drive	1962
5BL10879	320 Colgate Avenue	1957
5BL10880	345 28th Street	1954
5BL10881	365 30th Street	1954
5BL10882	375 Bates Avenue	1957
5BL10883	395 27th Street	1952
5BL10884	464 South Lashley Lane	1956
5BL10885	2180 Kohler Drive	1961
5BL10886	2475 Kenwood Drive	1961
5BL10887	2590 Dartmouth Avenue	1958
5BL10888	2710 Stanford Avenue	1960
5BL10889	3190 Dover Drive	1958
<i>Interurban Park Subdivision</i>		
5BL10890	350 20th Street	1954
5BL10891	385 21st Street	1954
5BL10892	1770 Bluebell Avenue	1951
5BL10893	1805 King Avenue	1967
5BL10894	1860 Bluebell Avenue	1951
5BL10895	2032 Mariposa Avenue	1951
5BL10896	2110 Baseline Road	1948
5BL10897	2147-2149 Columbine Avenue	1950
5BL10898	2220 Columbine Avenue	1950
5BL10899	2231 Columbine Avenue	1945
<i>Martin Acres Subdivision</i>		
5BL10900	305 South 42nd Street	1956
5BL10901	345 South 44th Street	1957
5BL10902	370 South 40th Street	1956
5BL10903	430 South 43rd Street	1957
5BL10904	465 South 40th Street	1956
5BL10905	470 South 44th Street	1957
5BL10906	525 South 43rd Street	1959
5BL10907	555 South 43rd Street	1959
5BL10908	605 South 42nd Street	1958
5BL10909	610 South 41st Street	1960

OAHF Site Number	Address	Construction Date
5BL10910	730 South 45th Street	1959
5BL10911	3625 Berkley Avenue	1961
5BL10912	3992 Fuller Court	1960
5BL10913	4550 Martin Drive	1957
5BL10914	4658 Ingram Court	1961
<i>Park East Subdivision</i>		
5BL10915	735 Morgan Drive	1967
5BL10916	820 Gilpin Drive	1965
5BL10917	825 Orman Drive	1967
5BL10918	845 Inca Parkway	1965
5BL10919	851 Inca Parkway	1965
5BL10920	990 Morgan Drive	1966
5BL10921	4055 Gilpin Drive	1965
5BL10922	4145 Gilpin Drive	1967
5BL10923	4160 East Aurora Avenue	1965
5BL10924	4280 Evans Drive	1965
5BL10925	4281 Eaton Court	1966
5BL10926	4621 Talbot Drive	1966
<i>Sunset Hills Subdivision</i>		
5BL10927	1500 Alpine Street	1957
5BL10928	1505 Sunset Boulevard	1950
5BL10929	1526 Sunset Boulevard	1954-1958
5BL10930	1547 North Street	1952
5BL10931	1584 North Street	1950
5BL10932	1840 Alpine Avenue	1958
<i>Table Mesa Subdivision</i>		
5BL10933	2605 Vassar Drive	1963
5BL10934	2820 Table Mesa Drive	1967
5BL10935	3005 Vassar Drive	1965
5BL10936	609 Hartford Drive	1963
5BL10937	930 Miami Way	1966
5BL10938	985 Yale Road	1966
5BL10939	1070 Harford Drive	1964
5BL10940	1110 Judson Drive	1966

OAHP Site Number	Address	Construction Date
5BL10941	1195 Ithaca Drive	1965
5BL10942	1240 Fairfield Drive	1965
5BL10943	1290 Berea Drive	1964
5BL10944	1295 Berea Drive	1964
5BL10945	1390 Ithaca Drive	1966
5BL10946	1470 Judson Drive	1967
5BL10947	2165 Table Mesa Drive	1966
5BL10948	2220 Hillsdale Circle	1966
5BL10949	2650 Vassar Drive	1963
5BL10950	2695 Stephens Road	1963
5BL10951	2765 Darley Avenue	1967
5BL10952	2805 Lagrange Court	1966
5BL10953	2825 Lagrange Court	1966
5BL10954	4317 Butler Circle	1966
5BL10955	4380 Butler Circle	1965
5BL10956	4395 Grinnell Avenue	1966
5BL10957	4420 Ludlow Street	1967
<i>Wagoner Manor Subdivision</i>		
5BL10958	704 Brooklawn Drive	1955
5BL10959	802 Brooklawn Drive	1955
5BL10960	809 Brooklawn Drive	1956

3.4 Intensive Selective Survey and Evaluations

TEC conducted a comprehensive architectural intensive survey to record all 105 representative housing types using OAHP Architectural Inventory Forms and digital photography. Prior to the field effort, the City of Boulder notified each property owner with a letter mailed to the property address.

Following state and federal policies and regulations, properties chosen for intensive survey were surveyed and inventoried to assist in the evaluation of significance and to identify potentially eligible National Register Historic Districts and/or local historic districts under Boulder’s Significance Criteria. This investigation followed the OAHP guidelines for conducting cultural resource inventories in Colorado (*Colorado Cultural Resource Survey Manual*, Revised 2007).

National Register of Historic Places Criteria for Evaluation

The criteria for evaluating cultural resources in terms of their potential eligibility to the National Register provide a systematic, definable means to evaluate historic and cultural properties. The criteria specified in 36 CFR 60.4 are as follows:

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

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

National Register Criteria Considerations were also applied to the properties within the project area. These are:

- a. *Religious properties;*
- b. *Moved properties;*
- c. *Birthplace or grave of a person significant in our past;*
- d. *Cemeteries;*
- e. *Reconstructed buildings;*
- f. *Commemorative properties;*
- g. *Properties of exceptional importance achieving significance within the past 50 years*

To better define a property's significance, the National Register developed the concept of "areas of significance," which are general categories that help describe a property's place in American history. Areas of significance include, but are not limited to, categories such as architecture, archaeology, commerce, ethnic heritage, industry, the military, politics/government, and social history. Properties that have been altered over the course of time may still be included in the National Register, but they must retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association in order to be considered significant according to National Register standards. Some property types (religious properties, cemeteries, birthplaces and graves of important historic figures, moved or

reconstructed properties, and commemorative properties) are not usually included in the National Register unless certain standards are met. Generally, properties must be at least 50 years old to be considered historically significant under National Register Criteria unless they are exceptionally important. Further, a period of significance must be defined for each identified potentially eligible property. The National Register defines the period of significance as “the length of time when a property was associated with important events, activities, or persons or attained the characteristics which qualify it for National Register listing.” However, in instances where the building or structure is identified potentially not eligible for inclusion in the National Register, a period of significance does not apply.

Buildings and structures less than 50 years of age were evaluated both under regular National Register Criteria and according to National Register Criteria Consideration G, which states that these properties may be considered eligible by “achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance,” or “if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the [National Register] criteria” (National Park Service, 1997). Exceptional importance may reflect, for example, the extraordinary impact of a political or social event, resources so fragile that survivors of any age are unusual, a building or structure whose developmental or design value is quickly recognized as historically significant by the architectural or engineering profession, etc. In this study, neighborhoods with properties less than 50 years of age include those with houses built in 1960 or later. This characterizes eight of the ten postwar subdivisions examined. In order to extend the longevity of this report, these eight neighborhoods were evaluated under both standard National Register Criteria as well as National Register Criteria Consideration G for exceptional significance. Recommendations to re-survey when properties aged further in order to gain a greater historic perspective through the passing of time were noted in the findings, if deemed necessary or beneficial.

Each property was also evaluated for historic physical integrity as defined according to the National Register’s aspects of integrity. Evaluating a property’s level of integrity involved an assessment of the impact of any alterations to the location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association of the house, the lot, and its surroundings, or rather, the street or neighborhood as a whole. The definitions of the seven aspects of integrity as defined by the National Register are described below (National Park Service, 1997).

- Location: The place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred
- Design: The combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property
- Setting: The physical environment of a historic property

- **Materials:** The physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property (i.e. the materials used to construct a house)
- **Workmanship:** The physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory
- **Feeling:** The property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time
- **Association:** The direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property

Significance Criteria for Local Landmarks

Intensive-level survey and evaluations also applied the City of Boulder's Significance Criteria for Local Landmarks and Historic Districts, as outlined in Ordinance #4000 (Landmark Preservation Advisory Board, 1975). The city's Landmark Preservation Advisory Board has adopted following Significance Criteria to evaluate historic resources in a consistent and equitable manner. These Significance Criteria are divided into three overall categories of Historic Significance, Architectural Significance, and Environmental Significance, as follows:

Historic Significance

The place (building, 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 qualify. 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.), the 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. This significance criteria was taken directly from the City of Boulder's standards, City of Boulder Criteria for Individual Landmark Designation (http://www.bouldercolorado.gov/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3516&Itemid=490).

1. Recognized Period/Style: It should exemplify specific elements of an architectural period/style, i.e.: Victorian, Revival styles, such as described by Historic American Building Survey criteria, *Gingerbread Age* (Maass), *76 Boulder Homes* (Barkar), *The History of Architectural Style* (Marcus/Wiffin), *Architecture in San Francisco* (Gebhard et al.), *History of Architecture* (Fletcher), *Architecture/Colorado*, and any other published source of universal or local analysis of a 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, details, 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 complementary 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.

Although the National Register Criteria and Boulder's Significance Criteria are very similar, Boulder's Significance Criteria are applied slightly differently. The Significance Criteria are more inclusive of a broader range of historical and environmental considerations. The criteria focus more on the local significance of a resource and as a result, more properties may be potentially eligible as a local historic district than for the National Register Criteria, which has a slightly stricter set of criteria that accounts for local, state, and national significance. Additionally, Boulder's Significance Criteria do not explicitly address a property's historic physical integrity. Although the criteria do not mention integrity, a property's current condition and the presence of non-historic alterations are undoubtedly an important consideration in an analysis of how a property with historic significance physically conveys that significance. As such, in this study, if a property was found to possess significance under any of Boulder's Significance Criteria, the ability of that property to physically convey its significance was considered as part of the overall evaluation of a subdivision or an individual property. For example, if more than half of the houses in a subdivision have had major alterations, these changes could negatively impact how the subdivision conveys its historic significance from its period of significance.

Boulder's Significance Criteria also differ from National Register Criteria through the addition of Environmental Significance. It states that "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." Environmental factors considered include a property's compatibility with its site or its environmental appropriateness. Although these physical characteristics can be addressed within the open-ended nature of National Register Criteria, environmental factors and natural resources themselves are not emphasized as important considerations in National Register Criteria to the same extent that they are in Boulder's Significance Criteria. As such, this study put additional emphasis on a subdivision's or property's environmental significance when applying Boulder's Significance Criteria.

Evaluations for both National Register Criteria and Boulder's Significance Criteria were similarly applied with regard to the unique nature of postwar subdivisions. With guidance from National Park Service Bulletin *Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* (Ames and McClelland, 2002), evaluations gave special consideration for the themes that were developed from the historic context of this report in order to identify significant individual resources as well as significant subdivisions in Boulder. These themes include, but are not limited to city planning, population growth, transportation, federal, state, and local government, local history, social history, landscape architecture, and residential architecture. These themes were applied using the following questions for consideration as an initial framework for evaluations of subdivisions as a whole.

Application of National Register Criterion A and the City of Boulder criterion for Historic and Environmental Significance:

1. Is the subdivision important to the development of the City of Boulder, either as a trendsetting response to growth and development in Boulder, or as a precedent established in community or neighborhood planning in Boulder?
2. Does the subdivision have a housing model, type, or particular style that can be considered locally innovative?
3. Did an important local or regional trend or house building technique originate in the subdivision?
4. Did the subdivision become favored among a particular group of people or demographic in the postwar era? Examples include GIs, University of Colorado students, scientists working in local research laboratories, IBM, or at the Rocky Flats Nuclear Plant, among other employment centers.
5. Was the neighborhood associated with locally or regionally important industries that are known to play a role in emerging events or activities that have played a role in the suburban growth of Boulder?
6. Does the subdivision exemplify the role that a prominent developer or builder may have played in the growth and development of Boulder or the Front Range?
7. Is the subdivision the earliest, most successful, largest, finest, or an influential example locally? Does it stand out as a good example of a particular type of neighborhood subdivision?

Application of National Register Criterion B and the City of Boulder criterion for Historic and Architectural significance:

1. Is the subdivision closely associated with the life or work of an individual who made important contributions to the history of Boulder or the region?
2. Did an important developer, designer, or builder live in the subdivision he/she created?

Application of National Register Criterion C and the City of Boulder criterion for Architectural and Environmental significance:

1. Does the subdivision apply postwar distinctive design elements or neighborhood planning features? Examples include curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs, common spaces such as parks, and uniform landscaping and setbacks.
2. Does the subdivision possess a high degree of historic physical integrity in the subdivision plan, landscape architecture, or housing overall?
3. Does the neighborhood reflect important advances, established principles, or popular trends in residential construction and development that is distinctive to its period, between 1947 and 1967?
4. Does the neighborhood feature locally important or distinctive housing types or models?
5. Is the subdivision an award-winning neighborhood recognized by professional, trade, architectural, popular, or housing research organizations?
6. Did the subdivision introduce patterns of subdivision design, housing, financing, or building practices that became influential in the local community, metro area, or elsewhere?

OAHP Architectural Inventory Forms were completed using both fieldwork data and photography, and historic research on property ownership and architectural histories for each house for the historic significance for every neighborhood as well as an individual property's relationship to its larger subdivision. The physical and architectural descriptions of the landscape features, buildings, and/or structures conform to OAHP guidelines and nomenclature, including description of styles or types, materials, alterations and integrity, and defining architectural elements. Architectural elements were elaborated to expand definitions of postwar residential architectural by identifying sub-types of broader OAHP building types. These architectural sub-types are described in Chapter 5 of this report. All housing types and their identifying data included in the OAHP Architectural Inventory Forms, described by subdivision, are listed in Appendix B.

Digital photographs, site sketch maps, and site location maps were included in the site forms in accordance with the Colorado Cultural Resource Survey Manual (Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 2007). Per the parameters of the contract, the City of Boulder provided printed black-and-white archival photographs using the digital image files supplied by TEC, and annotated and attached the prints to the OAHP forms in archival sleeves, per OAHP requirements.

3.5 Historic Research

All of the historic information presented in this report is the result of both primary and secondary research. Many of the primary source materials, which are original documents such as autobiographies,

diaries, interviews, letters, official records, photographs, or other raw research data were found at the City of Boulder's Carnegie Branch Library for Local History. Resources included vertical files containing newspaper articles and interviews organized by subject, historic photographs of neighborhoods and individual houses, and City Directories that contained information about early residents. City of Boulder and Boulder County Property Records were consulted for property ownership, subdivision additions, and dates of construction. The archives of *The Daily Camera*, Boulder's local newspaper, were researched for additional period articles and for period advertisements. Secondary research was conducted at the Boulder County Public Library, Jefferson County Public Library, Denver County Public Library, and the University of Colorado libraries.

City of Boulder Tax Assessor Records proved useful for this project since each included a photograph that was taken shortly after a house was built (usually within the same year of construction). Each property within the city limits when constructed included an appraisal card and a black-and-white photograph of the house. Information on the card usually included a simple sketch of the house's footprint and the name of the property owner at that time. In a few cases the card identified the builder, but this level of detail was not typical, and appeared for houses in neighborhoods with numerous builders, namely Table Mesa. Subdivisions originally located outside the city boundaries, Baseline, Park East, and Wagoner Manor, were not included in these assessments. For the properties included in the city tax assessments, the attached photographs proved to be incomparably useful in determining changes to the houses since their original construction. These appraiser cards are archived at the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History.

The local Boulder newspaper, *The Daily Camera*, was consulted for period articles on housing and development, city planning, important residents within the subdivisions, and for advertisements for the sale of the houses with each neighborhood. These advertisements often touted the attributes of certain houses within each neighborhood, and this information added to the historic context of each subdivision examined. Also consulted was the database of the *Denver Parade of Homes*, an annual housing campaign organized by the Denver Association of Home Builders to sell house models in new subdivisions in Denver and the Denver Metro Area. It often included subdivisions in Boulder. Scanned copies of these advertisements are included in Appendix D of this report.

Archival research and secondary source materials were found in the City of Boulder Carnegie Branch Library and Archives, Boulder County Library, Denver Public Library and its local branches, Jefferson County Public Library and its local branches, Prospector interlibrary loan service, and the University of Colorado campuses (Boulder and Denver). Similar surveys on postwar residential architecture from other areas of Colorado, Arizona, and California were consulted prior to and during this project. These surveys included:

- *Post World War II Residential Development Abutting the US 36 Highway Corridor Addendum Report*, Prepared by Dianna Litvak, Colorado Department of Transportation Region 6, December 2008.
- *City of Grand Junction Phase Three Historic Survey, Survey Report*, Prepared by Suzannah Reid, AIA, and Lydia Herron, Prepared for the Grand Junction Community Development Department, May 1, 2006.
- *Tucson Post World War II Residential Subdivision Development, 1945-1973*, Prepared by Arkos, Inc., Wilson Preservation, Coffman Studios, LLC, HDR, Prepared for the City of Tucson, October 2007.
- *Cultural Resources of the Recent Past Historic Context Report*, Prepared by Historic Resources Group and Pasadena Heritage, Prepared for City of Pasadena, October 2007.
- *Introduction to PostWar Modern Housing Architectural Styles*, Prepared by the City of Scottsdale Historic Preservation Program, ca. 2004.
- *Post World War II Subdivisions, Tempe, Arizona, 1945-1960*, Prepared by Scott Solliday, Prepared for the Tempe Historic Preservation Commission, December 14, 2001.
- *Historic Context of Littleton, Colorado, 1949-1967*, Prepared by Diane Wray Tomasso, Prepared for the Office of Community Development, Littleton, Colorado.
- *Evaluating the Significance of San Lorenzo Village, A Mid-20th Century Suburban Community*, Prepared by Andrew Hope, Prepared for CRM Journal, Summer 2006.
- *Historic context and Survey of Modern Architecture in Boulder, Colorado, 1947-1977*, Prepared by Michael Paglia, Leonard Segel, and Diane Wray, Prepared for the City of Boulder, June 1, 2000.

Additional guidance on historic research methods were set forth by the OAHP's *Camera and Clipboard* newsletters, especially those pertaining to the documentation of postwar resources.

Oral Histories

Much of the historic information not included in the written record to date came from oral histories conducted by volunteers and TEC. These interviews were recorded on video in collaboration with the City of Boulder Carnegie Branch Library as part of its Maria Rogers Oral History Program. TEC Inc., City of Boulder staff, and volunteers selected most of the interview candidates. They primarily consisted of long-time property owners who were encountered through the project fieldwork and word of mouth. The recordings are housed at the Carnegie Branch Library, and are expected to be available online in their audio-visual format. More about the program is available online:

<http://www.boulder.lib.co.us/carnegie/collections/mroh.html>.

The information provided in these oral histories helped inform this report's historic research, the development of the local context, and evaluations of historic significance.

4.0 NATIONAL CONTEXT OF POSTWAR RESIDENTIAL SUBDIVISIONS

Introduction

Post-World War II suburbanization in America fundamentally changed the landscape of cities and towns from coast to coast. By definition, suburbanization is the proliferation of residential communities on the outskirts of a city. This type of growth was the nation's answer to accommodating a dramatically swelling population in the mid-twentieth century. The era began as the United States was emerging from a costly world war in 1945. After struggling through the Great Depression of the 1930s, the country began to rally from the economic crisis, only to find itself embroiled in a second world war. Sixteen million men and women were deployed in the theaters of conflict in Europe and the Pacific, and the conflict employed nearly as many in wartime production on the home front. After four years of rationing and shortages, the war reached its conclusion and the United States emerged exhausted but victorious.

Servicemen and women returned home with aspirations for a better life and a place to settle. These circumstances established the residential and commercial environment in which new neighborhoods developed during the postwar era between 1945 and 1967. Federal housing guidelines, new modes of transportation, technological innovation, and changing lifestyles led to new approaches in house design and neighborhood planning. These changes were far-reaching and had similar impacts from coast to coast. It is within this national historic context that cities like Boulder, Colorado, grew and adapted to the needs of its residents.

Early Postwar Era: 1945-1950

The first phase of the postwar era immediately followed the aftermath of World War II. World War II's end brought an immediate need for housing for the six million returning veterans in 1945, with an additional four million in 1946 (Mason, 1982). The era ushered in the Baby Boom, when dramatic increases in the nation's population impacted every aspect of the United States' built environment, infrastructure, lifestyle, and social patterns. Many developers and builders began a period of postwar residential growth to a large extent made possible by financial support from New Deal federal housing programs. For the first time, single-family house ownership became attainable for millions of young families nationwide.

Housing Shortage and Federal Assistance

The federal policies that shaped and enabled the postwar housing boom were created during the national crisis of the Great Depression of the 1930s. The Depression had eroded the nation's entire economic structure and left more than two million construction workers unemployed, thousands of construction companies out of business, and soaring foreclosure rates. Many financial institutions failed

as the result of mortgage defaults. President Herbert Hoover tried to assist the banks. He passed the Federal Home Loan Bank Act of 1932, which created a Federal Home Loan Bank Board to supervise a series of discount banks and increase the supply of money available to make house loans. These banks also served as a source of reserve credit. By the peak of the Depression in 1933, house foreclosures grew to a rate of 1,000 per week, while residential construction of houses for middle and working class Americans nearly halted (Wright, 1983: 240).

American citizens pinned their hopes on newly elected President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his approach to the nation's problems. Roosevelt's first 100 days in office generated New Deal legislation, including the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) that had an immediate impact on housing and the economy. Brought about under the landmark National Housing Act of 1934, the FHA became the most significant and far-reaching housing organization of the twentieth century (Mason, 1982: 10). It created a national market for mortgages by establishing standards for property insurance and proof of economic integrity. The agency's companion Federal Savings & Loan Insurance Corporation reestablished confidence in the financial structure behind individual mortgages by guaranteeing protection to banks who participated in the program. This arrangement ultimately gave middle-income families access to house ownership since it allowed insured, low-interest, long-term mortgages with low down payments. Until that point, a house buyer needed to make a down payment of 40-50 percent of a house's appraised value in order to obtain a loan (Wright, 1983: 241). In many cases, FHA loans essentially made purchasing a house less expensive than paying rent (Jackson, 1985: 205). Roosevelt signed the National Housing Act into law in June 1934 in an effort to stimulate construction within the private housing market.

At the same time, the FHA supported private developers who constructed large residential subdivisions of much-needed affordable housing. The FHA encouraged developers to improve methods of large-scale planning and construction while also creating construction jobs at a time when 25 percent of the workforce was unemployed (Jackson, 1985: 203). The FHA developed a series of technical design and land-use standards under the direction of Seward H. Mott, the administration's first director. One of these circulars, *Subdivision Development, Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses, Planning Profitable Neighborhoods*, and *Successful Subdivisions* listed seven minimum requirements for new housing developments funded by the FHA:

1. Location exhibiting a healthy and active demand for houses.
2. Location possessing a suitable site in terms of topography, soil condition, tree cover, and absence of hazards such as flood, fog, smoke, obnoxious odors, etc.
3. Accessibility by means of public transportation (streetcars and buses) and adequate highways to schools, employment, and shopping centers.

4. Installation of appropriate utilities and street improvements (meeting city or county specifications), and carefully related to needs of the development.
5. Compliance with city, county or regional plans and regulations, particularly local zoning and subdivision regulations to ensure that the neighborhood will become stable (and real estate values as well).
6. Protection of values through “appropriate” deed restrictions (including setbacks, lot sizes, minimum costs of construction).
7. Guarantee of a sound financial set up, whereby subdividers were financially able to carry through their sales and development program, and where taxes and assessments were in line with the type of development contemplated and likely to remain stable (McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 22).

The FHA standards resulted in better planned communities with higher quality houses in terms of design, materials, and construction (Mason, 1982: 12, 13). In 1940 the FHA published *Principles for Planning Small Houses*, which influenced and regulated house design and construction well into the postwar years (McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 31). Although the FHA legislation set in place encouraged the construction of private housing developments, actual progress on housing improved only slowly through the end of the 1930s due to the lasting impact of the Great Depression. Just as housing construction activity began to increase by 1940, the nation became embroiled in a second world war. The shift to construction of defense-worker housing near active military installations also negatively impacted private sector building. Wartime building in 1941 and 1942 hastily accelerated the slow pace of construction seen in the 1930s. Almost overnight construction and engineering firms were awarded large-scale industrial projects, many of which utilized innovative building techniques to build faster and to efficiently use limited resources and materials. A frenzy of construction ensued and the nation became immersed in the construction of munitions plants, barracks, tank and aircraft factories, shipyards, and industrial plants. The federal government asked architects, engineers, and builders to work on this enterprise, taking them away from their own local projects (Mason, 1982).

In addition to the mission-centered military architecture, the U.S. War Department required temporary housing for workers at its installations and defense plants. Motivated by the urgent need for immediate housing and backed by available financing, builders and engineers applied efficient construction techniques, such as prefabricated materials and the use of panels, to defense housing. To respond to the need for prefabricated materials, factories began building standardized window and door units, walls units, duct systems, and plumbing and wood truss systems, all of which reduced on-site labor time and overall construction costs (Mason, 1982: 32, 56).

In 1945, the influx of returning troops from World War II again caused a national housing emergency as a nationwide surge in marriage and birth rates led to new families and an immediate need for affordable housing. The housing occupancy rate in 1945-46 was 95 percent; therefore, many men and women lived in hastily rearranged surplus temporary World War II buildings and other makeshift structures for use as temporary domestic housing. As ten million veterans discharged from military service struggled to find adequate shelter, most found lodging with family members in the form of bunk beds, attics, and basements. A U.S. Senate report confirmed that hundreds of thousands of former GIs were living in makeshift outbuildings such as garages, Quonset huts, and even chicken coops (Wright, 1983:242). The federal government further estimated demand for 12.5 million new housing units between 1946 and 1956 (Massey and Maxwell, 1996: 248).

Established by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 or GI Bill of Rights (GI Bill), the Veteran's Administration (VA) established a mortgage aid program structured similarly to the FHA. The FHA administered the VA's housing program, one of the most significant benefits of the GI Bill. The VA went further than the FHA by enabling veterans to borrow loans for the entire appraised amount of a house, without a down payment, which was unprecedented. The only caveat was that veterans could only apply for loans for existing houses, which meant that they had to wait for builders to construct housing. Thus the scarcity of housing immediately after the war continued to be a barrier to young GIs and their families who hoped to purchase houses of their own (Wright, 1983: 243).

With the FHA's financial structure in place to provide assistance to servicemen who needed it, developers and builders began to build housing quickly, cheaply, and in large quantities to meet demand. The result was skyrocketing housing construction in the first ten years of the postwar era. At the peak of the Depression in 1936, the number of housing units built nationwide was 304,000 (see Figure 14). The Depression lessened its economic grip into the prewar years of the late 1930s and early 1940s, but World War II again dampened domestic housing growth, which reached an all-time low of just 136,000 housing units in 1943. After the war ended, thanks to the availability of FHA funding and vast consumer demand, housing construction soared. By 1946, the first full year of postwar peace, the number of housing units started soared to 1,015,000 houses, and steadily climbed to 1,908,000 houses in 1950 (Bennett, 1996: 15-16).

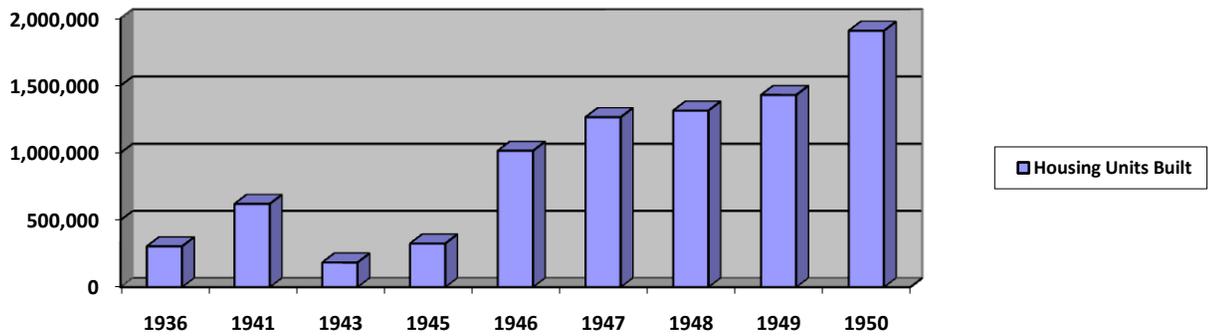


Figure 14. Housing Started Nationwide between 1936 and 1950 (U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Much of this growth was spurred by Congress, which had awarded the FHA another \$750 million in 1948 to continue and expand its housing programs. By that time the FHA was providing builders advance funding on large-scale projects. An individual builder was able to take out as many as 100 mortgages at a time to fund private housing ventures. FHA programs were so favorable by the late 1940s that legislators could not gain support for their own public housing projects. In 1948 the FHA's financial structure expanded further when Congress passed a bill to create the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA, later called Fannie Mae) to provide a secondary market for mortgages requiring as little as 5 percent down for 30-year loans. In 1949 President Truman signed another bill authorizing an additional \$1 billion for the FNMA. The secondary market resulted in a new liquidity that gave the VA and the FHA access to even more long-term funds for house building projects, thus fueling the housing boom of the mid-twentieth century (Mason, 1982: 51).

The Federal Housing Act of 1949 aimed to expand the reach of existing housing programs to include apartments and other multiple-family housing units, rather than just single-family, middle-class houses. Unfortunately, some unscrupulous builders who took advantage of the provisions within this bill built many poorly constructed and ill-suited apartment buildings. The FHA soon replaced the existing program with another with more stringent oversight, causing many builders to abandon construction of multi-family housing due to its low profitability. Similar scandals in suburban subdivisions led the FHA to establish new zoning codes to prevent multi-family housing from being built in the same developments with single-family housing, or ensuring that single-family houses were not used for commercial purposes, such as mercantile or even as rental housing units (Wright, 1983: 246-47).

Growth and Suburbanization

Suburban development during the postwar housing boom differed in character from prewar growth of the 1920s. Few developers considered developing neighborhoods from start to finish as profitable. Before the FHA programs were established in the 1930s, developers bought undeveloped land,

subdivided it into parcels for housing, and built streets and infrastructure. Consequently, after the infrastructure was put into place, developers usually sold all or a portion of the parceled land to a separate builder or to individual homeowners (Wright, 1983: 248). An owner's control over the development of an individual parcel allowed for greater architectural diversity.

After World War II, FHA-financed projects allowed developers to create fully planned neighborhoods from the ground up. Since farmland on the urban fringes was relatively inexpensive, developers, enabled by FHA start-up funds, purchased thousands of acres for their large-scale residential developments. These residential plans featured miles of curvilinear streets lined with a repetition of a few similar models of single-family houses.

In the five years following World War II the national rate of suburban growth outpaced urban growth by a factor of ten. In 1954 *Fortune* magazine reported nine million Americans had moved to the suburbs during the previous ten years (Jackson, 1985: 239). Spreading out from the city, the suburban landscape took the form of a low-density built environment, primarily comprised of residential areas. Emerging cities in the Western states looked outside of their downtown core and began to replace their "virgin land" with large-scale building projects. The task of housing over ten million Americans and their growing families called for visionary plans, new ideas, and development schemes on a grander scale than had ever been attempted outside of military construction projects. Between 1946 and 1956, 97 percent of all new residential growth consisted of single-family, detached houses. Planners of these new neighborhoods designed larger lots than those in prewar suburbs, designated more acreage to open space, and assumed all of its residents owned cars, a necessary possession for the suburban lifestyle (Jackson, 1985: 239).

The Suburban Dream

The immediate demand for livable housing after the war meant that people did not necessarily seek to buy their own single-family house, but rather, they simply wanted a decent place to live. The mobilization of postwar single-family housing construction nationwide changed the mindset of average Americans, how they thought of themselves, and what they wanted. For many Americans, this was realization of the "American Dream," which for many came to mean owning a house, preferably in a bucolic setting. From popular literature to household appliance advertisements, people were confronted with idealized images of the house from nearly every corner of their culture. The federal government, builders, bankers, and magazines told young families that the single-family suburban house was the only suitable way to provide a good family life. A seemingly endless array of lifestyle choices lay before them. Many young adults, in dire need for housing immediately following the war, made the ideal of homeownership a reality in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Single-family house ownership nearly became the national ideal. It also became psychologically linked with a sense of national pride

even more than ever in the postwar era. The fact that the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 created the Veterans Administration and its mortgage aid program was an official endorsement of the notion that servicemen and women should pursue single-family home ownership as an integral part of returning to civilian life (Jackson, 1985).

One of the first and most famous early postwar developers was William J. Levitt, the founder of Levittown, New York. Called the Henry Ford of twentieth century housing, Levitt understood how to build houses faster and cheaper than anyone before him. He also knew the GI Bill provided a one-stop shop to securing a VA mortgage with no money down. Armed with this knowledge, Levitt saw the need for affordable housing at the close of World War II, and in 1947, Levitt and Sons, comprised of William, his father, Abraham, and his brother Alfred, created Levittown on Long Island farmland 25 miles east of New York City. Naming the town for himself, Levittown made history with its innovative application of efficient assembly-line methods to erect a large subdivision of modest-sized, single-family Cape Cod type houses virtually without the need for on-site skilled craftsmen. Construction speed became the Levitt and Sons' credo. By one estimate, the company was able to complete one house from start to finish every 17 minutes (Wright, 1983: 248). *Harper's Magazine* reported in 1948 that Levitt priced his houses \$1,500 less than his competition, and still managed to turn a \$1,000 profit on each house sold (Wright, 1983: 248).

Levittown was a resounding success in its popularity among house buyers (Figure 15). The development completed as many as 1,400 real estate contracts on a single day, with many of the anxious house buyers waiting in line for four days for the opportunity to purchase (Jackson, 1985: 236-37). When Levittown was completed, Levitt and Sons had built over 17,000 single-family houses along miles of curvilinear roads, making it the largest housing development in the nation. The company went on to create similar Levittowns in New Jersey and Pennsylvania by the mid-1950s (Massey and Maxwell, 1996: 249). Its success led other large-scale developers, called "merchant builders," to adopt the Levitt model and create similar master-planned, large-scale, FHA-sponsored postwar housing suburbs (McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 34). Levittown-style subdivisions propagated nationwide, and by 1955, they accounted for 75 percent of all residential subdivisions across the nation (Bennett, 1996: 24; Wright, 1983: 248).



Figure 15. Aerial view of Levittown shortly after construction (at left), and streetview (at right) (New York Times, October 12, 2007)

Levittown and the subsequent neighborhoods just like it were not without criticism. An important aspect of inexpensive and efficient house construction inevitably meant a limited number of house types and styles from which to choose. For this reason some derided Levittown for its architectural monotony. Others called the construction “cheap” or “inferior”. Nonetheless, no one could deny the profound and widespread social impact of the Levittowns across America. Not only did they put people in houses, but they generated an entire off-shoot of related industries from interior furnishings and appliances to commercial building and road construction.

Early Postwar Social Patterns

The scarcity of gasoline during World War II left many without enough fuel for recreational drives, and even some farmers had barely enough fuel to operate their tractors. Also, many of the farms in the U.S. did not have electricity. For urban dwellers, proximity to the neighborhood grocery store was a necessity as people typically walked to the store for daily shopping. Wartime rationing made food scarce and the weekly shipment of meat was sold to customers using issued coupons. Only the wealthiest people patronized restaurants, while many others bought prepared food from lunch-carts or diners. Popular entertainment during the war included dances and movies (Bennett, 1996: 2).

The desire to support the war through war bonds, coupled with the lack of consumer goods available inevitably contributed to conservative spending practices held over from the Depression and widespread saving during the war. In the last two years of the war, Americans were saving about 25 percent of their income after taxes, so when the war ended, many people had plenty of available cash on hand. About 60 percent of Americans had savings accounts with less than \$5,000, which meant that the wealth was widely distributed throughout the general population. Economists predicted that the combination of accumulated savings and national pride and self-assurance following the war would

catalyze consumer spending (Bennett, 1996: 10-11). At the same time, employers and workers alike worried how the 12 million returning veterans would be reabsorbed into the postwar economy.

The widespread good feelings following Victory Europe and Victory Japan Day were dampened slightly by the countless jobs that disappeared during the period of military demobilization, as defense manufacturing plants closed and military installations were decommissioned. This employment shift was compounded by the 1940 draft law that mandated employees give returning veterans their jobs back, even if other men and women had held the job for years in the interim. As a result, working women who took on jobs traditionally occupied by men deployed overseas lost their positions when those men returned home at the end of the war. Thus, women bore much of the brunt of job loss. After the war ended, a shift from military production to domestic projects helped create many new types of jobs, such as road building and personal automobile manufacturing, both of which increased markedly in the postwar era.

GI Bill and Universities

Enrollment at colleges and universities increased overall, but most dramatically in the numbers of war veterans who applied the GI Bill and the educational stipends it offered. Between 1945 and 1946, nationwide enrollment increased by 48.7 percent, as 7.8 million of the 12 million returning veterans partook of the GI Bill's educational benefits (Bennett, 1996: 2, 14). In fact, the number of veterans who used the GI Bill to attend college far exceeded initial projections by federal advisors, one of whom projected that only 150,000 veterans would enroll in colleges and universities in any given year. The number of student veterans on the GI Bill gradually declined to 34.4 percent of the overall student population by 1949 (Bennett, 1996: 18).

The reason so many returning GIs used the educational funding was threefold. Many returning vets were young, unskilled, and eager to pursue college education. Second, the GI Bill was viewed as an earned right and privilege and many GIs chose to use the full benefit of this unusual opportunity. Third, unlike later veterans' bills, the GI Bill paid for the college tuition in full—up to \$500 per year when top institutions like Harvard University were charging \$400 per year. In 1946, most of these institutions saw their enrollment nearly double as a result. Although many university officials regarded the GI Bill with disdain, if not reluctance, the success of the veterans as students and their high level of academic achievement quickly squelched many of the administrators' initial apprehensions (Bennett, 1996: 18-19).

Planning to house the influx of new students on the GI Bill presented colleges and universities with a separate problem. Many universities relocated and retrofitted standardized wartime buildings such as Quonset huts and military barracks. In many cases, entire neighborhoods were comprised of these basic

and often crude temporary shelters, many of which lacked amenities such as running water, prompting the residents to use separate buildings for shared bathrooms and showers. Universities began to replace these temporary housing arrangements with permanent dormitories by the late 1940s.

The Racial Divide

The FHA played a large role in the social formation of postwar residential developments. It encouraged developers to adopt restrictive neighborhood covenants to ensure racial homogeneity. They worried integrated neighborhoods would lower house values and stir racial tension or violence. Indeed, nearly all merchant builders refused to sell suburban homes to blacks. Although some states enacted anti-discrimination laws, the lack of enforcement allowed the problem to continue (Eichler, 1982). A well-known example of this occurred in Levittown, New York, whose contracts in 1947 included the explicit stipulation that the home could not "be used or occupied by any person other than members of the Caucasian race," as clause 25 written in bold capital letters (*The New York Times*, 1997).

Widespread racial discrimination sparked protest from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) who asserted that the FHA's neighborhood manual was racially discriminating and moreover causing black isolation and urban ghettos (Wright, 1983: 248). The federal government's response to the NAACP's allegations was slow, but the FHA's restrictive covenants pertaining to race were officially outlawed by a Supreme Court ruling in the *Shelley v Kraemer* case in 1948. The ruling caused developments like Levittown to remove their racially discriminatory clauses, but the racism continued nonetheless. The FHA continued to give preference to controlled, segregated neighborhoods in suburban settings through the 1950s instead of diversified urban residential projects (Wright, 1983: 248). Despite the extensive reach of the FHA's housing programs, the lower middle class, urbanites, ethnic families, or anyone who could not meet program requirements were unable to benefit from the national housing policy. The paradox was that the African American working class stood to benefit the most from the FHA's affordable housing programs that required no down payment, but instead they were prohibited from participating fully in the American Dream of the postwar ideal and remained in the inner cities (Wright, 1983: 256-57).

Transportation Development

American cities experienced a dramatic change in their built environment with the transportation revolution associated with the introduction of the personal automobile. Before the advent of the automobile, Main Streets thrived as the commercial centers at the heart of cities and towns nationwide. The population of the United States grew during the nineteenth century and the railroad and steam ferry helped move city residents out to the city's fringes, and urban centers began to grow into metropolises. The first real wave of suburbanization occurred with electric-powered streetcar systems in 1888. Streetcar suburbs emerged when the streetcar or trolley moved people in 10 minutes the same

distance it would have taken 30 minutes to walk. By 1900, every major American city contained an interconnecting network of streetcar lines. The transportation networks expanded opportunities for urban growth, and residential neighborhoods sprang up along the corridors of the streetcar routes. With streetcar stops at relatively short intervals, these subdivisions were platted in a continuous linear fashion parallel to the lines. This arrangement permitted residents to walk to the streetcar stop in less than 10 minutes. These neighborhoods were dominated by the middle class. Eventually, the streetcar lines evolved beyond established city boundaries to link neighboring cities together (McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 4-5).

Although streetcars, trains, boats, and horse-drawn carriages afforded some opportunity for mobility and exploration, their fixed routes and rigid schedules offered little flexibility. The automobile provided freedom not previously available and eventually altered the American landscape in ways that defined the suburban landscape.

By 1903, 8,000 motor vehicles took to the American roadways (Figure 16). In 1908 Henry Ford introduced the Model T. This car, produced on an assembly-line and built from standardized, interchangeable parts, made automobiles cheaper to produce and therefore more affordable to the average citizen. Ford developed a monthly payment plan that permitted anyone with steady employment to buy a Model T. By the 1920s ownership of an automobile became an attainable goal for many. Personal automobile ownership defined a new sense of self-identity and independence through ease of mobility never before experienced.



Figure 16. A stream of Model T's in the countryside (New York Public Library)

In 1904, 93 percent of roads were unpaved and represented the same basic routes Conestoga wagons, horse-drawn carriages, and stagecoaches had previously used. The widespread use of the automobile for recreational touring created a strong demand for better roads. Thirty-seven states had established

highway departments by 1912, and citizens readily bought federal highway bonds or levied new taxes, such as the gasoline tax, to obtain the necessary roads. Federal aid began in 1916 and aided states with small populations and large geographic areas in building the roads that interstate travel required. By the 1920s, wealthier states had constructed good systems of hard-surfaced highways, while sparsely populated or less affluent states had graded and graveled their roads. Improved road networks and road surfaces allowed year-round automobile travel to become a reality in many areas.

When city Main Streets could no longer support the growing number of cars, automobile owners began looking away from downtown districts for parking spaces, repair shops, and filling stations. Businesses and entrepreneurs created developments at the outer edges of cities, and, as a consequence, established a new built environment that spread out from the nineteenth-century city boundaries to occupy once-undeveloped open spaces and farmland. The result was a pattern of dispersed landscapes that came to define suburban growth in the twentieth century.

Modern superhighways appeared by the 1940s. After the wartime period of rationing gas and raw materials ended, Americans happily reassumed their place behind the wheel. By the late 1940s primitive roads became engineer-designed tollways, highways, and parkways.

As federal funding for highways increased, commuting to work from residential suburbs became commonplace. The Federal Highway Act of 1956 funded construction of 41,000 additional miles of limited access highways linking major cities from coast to coast. Conversely, little federal funding went toward public transportation (Jackson, 1985: 8). At the same time, the FHA financed \$4.5 million in residential suburban development, with the assumption that the residents would be using their own automobiles for transport. The new suburban tracts thus created a need for new roads for purposes of accessibility (Wright, 1983: 248). So, while an advantage to the new FHA-sponsored neighborhoods was their easy access to transportation arteries, one required his or her own automobile in order to achieve a realistic level of mobility. In turn, the construction of new roads encouraged more strategically located communities along transit corridors as people began to reshape their communities to conform

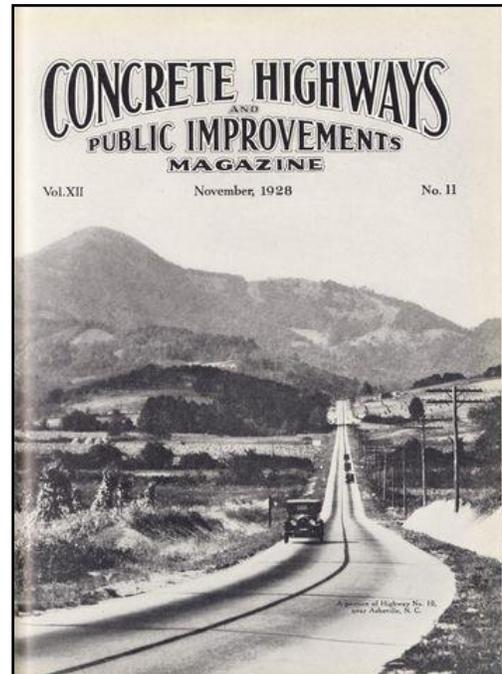


Figure 17. Concrete Highways and Public Improvements Magazine, in 1928 (Smithsonian Institution)

to major arterial routes. Supporting infrastructure in residential neighborhoods included paved roads, curbs and gutters, sidewalks, driveways, and connections to municipal water systems and utilities.

The rise of personal automobile ownership and the widespread road-building programs led to decentralization of American cities and to the increasingly low density development surrounding them. Workers no longer had to live in town or near a streetcar line, as longer commutes via automobile made living in distant neighborhoods possible. Many people were attracted to this separation since the residential subdivisions offered cheaper land, larger yards, park-like settings, and, most of all, home ownership. Thus the popularity of the automobile, its central position in American lives, and the infrastructure and development that accommodated it helped make the postwar American Dream achievable for many. With the addition of suburban commercial strips and office parks, it also meant that suburban neighborhoods were more disconnect from the city center. The realization of the interstate freeway system in the late 1950s through the 1960s only increased the physical changes and emerging social patterns of suburbanization already taking place in the early postwar period (McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 6-7).

Collaboration between Architects and Developers

An overall lack of collaboration between architects and developers generally characterized the housing developments of the 1920s. Architects favored more lucrative projects involving custom houses, often large in size, which would ostensibly allow the designer more freedom for aesthetic expression. Builders of subdivisions, on the other hand, rarely considered using an architect. Instead, they used stock housing plans to which they could make minor modifications using an on-site draftsman. This approach allowed builders to keep construction costs low (Mason, 1982: 17).

The relationship between builders and architects changed in the mid-1930s. A precursor to this realignment occurred at the 1932 American Institute of Architects' (AIA) annual convention when the group advised its audience of prominent architects and planners to become better acquainted with the planning and financial operations procedures of large-scale housing projects. They argued that architects should cooperate more with land owners, developers, and banks, and that developers and builders should lead the entire process of building a subdivision. To both architects and builders, the AIA advocated large-scale operations for the goal of maximum economy. Overall, the professional organization emphasized the importance of innovative design and quality construction (Mason, 1982: 17).

In 1934, the FHA's new loan programs and construction and planning guidelines for residential development opened the door, making the AIA's advice practical. The FHA's first director, Seward H. Mott, spearheaded the agency's approach towards improved standards in neighborhood design and site

planning that became influential for decades to come. Hampered by the Depression, widespread realization of these ideals took more than ten years to be fully realized, but eventually, the goals set forth by the FHA and AIA finally came to fruition during the postwar era.

During the postwar building boom developers established residential subdivisions, managing the process from start to finish. Some developers hired architects to design a few basic house models to be built in each subdivision. A builder would typically hire an architect on retainer for about \$1,000, and then pay him an additional \$100 for each house actually built. Larger developments with more houses thus became more profitable for the architect. Architectural periodicals championed this partnership, contending the participation of a professional, registered architect would raise the design quality of mass-produced developments (Wright, 1983: 249).

As before, many architects regarded the housing in large-volume residential subdivisions with a degree of disdain. They looked down on developers' taste in aesthetics and questioned some of the cost-saving shortcuts. They also expressed frustration with the FHA's conservative approach to house design that favored safe, traditional Colonial Revival, Cape Cod, or Spanish Colonial designs over Modernist ones. Indeed, FHA handbooks considered architectural conformity a plus when granting financing approval. The agency was wary to recommend Modernist features such as flat roofs or asymmetrical facades in the 1950s. The new architectural modes architects heralded appeared, to the FHA, to be short-lived trends not conducive to a sound investment. Even Frank Lloyd Wright, whose domestic house plans were featured in popular magazines such as *House Beautiful*, had his plans for prefabricated Usonian houses rejected due to a lack of architectural conformity with the FHA's standards (Wright, 1983: 251).

The Early Postwar House

Before World War II, most Americans lived in densely populated urban environments, while a relatively small segment of the population lived in rural communities on farms or in small towns. In cities, housing typically consisted of three- or four-story multi-family tenement housing. Well-off families lived in single-family houses at the edges of the city, usually on small lots. Living in houses built in the late 1800s and early 1900s, middle and working-class families typically shared one bathroom, if they were lucky enough to have one, and spring cleaning was a necessary task to remove coal dust from the house's interior walls, furniture, and drapes after a long winter using coal-fired furnaces. Rooms were sealed off from each other to conserve heat, which meant that they were also dark and often painted dark colors to hide dust and dirt. While refrigerators and iceboxes dripped melting water into pans that had to be emptied regularly, other homeowners simply nailed boxes to a window sill where they could store milk and butter during the winter months (Bennett, 1996: 9).

After the war, use of oil and gas furnaces not only made houses cleaner, but also freed space in basements for use as recreational rooms or house fix-it shops. On the streets, cars replaced trolleys, and housing moved out to the suburbs (Bennett, 1996: 24).

The postwar house of the late 1940s and 1950s was modest in size, in part due to a demand for building materials that caused a surge in the cost of labor and materials. New neighborhood subdivisions were typically master-planned to offer only a limited variety of housing models, usually four to six models from which a homeowner could choose. They were almost always single-family dwellings, each with uniform street set-backs and buffered by a grass-covered lawn. Higher-income postwar suburbs differentiated themselves by offering both larger lots and more individualized house designs with custom features.

Many design features used in postwar residential architecture were originally introduced during the 1930s and early 1940s, but only became commonly used after World War II. Builders had openly discussed designing houses in response to improved market data on house consumer trends, such as surveys on consumer preferences for house plan design, as early as the 1930s. But this practice did not become a reality until the postwar era. Interest in new materials and house design also did not fully take hold until after the end of World War II when the U.S. economy improved and Americans enjoyed the benefits of a flourishing financial system.

Encouraged by the earnest buyer, the market presented homebuyers with a plethora of new house designs and interior features designed specifically for the lifestyle of the postwar age. Interest in house designs spurred sales of plan books while popular magazines expanded their sections devoted to house design. Popular magazines of the time such as *Better Homes and Gardens*, *House Beautiful*, and *Good Housekeeping* promoted the ideal of single-family house ownership and featured new house plans each month. In 1945 *Good Housekeeping* commissioned 12 nationally prominent architects to design house plans that were subsequently featured in the monthly periodical throughout the year. Corresponding three dimensional models of these plan drawings were displayed at department stores, such as Macy's, for public viewing. The plans were overwhelmingly popular, with more than 100,000 sold that year. *Good Housekeeping* continued the program for the next eight years. Building manufacturers also employed well-known contemporary architects and published renderings in magazines and trade publications (Mason, 1982: 53).

Mobile home parks first appeared in the 1920s and 1930s, but only experienced widespread development after World War II. The individual housing units were manufactured or at least prefabricated and delivered to the home site fully complete. They met the immediate housing needs of the postwar era by providing the most affordable means of housing to the masses, which is a testament

to their continuing popularity (Figure 18). Derived from early house trailers pulled behind cars, the mobile home was rectangular and designed to be lined up along a street. Given their narrow width, the interiors were one-room deep, featuring built-in appliances to maximize livable space. While the earliest mobile homes retained their wheels, they inevitably lost their mobility as they grew in size. By the late-1950s, the average width of a mobile home increased to ten feet. By the late-1960s, trailers grew to 12 and then 14 feet in width and some gained interior amenities such as fireplaces, skylights, and vaulted ceilings (Jackson, 1985: 262).



Figure 18. The 42-long 1954 Nashua mobile home (*Atlas Mobile Home Directory, 2005*)

Construction and Building Materials

American housing manufacturers and builders made technological progress in the 1930s. The 1933 World's Fair in Chicago showcased the newest construction materials, such as plate-glass walls, cable suspension systems, and steel framing. On the domestic scale, appliances and state-of-the-art kitchens represented the latest innovations in house design. (Mason 1982: 24-26). Research in modular assembly and prefabrication of housing easily adapted to large-scale building projects during the war years and to suburban housing development following the war.

The 1939 New York World's Fair ended the decade with futuristic concepts for cities, construction, and housing. The fair's theme blended the blessing of democracy with the promise of technology under the topic "Science is the Determining Factor in Progress." The fair educated visitors with an array of colorful and exotic exhibits and even rides that foretold a future rendered in glass, steel, and efficient construction using standardized parts such as prefabricated paneling (Mason, 1982: 22-25).

Many of the accomplishments hailed at the 1939 World's Fair represented the culmination of efforts from a small number of researchers, architects, and engineers who had been pursuing new building technologies throughout the 1930s. Hundreds of research institutions and industrial manufacturing

firms made advances in materials, technology, and equipment. The most significant innovations from this period included modular plywood panels, treated wood products, and elastic latex glues.

The prefab house industry adopted many of the building techniques pioneered decades earlier. Companies like Sears, Roebuck and Co. sold between 70,000 and 75,000 mail-order houses between 1908 and 1940. After selecting the house plan from the catalog, the customer ordered the pre-cut materials and fittings to be shipped to the house site, reducing the cost of building. Although the residential architecture was traditional, construction used new, cheaper materials such as asphalt shingles and drywall, and balloon framing as a faster building method (Sears Archives, 2007). The Aladdin Company of Bay City, Michigan, was another popular firm that sold “kit homes” with pre-cut panels; they produced home components from 1910 through the 1940s and continuing until 1987 (Mason, 1982: 32, 56; The Aladdin Company, 1995).

The concept of prefabrication received even greater public attention when the economy began to recover in the late 1930s. Emphasis on achieving fast and efficient construction was the goal, and using prefabricated materials appeared to be the solution. While the economic downturn meant researchers were not given real world opportunities to test their models on a large scale, the military utilized their innovative materials and techniques to the greatest extent imaginable during the massive build-up to World War II at the close of the decade (Mason, 1982: 29).

Spurred by the housing crisis following World War II, the federal government placed a heavy emphasis on the potential of new technology to solve many of the complex problems associated with rapid house construction. Many developments introduced between 1945 and 1950 implemented advances in research in efficient construction methods and use of materials. Manufacturing firms and research institutions implemented new building methods including pre-cut materials, site fabrication of parts, and modular construction (Mason, 1982: 54-55). Additionally, the government endorsed the potential for prefabrication and preassembled houses. Two of the best-known companies to pioneer prefabricated houses in the early 1950s were Lustron and National Homes; both shipped a large number of complete, preassembled houses to locations across the country. These companies were the exception, however, as many construction companies struggled to engage quickly enough or produce enough volume to meet the high expectations. By the end of the 1940s, despite the efforts of the few firms selling prefabricated or kit homes, the state of the nation’s housing shortage had only worsened (Wright, 1983: 245, 246).

Although many of the materials and building technologies were available before the war, house builders only began using them widely when finally presented the opportunity during the postwar period. Building materials such as plywood, particle board, and gypsum board gained widespread acceptance in

house construction by the 1950s. The U.S. Gypsum Research Village introduced the use of standardized, pre-cut wall panels and metal framing in 1954. California developer Joseph Eichler applied these innovations to real house models that featured Modern design principals and were built in large-scale residential subdivisions across Northern California (Mason, 1982, *plate*; Wright, 1983: 249). Many large-scale builders adopted power hand tools, such as nail guns, routers, and saws, all of which provided time-saving methods of construction (Jackson, 1985: 238).

Interior Design

Postwar homeowners tirelessly sought out new ideas on decorating, furnishings, and new appliances, in addition to new architectural designs. House shows and National Home Week kicked off a major marketing event where model houses were open for display and for sale. In Denver, the annual Denver Parade of Homes began in 1953 to showcase new residential developments in the city's metropolitan region. All the amenities and conveniences of postwar housing made new houses attractive to buyers. The strategy was successful as the use of model houses increased not only house sales overall but also the demand for the latest kitchen, bath, laundry, and heating systems and appliances. Houses in middle and upper-middle-class neighborhoods imitated the Modern architect-designed houses in the Southwestern region of the United States by adding picture windows, sliding doors, carports, screens of decorative concrete block, and exposed rafter tails; these features appeared on homes illustrated in national popular shelter magazines (McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 34).

Spaciousness, or rather the illusion of spaciousness, became an important feature of the compact dwelling in the 1930s and 1940s. In an effort to make the best use of small spaces, windows and views visually extended the illusion of space and played a key role in the perception of interior enclosure. Glass walls erased boundaries between interior and exterior spaces, providing the ultimate realization of this ideal. Full-length sliding glass doors to a house's private landscape—the backyard and "outdoor living room"—helped to mitigate a house's small size (Isenstadt, 2006: 173-74).

Esteemed Modern architects such as Richard Neutra of Los Angeles touted flexible living spaces that could be used for more than one activity. The "open plan" promised the Modern ideal of independence from formal structure. This goal was achieved by removing partition walls between dining and living areas to suggest continuous spaces rather than a compartmentalized series of enclosed rooms. While Neutra was an internationally known architect of his time, even local architects adopted the open plan and it became a defining characteristic of nearly all postwar suburban tract houses. The elimination of many interior walls had a construction cost-savings benefit as well.

The early postwar house was efficiently organized and informal. "Economy houses," which were 650 square feet as designated by the FHA, omitted the dining room and instead slightly enlarged the kitchen

to accommodate a dining table. Interior design introduced kitchen breakfast bars, pass-through openings, or accordion folding doors for enhanced flexibility in combining or partitioning spaces. The hearth, or fireplace, was often no longer the anchoring feature of a living space, but instead became an unnecessary feature of a house with central heating (Isenstadt, 2006:179-214; Wright, 1983: 254).

All of these concepts—spaciousness, landscape views, technological advances in glass manufacturing, and the tenets of Modernism—converged to form the domestic picture window that became the icon of the postwar single-family house. The picture window, a large window dominant at the front of homes, usually comprised of plate glass, emerged as a character-defining feature of suburban house design in residential developments from coast to coast after 1945. Popular interest in the plate-glass picture window began first in commercial architecture at the turn of the twentieth century. Architects embraced the large-expanse of muntin-free glazing of plate glass for its functionality and unobstructed views. In the eyes of the Modernists, plate-glass glazing achieved transparency and stood in contrast to small-paned, multi-light windows of the Victorian age. By the 1930s, the idea of the plate-glass picture window as an important characteristic of the modern house was catching on among the consumer public, encouraged by house designers, shelter magazines, and window manufacturing advertisements (Isenstadt, 2006:179-214).

While the Depression and housing shortage of the 1930s prevented many from the new modern use of glass in domestic settings, wartime production increased the national capacity for making glass. After the war ended glass manufacturing plants turned their attention to the civilian market and the new demands of the ensuing building boom. When this happened, new houses, both those with Modernist design and Neo-Traditional houses with revival influences, incorporated picture windows and plate-glass fenestration. A Colonial Revival house featuring five-bay symmetry, shingles, and a decorative pediment over its central entrance could also feature a large picture window on its façade and glass-block glazing for smaller windows at its side. Thus, even traditional tastes were willing to embrace the new approach to glass in a tentative but important step toward concepts of Modernity popularized in shelter magazines and advertisements (Isenstadt, 2006:179-214).

Levitt and Sons' influential Levittowns introduced changes in house floor plans that were readily adopted by many other mass-produced housing developments. The Levitts relocated the kitchen to the front of the house, allowing the living room to open directly to the backyard and patio. Open floor plans featured three-sided fireplaces at their center. A carport became an inexpensive replacement for a garage. Each of the Levittown model houses featured special "built-in" features and indeed the phrase "built-in" was coined by the Levitt and Sons company (Wright, 1983: 253). Built-in appliances such as refrigerators and washing machines or added exterior features like white picket fences were selling points for tract housing. One year, Levitt and Sons even featured a built-in television set, which meant

that the buyer added the cost of the TV to the mortgage. Beyond the house, community amenities like swimming pools and tree-lined landscaping made the neighborhood attractive to buyers (Wright, 1983: 253).

The architectural changes brought about by major new subdivisions arose from postwar era research on consumer desires. Social scientists conducted studies on livability in the suburbs and effects of crime on family life. All results pointed to the suburban subdivision as the safest, most nurturing environment for young families. High-profile Modern architects of the period, including Richard Neutra and Eero Saarinen endorsed these studies and also pointed to the American dream of a single-family house. In 1945 the *Saturday Evening Post* reported that only 14 percent of Americans wanted to live in an apartment or a “used house,” leaving the vast majority preferring a new house and all the modern amenities and features that came with it. Reports also showed that bathrooms outfitted with modern features and gadgets such as linen closets, laundry chutes, decorative cabinets, and sun lamps boosted house sales (Wright, 1983: 254, 255).

New floor plans designed to appeal to young families provided rooms that centered around children’s activities. Utility rooms with modern washing machines opened to the backyard and the kitchen to create an intermediate space where children could leave their dirty clothes for washing. Taking cues from Levittown, basements disappeared from the earliest postwar residential developments and were replaced with concrete slabs in the 1950s. This change was more a matter of construction efficiency and cost than functionality. Many later subdivisions incorporated basements into the house plans, creating separate areas for laundry and utilities and recreation. This multipurpose room, also called a “rec room” or “rumpus room,” was first labeled the family room by *Parent’s Magazine* in 1947 and could be located on the main living level in houses without basements. Early versions of the family room featured linoleum flooring for dancing, comfortable furnishings, and a television (Wright, 1983: 255).

Exterior Architecture

Postwar residential architecture unfolded tentatively at first. Common architectural types immediately following the war carried over familiar elements from prewar residential architecture. In an effort to curtail construction costs, developers typically limited the variety of housing types to a few basic models that varied slightly in form and floor plans and included an optional palette of stylistic elements available to the buyer. This method resulted in a large degree of architectural monotony in the postwar residential subdivisions. Residents’ individualized landscaping initially tempered such homogeneity and later modifications to the houses themselves, such as additions or enclosed one-car garages to enlarge the interior space, also added visual variety.

A second remarkable characteristic of postwar housing was its uniformity on a national scale. Before World War II, regionalism existed as each area of the country favored its own, local architecture. After the war, however, the entire nation pursued similar housing forms as a collective whole, with only minimal regional variations. Builders in all regions built the “Minimal Traditional” of the late 1940s, a model which met the “Minimum House” design encouraged in FHA recommendations. The Ranch, Split-Level, and Bi-Level housing types also were adopted nationwide (McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 31). As a result, regional differences and a unique sense of place began to erode within the realm of the nation’s suburbs. Regional and nationwide building companies of the postwar period also helped foster national uniformity, carrying architectural design patterns across state lines.

A subtext of postwar residential architecture was the influence of the Modern movement. Before World War II, architectural tastes were commonly rooted in the forms and ornamentation associated with historic architecture. This mode of architecture proved both popular and profitable for architects and financiers. Gradually, small circles of the American intelligentsia developed an interest in emerging Modernist architecture that became popular in Europe during the 1920s. A few prominent and outspoken American architects demonstrated vocal support for the Modernist design by the 1930s, but these approaches had yet to take hold in popular American culture and design. By that time, Modern architects had distilled the basic principles of the Modern architectural movement into several tenets. They believed architecture should emphasize function and utility. They preferred sculptural form and volume over physical mass. They supported abstract beauty and honesty of materials as a replacement for unnecessary applied ornamentation. Finally, these architects advocated the use of modern materials such as glass, steel, plywood, or concrete and technology such as cantilevered structural systems and steel framing whenever possible as an expression of the Modern age. All of these approaches to design and construction, they argued, would result in a new form of abstract architecture that could fully express the new Modern age. The combination of these characteristics, such as smooth, untextured surfaces, bands of windows, casement windows, and flat roofs, was popularly called the International Style in reference to the style’s seeming international scope and apparent avoidance of regionalism.

Many European Modernist émigrés who taught at the nation’s leading architecture schools disseminated Modern ideals. Architectural journals spread the Modernists’ rallying message to design professionals nationwide. The movement achieved growing acceptance in the postwar years as the nation yearned for new technology and a new lifestyle of modern living. Popular culture began to warm to the new, spare architectural style. Flat roofs, large panes of plate glass windows, and removal of applied ornamentation were widespread influences on everyday commercial and residential postwar architecture.

An emphasis on reduced applied ornamentation appeared across all of the postwar architectural forms and types. This trend reflected both economic realities and stylistic tastes. Removing the added exterior decoration and features such as door surrounds, entrance porches, or trim helped keep material costs low and construction timelines speedy. The influence of Modern tastes helped make this practice acceptable to consumers.

In domestic architecture, the Modern movement reached its fullest expression with architect commissions for custom-designed houses where the professional had the luxury of a flush budget and creative freedom. The Contemporary architectural type featured design elements closely aligned with the Modern movement. Featuring flat or angular roof types and facades completely free of applied ornament, the Contemporary house became a popular and profitable house type by the 1950s. It can be found in postwar subdivisions nationwide, but achieved its greatest popularity in the Western states, particularly in California, where many of the most influential proponents of Modernism, such as Joseph Eichler, Cliff May, and William W. Wurster, participated in the postwar subdivision design and development (McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 34, 57).

For mass-produced residential subdivisions, however, the builders made the final decisions based on the bottom line. For builders and developers the sale was most important. It was in their best interest to offer housing types and styles most popular with the homebuyer. The Minimal Traditional housing type and NeoColonial houses were the most common architectural modes of the first stage of the postwar period between 1945 and 1950. They were conservative carryovers from the prewar period and the FHA encouraged their construction as safe financial investments. When the nation's economy began to improve, builders introduced a greater variety of new housing types.

The Ranch house and its numerous stylistic variants proved to be the most popular residential housing type of the postwar era. The Ranch house "matches the philosophical potency of the bungalow, it outstrips the brownstone in numbers, and it challenges the log cabin in mythic power" (Hess, 2004: 11). Although the Ranch borrowed its rustic wood details and low profile from its architectural predecessors, the American Ranch house type is a thoroughly modern conception that is intertwined with the postwar era. Ranches characterize the shift to one-story houses that were low, horizontal, and elongated, as if to embrace a rambling landscape.

The mid to late 1950s introduced taller house forms, such as the Bi-Level and the Split-level. Modern in profile, their multi-level interior ameliorated the noise of a growing family by "zoning" the bedrooms and living areas between separate floors. Builders and homebuyers were often reluctant to let go of their favorite historic details even for the most modern of house designs. Nonfunctioning stationary windows, often with non-operative shutters, were among the most ubiquitous decorative details that

were common for nearly every postwar domestic housing type, with the exception of the Contemporary style.

When the automobile took center stage in the American postwar lifestyle, finding convenient places to park the car became a priority. Thus, the garage became an important and prominent feature of the postwar house. Although garages were a relatively recent building type, they had undergone a quick evolution over the previous 40 years. Adapted from carriage houses, the earliest detached, one-car garages were located at the rear of a lot both for easy access to the existing alleys and to separate the car from the house; the latter was a safety issue since many early cars caught fire. Large houses built in the 1920s included elaborate designs for garages, but these were limited to affluent homeowners. The majority of garages were instead small, portable structures barely larger than the cars themselves, and people preferred to locate them away from public view (Jackson, 1985: 252).

By the mid-1930s, as the public began to accept the place of personal automobiles in the residential landscape, visible garages became more commonplace. Developers began to omit rear alleys and the detached garages along their corridors from new neighborhood designs. By the postwar era, the area previously relegated to the alley had vanished in new subdivisions. The rear space was instead incorporated into the backyard and the garage was moved to the front of the property as an attached feature of the house. By 1950, automobile ownership had become a source of pride and cars an object of attention and care. The prominent new location of the attached garage reflects this transition (Jackson, 1985: 252).

The attached garage or carport became a desirable feature of the early postwar house. The carport was simply an inexpensive adaptation of the early carriage porte-cochere and was best-suited to warm climates. House buyers soon came to prefer the attributes of the enclosed, attached one-car garage during an era when families owned one car per household. Economical building allowed the attached garage to be built as efficiently and inexpensively as the suburban dwelling, making garages attainable for the middle class. The one-car garage was not always attached to the side of the house, and was commonly incorporated into the lowest level of a Split-Level house by the 1960s (Massey and Maxwell, 1996: 248).

With the rising affluence and the ascendance of the two-car family in the 1960s, house designers responded accordingly with larger, attached two-car garages. Garage space typically consumed approximately 400 square feet of living space - about one-third of the average house itself. The garage was becoming an increasingly dominant part of the suburban residence and landscape.

The forward-facing garage became most prevalent in the 1970s, with this orientation continuing to the present day. Garages of the 1950s and 1960s usually were modestly located at the side of the house. If they projected forward from a house to form an L-shaped plan, the garage entrance then demurred and faced to the side, allowing the garage to face the street with domesticated windows that matched the rest of the house, and perhaps even included curtains. In contrast, garages built after 1970 projected boldly forward, with their garage door facing front, which had the effect of shortening the house's setback from the street. House facades narrowed with shrinking lot sizes as land values were at a premium in most suburban communities nationwide. Meanwhile, garages were moved to the front of the house, comprising the majority of the house façade and sometimes completely obscuring the house's entrance that was recessed and to the side. Garages gradually became the dominant feature of homes during the late stages of the postwar era and up to the present.

Landscape and Neighborhood Setting

Many of the early postwar neighborhoods were designed according to the series of FHA standards and guidelines published between 1936 and 1940. As a supplement to the requirements, the FHA issued a set of "desirable standards" that would help a project gain approval for funding. These factors were:

- Careful adaptation of subdivision layout to topography and to natural features
- Adjustment of street plan and street widths and grades to best meet the traffic needs
- Elimination of sharp corners and dangerous intersections
- Long blocks that eliminated unnecessary streets
- Carefully studied lot plans with generous and well-shaped house sites
- Parks and playgrounds
- Establishment of community organizations of property owners
- Incorporation of features that add to the privacy and attractiveness of the community

(McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 23)

Following this model, curvilinear streets instead of the common prewar rectilinear gridiron plans became a defining feature of postwar subdivisions. Curvilinear roadways were encouraged because they could be easily adapted to a variety of topographical conditions, to either flat land or rolling sites where roads can curve around hilly areas. This flexibility helped reduce the cost of road construction and utility installation. Curving roads also eliminated four-way intersections and discouraged heavy traffic whereby cars were directed from the neighborhood toward collector thoroughfares at the neighborhood periphery (Ames, 1995). Neighborhoods with curving roads were believed safer for domestic activities. Dead-end cul-de-sacs were created to keep out through-traffic and provide a safe

area for children to play. In contrast with the urban street grid, curving roads also emphasized picturesque views toward the houses and their landscape, adding to aesthetic appeal (McClelland, Ames, and Pope, 2002: 23). Trees planted along the streets' edges achieved a park-like setting. The curvilinear subdivision design became standard in postwar neighborhood planning.

Planners positioned individual houses on the lots using standardized setbacks, creating an alignment of housing a uniform distance from the street. Lots in the influential—and widely copied—first Levittown suburb each measured 60 by 100 feet. Typical lots sizes thereafter were generally homogeneous across the country, measuring between 40 by 100 feet at the smallest end to 80 by 100 feet at the larger end. The further the neighborhood was from the city center, the less expensive the land. While this lower cost allowed for the availability of large lots, small lots on inexpensive land catered to less affluent buyers.

Each house had a backyard, a front yard, and smaller side yards as buffers between the houses. The front yard was the semi-public domain, typically featuring a grassy lawn and formal ornamental plantings. Many of the earliest postwar housing developments did not include front lawns and other types of landscaping. While this arrangement kept the price of the house low, the owners were expected to invest “sweat equity” and install the lawn and other plantings themselves. The backyard allowed for informality, was considered part of the private domain, and served as a spatial extension from the interior of the house. In accordance with many neighborhood covenants, the backyard was also the only area where clotheslines were permitted (Jackson, 1985, 237-39). Privacy fences in backyards were often discouraged or even prohibited because they were perceived to visually interrupt the flow of the house's open plan interior from the inside to the yard.

Middle Postwar Era: 1951-59

Residential suburban development increased in the 1950s with 15.1 million houses constructed. New forms of residential architecture—such as the Ranch, Contemporary, and Split-Level types—became popular. The United States' military involvement in the Korean War caused a relatively minor slow-down in housing production between 1950 and 1953. By the mid-1950s through 1960, however, residential growth continued its strong and steady flow outward to suburban and exurban land.

While the housing shortage made the late 1940s a virtual seller's market, by the mid-1950s builders and developers had to become more aggressive in their marketing techniques. The National Association of Home Builders advocated advertising tactics encouraging homeowners to “trade-in” their house for a better, newer one; this approach was similar to the way automobiles were advertised and sold, encouraging potential buyers to upgrade to the latest model. A glut of promotional tools and model house demonstrations flooded the real estate market and offered the buyer an array of choices and

options to consider. These options included modifications in floor plans, the addition of chimneys and fireplaces, attached garages, and smaller scale features such as built-in cabinetry and appliances. The concept of “curb appeal” made its appearance by 1957 when developers saw elaborate landscaping features as giving them a competitive edge in a demanding marketplace. Builders hired interior designers to decorate and furnish the model houses to make them appealing to consumers. The model’s finishes and decoration then became a vehicle for disseminating the latest trends in color, wallpaper, carpeting, draperies, and furniture. Larger builders hired marketing experts to promote neighborhoods’ access to schools, shopping centers, recreation, transportation, and utilities. They strove to create a desirable identity for the neighborhood that would instill social pride and convey high character to the potential buyer if he should choose to live there (Mason, 1982: 95-96).

Housing was not the only type of development that relocated to the suburban fringes, as new schools and shopping centers opened at the intersections of collector roads near new neighborhoods. Businesses and institutions began to establish office buildings and campuses far from urban centers. In turn, employees no longer required houses that were located near the city. A worker could virtually avoid urban centers if he had convenient access to an automobile and transportation routes; this trend added to the social decentralization of cities in addition to the physical movement of city functions in the postwar age. These circumstances only encouraged a continuation of growth outward from established neighborhoods in cities and towns.

Working both singly and together, the U.S. military and universities increased their infrastructure in the early 1950s and helped establish patterns of suburban development. The relationship between universities and the federal government strengthened due to the mounting political tension of the Cold War when the government significantly increased funding to university research projects “to ensure military security in a troubled world” (Findlay, 1992: 123). Support for scientific and engineering research led to the construction of new campuses to house these new programs. Many institutions, like Stanford University, established satellite research parks on the open land at the outskirts of town (Findlay, 1992: 122-25). Similarly, increases in the federal military defense budget led to new forms of nuclear weapon research and manufacturing sites. These facilities were typically located on open spaces in America’s Sunbelt at sites such as Los Alamos, New Mexico, and the Rocky Flats facility south of Boulder, Colorado. In turn, emerging private industries with military contracts, such as aircraft and aerospace industries, also located their facilities at the edges of cities and towns (Abbott, 1993: 57-58).

Late Postwar Era: 1960-70

By the late 1950s, single-family house building had decelerated and the market shifted. The public blamed the slow-down on the lack of variety in housing types offered to the consumer, rather than a reduced need for housing. A renewed interest in denser, urban-influenced housing developments came

to fruition in the 1960s. Ideas like those expressed in Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) celebrated the diversity and vitality of urban living, while criticizing suburban lifestyles as banal and isolating (Wright, 1983: 260). A decade after the early postwar period, house buyers wanted more than mass-produced houses with little variation. One of the early executives in the Levitt and Sons building firm summarized the economic and market forces that caused this shift in the housing industry:

We believe that the production techniques we employed in building the postwar Levittowns result in the greatest possible construction economics, and we reluctantly modified our operation only because a changing marketplace dictated a change as a requisite for economic survival.

Instead of building 5,000 identical houses at a single site in one year, we now build 5,000 houses in 150 varieties at 18 sites during the same time, houses whose designs are dictated by marketing, not production, disciplines (As quoted in Welfeld, 1988: 42).

To fulfill market demand for a wider variety of late-postwar housing, many residential subdivisions built in the 1960s featured more sophisticated designs that offered more neighborhood amenities than during the previous decade. Building on early and mid-postwar concepts of landscape and setting, 1960s subdivisions placed more emphasis on open space, recreational areas, schools, and even shopping facilities, all executed by the next generation of land planners, builders, architects, and marketing specialists. Housing historian Joseph B. Mason called the most complex 1960s developments the "New Glamour Communities." They applied a level of professional coordination and execution that resulted in complex residential communities that included recreational facilities, such as golf courses or club houses, and safe traffic planning, with looping street patterns and cul-de-sacs. Such developments required the backing of large firms who held enough capital to invest in hiring the most in-demand designers and engineers. Soon smaller firms emerged and followed their example (Mason, 1982: 108-109).

Developers also began to meet changes in consumer demand by incorporating a broader mixture of housing types. These included multi-family housing, and as a result, row houses and apartment buildings were constructed for the first time since before World War II. The increasing cost of land also led developers to consider higher-density neighborhoods as an alternative to single-family houses. In 1969 apartment buildings accounted for nearly half of the housing market, and most of this construction occurred in the suburbs. Developers increased the appeal of multi-family residences by providing additional amenities such as more spacious apartment floor plans, air-conditioning, patios, balconies, attractive views, swimming pools, and better landscaping in common areas (Mason, 1982: 110). All of

these features allowed the apartment-dweller to enjoy many of the attractions of living in a single-family house without the responsibilities of exterior house and yard maintenance. Almost 20 million housing units were built between 1963 and 1973, creating more housing than in any prior decade. In a move away from exclusive support of single-family residential subdivisions, federal and local government assistance encouraged master-planned, high-density housing that came to be known as Planned Urban Developments (Wright, 1983: 260).

Race riots and violent reactions to racial discrimination during the 1960s also impacted new development and access to affordable housing. The decade exposed the racism and racial discrimination that continued in many VA and FHA housing developments. The Civil Rights Movement advanced by mid-decade and Congress signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which banned discrimination in the sale of any housing nationwide. That same year President Lyndon Johnson signed the Housing and Urban Authority Act to provide low-income families greater access to housing. This act supported the development of new towns, model city programs, and urban renewal (Mason, 1982: 135). Despite the legislative progress, by the end of the decade racial tensions contributed to the continuing stream of “white flight,” as working- and middle-class white Americans abandoned city neighborhoods for the increasingly homogenous or segregated suburbs and exurbs. Non-whites were often unwelcome in many white neighborhoods where restrictive covenants prohibited black homeowners and certain religious groups. This pattern was partially an outgrowth of the practice of red-lining, which was the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation’s use of indicating on maps the relative security of neighborhoods using a color-coding system. On one end, the newest and most desirable neighborhoods for lending were marked as Type A and outlined in blue, while the least desirable and riskiest neighborhoods for lending were marked Type D and delineated in red. This practice made obtaining mortgage loans difficult or impossible for people living within a red-lined area (Jackson, 1985). The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was passed to fight this type of racial discrimination.

The national housing market dipped again in the early 1970s, impacted by double-digit inflation, high interest rates, and an energy crunch as the nation closed its prolonged chapter of involvement in the Vietnam War. President Nixon’s moratorium on federal funding allocated to housing projects for low and moderate-income Americans sharply curtailed new house construction. The market forced young families to consider alternatives for suburban detached dwellings, such as cooperative housing, townhouses, or mobile homes. Not everyone viewed this change positively, with many individuals considering the economic trade-off of an attached or multi-family as the second choice to a detached, single-family house (Wright, 1983: 260-61). Despite the social changes and new housing alternatives that had evolved over the course of the late 1940s through the 1970s, the postwar ideal of the detached, single-family suburban house proved to be a tenacious construct of the American mindset.

The housing construction industry returned to building single-family houses in larger volumes in the mid- and late-1970s. This shift was due, in part, to the fact that many Americans viewed house ownership as a sound investment against inflation. Interest in new housing types continued to encourage relocation to the latest suburban developments. Increasing numbers of women in the workplace meant families had more income and greater opportunities to move into a single-family house or to upgrade from an existing house (Mason, 1982: 155-56). For many, the single-family suburban house remained a symbol of progress.

Conclusion

The postwar housing boom brought about dramatic changes in virtually every city in America, and led to a dramatic suburbanization of the American landscape and built environment. The effort to meet the immediate need to house the growing population after World War II led to an unprecedented availability of low-cost, long-term mortgages that made house ownership possible, while mass construction methods using prefabricated materials kept houses inexpensive to build and in large supply. Basic early postwar housing evolved to incorporate new approaches to house design that conformed to not only changing tastes and lifestyles during the 1950s and 1960s, but also the nation's newfound emphasis on the personal automobile. By the 1960s, a greater variety of houses which were larger and had a wider range of features were being built, and neighborhood planning became more sophisticated. The continual construction of more residential subdivisions through the mid-1960s moved city boundaries farther from the city center, doubling and tripling the sizes of cities and turning them into metropolises interconnected by the new national interstate highway system. These postwar housing subdivisions are still in place today from coast to coast and serve as reminders of the revolutionary approaches to transportation systems, community planning, building practices, and popular trends in architectural design pioneered during the postwar era.

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5.0 HISTORIC CONTEXT OF BOULDER, COLORADO

The history of Boulder, Colorado, up to and including the postwar era, revolves around the themes of mining, agriculture, education, lifestyle, and industrial expansion (see Appendix E: Timeline of Development in Boulder, 1859-1971). The first non-native settlement in Boulder is reported to have occurred on October 17, 1858, when the prospectors of the Aikins Party set up camp near the entrance to Boulder Canyon, which they called Red Rocks (Frink, 1965:7). Shortly after arriving in Boulder Canyon, the prospecting group decided the location would support a permanent settlement. The new settlement was located north of the 40th parallel (current-day Baseline Road) placing it in the Nebraska Territory. At that time the 40th parallel served as the dividing line between the Kansas and Nebraska Territories. The Kansas Territory was controlled by the United States, while the Nebraska Territory was controlled by Native Americans. As such, upon its founding, Boulder was located outside of the United States.

Boulder City was formed on February 10, 1859, by the Boulder Town Company. The Boulder Town Company consisted of a group of prospectors who united to form the new Boulder City. H. Chiles, a member of this group, laid out 4,044 lots at \$1,000 each hoping to entice buyers to settle in the new town (Noel and Corson, 1999: 30). When the town was platted, the Town Company created lots measuring 50 by 140 feet, a considerably larger lot size than those found in Denver and other settlement towns, which typically measured 25 by 125 feet (Figure 19) (Noel and Corson, 1999: 30). The large lot sizes combined with the high price per lot kept many settlers from buying in Boulder City. After noticing the lack of buyers, the Town Company reduced the price of lots in an effort to regain the interest of settlers.

During the 1860s when many mining communities in Colorado resembled unfinished towns, the members of the Boulder City Town Company wanted to project an aura of a planned community. As a result, some of the first building regulations in the state of Colorado were put into place within Boulder City. The strict regulations called for interior chimneys, exterior wall heights of at least eight-and-one-half feet, completion of the foundation within seven days of breaking ground, and completion of the entire building within 60 days (Noel and Corson, 1999: 30). Additionally, cabins were to be built along public streets oriented to the north and south in order to project a finished appearance. Public streets in Boulder City measured 80 feet wide while alleys measured 20 feet wide, a significantly larger width than the streets and alleys of most frontier towns at that time. The town's large lot sizes, wider-than-average roads, and strict building requirements reflected the town founders' desire to fashion Boulder City after the towns in the East while retaining the openness found on the plains of Colorado. Unlike other Western towns, the Boulder City founders sought to keep their community from appearing overcrowded, thus they focused on large lots and open roadways.

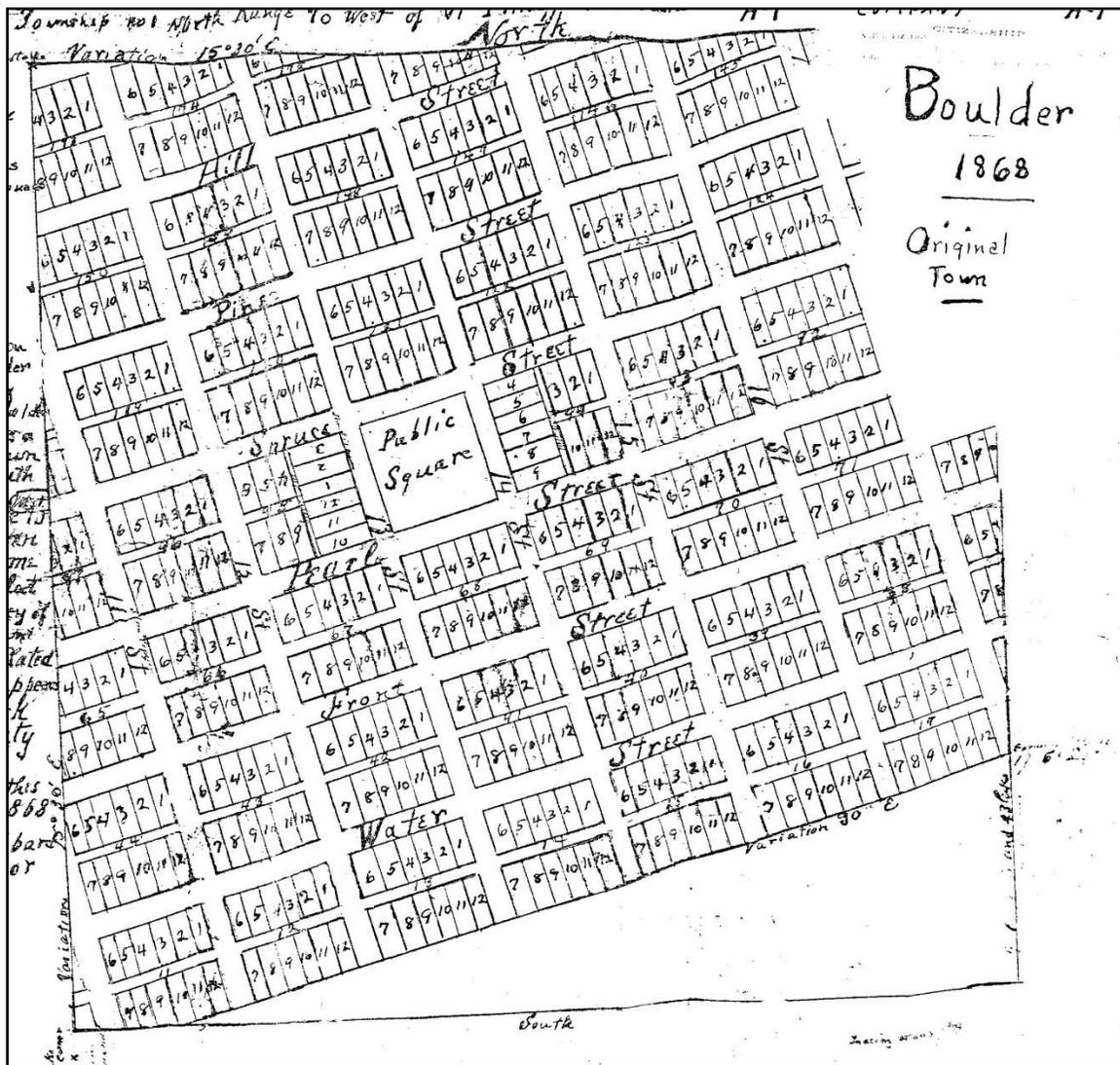


Figure 19. Boulder City Plat Map circa 1868 (Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)

Boulder City remained a part of the Nebraska Territory for two years following its creation; however, after lobbying for the unification of the Nebraska and Kansas Territories with the United States Congress, the Territory of Colorado was created in February 1861. Following the creation of the territory, Boulder City lobbied the territorial government to be the location for the proposed University of Colorado. Boulder won the bid in October 1861; however, construction on the university did not begin until 1876.

As Boulder City continued to grow, the original two-mile long city was forced to absorb four extensions which, along with the original city plat, were incorporated as Boulder in 1871. During the late 1800s Boulder rebounded from a number of difficulties including continued damage to agricultural fields by

grasshoppers, and the Boulder Creek Flood of 1894. Following World War I, Boulder suffered from the flu pandemic which spread across the world between 1918 and 1920. Originally discovered in military recruits at the University of Colorado, the pandemic affected Boulder especially hard (http://1918.pandemicflu.gov/your_state/colorado.htm). Boulder thrived alongside the rest of the country during the 1920s. Although Boulder along with the rest of the country suffered from the Great Depression of the 1930s, the town was protected from the worst of the financial problems due to an emphasis on its university, the ability to obtain land and buildings through federal aid programs, and Civilian Conservation Corps improvements (Perrigo, 1946: 38-39).

The United States' involvement in World War II led to the relocation of the Navy's Japanese Language School to the University of Colorado and increased the population of Boulder to around 18,000 by 1946 (Perrigo 1946: 27). Following the war the University remained a leading institution for higher education and increasingly attracted intellectuals and students to Boulder. In the decades following World War II, Boulder became a strong supporter of governmental agencies and institutions such as the National Center for Atmospheric Research and the National Bureau of Standards. These agencies and others like them helped Boulder herald in the technological age with a focus on aerospace engineering and environmental engineering.

Boulder's continued growth in the mid-twentieth century forced the city to adjust its strict growth standards. This led to the annexation of many of the surrounding ranches, which were subdivided into neighborhoods in order to house the increasing population of people in Boulder. Despite the steps taken to increase the city's housing stock during the last half of the twentieth century, Boulder has since limited its growth, causing the city to remain small in comparison to Denver and its other metropolitan suburbs.

Mining

A party of gold prospectors led by Thomas A. Aikins moved northwest out of Denver to mine the area now known as Boulder in 1858. The party set up camp at Red Rocks, near the entrance of Boulder Canyon, which became the first non-native settlement in Boulder. Named for the large rocks in the river and along the canyon, Boulder Creek served as a good panning river for prospectors.

The Boulder City Town Company formed on February 10, 1859, with the goal of profiting from both the sale of land and from providing supplies to prospectors. Within a month's time the two-mile long town of Boulder City was platted and prospectors began settling. Gold Run and other areas west of Boulder continued to prosper from mining during the 1860s, bringing a number of prospectors to the region. Although a number of mountain communities became self sufficient through farming, the majority of communities still relied heavily on the supplies brought from Boulder. Additionally, the mining

communities tended to send ore for processing on routes that passed through Boulder, providing business for merchants and hotels. The Colorado Territory formed in 1861, and Boulder County soon followed in 1862, with Boulder City as the county seat.

During the 1860s Boulder County continued to experience small gold finds; however, these discoveries did not lead to an increased population. The 1860s saw a number of early prospectors head to Boulder to try their hand at farming, or leave the Boulder County gold fields altogether. A renewal of interest in mining and an increased need for food and transportation came with the Caribou silver strike of 1869. The northernmost silver mine in Colorado, Caribou attracted international attention and increased visitation to Boulder and the region (Ubbelohde, 2006: 114). This strike ushered in the silver boom in Boulder, increasing the need for smelters and other ore refining technologies. Although the Caribou mine did not contain as much silver as was originally believed, the impact it had on the area and Boulder in particular was long-lasting.

The 1872 discovery of tellurium, a conglomerate of silver and gold, at Gold Hill caused Boulder to begin focusing on the needs of the miners. Beginning shortly after the tellurium discovery, Boulder began focusing on its future as an ore processing and refining center, with the construction of the Boyd Smelter on Boulder Creek. Not long after its completion, the Boyd Smelter experienced competition from the recently retrofitted Hunt and Barber Smelter located at the convergence of Boulder Creek and Four Mile Creek (Pettem, 1980: 34). These smelters allowed Boulder to keep a larger profit from the nearby mines.

In the late nineteenth century, at least eight custom mills and ore-buying stations were located between 9th Street and Boulder Canyon in Boulder (Cobb, 1988: 105). These sites included: Preston (Aggregation) Reduction Works, Mann Mill, Kilton Gold Extraction Company, Boyd Smelter, Atlas/Delano Mill Complex, and the Marshall Mill. Two railroad tracks ran behind the Boyd Smelter along present day Canyon Boulevard to 9th Street, where they then continued west. The tracks accommodated both the main line narrow gauge railroad and the standard-gauge trains traveling between Boulder and the mining communities to the west (Cobb, 1988: 107).

The railroad lines, which had been utilized primarily for transporting ore, were retrofitted to transport passengers to the mining communities. Using the railroad for tourist-related activities began almost as soon as the railroad was constructed and continued through the first half of the twentieth century. However, as the Great Depression spread throughout the United States, this trade almost ceased, leading to the closure of a number of metal mines prior to the conclusion of World War II (Abele, 1988: E8). Although many of these mines did not return following World War II, a few of the surrounding towns were able to rebound their tourist trade. The loss of the mountain mining communities was

difficult on Boulder and resulted in the closure of a number of smelters and other ore processing centers in town. However, mining was not the only undertaking keeping the citizens of Boulder employed.

Agriculture, Ranching, and Early Settlers

Agriculture and ranching began in Boulder County as a result of several gold-seekers deciding their fortune lay with raising supplies for mining towns instead of in mining itself. As such, the first non-subsistence farming in Boulder occurred in August 1859, when the Wellman Brothers arrived in the county and began plowing lands two and a half miles east of the mouth of Boulder Creek (Wolfenbarger 2006, E3). By 1870 Boulder farms were the highest valued farms in the state, and Boulder's prominence in farming continued through the 1920s (Wolfenbarger 2006, E10).

Lands in and around Boulder also were utilized for ranching ventures, with early ranchers raising cattle, horses, and Merino sheep. One of the earliest ranchers in Boulder was Anthony Arnett, a prospector who traveled to California for the California Gold Rush and then moved to the Pike's Peak region of Colorado following the discovery of gold in 1858. Although Arnett followed prospecting opportunities across the country, he chose to focus on ranching for his career, and in 1859 he began wintering his cattle on lands near Boulder. By the spring of 1860 Arnett had moved his entire operation to Boulder (Fetter, 1983: 151). Arnett and other ranchers harvested the natural prairie grasses in the region to feed their herds instead of planting and harvesting hay, reducing the cost of operating large-scale ranches in Boulder County. Additionally, local feed lots were also able to use the prairie grasses to feed their charges, allowing the lots to show a larger profit. The native prairie grasses around Boulder proved to be a source of wealth for the settlers as well. It is believed that early settlers cultivated these grasses to sell to the mountain mining camps as feed for their horses (Wolfenbarger 2006, E5). The use of native plants was also an intelligent way to avoid reliance on water sources and good weather since the native plants had already adjusted to the region's weather patterns. The naturally-occurring grasses in Boulder were able to withstand a higher degree of weather changes than cultivated hay plants, which did not withstand either the winter or arid conditions of the area.

One of the most well known ranchers in Boulder's farming community was William Martin. Born in Sussex County, England in 1841, Martin moved to New York and then Ohio as a child. At the age of 18, Martin abandoned Ohio for the gold fields of California. After leaving California for Colorado, Martin made the acquaintance of a group of prospectors headed to the Boulder area. Martin joined a group of prospectors who discovered the Caribou deposit. This deposit provided Martin and the five other prospectors a wealthy lifestyle, and Martin used his earnings to purchase a large tract of land south of Boulder. Known as the Martin Farm, this land became the Martin Acres subdivision in the 1950s.

Another important pioneer family in Boulder was the Kohlers. Led by Frederick W. Kohler, this family settled in Boulder around 1862. Instead of seeking their fortune in the mines west of town, the family focused on ranching. Frederick acquired nearly 800 acres of land south of Boulder where he proceeded to operate one of the most successful cattle businesses in the county. In addition to ranching, Frederick Kohler served as a two-term County Commissioner beginning in 1885, and a school board member (Schooland, 1980). The Kohler family used their wealth to help organize the Boulder National Bank. Two residential postwar subdivisions are located on the old Kohler property: Highland Park and Table Mesa.

The Viele Farm was adjacent to the Kohler property in south Boulder. Rosetta, one of the Viele daughters, married into the Kohler clan, uniting these two powerful families. When the Vieles moved to Boulder, they brought with them the first large steam threshing machine in the county. The family offered their threshing services to other farmers in the area, helping the agricultural community around Boulder. The Viele family operated two ranches south of Broadway and Table Mesa Drive. William Viele combined these two ranches following his father's and grandfather's deaths, operating a 922 acre ranch (*The Daily Camera*, 1976). Upon William's death, the Toedtli family purchased the ranch and continued to operate it until 1955, when they sold the land to developers to help create the Table Mesa subdivision.

Colorado's agricultural undertakings did not reach a large-scale until the Pikes Peak Gold Rush of 1858. Prior to the influx of prospectors, Colorado farming was limited to subsistence levels. Although trading posts such as Bent's Fort sold farm goods, the majority of Coloradoans purchased goods from the larger selection found in Santa Fe. However, as Colorado's population boomed in response to the discovery of gold, some settlers chose to make their way by raising the food needed to feed the miners, or as middlemen between farmers and the miners. The Wellman brothers' farmstead, settled in 1859, quickly became a boarding center for prospectors in addition to supplying the area with fresh food. Although the foothills of the Rocky Mountains have a number of rivers and streams, few run through the agricultural areas of Boulder County. In response to the need for water, Boulder's first irrigation ditch, named the Smith and Goss Ditch, was dug in 1859. The Wellman Brothers' success with crops like the Mountain June potato led them to construct Boulder's first frame barn in 1861.

Wheat became a large crop following Andrew Douty's success raising wheat and potatoes on his land along south Boulder Creek. Due to the large amount of wheat grown in Boulder, the Douty Flour Mill was built in the 1870s to process the crop. Boulder farms produced vegetables to be sold in the mountain mining camps and nearby communities. Although a number of mountain farms sold their produce to the local communities, many of the mining camps continued to buy their produce from Boulder area farms. In comparison to other Colorado counties, Boulder's farms were relatively

successful during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Despite Boulder's success in agriculture, early farmers were not immune to difficulties. Year after year, Boulder fields were attacked by large numbers of grasshoppers who ate and suffocated the crops (Smith, 1981: 25). Additionally, after living through a number of springs where rain was not abundant, farmers began to focus on planting their crops near rivers in order to ensure the crops had enough water.

The lack of abundant water sources led settlers to dig additional irrigation ditches throughout the area, and by 1862 a seven mile long ditch with the capacity of irrigating 1,500 acres was completed and named the Farmers Ditch (Wolfenbarger, E6). In addition to growing crops such as wheat and potatoes, a few farmers ventured into fruit cultivation. Although the soil in Boulder was rich and of a good quality for growing fruits, Boulder's dry winters killed many of the fruit plants before they could produce large amounts of food. Although Boulder experienced many difficulties while engaged in agriculture, these setbacks did not deter the efforts of farmers or the willingness of miners to purchase Boulder's products.

During the early twentieth century, agriculture continued throughout Boulder County, primarily to the east of the city of Boulder. Throughout this time period, farmers planted wheat, oats, hay, potatoes, sugar beets, and various types of fruit (Bureau of Business Research, 1960). While not all farms were successful, many Boulder farmers fared better than their counterparts across the state due to a mild climate, good irrigation systems, and nearby markets.

Agricultural enterprises steadily decreased during the mid-to-late twentieth century as technology became the focus of Boulder's economy. In the years following World War II the number of farms operating in Boulder County reduced by over 500. In 1945, 1,425 farms were in operation in Boulder County, but by 1950 that number had dropped to 1,320. In 1954 the number of functional farms in Boulder County had fallen to 990. In many ways, the completion of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike in 1952 put an end to many of the surrounding farms, having cut several properties in half and allowing for easy access to higher paying jobs in Boulder and Denver. Perhaps the largest indicator that agriculture was no longer a large-scale enterprise in Boulder came in 1959 when the only crops being produced for commercial use were winter wheat and sugar beets. Prior to 1959 over fourteen other crops were produced in Boulder County for commercial use. All other crops ceased production between harvest in 1958 and 1959 (Bureau of Business Research, 1960: Table 4). This reduction in crop production marked the end of large-scale farming in Boulder County.

By the end of the 1950s, many of the lands which had been large ranches or farms in Boulder were for the most part divided into commercial and residential neighborhoods. The Mount Saint Gertrude Academy was situated on part of the Arnett Ranch, and the Martin Acres and Highland Park subdivisions

were located on the Martin Farm lands. To the south of Boulder along Highway 93, the federal government seized the old Church Ranch in 1951 in order to start construction on the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Facility (Richardson, 2004: 124-125).

Similar to nearby Denver, Boulder's floundering agricultural lands were quickly incorporated into the town as residential subdivisions. While Boulder annexed lands in order to support the new need for housing, Denver annexed the lands surrounding it in order to keep from being hemmed in by smaller communities. However, both Denver and Boulder incorporated lands into their city limits which had once housed large farms or ranches. Between 1950 and 1980, the suburban housing boom in the United States tripled, with large numbers of people flocking to the suburbs from the cities (Richardson, 2004: 23). Boulder, while a self-sustaining city, has often been viewed as a bedroom community for Denver and thus qualifies as a suburb. The housing boom which struck Boulder following World War II was similar to the boom which impacted Denver at that same time. Boulder also had an added need to house a large number of veterans who used the GI Bill to attend the University of Colorado.

Small garden plots are still located in backyards around Boulder, and some homeowners also raise small farm animals such as chickens within the city limits; however, any large-scale agricultural operations are now located outside Boulder in the surrounding county.

Education

In 1860 the first schoolhouse in Colorado was erected at the corner of 15th and Walnut Streets in Boulder. Called the Pioneer Schoolhouse, the frame building was constructed by Abner Roe Brown and a group of Boulder citizens. The Pioneer Schoolhouse operated until 1872 when the original building was replaced by a \$15,000, two-story brick school called the Central School in the same location. This new school was meant to accommodate the growing needs of Boulder; however, the population soon outgrew the school and the building was enlarged in 1873. The school was razed in 1972 (Boulder Public Library – BHS 210-9-3 PHOTO). Four additional public schools, including a high school, were constructed in Boulder between 1900 and 1937.

Boulder's first private school, the Mount Saint Gertrude Academy, was built in 1892 on lands purchased from Anthony Arnett. Bounded by Aurora and Cascade Avenues between Lincoln Place and 10th Street, this two-story brick building was operated by the Sisters of the Charity of the Blessed Virgin. The Mount Saint Gertrude Academy remained the leading private school in Boulder until its closure in 1969. The University of Colorado purchased the property and utilized the buildings as a social club until a fire damaged the property in 1980. The University then abandoned the property, which sat vacant until 1998 when it was reopened as The Academy, a retirement community.

Boulder was named the location for the University of Colorado in 1861. Delayed by the outbreak of the Civil War, construction did not begin on the first University building until 1875, and the first classes were held in fall 1877 (Allen *et al.*, 1976: 16). As the University grew it served to stabilize Boulder’s economy, keeping the city from experiencing the dramatic highs and lows found in many areas of the country. While many cities in the United States were faced with decreasing populations following the economic Panic of 1893 and the Great Depression of the 1930s, Boulder retained its urban population due to the presence of the University. Prior to the opening of the University in 1877, the city’s population numbered 300 and by 1880 it had grown to 3,000. By 1910 the city’s population had doubled to 6,150, and in the following decade had grown to 11,006.

During World War II, the United States Navy transferred its Japanese Language School from Berkeley, California, to the University of Colorado, where over 6,000 students were taught in an accelerated three-term system (Allen *et al.*, 1976: 122-123). The increased military presence in Boulder during World War II allowed the University to retain its staff and maintain housing and classrooms for its students. Fortunately, the successes of the University were reflected in the stability of Boulder’s economy and population levels.

Following the conclusion of World War II, thousands of veterans chose to take advantage of the GI Bill and relocate to Boulder to attend the University of Colorado (Figure 20). The University housed one of

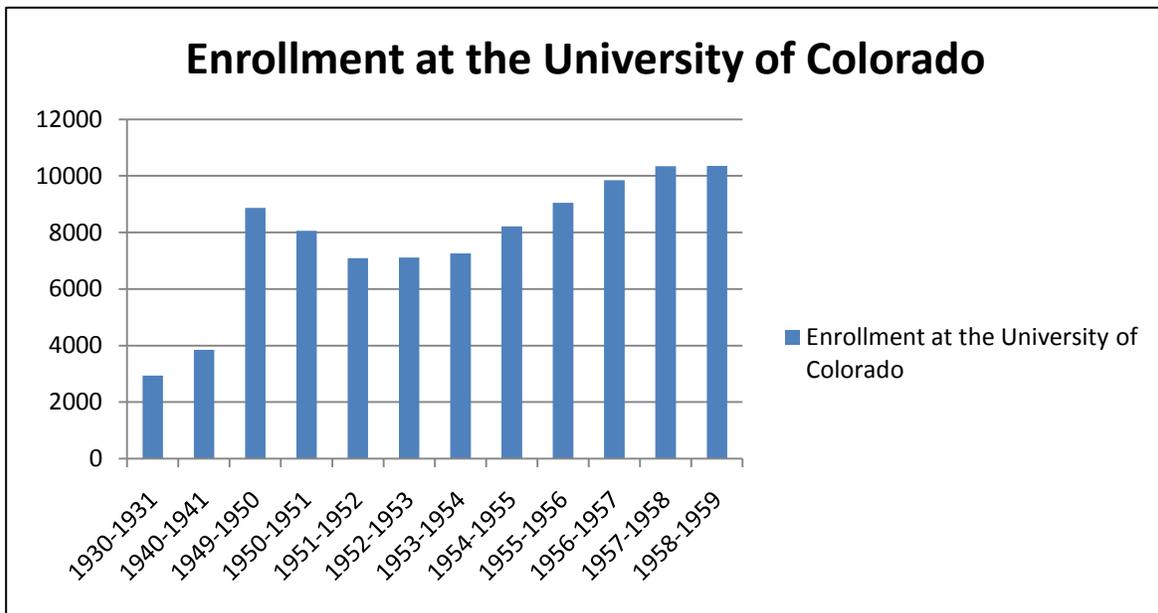


Figure 20. Enrollment at the University of Colorado between 1930 and 1959
(Trafton Bean and Associates, 1960)

the foremost programs in the Japanese language and drew government employees and former soldiers.

The University of Colorado continued to align itself with the United States Government, and attracted high industry during the 1950s and 1960s. During these decades, the nation saw an increased interest in various advanced technology industries such as aerospace and computer companies, as well as companies like Dow Chemical which expanded their existing operations. The University of Colorado began looking toward the engineering and sciences as the focus of its educational pursuits. Although the University retained and even increased its liberal arts offerings, it also began to recruit an increasing number of professors for the sciences and engineering.

In response to its movement toward high industry, the University of Colorado began focusing on its research institutes. The first of these institutes to be connected to the university was the Institute of Arctic and Alpine Research (INSTAAR). Originally created as the Mountain Laboratory in Tolland, Colorado, as early as 1909, the institute also traces its origins to the 1914 University Camp in Niwot, Colorado. By 1951 the institute had undergone numerous name changes and was incorporated into the University as INSTAAR.

Although INSTAAR was not located at the University until 1951, it was the first research institute the University claimed. The institute focuses on developing scientific knowledge related to the physical and biogeochemical environmental processes of the earth on local, regional, and global scales (INSTAAR, 2009). The institute studies high-altitude and high-latitude regions and their susceptibility to environmental change.

The second research institute the University opened was the Upper Atmosphere Lab (UAL) in 1948. This institute was formed as a result of the movement toward space exploration. Collaborating with several other American universities as well as the military, this institute focuses on space exploration, including the creation of rockets, platforms, and other similar innovations. Prior to the Sputnik flight, the researchers at this institute had already launched over 50 experimental rockets into space. The institute changed its name to the Laboratory for Atmospheric and Space Physics (LASP) in 1965, the same year it was given a new building on campus to house its growing needs (LASP, 2009). This institute has worked with government entities such as the Naval Research Center as well as the Air Force Cambridge Research Laboratory.

The Joint Institute for Laboratory Astrophysics (JILA) was founded in 1962 at the University as a joint institute between the University of Colorado and the National Bureau of Standards (now the National Institute of Standards and Technology, NIST). Located on the University campus, this institute focuses on scientific questions in seven specific categories: astrophysics, atomic and molecular physics,

biophysics, chemical physics, nanoscience, optical physics, and precision measurement. Scientists at JILA study such diverse topics as the origin of life, the dynamics of the Sun, and the properties of the universe.

While many of the research institutes at the University focus on high industry, others study the way in which behavior influences life. Formed in 1957, the Institute of Behavioral Science (IBS) has engaged in interdisciplinary research on a variety of issues such as the environment and society, health and society, political and economic change, population, problem behavior, and computing and research services (IBS 2009). This institute receives funding from not only the University, but also the National Science Foundation (NSF), the National Institutes of Health (NIH), the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), the Department of the Navy, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

Another research institute focusing on the nature of man, instead of the nature of the universe, was founded in 1967 as the Institute for Behavioral Genetics (IBG). This institute studies the way in which genetic and environmental factors influence behavior in individuals. Associated with the Graduate School at the University of Colorado, this institute receives funding from a diverse group of agencies and programs including the NIH.

The Cooperative Institute for Research in Environmental Sciences (CIRES) opened in 1967. CIRES was developed to allow governmental and academic researchers to create a working environment in which NOAA and the University scientists from a number of fields could coexist and conduct research in a comfortable environment. By 2002 this institute had grown into the largest of the 13 NOAA Joint Institute program facilities.

These research institutes at the University of Colorado drew many industry professionals as well as academics to Boulder. The resulting population growth created a need for affordable housing for students and professionals alike. The increased population also created the need for more primary and secondary education facilities to support the young families in the area (Figure 21). In 1948 the School Board proposed a bond issue to voters to undertake improvements at six existing schools as well as build three new primary schools in the city (Reppelier, 1959: 162-163). The bond passed by 842 votes and construction crews broke ground on the new schools in 1950 (Reppelier, 1959: 163-165). In 1951 another bond was passed which set aside money to purchase land and build the new Base Line Junior High School, designed by architect James M. Hunter. Construction was delayed numerous times; however, by December 1953 the school board accepted the building as complete enough to begin holding classes (Reppelier, 1959: 178).

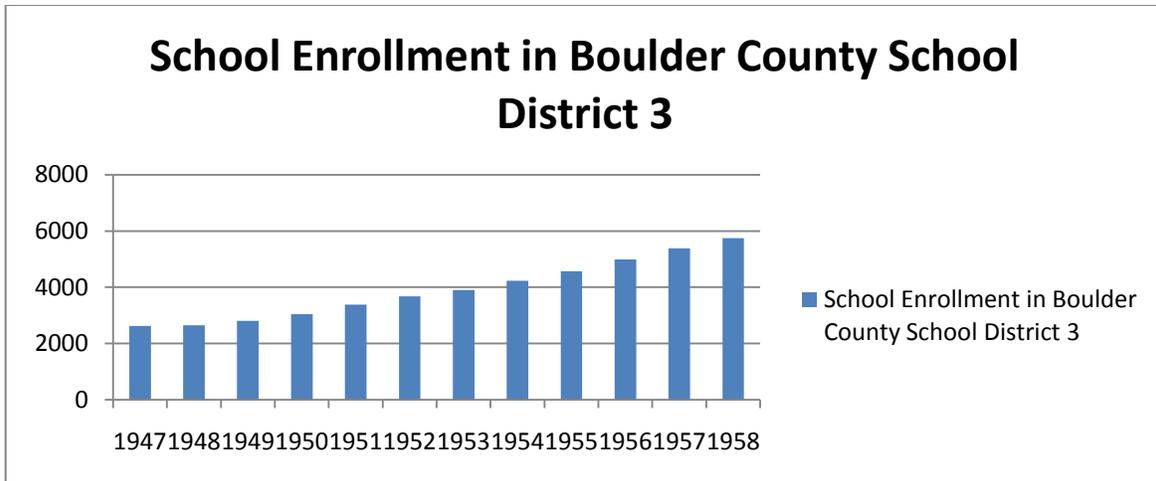


Figure 21. Enrollment in Boulder County School District 3 between 1947 and 1958
(Trafton Bean and Associates, 1960)

Although these bonds satisfied educational needs for a time, the opening of the Bureau of Standards and the Atomic Energy Commission in Boulder resulted in continued population growth and the need for additional educational facilities for school-age children. In 1954 the Committee of Fifty, a citizen committee aware of the School Board’s needs, developed a program of growth to provide adequate facilities for the growing school district. This program included the creation of three new primary schools as well as additions to three existing schools to accommodate growing secondary classes (Reppelier, 1959: 181).

Tourism and Lifestyle

As Boulder developed, the town founders and later residents sought to take advantage of its location within the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Due to its high altitude, dry climate, and mild seasons, Boulder became a location for health seekers. Beginning in the 1860s people recognized dry climates helped respiratory ailments such as tuberculosis. As a result, many families chose to relocate from humid areas around the country to the mountains of Colorado and other western states. In 1895 Boulder opened its first sanitarium, the Colorado Sanitarium, as a branch of the Battle Creek Sanitarium in Michigan. The business catered to those individuals who sought a healthy environment either to battle illnesses such as tuberculosis or to enhance their overall health.

Boulder offered individuals the high altitudes thought to bring respiratory ease, low humidity, and an enticing view for family members who moved to Boulder to be with their ailing relatives. The success of the Colorado Sanitarium led to other health-minded businesses relocating to Boulder. Dr. Place’s Lakeside Sanitarium as well as the H.H. Hadley Health Community opened in 1903, followed by the Chicago and Kansas City Holiday houses by 1934 (Perrigo, 1946: 24). These health-minded businesses

led to an increased interest in Boulder and, with the help of the railroad, a large number of tourists visited Boulder and the surrounding mountains.

In addition to attracting sanitariums, the city of Boulder actively vied for attention from groups hoping to establish resorts based on the landscape and relaxing atmosphere of the mountains. These retreats provided opportunities for learning as well as rest and relaxation for the residents of communities across the country. In 1897 educators from the University of Texas at Austin decided to open a summer school in Boulder and the Texas-Colorado Chautauqua Association was created. The Chautauqua was established on 75 acres of the Bachelder Ranch located south of the western end of Baseline Road in 1898, and featured an Auditorium, Dining Hall, and movie house. When it opened, Boulder's Chautauqua became the only Chautauqua west of the Mississippi (City of Boulder, 2002: 1.3). In 1899 sixty private cottages were built to house visitors and staff (Runnells, 1976: 24). After the initial success of the program the city purchased an additional 96 acres on the west side of Chautauqua. Shortly after opening, a streetcar line to the compound and permanent buildings and structures were constructed to appeal to visiting tourists. In 2006 the Colorado Chautauqua was designated a National Historic Landmark after having been listed in the National Register of Historic Places since 1978 (<http://www.nps.gov/nhl/designations/listsofNHLs.htm>). Currently the area is run by the Colorado Chautauqua Association, and continues to offer guests educational classes, entertainment, and fine dining.

At the same time Boulder purchased the lands for the Boulder Chautauqua, the city also bought 80 acres of land on the eastern slope of Flagstaff Mountain (Goodwin, 1966: 14). These lands formed the initial facility within the city's new parks program. In 1908 the city of Boulder arranged for landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to visit Boulder to master plan the city parks. Upon arriving, Olmsted hiked along Boulder Creek, rode a horse through Boulder Canyon and up Flagstaff Mountain, climbed Mount Sanitas, and bicycled around town (Noel, 1999: 141). After thoroughly examining the city, Olmsted created "The Improvement of Boulder, Colorado: Report to the City Improvement Association" in 1910; this document guided Boulder's parks planning. The City and County of Denver followed Boulder's example and, in 1910, purchased lands outside the boundaries of Boulder to create the Denver Mountain Parks System.

Boulder continued purchasing lands to create parks, and by the early 1930s the city owned 62 acres of parks within its boundaries and 6,300 acres in the surrounding mountains. This large amount of land served as a tourist destination for individuals hoping to hike and go horseback riding in the mountains or to the city-owned Arapaho Glacier, purchased in 1929 (Noel, 1999: 140). These lands were crucial to Boulder's ideal of becoming a destination for those seeking a healthy lifestyle with a close association to nature. During the first half of the twentieth century, Boulder was known as a mountain community

offering a large number of hiking trails, picturesque vistas, and relaxing mountain streams. Indeed, it was Boulder's position as a tourist destination that helped the town develop its economy in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century.

As a result of the burgeoning interest in Colorado during the 1860s and 1870s, the services and facilities necessary to cater to the tourist trade became one important factor for attracting visitors and developing the region. This situation was particularly true of Boulder during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Abele, 1988: E6). The railroads built to service the mountain mining towns provided tourist access to the remote areas of Colorado. Seeing another form of income, the railroads put their resources behind advertising tourism in the West, including visiting Boulder. Railroads leading to Boulder were improved and the rail cars were made more attractive to tourists. The resulting increase in tourism capital allowed Boulder to expand its resources and attract even more tourists. As tourism increased throughout the region, competition between transportation companies lowered the cost of rail travel and allowed train companies to increase the comforts aboard.

Although Boulder sought to attract tourists to its businesses, the city lacked a first class hotel until 1909. Funded by a 1906 subscription drive, the Boulderado Hotel opened to the public on January 1, 1909. As railroad travel decreased with the advent of affordable automobiles, tourists increasingly traveled to Boulder via the family car. Thus, between 1910 and 1935, Boulder saw a marked increase in automobile traffic and tourism. The resulting need for places to house these tourists and provide activities with car access created new industries such as motor lodges and automobile campgrounds in and around Boulder. During these years Boulder also experienced an increase in the number of families who rented cabins for the entire summer, with the husband traveling to and from Denver by car while the wife and children remained in Boulder (Abele, 1988: E7). Additionally, during this time Boulder saw a rise in the number of motels catering to the automobile client.

When the Great Depression struck in the 1930s, tourism in Boulder experienced a dramatic decrease as people could no longer afford to travel. Indeed, tourism in Boulder did not rebound to its 1920s numbers until the conclusion of World War II. Following World War II Boulder again marketed itself as a tourist destination, emphasizing its ties to the University of Colorado and Chautauqua. The University was able to bring a large number of people to Boulder due to its varied educational programs, and Chautauqua appealed to members of society hoping to regain the ease of earlier times. The increased numbers of students enrolled at the University of Colorado during the post war years brought national attention to Boulder, and amplified the levels of tourism the town experienced during the 1950s and 1960s. The easy access afforded by the Denver-Boulder Turnpike helped bring tourism to Boulder from around Colorado. Located at the western end of Baseline Road, it is easy to access Chautauqua from the

Denver-Boulder Turnpike. Boulder's mountain park system also added to the tourism industry in town by giving people a place to camp, hike, fish, and simply enjoy the atmosphere.

Although the increase in interest in Boulder helped revive the tourism industry, the city remained a health conscious location within Colorado. Boulder's mountain and city parks contain both hiking and biking trails, as well as other activities for residents and visitors seeking to enjoy the outdoors. As the town grew, so did its cycling trails within the city, allowing a rider to travel from south to north Boulder on safe paths.

Transportation

The need for easy transportation between Boulder and Denver was answered in 1873 when the railroad came to town. Although the Denver and Boulder Valley Railway began building toward Boulder in 1870, its completion stalled in Erie and did not reach Boulder until 1873. At that same time the Colorado Central was making its way north from Golden to Boulder and then to Longmont (Perrigo, 1946: 10). Boulder's rail connection to Denver allowed it to become the economic hub of the county and added to its position as county seat. In addition to the new railroad lines, old trails became new roads radiating outward from Boulder and providing access the mountain mining communities.

As in the rest of the United States, the years following World War II led to an increase in individual and family ownership of automobiles. Following 1945 the railroads servicing Boulder experienced a reduction in tourist utilization. Instead, people chose to travel to Boulder via automobile. However, at that time there was not a clear way to access Boulder from Denver. During the 1940s, individuals living in Boulder and working in Denver were forced to travel between the two cities utilizing State Highway 7. Citizens in Boulder supported a new effort to build a direct route between Denver and Boulder and in 1949, the State General Assembly adopted a resolution to use bonds to fund the construction of a turnpike. A total of \$6.3 million in bonds were sold to create the turnpike and in January 1952, the Denver-Boulder Turnpike opened as a toll-road.

The turnpike cost commuters one quarter and quickly surpassed the city's expectations for the road. When originally constructed, it was believed as many as 2,500 vehicles would utilize the road per day. Shortly after opening it was discovered that as many as 7,000 vehicles were traveling the road per day. By 1966 13,774 vehicles were driving on the toll road per day. As a result, the toll-road repaid the \$6.3 million bonds as well as \$2.3 million in interest in 1966, 15 years ahead of schedule. Once the bonds and interest were repaid, the road became a free highway, the only toll-road in the U.S. public highway system to make this transition (ACRE, 2002: 7-8).

The Denver-Boulder Turnpike was ahead of its time, allowing easy access between major cities in Colorado. Although the National Highway System was conceived in 1939, construction did not begin until 1956 and was not fully completed in Colorado until 1993 (ACRE, 2002: 9-22). Another roadway connecting Boulder to the rest of the state is State Highway 93. This highway runs north-south and connects Boulder with Arvada, Cold Creek Canyon, and Golden. This highway also provides access to the Rocky Flats Plant located nine miles south of Boulder.

Industry

Industry in Boulder began in the 1870s and was primarily associated with the agricultural or mining endeavors in the surrounding areas. In 1874 the first mill and smelter was erected along Boulder Creek to process the ore coming from the mines in western Boulder County. During the 1870s the Douty Flour Mill also opened at the mouth of Boulder Creek to handle the wheat being farmed in Boulder. Throughout the 1880s Boulder saw an increase in flour mills, smelting plants, machine shops, brick manufactures, breweries, and even had an oil refinery (Perrigo, 1946: 19). In August 1901, the first well in the Boulder Oil Field was drilled. A few feet south of this well a second hole was drilled, and on February 5, 1902 oil was discovered at 2,540 feet (Silverman and Anuta, 2004). The well, known as the McKenzie Well, was located on Neil McKenzie's agricultural lands northeast of the city of Boulder. The Boulder Oil Field is the second oldest oil field in Colorado and continues to serve its original purpose. Although the field reached its peak in 1909, the Boulder Oil Field brought an increase in drilling activities to Boulder County and influenced the railroads and industry of the time. The McKenzie Well was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2005.

Similar industries flourished in Boulder throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and into the early part of the twentieth century, despite the disparate factions in Boulder who wanted to keep the town small without any major industrial plants.

Many Boulderites lacked enthusiasm for development within the city limits, and by 1940 the city only boasted fourteen manufacturing plants producing items such as cutlery and food products (Perrigo, 1946: 20). As the end of World War II brought an increased number of people to Boulder, the town discovered a need for new industry. In the 1950s Boulder began marketing itself as the perfect place for "clean" industry (City of Boulder website, accessed May 9, 2008). Instead of relying on the land for products to process, Boulder looked for industries which focused on electrical, engineering, environmental, or computer science. Although several communities around the country were leaning toward "clean" industry during the 1950s, Boulder was one of the only Colorado towns seeking to attract such businesses.

Boulder’s bid for clean industry put them in competition with a number of other cities also hoping to alter their economic environment, including San Francisco and Los Angeles (Figures 22 and 23). In 1949, Boulder and two other like-minded towns competed to house the National Bureau of Standards’ (NBS) Central Radio Propagation Laboratory (CRPL). NBS realized that to study how radio energy travels, the lab needed to locate somewhere with few radio transmissions (something impossible to find in its original location in Washington, D.C.), close to a university, and which allowed for growth. Boulder’s citizens supported the goal to obtain the lab and raised over \$90,000 in two weeks to purchase land for the sole purpose of attracting the facility. The 217 acre site was then deeded to the Federal government for the CRPL’s use. The radio lab moved to Boulder, and construction on the facility began in 1951. In March 1954 the Radio Building was completed; President Eisenhower dedicated it in September, becoming the first sitting president to visit Boulder (Runnells, 1976: 24). By the time it opened for business, the CRPL had moved over 450 researchers and support staff to Boulder from Washington, D.C.

CRPL operated under NBS control until 1965 when it joined other similar agencies in the Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA). In 1970 ESSA became the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). In 1967 a reorganization at the site created the Institute for Telecommunications Sciences (ITS) and in 1978, ITS merged into the National Telecommunications and Information Administration.

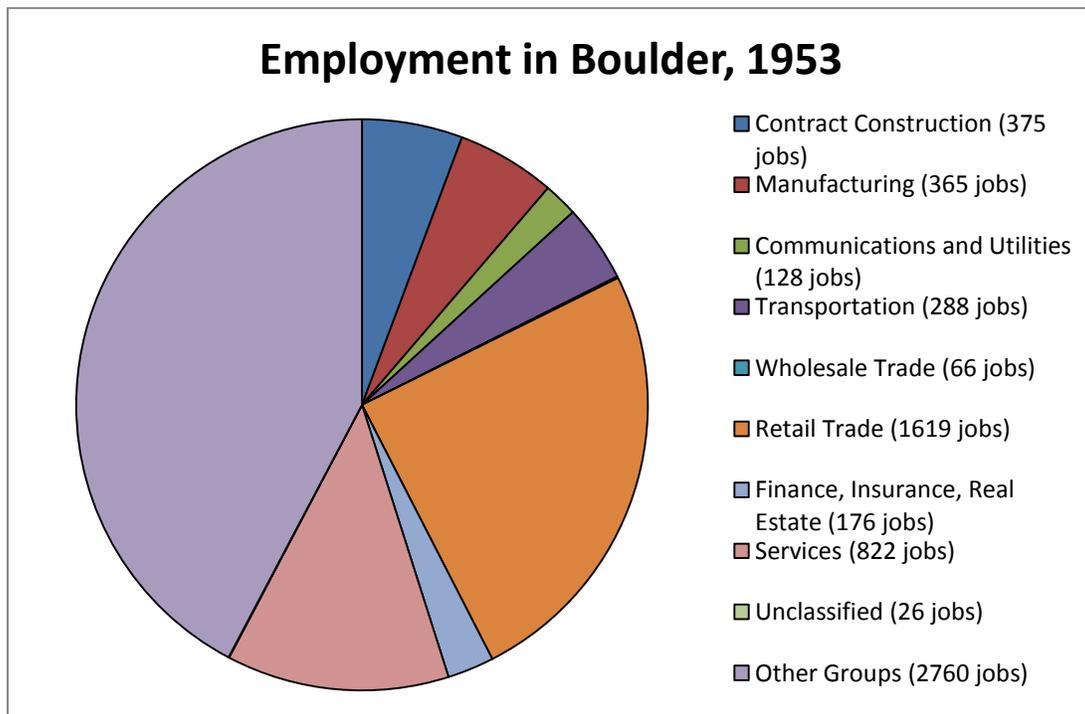


Figure 22. Employment in Boulder 1953 - Industry and Education are included in Other Groups
(Trafton Bean and Associates, 1960)

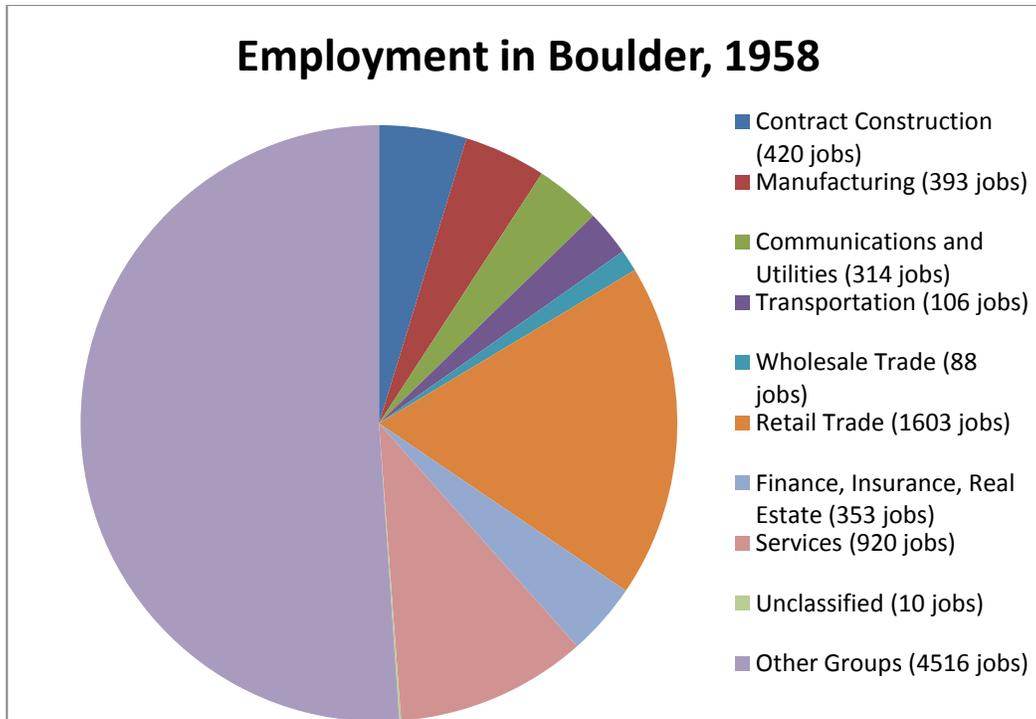


Figure 23. Employment in Boulder 1958 - Industry and Education are included in Other Groups (Trafton Bean and Associates, 1960)

At its Boulder location, NBS (later renamed the National Institute of Standards and Technology, or NIST) developed methods for testing materials, advised on scientific and technical problems, and determined the physical constants and properties of materials (Frink, 1965: 74). The number of employees at NBS who resided in Boulder doubled between 1953 and 1955. By 1960, NBS was the third largest employer in Boulder and the family population of employees at NBS reached 3,325, adding to the increasing needs for affordable housing in Boulder.

Boulder’s close connection with NIST became the impetus for construction of other similar industries. Eight miles south of Boulder along Highway 93 (Broadway in Boulder), the then secret Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Factory opened in 1952 to process and manufacture plutonium and other materials into detonators for nuclear weapons. Although located outside the city, Rocky Flats had a direct impact on the population of a number of nearby communities, including Boulder. By 1959 Rocky Flats employed 1,813 individuals who lived in the surrounding area, with 30 percent of that population residing in Boulder proper (Buffer 2003; Trafton Bean and Associates 1960: 7).

Boulder’s tie to advanced industry continued throughout the 1950s, as first Beech Aircraft and then the Ball Brothers Research Corporation (now the Ball Aerospace & Technologies Corporation) located offices in Boulder. The Beech Aircraft Plant located north of Boulder opened in 1955 on a 1,500-acre site. Its

Cryogenics Facility employed 500 people working on air-related equipment including space vehicles and airplanes. That same year, the newly dedicated Boulder Industrial Park opened two-and-one-half miles east of town. Ball Brothers became the Industrial Park's first tenant and Boulder's largest employer outside of the University, with over 3,000 employees on the payroll (Noel and Corson, 1999: 145). By 1968 the Park experienced more growth, and 20 acres were added to the original 18-acre site. At the time of its expansion, the Industrial Park housed firms such as Transformer Electronics; Bolind, Inc.; Western Cutlery; Cryogenic Research; Thompson Engineering Products; and Binks Research and Development (Boulder Chamber of Commerce, 1968).

While the aerospace industry focused its sights on Boulder, other industries also noticed the benefit of relocating to the city. Northeast of Boulder along the Longmont Diagonal Highway, the International Business Machines (IBM) Company chose to construct a facility for manufacturing the System-360 Computer in 1965. The company exercised their option on 640 acres along the highway with the intention of building a plant at a future date. Construction began in 1965, and by 1968 the facility boasted several buildings encompassing 1,002,000 square feet and employing 4,200 workers (Smith 1981: 189). During the 1960s, IBM's location northeast of Boulder encouraged the University of Colorado to join forces with Ball Brothers and several private investors to acquire 750 acres near the IBM facility. This land was to form a research park known as the Colorado Industrial Research Campus (CIRC). The venture did not proceed past the purchase of the land, although one building was constructed on the property (The Story of Gunbarrel, 2005).

The expansion of Boulder's industrial employers continued through the 1950s and 1960s, with the city becoming the home of the National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR) on the 530-acre Table Mesa site in 1964. Designed by I. M. Pei and Associates, the NCAR laboratory was dedicated in May 1967 amid controversy over its modern styling. Boulder exploited its association with high-tech industries for not only the jobs that were created, but also the partnerships developed between these industries and the University of Colorado. The research institutes located at the University of Colorado (see Education above) helped to draw technologically-minded industries and their skilled workers to Boulder.

New industries altered Boulder's educational climate and affected the residential landscape by increasing the population of the area. Although Boulder only encompasses 25.37 square miles, by 1970 the population had grown to over 72,000. The city's housing could not sustain this growth, and the real estate business expanded to accommodate the new industries and individuals in town.

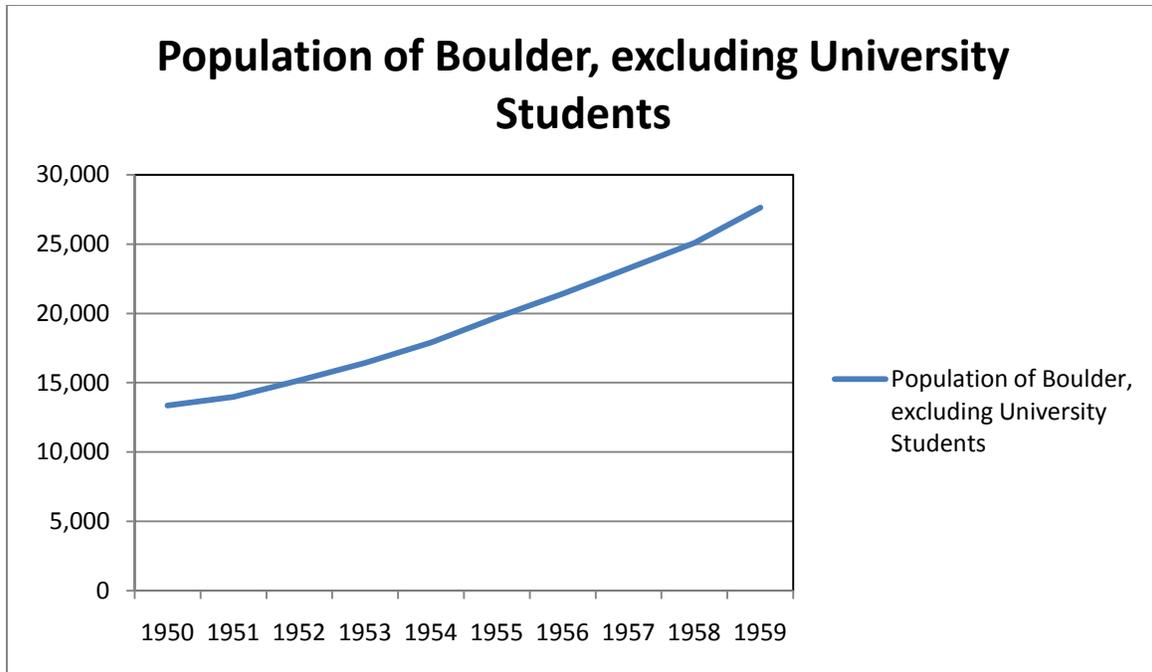
Planning in Boulder

From its earliest days, the city of Boulder enacted legislation controlling construction and growth within its boundaries. Although the town did not impose stylistic restrictions, it did dictate the time period for laying a building's foundation and full construction of a house. Boulder's building restrictions were among the first in Colorado, created prior both to the establishment of the Colorado Territory in 1861 and the formation of Boulder County in 1862.

Boulder has experienced growth spurts since the 1870s, when real estate promoters laid out 17 additions. The clash between those who wanted the town to remain a small, quiet community and others who desired growth has been an ongoing fight in Boulder. Growth advocates in early Boulder saw the expansion of industry along Boulder Creek as a necessary step toward establishing the town as an industrial center. The opposition felt mills and factories should not be prominently placed in the town. Those in favor of keeping Boulder small triumphed and by 1907, a resolution was passed limiting the city's physical size. In 1917 the Boulder Planning and Parks Commission was created to handle development within the city. Following the 1926 U.S. Supreme Court case of *Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Company* which ruled city zoning legal, Boulder heard a zoning proposal from Saco R. DeBoer.

A well-known Denver planner, DeBoer recommended 17 neighborhood shopping centers as well as the enactment of building height restrictions based on location within Boulder (Noel, 1999: 143). Although not popular with all citizens, the 1928 DeBoer plan initiated a new wave of planning and zoning in Boulder. As early as 1938, DeBoer recommended a highway between Denver and Boulder as well as a direct route between Boulder and Longmont (Noel, 1999: 143-144). With continued population growth in Boulder in the first half of the twentieth century, the city's size resolution was altered in 1941 to allow for the annexation of additional land, as long as developers partially paid for necessary infrastructure (Noel, 1999: 134).

Following World War II, the University of Colorado's population of students and staff more than doubled, from 3,846 in 1940 to 8,866 in 1950 (Noel, 1999: 144). While the University of Colorado was continually expanding, so was the overall population of Boulder (Figure 24).



**Figure 24. Population of Boulder
(Trafton Bean and Associates, 1960)**

The rapid post-World War II growth in Boulder increased the need for planned growth and expansion. In 1958 the City Council adopted a “Guide for Growth” map showing areas of increased density, industrial zones, and neighborhood shopping areas (Noel, 1999: 146). Additionally, any developers who wanted their land annexed to the city were required to donate park land to the city’s park program. In 1959, a citizen’s initiative arose to stop development in the foothills above Boulder. This group wanted to create an innovative “blue line” at 5,750 feet, stopping city water services above this elevation in the hope that it would deter building in the higher parts of Boulder. The blue line concept was the brain child of University of Colorado professors Robert McKelvey and Albert Bartlett, who led the People’s League for Action Now (PLAN-Boulder) to push for planned community development.

The “Blue Line” initiative passed by a vote of 2,735 to 852 and led to further legislation to protect Boulder from certain types of development. In 1962 PLAN-Boulder helped pass a measure to purchase the Enchanted Mesa south of Boulder to save it from development, and in 1967 the city earmarked two-fifths of a one-cent sales tax for the acquisition of open space. PLAN-Boulder supported this endeavor, which has been recognized as the first open space tax in the United States. The city followed through and purchased 17,500 acres at the edges of the city at a cost of \$53 million by the end of the 1980s (Cullingworth, 1997: 131).

The success of PLAN-Boulder inspired further legislation meant to protect the visual landscape of Boulder, including a 55-foot building height restriction which was passed in 1971. These zoning laws were important to Boulder amidst the continued growth during the 1950s and 1960s. By 1960 Boulder had more than tripled its 1940 population with 37,718 people, and by 1970 the population had almost doubled again. Although Olmsted recommended in 1910 that the land south of Baseline Road not be developed, lands south of the road have since been developed into a number of subdivisions and industrial centers, including the headquarters for both NIST and NCAR. Additionally, Olmsted's belief that 28th Avenue would become a major thoroughfare was realized in 1963 when Crossroads Mall opened along the eastern edge of the roadway.

Residential Development in Boulder

Residential building in Boulder began immediately following the creation of the town in 1859. The original two-mile long town was divided into 4,044 lots measuring 50 feet by 140 feet at a cost of \$1,000 (Noel and Corson, 1999: 30; Frink, 1965: 12). Although the price of these large lots was later reduced because of the high cost, the precedent for future building in Boulder was set. These earliest lots had requirements for a large set-back from the road along with stringent building guidelines.

First incorporated in 1871, by 1880 Boulder's population had increased to over 3,000, which allowed it to be classified as a city of the second class (City of Boulder, 2008). By 1920 the population had increased to around 11,000, making it necessary to build houses closer together. A number of new subdivisions appeared during the early 1900s, and in some cases older buildings were converted to boarding houses to accommodate the growing population. By 1941 the city finally accepted its need for additional space for development, and chose to annex nearby plats of land with the provision that developers help pay for the new infrastructure (Noel, 1999: 134).

The overall population of Boulder remained fairly static from 1920 to World War II; however, by 1950 the population had grown to 20,000. This number nearly doubled by 1960, and again almost doubled by 1970 (1960 and 1970 census). This population boom was a direct result of an increased number of students attending the University of Colorado, and the number of young families moving to the city to take advantage of the jobs the new "clean" industries in Boulder offered. This population growth led to an increase in residential construction (Figure 25).

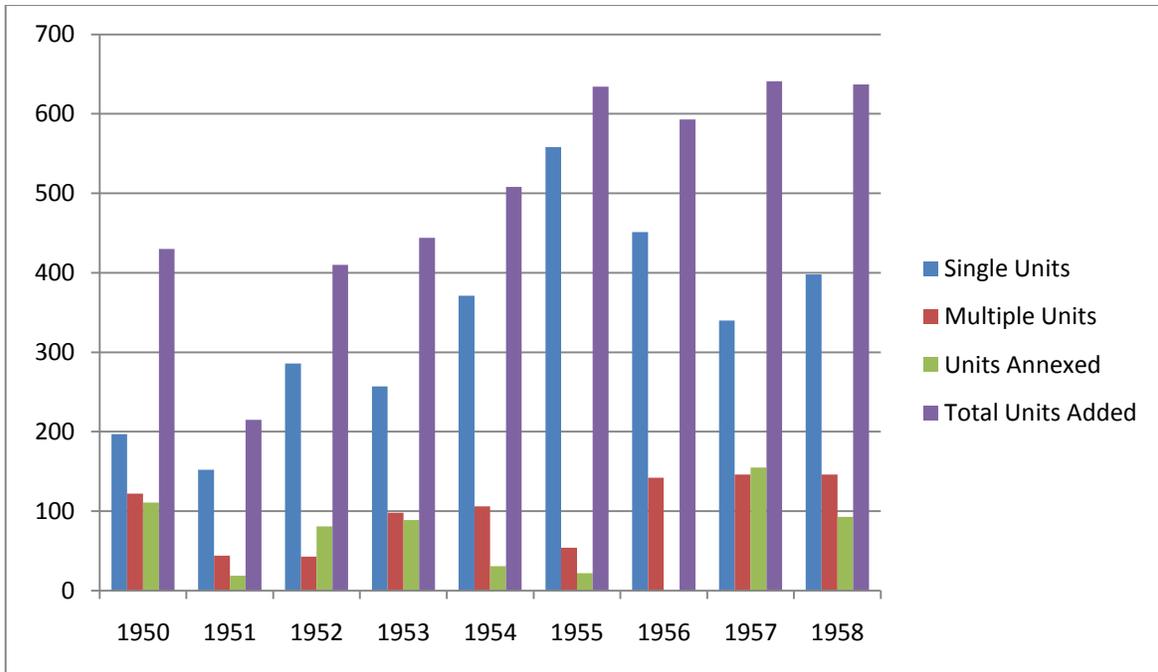


Figure 25. New Residential Construction in Boulder, 1950-1958
(Trafton Bean and Associates, 1960)

Post World War II Residential Development

The dramatic increase in population during the years between 1947 and 1967 resulted in the creation of at least thirteen post-World War II residential subdivisions, as well as several mobile home parks. The Boulder Trailer Court, also known as the Vetsville Trailer Court, opened in 1945-1946 and quickly reached capacity. The University of Colorado created this park, located at 2403 Arapahoe Avenue, in order to house married students who had served in World War II. The trailers had no running water, instead relying on one bathroom facility for every ten trailers and one faucet for every ten to twelve trailers. Additionally, the trailers were heated with kerosene stoves (McClean, 1998). A year after the Vetsville Trailer Court opened, a portion of the court was opened as a Quonset hut housing area. While married students lived in the trailers, only married students with children were allowed to live in the Quonset huts. The huts were divided in half, with two families sharing a unit separated by a thin barrier wall. Each Quonset hut had toilet facilities and running water, making them much more popular than the Vetsville trailers (McClean, 1998). Living in Vetsville during the early 1950s cost a couple roughly eighteen dollars a month for a trailer without running water (Deming, 2009). Longtime Boulder resident Dorreen Mitchell remembers the Vetsville housing as containing two bedrooms with a living and kitchen area (Mitchell, 2009). Popular in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Vista Village Mobile Home Park at 5000 Butte Lane also served as overflow housing for Boulder. This mobile home park, located on the north side of Boulder, continues to provide affordable housing within the city limits.

In addition to the mobile home parks around Boulder, city officials also looked to the large-scale subdivision developments that were becoming popular around the country. Based on the Levittown, Pennsylvania model, these developments featured several house models and were able to be built quickly. Like other areas, Boulder experienced a dramatic population increase following the conclusion of World War II, and needed a fast answer to a housing crisis. Many of the subdivisions developed in the postwar years are located along thoroughfares like Baseline Road, Table Mesa Drive, Broadway Avenue, and 28th Street in Boulder. Developers located these plans on the open land at the north, south, and east edges of the city where there was room to build (Figure 26). After World War II, Boulder was increasingly viewed as a bedroom community for Denver, and the creation of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike in 1952 allowed for easy commuting between the two towns. Many of the postwar subdivisions built around Boulder were located at easy access points to major transportation corridors to facilitate commuting by automobile.

Architectural Design

Architecture in Boulder from the turn of the twentieth century through the postwar era followed a path similar to that of the rest of the United States. Design elements of Edwardian, Queen Anne Victorian, and Richardsonian Romanesque architecture in housing during the first decade of the twentieth century were carried over from the late nineteenth century. Bungalows constructed of brick, stone, and wood frame propagated across the city's steadily expanding residential districts of the 1910s and 1920s. More affluent residents typically pursued historic styles such as the Colonial Revival, English Cottage, and Tudor Revival.

After World War II the city saw more Modernistic influences in its civic and residential architecture. When compared with other cities along the Front Range, Boulder stood out in Colorado for its willingness to experiment with progressive intellectual concepts in Modern architecture during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s (Paglia, Segel, and Wray, 2000: 4-12). These concepts were predominantly limited to the custom- or architect-designed buildings in the city.



Figure 26. Iris Avenue looking east toward 9th Avenue in north Boulder (no date)
(Photograph Courtesy of the City of Boulder)

The University of Colorado's architecture program opened its doors in 1949 as part of the Engineering Department. The following year, the first separate degree in architecture was offered at CU, and creation of the Department of Architecture and Architectural Engineering within the College of Engineering in 1952 followed. The presence of an architecture program benefitted Boulder, as it was the only collegiate architectural training program in the state during the postwar era. While the University of Denver (DU) housed a School of Architecture similar to the University of Colorado's School of Architecture in Boulder, DU's program only existed for six years, 1946-1952.

Perhaps due to CU's architecture school, Boulder was also able to claim a proportionally large number of architects living and working in the city. Many of these design professionals were recognized to be the most avant garde architects in the state at that time. Among the most noteworthy architects were Charles A. Haertling, James M. Hunter, Hobart D. Wagener, and L. Gale Abels. Circumstances and the presence of these professionals established a critical mass of architectural interest in Boulder, and in turn, the community was generally supportive of avant garde or experimental new residential architecture in the city. The result was a variety of architectural expressions. The Usonian architecture, inspired by Frank Lloyd Wright, was the most frequently pursued modern example in the city during the 1950s and 1960s and, therefore, remains the most dominant. Other mid-century architectural styles represented in domestic buildings included the International, Expressionism, Rustic Modernism, Formalism, Brutalism, and variants of Late Modernism (Paglia, Segel, and Wray, 2000: 4-12). These custom-designed expressions of Modernism may have had an impact on the progression of more mainstream residential postwar subdivisions in Boulder. These individual houses were dispersed throughout the city and thus their visual impact on the city's broader setting was far-reaching.

Residential Subdivisions

A majority of the residential subdivisions in Boulder were created between 1945 and 1967 during the period of unprecedented growth. Generally located near major thoroughfares, five of these subdivisions were large developments containing over 200 houses. A map published in 1957 noted that at least 18 new subdivisions were created between 1950 and 1957, all with easy access to the Denver-Boulder Turnpike, Broadway Avenue, and Baseline Road (*The Denver Post*, 1957). Four of these subdivisions, Edgewood, Flatirons Park, Highland Park, and Martin Acres, are part of this survey. Table 3 below contains a list of the ten subdivisions which were intensively surveyed as part of this project along with their primary builders and their known dates of construction. Subdivisions filings dates are included in Appendix B.

Table 3. Boulder Subdivisions, developed between 1946 and 1967 in Survey showing Builders

Subdivision	Builder	Known Dates of Construction
Sunset Hills	Wilkins Construction	1946-1962
Interurban Park	Assorted	1947-1967
Flatirons Park	Assorted	1947-1962
Highland Park	Turnpike Builders, Inc.	1952-1962
Edgewood	Assorted	1953-1959
Martin Acres	Highland Park Builders	1954-1962
Wagoner Manor	Wagoner Construction Company	1954-1957
Baseline	Highland Park Builders	1958-1962
Table Mesa	Highland Park Builders Melody Homes Keith Homes, Inc.	1962-1967
Park East	Melody Homes	1963-1967

Baseline Subdivision

The Baseline subdivision is located between 30th Street to the west, 40th Street to the east, and from Baseline Road to the south and Colorado Avenue to the north. The subdivision consists of 345 houses constructed between 1958 and 1967. Although the Baseline subdivision’s first filing with the city occurred on July 15, 1939, very little adjustment was made by the time construction began in the subdivision in 1958. The subdivision went through a number of boundary changes before reaching its final size in 1962. The second filing occurred on March 3, 1960, with four expansions added by July 6, 1962 (Legal Title of Subdivisions, 1963).

Highland Park Builders constructed the majority of houses located in the Baseline subdivision (Figure 27). This company was also responsible for constructing the custom-built houses in Highland Park West, another residential subdivision along Baseline farther to the south and west. By December 1960, Baseline contained 150 houses, including two models called the Fairview and the Western (see Appendix B for Builders and Models Research Data). The company Wheeler Realty Co. acted as a sales agent for Highland Park Builders in the Baseline and Highland Park West subdivisions. At the time when Highland Park Builders began construction in Baseline, the area was undergoing its fourth addition.

Although Highland Park Builders constructed most of the houses in Baseline, according to the Denver Parade of Homes Database, Keith Homes, Inc. built at least one of the model houses. The *Parade of Homes* was a series of articles and advertisements put forth by the Denver Association of Homebuilders to promote new residential developments as early as 1953. Highland Park Builders’ advertisement for Baseline revealed that the neighborhood’s model house was located at 700 33rd Street. This house was

a ranch valued at \$15,000. It originally had 1,040 square feet of living space, including three bedrooms, one-and-one-half baths, and an attached one-car garage. The subdivision was considered expensive at the time, with a high end price of \$26,500 (*Database of the Annual Denver Parade of Homes, 1953-1963*, 2006: 7).



Figure 27. Baseline, 2009

Baseline's neighborhood plan applied several of the post-World War II residential design principles. Although the neighborhood did not include cul-de-sacs and featured only a few curvilinear streets, the lots are relatively shallow as the neighborhood block omitted rear alleys and replaced them with front-accessed driveways in the front yard. The neighborhood was built on a largely orthogonal street grid with only three curvilinear corners (Figure 28).



Figure 28. Baseline, 2009

Baseline's housing is modest when compared with other postwar neighborhoods developed during the late 1950s and 1960s. When other subdivisions often featured larger houses with two-car attached

garages by the mid-1960s, Baseline's individual houses were small and often less than 1,100 square feet. Only about half of the houses included an attached, one-car garage. The subdivision consisted of eight different house models, all of which are simple variations of the Ranch house type. Seven of the house models are single-family houses, but the neighborhood also includes one duplex model, of which five were built. All of the neighborhood's housing maintains a consistent low, single-story profile and features picture windows, minimal porch overhangs, and horizontally-oriented bands of windows that were common features of the Simple Ranch housing type. The houses differ from one another in terms of the shape of the roof and exterior cladding, which frequently featured a combination of two materials, most often brick paired with vertical or horizontal wood siding. Roof types in the Baseline neighborhood are typically low-pitched side-gabled, hipped, or cross-gabled variants.

Edgewood Subdivision

The Edgewood subdivision is a low-density residential neighborhood in north Boulder. The neighborhood is bounded by 19th Street to the west, Edgewood Drive to the south, Iris Avenue to the north, and Folsom Street to the east. It is comprised of houses built between 1953 and 1959 on land that was originally part of the Tyler Ranch. One of Boulder's pioneers, Clinton Monroe Tyler, purchased the land from J.H. Decker in 1874 and proceeded to build a two-story house (*The Daily Camera*, January 15, 1875).

In 1860 Captain Clinton M. Tyler moved his wife Sarah and daughter Lillian to Colorado on a wagon train with Sarah's family. Originally from Livingston County, New York, Tyler was born in 1834 and attended college in Michigan after his family moved there in 1844. Following his graduation in 1856, Tyler moved to Wisconsin where he worked with his future father-in-law and partner Nelson K. Smith. When Tyler returned east from Colorado for provisions in 1861, he purchased a sawmill that he brought back to Colorado and used to start a company with his brother-in-law on south Boulder Creek. Although the sawmill ceased operations in 1867, Tyler's involvement in Boulder continued with his partnership in the Central City Toll Wagon Road and the Boulder Valley Wagon Road (Chapman Publishing Company, 1898: 718-719).

Upon purchasing the Decker Ranch, Tyler raised Merino sheep on the property. When the house was completed, it had cost \$10,000 and featured two fireplaces, a bay window, multiple dormer windows, and a large front porch (*The Daily Camera*, January 15, 1875, Figure 19). At one time the Tyler family owned all of the land from Tyler Hill to Alpine Street in Boulder, and Tyler chose to donate a portion of that land to the University of Colorado where he served as a regent. Following Tyler's death in 1886, his land in Boulder remained in the hands of family members. In 1950, Cora Tyler Williams and her son Clinton P. Tyler requested the City of Boulder annex the Tyler tract (*The Daily Camera* September 6,

1950). The Tyler House still stands at 2940 20th Street in Boulder and has been designated a Boulder Historic Landmark.

By the mid-twentieth century, the land surrounding the Tyler House was platted into a subdivision, and construction on a new residential neighborhood surrounding the Tyler House began in 1951. The Tyler Ranch house remains in place within the Edgewood neighborhood on approximately two-thirds of one acre.



Figure 29. Tyler House, photograph taken circa 1880-1959
(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)

Boulder County Assessor Records indicate Highland Homes was one of the original builders of Edgewood. It is possible that Highland Homes was the same company as the Highland Park Builders, which was building the Highland Park and Martin Acres neighborhoods concurrently in the mid-1950s, and later constructed the Baseline and Table Mesa neighborhoods in Boulder in the late 1950s and 1960s.

The Edgewood neighborhood consists of 159 single-family houses built from 1953-59 (Figure 30). The properties are set along gently curving streets, circles, or cul-de-sacs with uniform setbacks. Nearly all of the houses are variations of the low-profile, Simple Ranch housing type that was common in the 1950s. The houses differ from one another in terms of both exterior cladding, which frequently feature a combination of two materials, most often brick and wood siding, and roof shape. Roofs are usually low-pitched side-gabled, hipped, gable-on-hipped, cross-gabled, or cross-hipped variants. The houses are modest in size, ranging between 1,000 and 1,600 square feet, plus an attached one-car garage or carport. The subdivision consists of 13 different house models, of which 12 are simple variations of the

Ranch house type and one is a Split-Level housing form. The Simple Ranch housing type with a uniform side-gabled roof is the most popular extant house model within the Edgewood neighborhood.

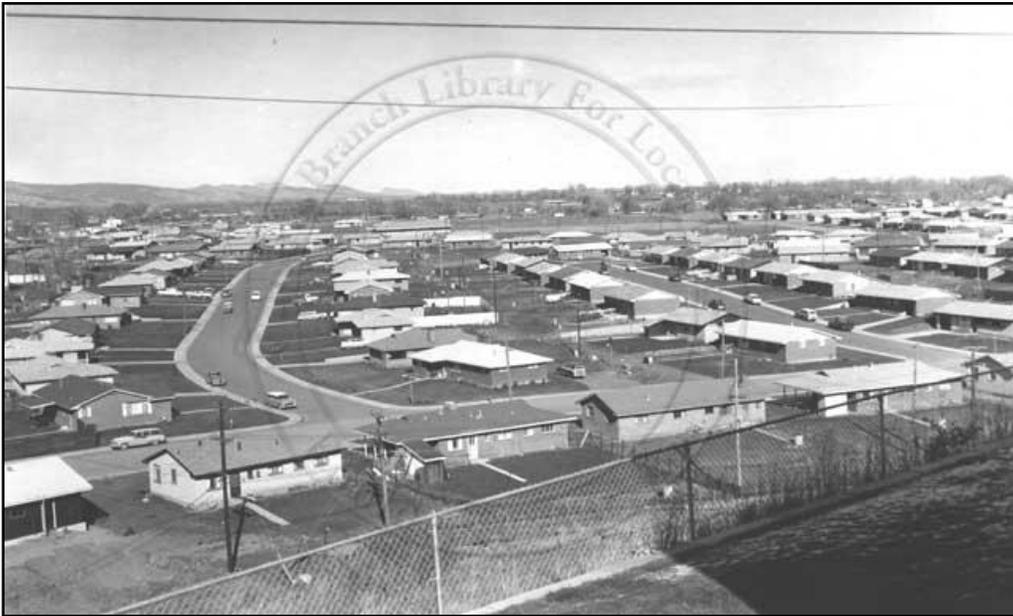


Figure 30. Edgewood Subdivision, circa 1953-1956

(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)

Flatirons Park Subdivision

The Flatirons Park subdivision is a low-density residential neighborhood located in Boulder within the foothills of Flagstaff Mountain. Flatirons Park is a small subdivision of 29 parcels that backs up to Flagstaff Road at its west edge, with Aurora Avenue forming its north edge and following the parcels that face Circle Drive, Christmas Tree Drive, and Willow Brook Road. Although the official formation of the Flatirons Park subdivision occurred on March 12, 1951 (*Legal Titles of Subdivisions, 1963*), the first generation of development consists of buildings constructed between 1947 and 1967.

Rather than follow a master plan like many of the other neighborhoods developing at the same time in other areas of Boulder, the Flatirons Park neighborhood developed as homeowners purchased individual lots and then chose an architect or builder. Thus, Flatirons Park is not characterized by a discreet set of house models and as a result, no two houses are alike. The neighborhood did, however, have an architectural continuity of style and form among its first generation of houses. Historic photographs and extant period houses reveal that all of these original houses were oriented horizontally on the landscape, with broad, low-pitched roofs and deep overhanging eaves (Figure 31). A distinctive feature of Flatirons Park is its hillside topography. In response to the hilly terrain and the commanding views it afforded, the houses were often designed with broad decks that projected outward from the

main level of the house, large plate-glass picture windows, or basement garages intended for cars to enter from a lower street level.



Figure 31. 412 Christmas Tree Drive (5BL10872), Flatirons Subdivision, 2008

The desirability of the lots in light of their location on the west side of the city near open space, as well as the mountain and city views they afforded, elevated the value and cost of the land in the neighborhood. Many of the early residents appear to have been upper-middle-class professionals. The houses were also larger than the average new house in Boulder at the time, and are characterized by unified architectural compositions that attest to their customized plans. All of these homes featured attached two-car garages rather than the one-car garages or carports seen elsewhere in the city. The foundation exteriors were always clad in the veneer materials of the principal façade rather than left as bare concrete, indicating an attention to detail that is evident on every first-generation house. The area also provided fertile ground for Modernist-inspired architect-designed houses by prominent architects Charles Haertling and Hobart Wagener. While these custom-designed houses were not examined in this study, their prominent presence in Flatirons Park undoubtedly had some stylistic influence over the more common, semi-custom ranch houses neighboring them.

One well-known resident of Flatirons Park was Rose Long McFarland, the daughter of Louisiana Governor and U.S. Senator Huey P. Long. McFarland moved to Boulder in 1953 after having traveled through Colorado on her way to California. Rose McFarland and her husband Osymyn W. McFarland decided to move to Boulder in order to escape the Southern climate. Upon moving to Boulder, the McFarlands purchased the house at 770 Circle Drive in Flatirons Park. Built in 1941, the house at 770 Circle Drive was a custom-designed house built by William M. Spackman from plans produced by architects Huntington, Jones, and Hunter (Boulder City Planning Department, 1992).

Highland Park Subdivision

The Highland Park subdivision is located in south Boulder, south of Baseline Road. Broadway divides the subdivision into two sections. The larger section east of Broadway is bounded by US 36 to the east, Dartmouth Avenue to the south, and Elm Avenue to the north. The smaller western extension of the neighborhood at the west side of Broadway is bounded by Regis Drive to the south and Dartmouth Avenue to the north between Eastman Avenue to the west and Moorhead Avenue to the east.

The Highland Park subdivision was established on 72 acres that previously comprised the Kohler Farm. The main portion of the farm was located directly south of Baseline Road, where the current Highland Park Subdivision is located. Boulder businessman Bauldie Moschetti purchased the land from the Kohler family, intending to sell the property to construction companies. Prior to selling the property, Moschetti allowed Lloyd Downing to farm the land until Downing's lease expired on May 1, 1952. In the early 1950s Turnpike Builders, Inc. acquired the land to subdivide and create the new neighborhood of Highland Park in an area that was south of the Boulder city limits at that time (*The Daily Camera*, May 28, 1952).

Turnpike Builders, Inc., led by John R.P. Wheeler, C. Howard Murphy, and Kathleen Feuerstein, were experienced developers, having built a large-scale neighborhood in Greeley. Wheeler and Murphy served as the company's president and vice president, organizing the construction of 330 houses on the 72 acres. Both men were from Greeley and involved in the housing market in different capacities. Wheeler took over management of his family's business, Wheeler Realty, in 1940 and immediately began moving the company toward large-scale projects such as entire subdivisions. By the time Wheeler became involved in the Highland Park subdivision, he had already built 250 houses in Greeley (*The Daily Camera*, April 1, 1952; www.wheelermtg.com/about.shtml). Additionally, in 1953, in the midst of organizing the creation of Highland Park Wheeler was appointed the President of the Colorado Association of Realtors. This appointment helped put Boulder's postwar developments on the map within the rest of the state. C. Howard Murphy was a building contractor from Greeley, where he had designed and built over 200 houses prior to working on Highland Park. In 1956 Murphy joined a group of contractors to establish the Weld County Builders Association.

Construction began on 330 of Highland Park's houses immediately following the purchase of Moschetti's land. The company filed incorporation papers on April 11, 1952, and by May 17 an office had been moved onto the property, the house lots had been divided, and the roads had been laid out (*The Daily Camera*, May 17, 1952). The footings for five houses were poured and excavation on five other properties had begun by June 6, 1952, and the company expected the first houses in the Highland Park subdivision to be completed by July 20, 1952 (*The Daily Camera*, June 6, 1952). Turnpike Builders, Inc. contracted with the Trolinger and Henley-Terrell real estate agencies to sell the properties (*The Daily*

Camera, May 28, 1952). The cost of living in Highland Park was intended to be in the middle range, with houses priced between \$10,850 and \$15,500 depending on the preferred model (*The Daily Camera*, June 23, 1980).

The original plans for Highland Park called for five different single-family house models, each with a 60 foot frontage; by 1954 the subdivision was only advertising three models: the Arlington, Highlander, and Coloradoan (see Appendix B for Builders and Models Research Data). The cost of living in Highland Park was reportedly aimed toward the middle class. The Arlington model was the smallest of the three with 816 square feet of living space (Figure 32). The house had two bedrooms, one bathroom, an outside terrace-barbecue pit, and gave the buyer the option of a carport. This model sold for \$11,250 to \$11,450 depending on the buyer's finishing choices.



Figure 32. 200 28th Street, Arlington Model, 2008

The mid-level model was the Highlander (Figure 33). Built with 960 square feet of living space, the model boasted two bedrooms, one bathroom, and a convertible room which could be utilized as a third bedroom. An additional perk of the Highlander was the inclusion of Formica counter tops in the kitchen. The Highlander sold for \$12,000 to \$12,200 in 1954.



Figure 33. 345 28th Street (5BL10880), Highlander Model, 2008

The largest model offered to Highland Park homebuyers was the Coloradoan (Figure 34). This house contained 988 square feet of living space with three bedrooms, one bathroom, and the option for a carport or garage. Added benefits of purchasing the Coloradoan included an exhaust fan in the kitchen as well as a dishwasher and garbage disposal. The Coloradoan cost \$13,200 to \$13,500.



Figure 34. Coloradoan Model, 1952-1954

(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)

While the models differed in size and some options, all houses in Highland Park built by Turnpike Builders, Inc. had General Electric (G-E) Air Wall and Janitrol furnaces, Bendix Economat washing machines, colored bath fixtures, tiled bath and shower, copper plumbing, Youngstown kitchens and cabinets, tile sills, oak floors, and insulation (*The Daily Camera*, April 9, 1954). Additionally, all houses

built in Highland Park were to have 60-foot frontages to the neighborhood streets. Although Highland Park was advertised as being a low-cost modern community, buyers still needed financing to purchase a house in the subdivision. The houses could be financed in one of two ways. The first was to use a FHA loan with a 20 percent down payment. The second option was reserved for military veterans who could use the GI Bill to qualify for a loan which only required 5 percent down.

By 1954 Highland Park already housed 312 families with a combined 222 children (*The Daily Camera*, October 18, 1954; Figure 35). The concerned citizens of Highland Park decided they needed a forum through which to make their needs known to the community and the city at large. As a result, on August 24, 1954, the Citizens Committee of Highland Park was officially organized to deal with matters of interest such as bus service, school facilities, traffic safety measures, park areas, and taxation (*The Daily Camera*, October 18, 1954). The *Highland Park News*, a community-produced newsletter, became the *Highland Park and Martin Acres News* by December 1954, showing the close connection between the two adjacent subdivisions.

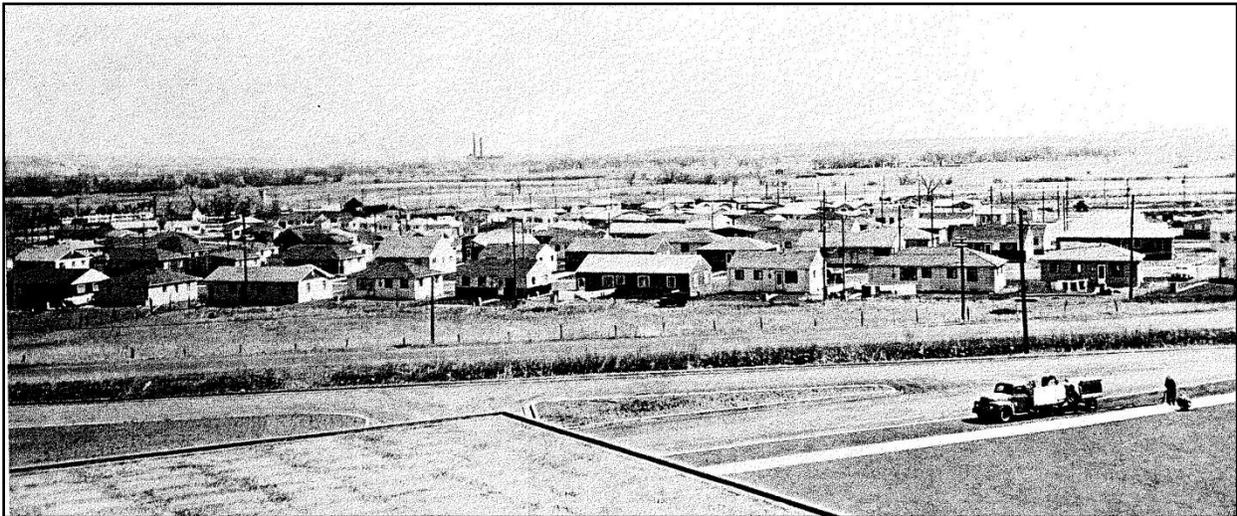


Figure 35. Highland Park, 1954

(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)

The overall goal of Turnpike Builders, Inc. was to create a large-scale subdivision to house the increasing number of Boulder citizens during the 1950s and 1960s. Turnpike Builders, Inc. operated out of its office at 3055 Moorhead (an Arlington model) until the completion of construction on December 16, 1955, when the company ceased operation and Wheeler began working with a new group of builders.

Following the dissolution of Turnpike Builders, Inc., John Wheeler joined with other builders to form Highland Park Builders. This new company built houses in a number of subdivisions around Boulder,

including the later additions to Highland Park that occurred on the west side of Broadway in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In 1957 Highland Park Builders made plans to subdivide the 156 acres south of NCAR into 275 new lots, which they proceeded to construct. These lots were zoned for residential and retail purposes, and the houses were similar to those built east of Broadway in Highland Park (*The Daily Camera*, April 6, 1957).

Highland Park applied many residential design principles that are common hallmarks of post-World War II neighborhood planning. These included areas of open parks and relatively shallow lots as the neighborhood block omitted rear alleys and replaced them with front-accessed driveways in the front yard. The neighborhood included only one cul-de-sac; however, this was a common roadway design feature included in other postwar neighborhoods. Highland Park's housing reflects some of the architectural changes that occurred during the 1950s into the 1960s, with the shift from the Minimal Traditional house toward the Transitional Ranch and Simple Ranch house types. This architectural evolution illustrates the departure from prewar to postwar residential architecture which became dominated by the low, one-story Ranch architectural form in the postwar era. Highland Park's houses of the early 1960s represent the continual transition toward taller Split-Level and two-story houses in a range of stylistic variations.

There are approximately 13 housing models within Highland Park, and each includes many subtle variations. The houses differ in terms of footprint, the shape of the roof, and exterior cladding, which frequently features a combination of two materials, most often brick and vertical or horizontal wood siding. Roofs in Highland Park are typically low-pitched side-gabled, front-gabled, hipped, cross-gabled, or cross-hipped variants. The most common original housing type within the neighborhood are variations of the Simple Ranch with hipped or side-gabled roof types.

The success of Highland Park and the large number of new families who moved to the neighborhood led to new schools, commercial development, and transportation routes that channeled growth to south Boulder. Highland Park also became associated with postwar industries in Boulder, such as aerospace, atmospheric research at the National Bureau of Standards, new research programs at the University of Colorado, and the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Factory south of Boulder, all of which were initiated at the same time Highland Park was established. Highland Park's proximity to these employment centers led to this subdivision housing many of the employees or students who worked in these important and emerging industries. Meanwhile, the opening of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike (US 36) and a shopping strip adjacent to the subdivision at the southeast corner of Baseline Road and Broadway further encouraged new housing in Highland Park while bringing new patterns of development to south Boulder. As a major residential subdivision in this rapidly growing part of Boulder, Highland Park played an important role in south Boulder's growth and expansion.

Interurban Park Subdivision

Located between 15th Street to the east and Sunnyside Lane to the west, and from King Avenue to the south and Baseline Road to the north, the Interurban Park subdivision contains 135 houses constructed between 1947 and 1967 (Figure 36). Although the subdivision was developed primarily in the post-World War II years, David E. Dobbins originally created Interurban Park as an addition to the City of Boulder on December 31, 1908 (Title Guarantee of Colorado 1960). John C. Fisher originally purchased the land in 1874 but failed to pay taxes on the property. In 1875 Thomas Danford, who was also the Boulder County Clerk and Recorder, bought the land. Boulder County purchased the land from Danford in 1890 to build a large, brick poorhouse on 22nd Street south of Baseline. The County later converted the poorhouse into the Colorado Osteopathic Sanitarium (now demolished). When it could no longer operate successfully as a sanitarium, the County sold the property to David Dobbins.

Beginning in 1906, Dobbins platted the Floral Park and Interurban Park subdivisions. Dobbins cleared the land of boulders, sowed alfalfa in the southern fields, and opened roads to the area. Following the creation of roads, Dobbins sold a number of lots to individuals. Floral Park, named for Dobbins wife Flora, is a local landmark historic district due to the number of houses designed by local architects. Interurban Park, named for the interurban streetcar line which ran from this area to Denver in the early 1900s, is not a local landmark, and contains a mixture of architect-designed houses and tract housing (*The Daily Camera*, July 1, 1955).



**Figure 36. 2000 Block of Columbine Avenue, Interurban Park circa 1950
(*Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History*)**

After Dobbin's original subdivision of the land, the Interurban Park neighborhood developed gradually during the period between 1947 and 1967 (Figure 37). It includes a variety of housing in terms of size and variations of residential architecture, which ranges from Minimal Traditional to Contemporary types; however, Simple and Semi-Custom Ranch houses dominate within the neighborhood. The houses do not appear to have been constructed by a single builder or developer, but rather by individual property owners who likely selected their own house plans and builders. Although the majority of the houses are single-family, Interurban Park also included several duplex residences which demonstrate the Simple Ranch housing type. During the postwar period, the buildings in Interurban Park moved from being architecturally-designed to being mass-produced from a series of plans. Additionally, during the postwar era the houses in this neighborhood were home to University professors, students with families, and individuals working at the government institutes in town.



Figure 37. 1860 Bluebell Avenue (5BL10894), 2009

Martin Acres Subdivision

The Martin Acres subdivision is located between South Broadway Road and the Boulder Turnpike from Hanover Avenue to Moorhead Avenue. The land was originally part of the Martin Farm. William Martin, one of the founders of the Caribou mine and later developer of the town of Caribou, purchased the property in 1872.

Prior to the construction of Martin's farmhouse, the farm served as a camping ground and watering hole for stagecoaches travelling between Denver and Boulder, with the main road being located on the property. The exact date Martin moved his family from Caribou to Boulder is unknown; however, the family had moved onto the farm by 1876 when their second son Harold P. Martin was born. Martin's

wife Ida S. Wilson came from a New England family, and upon moving to Boulder requested a New England style farmhouse. The frame house was constructed by New England carpenters brought to Colorado specifically for that purpose. The farm contained the main farmhouse, a bunkhouse, icehouse, sheds, stables, an apple orchard, and a stand of willows which served as a windbreak for the main house. At its peak the Martin Farm encompassed over 400 acres and was encircled by south Boulder Creek, from which Martin irrigated his crops. In addition to his orchard, Martin also raised timothy hay on his acreage south of Boulder. However, farming was not his only undertaking. He quickly settled into breeding horses as well.

The Martin Farm remained in the family until the 1950s, when the majority of the land was sold for the development of the Martin Acres subdivision. Initially, Martin sold land that was to become the Denver-Boulder Turnpike right-of-way. Although the Martin family did not support the Turnpike, which would cut off a portion of the farm from the remaining lands, they chose not to oppose the project since it would help others in their community. In July 1954, the Martins sold the second portion of the land, 17 acres adjoining the Highland Park subdivision, to developer Francis Williams. The official creation of the Martin Acres subdivision occurred on August 26, 1954. By 1960, when Martin Acres expanded with the William Martin Homestead Addition, all that remained of the original farm was the farmhouse surrounded by four vacant lots. The completion of the Martin Homestead Addition enlarged Martin Acres to 1,200 houses, making it the largest residential subdivision established in Boulder to date (Figure 38).

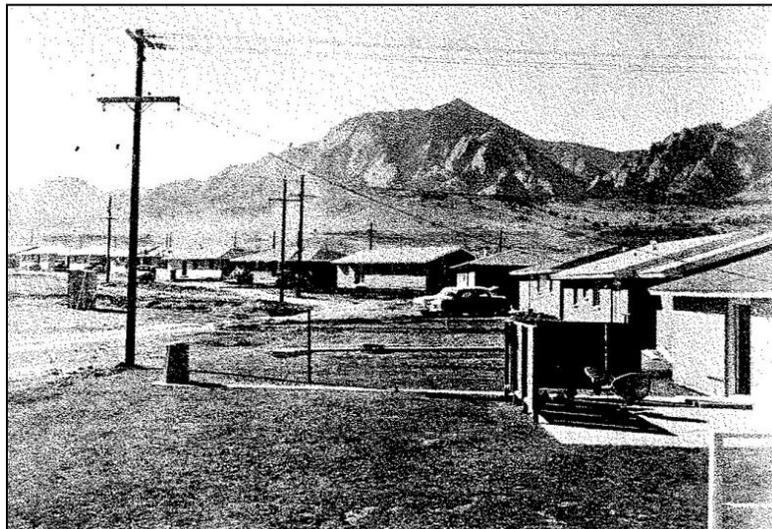


Figure 38. Martin Acres Subdivision, November 2, 1954
(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)

The houses in the Martin Acres subdivision ranged from \$12,000 to \$26,000 in price (see Appendix B for Builders and Models Research Data). Prior to construction, the Boulder firm of Williams and Woodward engineered the land to lower the water table in order to ensure dry basements for the subdivision (*The Daily Camera*, August 26, 1960). The primary builder of Martin Acres was the Francis & Williams Company, also known as Melody Homes or High Country Homes. Newspaper advertisements which ran in the *Boulder Daily Camera* during the 1950s illustrate several of the different model houses available and emphasize that all houses have the option of a full basement.

One Ranch type house Williams High Country Homes offered featured 1,172 square feet of living area with three bedrooms, one-and-one-half baths, a separate utility room, and an attached garage or carport (Figure 39). While this model was not named in the *Boulder Daily Camera* advertisement, an example of the house is located at 305 South 42nd Street (Figure 40). When it was advertised in 1956, the house sold for \$13,195 and included paved streets, curbs, gutters, and four foot wide sidewalks.

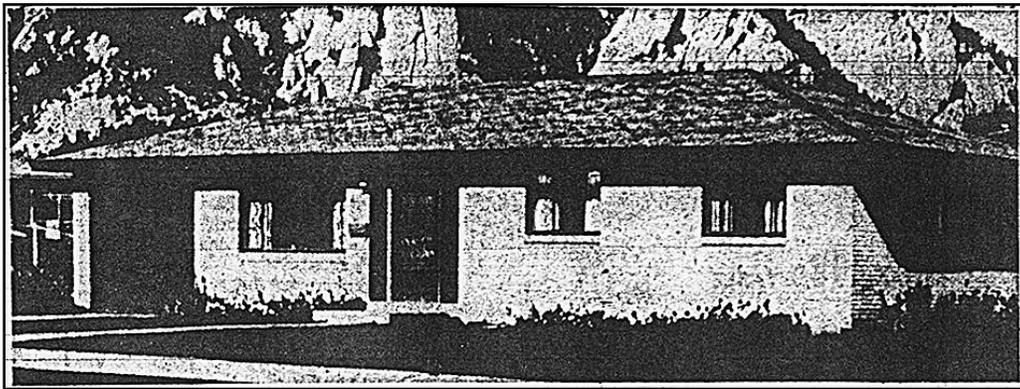


Figure 39. Williams High Country Homes Model 1 (*Boulder Daily Camera*, July 27, 1956)



Figure 40. 305 South 42nd Street (5BL10900), 2009

Williams High Country Homes also offered the 'Turnpike' model (Figures 41 and 42). This model included three bedrooms, two bathrooms, and 1,400 square feet of living area. This house was offered for \$15,395 for the basic house and \$15,895 if the buyer chose to include a fireplace. The house features a front-gable roof with an attached one-car carport which extends off the building's façade and has its own front-gable roof.

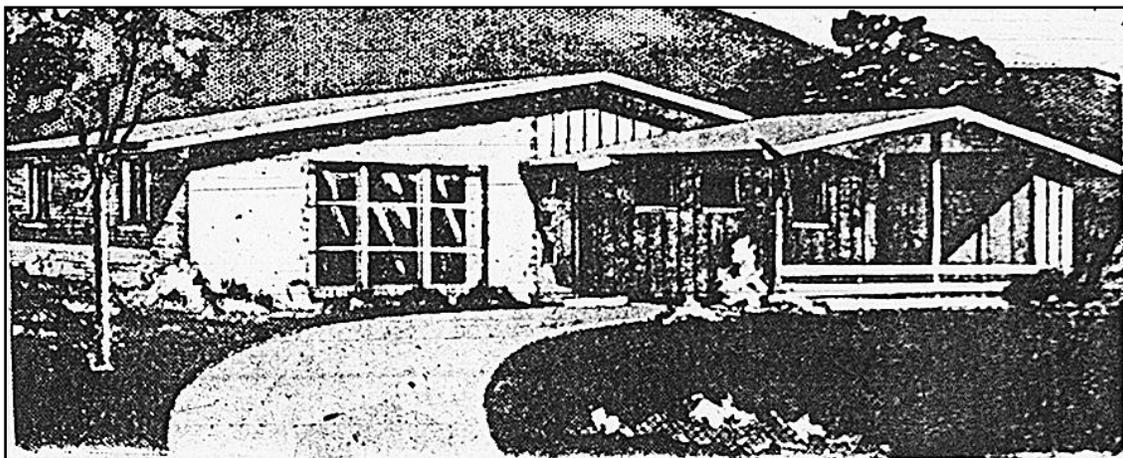


Figure 41. The 'Turnpike' (*Boulder Daily Camera*, July 5, 1956)



Figure 42. 470 South 44th Street (5BL10905), 'The Turnpike,' 2009

The houses found in Martin Acres are typically Ranch or Split-Levels with carports or garages (Figure 43). Two houses which served as models for the Denver Parade of Homes in the early 1960s are still located along Moorhead Avenue. The Split-Level model is located at 3375 Moorhead Avenue and consists of 1,150 square feet, three bedrooms, and one-and-one-half baths. The house also boasts a one-car garage underneath the second level. The house was listed at \$16,900 in 1961.



Figure 43. 4658 Ingram Court (5BL10914), the same model as 3375 Moorhead Avenue, 2009

The second model house is a Ranch located at 3405 Moorhead Avenue, containing 1,204 square feet, five bedrooms with one full bath, two three-quarter baths, and an attached one-car garage (Figure 44). According to the Denver Parade of Homes, prices for the houses in Martin Acres ranged from \$15,000 to \$20,000 in 1963.



Figure 44. 3405 Moorhead Avenue, 2008

Martin Acres applied many residential design principles that are common hallmarks of post-World War II neighborhood planning (Figure 45), such as a curvilinear street plan, areas of open parks, and relatively shallow lots. The neighborhood block omitted rear alleys and replaced them with front-accessed driveways in the front yard. Although the cul-de-sacs were a common roadway design feature in postwar neighborhoods, Martin Acres does not contain any of these roadway features. Instead, Martin Acres' curving streets, many of which form a horseshoe-shape, extend off the main thoroughfares in the neighborhood. Martin Acres' housing reflects several of the architectural changes that occurred during the 1950s into the 1960s, including the shift from the Simple Ranch house to architectural variations that include English Tudor and Swiss Chalet character elements. This architectural evolution illustrates not only the move from prewar to postwar residential houses which became dominated by the low, one-story Ranch architectural form, but also the experimentation in subtle whimsical applied ornamentation by the late 1950s. This resulted in an increase in the variety of postwar housing available



Figure 45. Martin Acres, 2008

to consumers as time went on.

The William Martin Homestead Addition of the early 1960s represents the continual transition toward taller houses. Split-Level houses in a range of stylistic variations dominate. There are approximately 16 housing models within Martin Acres and each of these models includes many subtle differences. The houses differ from one another in terms of footprint, roof shape, and exterior cladding, which frequently features a combination of two materials, most often brick and vertical or horizontal wood siding. Roofs in Martin Acres are typically low-pitched side-gabled, front-gabled, hipped, cross-gabled, or cross-hipped variants. The most common original housing within Martin Acres are variations of the Split-Level and Simple Ranch housing types with hipped or side-gabled roofs.

The success of Martin Acres combined with the large number of new families who moved to the neighborhood led to new schools and transportation routes that channeled growth to south Boulder. Like the neighboring subdivision to the north, Highland Park, Martin Acres became associated with postwar industries in Boulder, such as aerospace, atmospheric research at the National Bureau of Standards, new research programs at the University of Colorado, and the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Factory south of Boulder, all of which were initiated in the early 1950s just before Martin Acres was established in 1954. Martin Acres' proximity to these employment centers led to its role in housing many of the employees or students who worked in these important and emerging industries.

In addition to housing workers from the Bureau of Standards, students from the University of Colorado, and others who were employed in Boulder, Martin Acres was also home to at least two professional athletes. Carroll Hardy, a former University of Colorado football player who chose to pursue professional baseball instead of football, lived in Martin Acres during his off-season from the Boston Red Sox. Hardy's University of Colorado teammate Frank Bernardi, who pursued professional football as a defensive halfback for the Denver Broncos, also lived in the neighborhood. Martin Acres resident Dorreen Mitchell recalled that at least three U.S. Air Force families lived on her block in the 1950s; other neighbors included a NIST employee and a dietician from the Community Center (Mitchell, 2009). Additionally, Mitchell recalls that in the early years of Martin Acres, the subdivision was almost entirely populated with young families, with renters beginning to become apparent in the late 1960s.

Meanwhile, the opening of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike (US 36) and the nearby High Mar shopping strip at the southeast corner of Baseline Road and Broadway further encouraged new housing in Martin Acres while bringing new patterns of development to south Boulder. Around the same time, Broadway Road, which runs along the western edge of Martin Acres, was widened from its original two-lanes to a four-lane thoroughfare. As a major residential subdivision in this rapidly growing part of Boulder, Martin Acres played an important role in south Boulder's growth and expansion.

Park East Subdivision

The Park East subdivision was primarily constructed from 1963 into the early 1970s, though the official development occurred after 1963. It consists of 289 properties and is located between 39th Street and McIntire Street from Baseline Road to just south of Colorado Avenue. The subdivision has two parts that are located east and west of Foothills Parkway in east Boulder. The houses west of Foothills Parkway were built between 1963 and 1967. Only 16 houses east of Foothills Parkway were built prior to 1967, with the majority of houses built in 1968. The east section was not fully developed until 1970.

Park East was known as the Burke and Weaver property when W.H. Williams of Melody Homes purchased the land in 1963 and immediately began planning for a residential subdivision. The plat and engineering plans were submitted for a neighborhood of medium-priced properties with Gilpin Drive as the first street constructed. In 1964 the company agreed to add \$1,200,000 in sanitary sewer lines, water mains, curb walks, and paved streets to this area. The company had paid the city \$26,000 toward this goal by May 1964 (*The Daily Camera*, May 16, 1954).

The Park East subdivision contains house models available in other Melody Homes subdivisions around Boulder and Denver, such as the Table Mesa subdivision in south Boulder. Park East held its three-week-long Grand Opening in May 1964. Prospective buyers were even allowed to view the new Melody Homes model, the Mayfair 11, which was a rambling L-shaped Ranch house with double front doors, a family room with mahogany paneling and fireplace, and a large master bedroom with its own three-quarter bath and sliding glass doors leading onto the patio (*The Daily Camera*, May 16, 1964). Vance Harrington was hired as the sales manager and Harlan Danforth served as a sales counselor to all prospective buyers.

In 1965 Melody Homes produced two new models, the Lyric and the Prelude, in Park East (see Appendix B for Builders and Models Research Data). The Lyric was a three bedroom house featuring a 24-foot living room and a kitchen adjacent to the family room. Melody Homes allowed the buyers to change the family room into a dining room. Additionally, the Lyric featured a balcony separated from the dining room and family room area by a sliding glass door (*The Daily Camera*, September 10, 1965). The Prelude featured a new concept in house design, the combined family room and kitchen areas. This design was more perception than reality, with the Prelude kitchen featuring a balcony overlooking the family room and seemingly uniting the two rooms. On the other side of the kitchen, the dining room opened onto the living room. The Prelude also featured three bedrooms, including a 15-foot master bedroom, two baths featuring ceramic tile, a laundry room, a built-in telephone area, and an attached two-car garage (*The Daily Camera*, September 10, 1965). These options gave the homebuyer flexibility in the house floor plan and indicated a shift to fewer interior partition walls in favor of more casual living spaces. As with most Split-Levels, the multi-storied house plans also offered “family zoning” to separate the

bedrooms from the noisier living areas as the young families of the 1950s grew into families with older children and teenagers in the 1960s (Figure 46).



Figure 46. Park East, 2008

Unlike other builders at the time who offered new owners one-year warranties, Melody Homes decided to extend five-year warranties which covered all structural components found to be defective in material or workmanship in order to attract more buyers. Buyers simply needed to notify Melody Homes if any structural problem arose, and the issue would be either repaired or the part replaced. Although buyers received this new warranty warmly, there were conditions which had to be followed. The warranty could not be assigned or transferred, and any manufactured product within the house, such as a garbage disposal for which the manufacturer's warranty did not extend to five years, was covered only for the period of time insured by the manufacturer (*The Daily Camera*, July 25, 1964).

Park East was planned in a similar manner to other new residential subdivisions of the mid-to-late 1960s. The housing consisted of larger and often taller houses than those common in the 1950s. Bi-Level and Split-Level houses grew in popularity next to the Ranch house, which continued to be favored among the housing types. Low-pitched roofs and a wider variety of architectural details were introduced in 1960s housing, and the homeowners faced more architectural choices than ever before in the postwar era. With increasing automobile ownership, the attached garage or car port became common and often the garage accommodated two cars rather than just one. Park East, like its counterpart Table Mesa, was a typical neighborhood for its era in terms of design, landscape, and setting.

Sunset Hills Subdivision

The Sunset Hills Subdivision is located between 13th Street to the east and 19th Street to the west, and from Mapleton Avenue to the south to Alpine Avenue on the north. The subdivision consists of 113

properties developed between 1946 and 1962, with the majority built prior to 1952 (see Appendix B for Builders and Models Research Data). Boulder contractor Ted McPherson formed the Sunset Hill Improvement Corporation in 1944; he had renamed the western portion of the bluff previously known as “Lovers Hill” to “Sunset Hill”. Along with Boulder’s city planning consultant Saco R. DeBoer, McPherson designed lots that fit the winding nature of the streets in the area. Although McPherson purchased the property in 1944, the subdivision was not officially created until June 5, 1946.

Prior to constructing any houses, McPherson sold the entire Sunset Hill subdivision to George White, a Nebraska real estate developer who moved to Boulder upon purchasing the property in 1948. White planned for houses in Sunset Hill ranging in price from \$15,000 to \$20,000 (*The Daily Camera*, July 12, 1948). The typical lot size in Sunset Hills was 75 by 150 feet, with some parcels measuring 90 by 100 feet in size.

White added all utilities to the properties and hired architect Glen H. Huntington (the son of famed Denver Architect Glen W. Huntington) to design six houses along High Street, with the first being constructed at 1608 High Street (Figure 47). These six houses were located on the north side of the street and had hardwood floors, gas heat, modern kitchens and baths, and large windows. Two of the six buildings included basements, and a few featured fireplaces. Each had a different appearance and room layout to suggest individuality. L. Marvin Wilkins’ company Wilkins, Inc. constructed the houses, which were completed in March 1949 (*The Daily Camera*, May 13, 2007; March 19, 1949). The Huntington houses have since been demolished and replaced with newer, larger houses.



Figure 47. Huntington-designed houses along High Street, circa 1953.
(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)

Following the completion of the Huntington houses in 1949, White commissioned the construction of eight new residences along North Street (Figure 48). These less expensive buildings cost between \$8,500 and \$8,700 in the early 1950s. Wilkins Construction proceeded to build nine new houses on Sunset Hill and 12 along North Street in 1952 (*The Daily Camera*, May 1, 1952). Although Wilkins was the primary builder for Sunset Hills, at least three other construction companies completed buildings in the neighborhood. Following the completion of 10 new houses in 1950, Sunset Hills was considered one of the most rapidly developing residential areas of Boulder. The early residents of Sunset Hills were associated with the medical profession, the University of Colorado, the City of Boulder, and the construction industry.



Figure 48. North Street in Sunset Hills, 2008

As the result of two different types of development that occurred in Sunset Hills, the houses along North Street are smaller houses on smaller lots than the larger houses on Sunset Hill along Sunset Boulevard. In addition to differences in size and scale, the houses along North Street are typically of the Minimal Traditional and Simple Ranch types. The east end of North Street includes three multi-family apartment buildings. The houses along Sunset Boulevard, however, were originally larger Semi-Custom or Custom Ranch houses or Split-Level houses. The Sunset Boulevard houses have also endured substantially more demolition and reconstruction since the subdivision's original development than those on North Street.

Table Mesa Subdivision

Located between Table Mesa Drive and Broadway from Heidelberg Drive to Regis Drive, the Table Mesa subdivision contains 1,270 residential houses built between 1958 and 1967. The entire Table Mesa tract was originally part of the 922 acre Viele Ranch (Figure 49). Following William Viele's death, the Toedtli family purchased the land and continued to operate the property as a ranch until 1955 (*The Daily Camera*, January 25, 1976). The Toedtli family sold the land to C.L. Carlock who then transferred the property to the Boulder Hills Corporation in 1955. The Table Mesa Development Company purchased the 555 acres that comprise the Table Mesa subdivision from the Boulder Hills Corporation in January 1962.

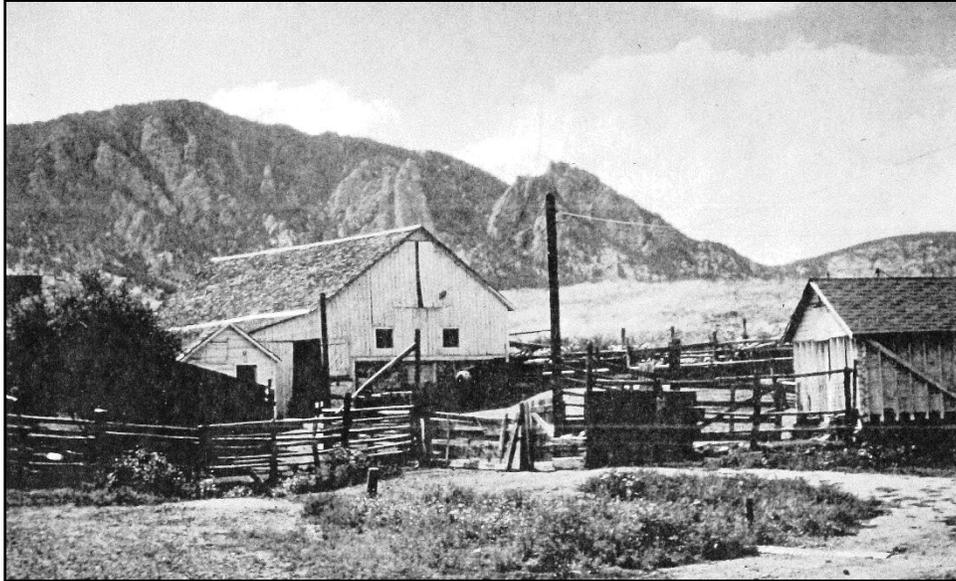


Figure 49. Viele Ranch Headquarters, unknown date.
(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)

The Table Mesa Development Company created the subdivision in two short phases. The first phase started on January 2, 1962, and the second phase, called the Table Mesa First Addition, was established on April 23, 1962. Organized by Hugh Phillips and John Wheeler (previously involved with the Baseline and Highland Park subdivisions), the Table Mesa Development Company incorporated a 40 acre park surrounding Viele Lake as well as possible commercial development regions within the 555 acre tract. Strict agreements with the construction companies were put into place for the subdivision to control lot size as well as the size of the houses built in Table Mesa. Five builders constructed the first houses (of the proposed 1,953) by August 1962, giving buyers the option of 20 models (see Appendix B for Builders and Models Research Data). Although High Gate Homes built a large number of houses within Table Mesa, the subdivision is composed of houses from over 12 construction companies. Each builder offered a variety of models in specific locations; Highland Park Homes offered six models located around Table Mesa Drive and Case Court, Hudson Homes offered three models located near Table Mesa Drive and Hartford Court, Floyd Fell Homes were located around Darley Street and Claremont Drive and featured three models, Keith Homes at Yale Road and Table Mesa Drive had four models, and George Holdrege's Imperial Custom Homes, Inc. offered individualized residences along the western boundary of the subdivision (*The Daily Camera*, August 16, 1962).

By October 1963, High Gate Homes (owned by W.H. Francis) opened a new model in Table Mesa called the "Alpine" which was on display with the firm's other models around Table Mesa Drive and Ithaca Drive. The Alpine was a split-foyer, two-level, three bedroom house with an attached garage. A decorative glass window in the entryway along with the walnut finished cabinets in the kitchen, a range

hood with light and exhaust fan, wrought iron railings on the staircase, and no-drip counters in the kitchen set this model apart from its contemporaries. Like all High Gate Homes, the Alpine featured ceramic bath tiles, a basement or garden level, a wood-burning fireplace, a separate formal dining room, extra baths, and 235 pound lock-tab shingles on the roof (*The Daily Camera*, October 25, 1963). The total cost of this model was \$17,000.

The four other models High Gate Homes built in Table Mesa during 1962-1963 were the Fairfield, Devon, Beverly, and Monterey. The Devon was a Cape Cod model, the Beverly was a tri-level, the Monterey was a three or four-level house, and the Fairfield was a ranch. Within the Table Mesa subdivision, the Fairfield was the most popular High Gate Homes house. It featured three bedrooms, a full basement, a two-car garage, one and three-quarter baths, an entry hall with a separate formal dining room, a kitchen with a breakfast nook and a sliding glass door out to the patio, and mahogany-grained wall paneling in the living room.

The most unique house High Gate Homes, also known as Melody Homes, built in Table Mesa was the “New, Old” house model which debuted in 1965. This model was meant to provide buyers with a house that appeared custom-built, yet at the lower subdivision price. Robert L. Coe designed this model based on ideas from W.H. Francis. The house was meant to combine the feeling of a new house with classic elements. The result was a house with a roof based on three main designs: the Mansard, A-frame, and Pennsylvania Dutch. The main roof line was repeated over the detached two-car garage. The exterior was a combination of brick and wood siding with multi-light windows, wood planters, and shutters.

The interior of the “New, Old” house featured an entry foyer which controlled access to the upper levels (Figures 50 and 51). The first floor contained a living room, guest bath, kitchen-family room, and formal living room. Additionally, the first floor had access to the basement, a concrete patio, and the second floor sleeping areas. The basement was unfinished, but plumbed for a fourth bath. The second floor featured all four bedrooms, including a master bedroom and bath, and three family or guest bedrooms. The buyer also had the option to remove one wall on the second floor to create a three bedroom house with a more spacious master bedroom measuring 17 by 24 feet (*The Daily Camera*, January 15, 1965). This model was the only Melody Homes house design in Table Mesa that was built only upon request, but the “New, Old” house was available for construction in any of the Melody Homes subdivisions.



Figure 50. The "New, Old Home," as it appeared in *The Daily Camera*, January 15, 1965



Figure 51. 1195 Ithaca Drive (5BL10941), "New, Old Home," 2008

Keith Homes, Inc. also built houses in Table Mesa. Owned by Keith Neville, Keith Homes, Inc. was the fourth builder to build within the subdivision (Figure 52). Keith Homes, Inc. houses were known as the Americana Homes and had four models: the Newport, Metropolitan, Americana, and Cambridge. The Newport model was a split-level with a kitchen and dining room area situated in between the lower children's level and the upper parents' floor. The upper floor contained not only the master bedroom and bath but also the living room.

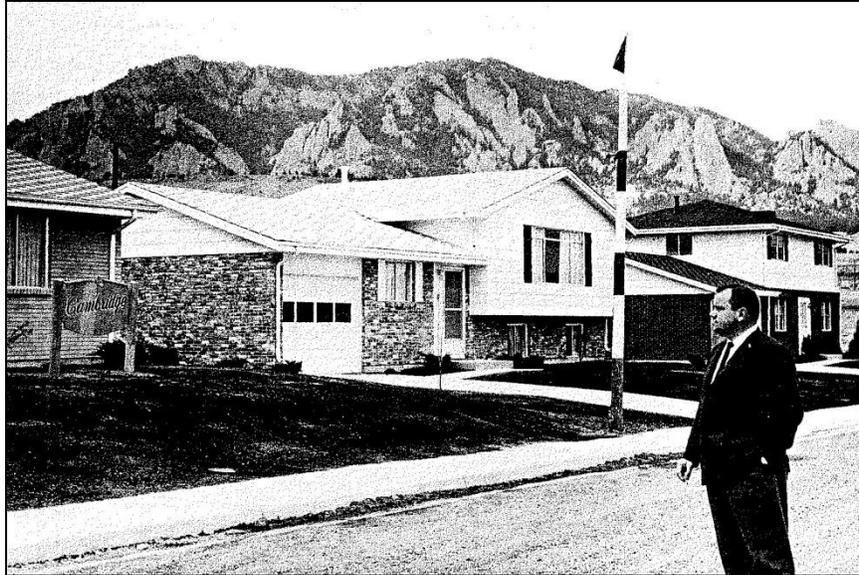


Figure 52. Keith Neville of Keith Homes, Inc., circa 1962

(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History and The Daily Camera)

The largest models, the Metropolitan and Americana, were tri-level houses with the bedrooms and baths on the upper floor. Additionally, the Metropolitan featured a recreation room which adjoined the kitchen and main entry. The Colonial-Revival-inspired Americana had a traditional entry which opened onto a dining room, kitchen, and living room. The only model produced by Keith Homes which did not feature an entry which was separate from the garage entry was the Cambridge, which was one of the smaller units (*The Daily Camera*, October 20, 1962).

Table Mesa was planned in a similar manner to other new residential subdivisions of the mid-to-late 1960s. This residential subdivision was designed with broad, curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs to create the desired pastoral effect within the neighborhood. Many subdivisions instituted covenants for landscaping and other design guidelines to ensure stylistic continuity within the neighborhood. Table Mesa was therefore a typical neighborhood for its era in terms of design, landscape, and setting. Indeed, even one of Table Mesa's original planners, Dale Shreve, called the subdivision "typical except for Bear Creek running through it" (Shreve, 2009).

Table Mesa's housing consisted of larger houses than those common in the 1950s, and they were often taller as well. Bi-Level, Split-Level, and Two-Story houses grew in popularity next to the Ranch House, which continued to be favored among the popular housing types. These multi-storied house plans offered "family zoning" to separate the bedrooms from the noisier living areas as the young families of the 1950s grew into families with older children and teenagers by the 1960s. Low-pitched roofs and a wider variety of architectural details were introduced in 1960s housing, and homeowners faced more

architectural choices than ever before in the postwar era. With increasing automobile ownership, the attached garage or car port became common, and often the garage accommodated two cars rather than just one. Twenty-eight different models were built in the Table Mesa neighborhood, not including subtle variations between each of these housing types.

Wagoner Manor Subdivision

The Wagoner Manor subdivision is located between Foothills Parkway to the west and Crescent Drive to the east, from Baseline Road to the south and Pennsylvania Avenue to the north. The neighborhood contains 28 houses built between 1954 and 1962 along Brooklawn Drive. Located near the eastern edge of the Boulder City limits along Baseline Road, the neighborhood is an example of the continuing expansion of growth in and around the eastern edges of the City of Boulder as the population rapidly grew during the 1950s. The official creation of Wagoner Manor occurred on August 8, 1954, on land that was originally the Blackmer tract. Lyal Quinby purchased the property in 1953 and leveled and drained the land for construction. Quinby hired the Wagoner Construction Company, run by Fred K. Wagoner and his three sons Jack R., Donald L., and Howard R. Wagoner, to construct the new neighborhood (Figures 53, 54, and 55). While the Wagoners constructed the subdivision, Quinby employed the Conrad-Hopkins real estate agency to handle property sales (*The Daily Camera* August 26, 1954).



Figure 53. Brooklawn Drive, circa 1958

(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)



Figure 54. Unidentified house on Brooklawn Drive, 1958
(Photograph courtesy of the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History)

The earliest houses were built in 1954 and were located along Baseline Road at Brooklawn Drive, two miles east of the Boulder city limits at that time. According to a photograph taken in August 1955, a roadside sign advertising Wagoner Manor touted the subdivision as “country living at its best.” The houses were spread relatively far apart for postwar subdivisions at that time, as each property included a street frontage of 140 feet and was set on a one-acre lot, considerably larger than the average postwar lot which typically measured less than one-fourth of an acre. Wagoner offered three house models, each of which featured amenities such as a one-or two-car garage, fireplace, ceramic tile kitchen and baths, mahogany kitchen cabinets, and a cedar shingle roof (see Appendix B for Builders and Models Research Data). Each house included a minimum of three bedrooms and a living area of 1,252 square feet (*The Daily Camera*, January 21, 1955).

Eight residences were completed by January 1955, including Fred K. Wagoner’s residence at 700 Brooklawn, while ten others were in various stages of construction and the original size of the subdivision had been increased to 148 lots (*The Daily Camera*, January 21, 1955). The city approved a water distribution system for the subdivision, estimated to cost \$80,000, in 1955. Known as the Wagoner Water District, bids for the system’s construction were not solicited until late in the year. The water distribution system was not completed until 1956 (*The Daily Camera*, December 7, 1955).



Figure 55. 704 Brooklawn Drive (5BL10958), Wagoner Manor, 2009

The Wagoner Construction Company began building houses in Wagoner Manor with the help of the Mountain Savings and Loan Association, which agreed to provide the firm advanced funding totaling \$120,000. During the construction and funding process, a dispute arose between the parties. By October 1959 the Wagoner Construction Company was defunct, and construction in Wagoner Manor ceased (*The Daily Camera*, October 28, 1959). In 1962 the Wagoner Construction Company sued the Mountain Savings and Loan Association, claiming the association failed to provide the full agreed upon loan amount. The Tenth Circuit of the United States Court of Appeals found in favor of the Mountain Savings and Loan Association (311 F.2d 403 No. 6961, United States Court of Appeals Tenth Circuit, December 3, 1962).

Although the Wagoner Construction Company originally platted the neighborhood for 148 properties, it only completed 28 houses, all located along Brooklawn Drive. They are each variants of one of three house models: the Newport, the Montclair, or the Monterey (Figure 56). All three models are similarly designed along a long lateral axis that runs parallel with the street and has the effect of creating a long, rambling principal façade. The three models vary most prominently according to variations in roof types, with the Newport featuring a very low-pitched side-gabled roof, the Montclair featuring a gable-on-hipped or hipped roof, and the Monterey featuring a moderately low-pitched side-gabled roof. The homes can be characterized as Simple Ranch houses due to their flexible interior arrangements and finishes. Nearly all of Wagoner Manor's original 28 houses have been modified to varying degrees since their construction.

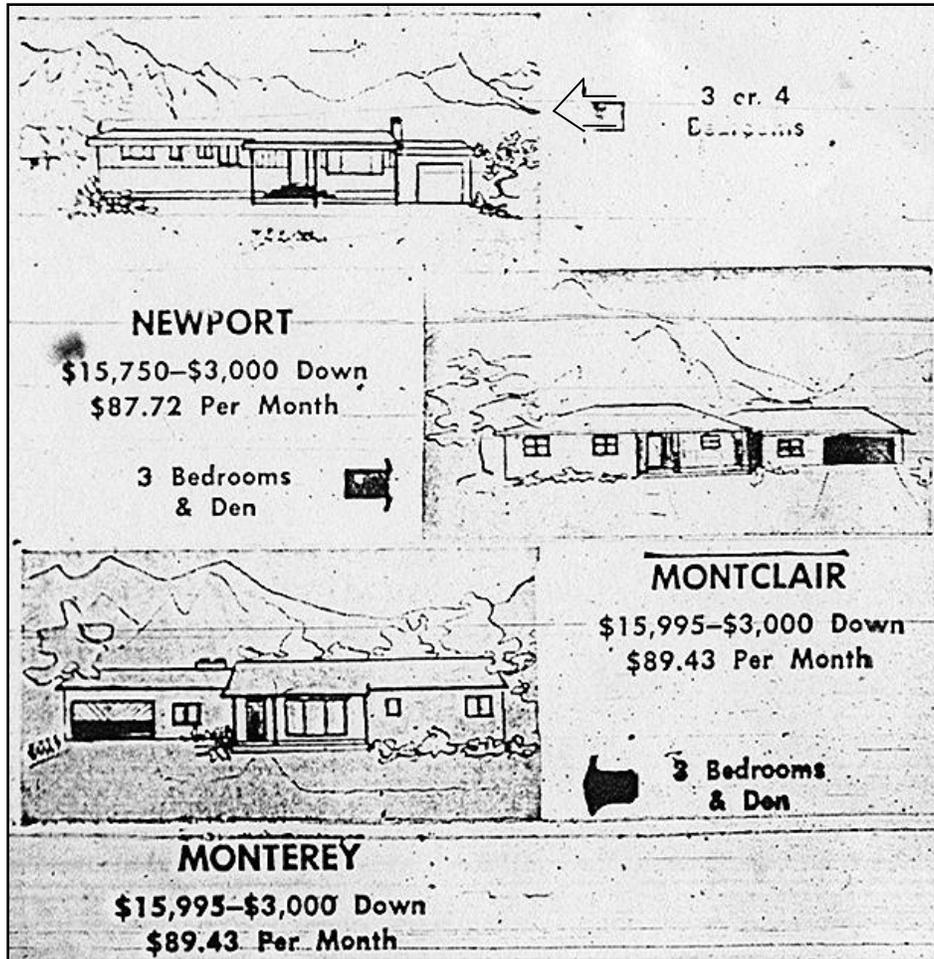


Figure 56. The Boulder *Daily Camera* advertisement for Wagoner Manor
(*The Daily Camera*, June 4, 1955)

Conclusion

The unprecedented population growth and concurrent residential construction in Boulder dramatically changed the city during the postwar era. While the nation was seeing a population boom in every city, growth of new industries based on scientific research and development established in or near Boulder during this period, plus higher student enrollment at the University of Colorado buoyed Boulder's development. Young families moved to the city to take advantage of the jobs in these employment centers, but the city's natural topography, scenic beauty, and semi-arid, high-altitude climate also encouraged widespread relocation to Boulder.

Boulder, like the rest of the nation, adapted to accommodate the automobile, and new roadways and highways became defining features of the postwar landscape in and around the city. Meanwhile, the new postwar subdivisions in Boulder were positioned near the intersections of major roadways that extended out to the north, east, and south edges of the growing city. Residential developers played a

major role in transforming former farmland and open spaces at these outlying areas into a variety of postwar subdivisions that eventually became annexed into the city boundary, increasing Boulder to 25 square miles by the end of the 1970s.

Two decades of residential development eventually led city council members and planners to enact a variety of development restrictions by the mid-1960s. As a result, while Boulder has continued to grow in population since 1967, the city boundaries have generally remained unchanged. The University of Colorado saw record enrollment during the first years of the twenty-first century, and industries within Boulder continue to expand and influence the culture of the United States. This continued growth within the city boundaries has placed a high degree of development pressure on the city's existing infrastructure and built environment, including its large postwar housing stock. Changes, in the form of demolition and major alterations, have already occurred in many of these neighborhoods as they adapt to the needs of a growing community. Many of these alterations are reflected in the current conditions of each of the ten intensively surveyed subdivisions investigated in this study.

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6.0 POSTWAR RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE IN BOULDER

The following section presents a summary of the postwar housing types identified in the 10 subdivisions examined in this study. These architectural descriptions of postwar era resources in Boulder are based on the reconnaissance and intensive survey data, as well as the secondary resources on postwar architecture and design. This supplements the historic context, and serves as a more detailed guide to the architectural types cited in this report's associated Architectural Inventory Forms (see Volume II) .

Minimal Traditional (ca.1935-1950)

With its boxy one-story footprint, the Minimal Traditional house represented a transition from the Bungalow housing form of the 1920s and 1930s to the compact footprint with small rooms surrounding a core. The Minimal Traditional also became a slightly larger version of the FHA's "Minimum House" housing type, which was also a small, one-story house with a square footprint. Stylistically, the Minimal Traditional type's distinguishing characteristics are its low- or medium-pitched side-gabled roof with no overhanging eaves. The house often features a shallow, forward-projecting cross-gable. The principal façade is plain with no ornamentation, with the possible exception of decorative, non-functioning shutters. No attached garage is present. One-car detached garages may occur at the rear of the property.

Common Characteristics:

- One-story and small size
- Rectangular, but boxy footprint
- Medium-to-low-pitched side-gable, cross-gable roof, or hipped roof
- Little or no roof overhang
- Metal- or wood-framed windows
- Decorative shutters
- Clapboard or asbestos-cement shingle siding common in Boulder
- Little or no applied ornamentation or detailing
- No attached garage
- Built immediately after World War II, in the late 1940s

In Boulder:

Although Minimal Traditional houses outside of Boulder can be clad in brick or stone, in Boulder they are usually clad in clapboard siding or asbestos-cement shingles. Among the ten subdivisions studied, Minimal Traditional houses are limited to Interurban Park and Sunset Hills, which contain the majority of the Minimal Traditional examples. Outside of Sunset Hills, there are few examples of the Minimal Traditional type house in the other postwar neighborhoods examined in this survey, and this was likely because most of the other neighborhoods studied were developed post 1950s, after the Minimal Traditional had fallen out of favor and had evolved to the more popular Ranch type house or its variants.

Common Alterations:

The most common alterations to the Minimal Traditional houses encountered in this study include the replacement of the original windows with vinyl windows. Where the original siding was wood clapboarding or other types of wood, common alterations include replacement with vinyl siding. The small size of the Minimal Traditional house also makes additions common; usually these occur at the rear of the property. A second story was added in two examples in Sunset Hills. Since the Minimal Traditional lacked an attached car port or garage, these structures are also common additions at the side of the house.

Examples of Minimal Traditional postwar houses in Boulder:



2110 Baseline Road, Interurban Park (5BL10896)



1584 North Street, Sunset Hills (5BL10931)



1557 North Street, Sunset Hills



1349 North Street, Sunset Hills



1649 North Street, Sunset Hills

Postwar Hipped-Roof Box (ca. 1945-1950)

The postwar variant of the Hipped-Roof Box, also called the Pyramidal-Roof Cottage, is more of a building form than an architectural type. It is a close cousin to the simple Minimal Traditional house type due to its plain façade and its square or nearly square footprint. The house's moderately-pitched pyramidal roof distinguishes the Hipped-Roof Box not only from the Minimal Traditional housing type, but also from the prewar Hipped-Roof Box that was popular ca. 1910-30 and usually featured a more exaggerated roof pitch. The house footprint is typically square or rectangular, and deeper than it is wide. Prewar variants were often brick masonry, but examples of Postwar Hipped-Roof Box houses are instead typically wood frame covered by clapboard or asbestos-cement shingle siding. The Postwar Hipped-Roof Box also includes an asymmetrical façade where one half of the front is recessed for a front entrance. Windows are wood or metal-framed and often include large picture windows. The principal façade is usually divided into three bays, with a central entrance door. Occasionally, the entrance includes a small, separate roof, usually in the form of a small shed roof. There is little or no applied ornamentation, resulting in a plain appearance dominated by the imposing hipped roof. This house type has no attached garage or car port, but one-car detached garages may occur at the rear of the property if a rear alley is present.

Common Characteristics:

- Prominent, moderately-pitched pyramidal roof
- Square or slightly rectangular footprint that is deeper than wide
- Wood-framed in the postwar variant
- Horizontal siding
- Absence of attached garage or car port
- Little or no ornamentation

In Boulder:

There are only a handful of examples of Postwar Hipped-Roof Box houses in the ten subdivisions studied. All are located in the neighborhoods that include housing built between 1945 and 1950, immediately after the war, such as Interurban Park and Highland Park.

Common Alterations:

Common changes to the Postwar Hipped-Roof Box houses encountered in this study include replacement windows and siding. None of the Postwar Hipped-Roof Box houses observed in the ten subdivisions studied have experienced major changes.

Examples of Postwar Hipped-Roof Box houses in Boulder:



2269 Mariposa Avenue, Interurban Park



2126 Baseline Road, Interurban Park



2231 Columbine Avenue, Interurban Park
(5BL10899)



395 27th Street, Highland Park (5BL10883)

Transitional Ranch (ca. 1935-1955)

The Transitional Ranch housing type bridged the gap between the Minimal Traditional and the Simple Ranch houses and resulted in a blend of the two. Like the Minimal Traditional, Transitional Ranch houses were typically built immediately following the end of World War II, between 1945 and 1950. The Transitional Ranch is one-story, with a rectangular or L-shaped footprint that is slightly wider or more elongated than the boxier Minimal Traditional, but less so than the Simple Ranch. The Transitional Ranch can be clad in a variety of materials, including brick, stone, clapboard siding, or asbestos-cement shingles. The roof is low- or medium-pitched, with shallow or no overhanging eaves. Although the Transitional Ranch is similar to the Minimal Traditional house, the Transitional Ranch introduced simple decorative exterior detailing in the form of a mixture of exterior accents, such as stone or brick cladding, on the principal facade. The addition of these materials enhances the aesthetic interest of the exterior. Transitional Ranches often emphasize the horizontality at the front the house, alluding to an increasing interest in the rambling profile of the Ranch house. Brick and stone cladding, as seen in the examples below, often emphasize picture windows, which became more prominent in the Transitional Ranch type. No attached garage is present, but one-car detached garages may occur at the rear of the property.

Common Characteristics:

- One story, modest size
- Boxy rectangular or L-shaped footprint, but slightly more elongated than the Minimal Traditional
- Introduction of limited applied ornamentation, such as portions of brick or stone exterior siding materials
- Medium-to-low-pitched roof that is side-gabled, cross-gabled, hipped, or hipped-with-cross-gable
- No or minimal entry porch
- Casement or sash windows, usually aluminum-framed
- Decorative, nonfunctioning shutters
- Built immediately after World War II, in the late 1940s

In Boulder:

The Transitional Ranch type occurs in the earliest postwar neighborhoods in Boulder, including Sunset Hills, Interurban Park, and Highland Park. As a transition housing type from the Minimal Traditional to the Simple Ranch, it was not a common type within the 10 neighborhoods surveyed.

Common Alterations:

Like all housing from the postwar era, common alterations to Transitional Ranch type houses encountered in this study include replacement windows and siding, both of which are typically vinyl.

Since the Transitional Ranch lacked an attached car port or an attached garage, these are common additions at the side of the house.

Examples of Transitional Ranch postwar houses in Boulder:



345 28th Street, Highland Park (5BL10880)



1432 North Street, Sunset Hills



1720 Bluff Street, Sunset Hills



1422 North Street, Sunset Hills
(House appears to have rear addition.)

Simple Ranch (ca. 1950-1965)

The Simple Ranch was the most common housing type of the 1950s, and continued as a dominant architectural housing form into the early 1960s. The Simple Ranch can be identified by its low, horizontal emphasis, which is often extended with an attached car port or garage incorporated into the house's primary form. The principal façade is asymmetrically composed, suggesting informality, and often features a large picture window positioned off-center. The porch at the front entrance is minimal or often absent. Roofs are low-pitched with deep, overhanging eaves. The Simple Ranch facade features little or no ornamentation, with the exception of stationary decorative shutters. If a front porch is present, it is an extension of the house's main roof and often includes scrolled wrought-iron supports at the overhang. Chimneys, if present, are wide and low.

Common Characteristics:

- One-story with rambling, horizontal profile
- Integral attached garage or car port
- Low-pitched roof with deep, overhanging eaves
- Roof types include side-gabled, hipped, gable-on-hipped, cross-hipped, or cross-gabled
- Shallow, integrated porch, if present
- Asymmetrical façade, often includes a picture window
- Exterior cladding includes all materials, and often features a combination of two materials
- Decorative shutters
- Present in groups of speculative housing, often as part of large subdivisions
- Usually built by a developer or builder rather than custom-designed and built by an architect

In Boulder:

The Simple Ranch is the most common postwar architectural type among housing in Boulder. All ten neighborhoods surveyed in Boulder included a wide variety of Simple Ranch houses.

Common Alterations:

Like all housing from the postwar era, common alterations to Simple Ranch houses encountered in this study include replacement windows and siding, both of which are typically vinyl. One-car garages are frequently enclosed to expand the often modest living space of the interior. In cases where no garage was originally present, garage additions have been built, often using the same materials as the rest of the house and making the addition compatible. Changes to the exterior within the past ten years usually include covering or replacing the original siding with stucco. In the absence of front porches, the addition of large, covered entrances are common in the Simple Ranch; these entrances often reflect the recent popularity of Craftsman architectural elements in materials and form. In a few cases, the Simple Ranch is altered to reflect other popular architectural modes of recent decades, including recent trends from the Industrial Modern type that combines stucco, exposed engineering, plate glass windows, unpainted corrugated metal, and angular shed or barrel-vaulted roofs (see Figure 57).



Figure 57. An example of an Industrial Modern remodeling of a former Simple Ranch house at 55 S. 32nd Street in Martin Acres.

Examples of Simple Ranch houses in Boulder:



440 S. 40th Street, Martin Acres



4317 Butler Circle, Table Mesa (5BL10954)



965 37th Street, Baseline (5BL10861)



2111 Bluebell Avenue, Interurban Park



Entrance, 2795 Regis Street, Highland Park
(5BL10878)



Attached garage, 2840 19th Street, Edgewood
(5BL10866)

Semi-Custom Ranch (ca. 1950-1965)

The Semi-Custom Ranch house has all of the same characteristics of the Simple Ranch house, except that it was not built in large quantities as a spec house model. Instead, homeowners commissioned the designer and builder in order to incorporate custom-designed features into the house plan. As a result,

the house plan is not based on a model that was intended to be replicated within a subdivision, but is one-of-a-kind in each neighborhood.

Semi-Custom Ranch houses are typically larger than Simple Ranch houses and include many high-end amenities. Materials and finishes are usually of a higher quality, and an attention to detail is apparent. Although all of the foundations are concrete, exterior cladding extends from the upper-level façade to the ground so that no raw concrete is exposed. The Semi-Custom Ranch often has architectural features reminiscent of the Prairie Style: deep, closed overhanging eaves; full-length windows; and architectural elements merging the house with the landscape, such as an attached terrace or deck that extends outward from the house. They almost always include an integrated two-car garage. The Semi-Custom Ranch house was more expensive, and was often located on the most desirable lot within a neighborhood. Thus, many of these houses have commanding views, which further encourages the house design's architectural incorporation with the surrounding landscape.

Common Characteristics:

- Larger than Simple Ranch houses
- One story with strong horizontal emphasis
- Roof can be gabled or hipped, featuring deep, closed overhanging eaves
- Full-length windows
- Integrated two-car garage
- Architectural features such as a terrace or overhanging deck that merge house with landscape
- Wood-siding, stone, or brick exterior cladding

In Boulder:

Boulder neighborhoods featuring Semi-Custom Ranch houses include Flatirons Park, Highland Park, Sunset Hills, and Table Mesa. These houses are located on desirable, hillside lots with commanding views of the mountains. Additionally, special attention has been given to the surrounding landscape architecture, which often features naturalistic garden design with native trees, rocks or boulders among ornamental plants and shrubs.

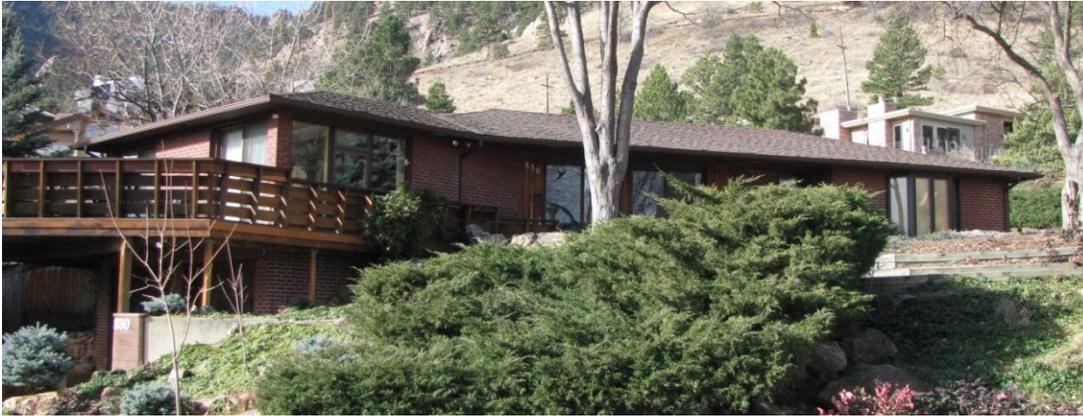
One challenge associated with the evaluation of Semi-Custom houses is that property records and tax assessor records usually do not indicate whether owners have customized a house. Without an overall knowledge of a subdivision's construction history, this attribute of the Semi-Custom Ranch house can make its identification tentative.

Common Alterations:

The most common minor alterations among Semi-Custom Ranch houses encountered in this study are replacement windows and doors. However, many of the houses observed have undergone major

alterations, with second-story additions, new exterior cladding, and new entrance porches and rear extensions, which completely transform the original house.

Examples of Semi-Custom Ranch houses in Boulder:



850 Circle Drive, Flatirons Park (5BL10874)



2605 Stanford Avenue, Highland Park (5BL10877)



1505 Sunset Boulevard, Sunset Hills (5BL10928)

Split-Level (ca. 1950-1970)

The Split-Level housing type emerged in the late 1950s as a more compact version of the Ranch House. It divides zones of interior living areas, relegating certain types of household activity to each of the three levels. The upper level is the quiet zone for the bedrooms. The open-plan middle level occupied by the living and dining areas accommodates moderate noise level activities. The lowest level often features an informal recreational room for the noisiest zone, also called the recreation or rumpus room. Many Split-Levels also include a garage below grade. A subset of the Split-Level house is the Tri-Level, which defines Split-Level houses where the lowest third level is fully exposed to the exterior, rather than consisting of a sub-basement level. Tri-Level and Split-Level nomenclature, however, can be interchangeable.

There are several variations of the Split-Level form, mimicking the range of Ranch Houses. Exterior wall cladding often uses a variety of different materials to visually divide the mass of the house. Most commonly, the upper story is clad in horizontal or vertical wood siding, while the middle and lower levels are clad in common-bond brick. The entrance is nearly always located within the middle-level, but still appears centered on the overall composition of the façade. The lowest level always includes an integrated one or two-garage, which sometimes projects forward slightly.

Common Characteristics:

- Two story with strong horizontal emphasis
- Roof can be gabled or hipped, featuring deep, closed overhanging eaves
- Integrated one or two-car garage
- Wood-siding at upper story, with brick exterior cladding at the middle and lower levels

In Boulder:

Boulder neighborhoods featuring Split-Level houses include Highland Park, Interurban Park, Martin Acres, Park East, Sunset Hills, and Table Mesa. The popularity of the Split-Level house made it a common resource in any residential subdivision developed during the 1960s.

Common Alterations:

The most common minor alterations observed among Split-Level houses during survey are replacement windows and doors or the removal of the original shutters.

Examples of Split-Level houses in Boulder:



540 Hartford Drive, Table Mesa



2755 Heidelberg Drive, Table Mesa



870 Orman Drive, Park East



4205 E. Aurora Drive, Park East



4281 Graham Court, Martin Acres



735 S. 41st Street, Martin Acres

Bi-Level (ca. 1960-1980)

The Bi-Level housing type emerged in the 1960s in Colorado as a raised variation of the Ranch House. Like the Split-Level house, it divides the interior spaces into zones, with the upper level comprised of the living room, kitchen, bathroom, and usually two or three bedrooms. The lower level contains a family room, one bedroom, one bathroom, a utility room, and benefits from larger windows due to the raised elevation. The front entrance is located at grade and opens onto a large landing with a short flight of stairs that ascend to the main living areas at the upper level and another short flight of stairs down to

the lower level. This front entrance is usually positioned at or near the center of the façade. The Bi-Level house is also known as a “two-level home,” “raised ranch,” and “splanch.” All of these terms refer to the house’s raised variation on a one-story Ranch House.

The Bi-Level house’s exterior wall cladding often uses a variety of different materials that visually break up the mass of the house. Most commonly, the upper story is clad in horizontal or vertical wood siding while the lower levels are clad in common-bond brick. The upper level often projects forward slightly, with a minor overhang at the façade. On occasion, the lowest level includes an integrated one- or two-car garage, but a semi-detached one-car garage or car port wing is a more common feature. The rear of the house often has an attached deck at the upper-level.

Common Characteristics:

- Raised basement with lower windows that are above grade and without window wells
- Entrance opens into an interior mid-level landing
- A semi-detached wing for a one or two-car garage
- Wood-siding at upper story, with brick exterior cladding at the lower level
- Rear deck attached to the upper level

In Boulder:

Boulder neighborhoods featuring Bi-Level houses include Interurban Park, Park East, and Table Mesa. The Bi-Level house is a common resource in many residential subdivisions developed from the 1960s to the 1970s.

Common Alterations:

The most common minor alterations among Bi-Level houses encountered in this study are replacement windows and doors or the removal of the original decorative shutters.

Examples of Bi-Level houses in Boulder:



1805 King Avenue, Interurban Park (5BL10893)



4160 E. Aurora Avenue, Park East (5BL10923)



851 Inca Parkway, Park East (5BL10919)



4395 Grinnell Drive, Table Mesa (5BL10956)



4305 Butler Court, Table Mesa



1240 Lehigh Drive, Table Mesa

NeoColonial (ca. 1955-1970)

Although NeoColonial postwar houses are a stylistic variation applied to many different housing forms, their character elements make these houses stand out as distinctive postwar housing types. The NeoColonial evoked similar associations as the earlier Colonial Revival style in providing Americans a symbolic architectural link to their historic roots, even if the NeoColonial suburban postwar home was actually a remote derivative of its Colonial ancestor. Architecturally, the NeoColonial elements were applied using an even looser interpretation of Colonial architecture than Colonial Revival because these postwar examples did not feature historically accurate architectural details, such as exterior trim, door surrounds, or the proper placement and dimensions for fenestration. Instead the NeoColonial house featured relatively short or irregularly spaced windows with low-pitched roofs in one-story, two-story, or even Split-Level variations. While NeoColonial houses often retained the symmetry and multi-light windows that appeared on homes during the late 1700s, the facades often lacked strict adherence to historic motifs and mixed Colonial Revival elements with modern ones. Roofs could be lower or higher in pitch and window placement—while symmetrical in overall arrangement—often was irregularly placed in between window or door bays. As a result, the roof type rather than small architectural ornamentation is the most dominant feature on NeoColonial homes.

Common postwar NeoColonial houses are two-story and feature brick cladding on the lower story and horizontal siding above. NeoColonial houses often display a slightly overhanging second story. Plate-glass picture windows on the principal façade are common postwar features. Less common variations of the NeoColonial include front-gabled gambrel-roof houses evoking Dutch Colonial architecture, and the Cape Cod NeoColonial house featuring one-and-one-half stories and gabled dormer windows.

Common Characteristics:

- Larger than Simple Ranch houses
- Can be one-story, but are more often one-and-one-half stories to imitate the Cape Cod form or two-story
- Roof is usually side-gabled with overhanging eaves; prominent gambrel roofs in Dutch Colonial variants
- Irregular placement of windows, but overall symmetry across the façade
- Shorter windows than those of Colonial Revival architecture
- Multi-light, double-hung sash windows
- Attached one or two-car garage is common

In Boulder:

Boulder neighborhoods featuring NeoColonial designed houses include the later subdivisions, including additions of Highland Park after 1960, Park East, and Table Mesa.

Common Alterations:

The most common minor alterations observed during this survey involved replacement windows and doors. Since these houses, which were often built in the late-postwar era, tend to be larger than early postwar houses, large additions are not common.

Examples of NeoColonial houses in Boulder:



1195 Ithaca Drive, Table Mesa (5BL10941)



2710 Stanford Avenue, Highland Park (5BL10888)



345 S. 44th Street, Martin Acres (5BL10901)

NeoMansard (ca. 1960-1970)

The NeoMansard housing form emerged in the mid-to-late 1960s when residential architectural began to use abstracted elements from traditional prewar architecture and historic building types, rather than strictly Modern influences. The NeoMansard housing type drew loosely from the mansard roofs of Second Empire architecture from the 1870s. The postwar variation is a much-simplified version of the mansard roof, usually applied to a Split-Level or Bi-Level house, whereby the upper story is covered partially or in some cases entirely by the angled, faux mansard roof. Windows are typically recessed into the sloping roof walls, which are covered with shingles. In some cases, the lower portion of the roof is short and takes on the appearance of a pent roof at the top of an exterior wall.

Common Characteristics:

- Faux mansard roof
- Recessed windows within the mansard roof
- Mansard roof area is covered by wood or asphalt shingles
- Common among Bi-Level or Split-Level houses among postwar housing

In Boulder:

Neighborhoods featuring NeoMansard houses are not common in Boulder. Among the 10 subdivisions included in this survey, this housing type was found only in the Table Mesa subdivision.

Common Alterations:

Like other postwar housing, the most common alterations observed during this survey involved replacement windows and doors. Moderate or severe alterations to NeoMansard housing were not noted in the reconnaissance survey results. Original wood shingles covering the sides of the mansard roof are usually replaced with fire-resistant asphalt shingles due to the prohibition of wood shingles in the city's current fire-prevention regulations.

Examples of NeoMansard houses in Boulder:



2165 Table Mesa, Table Mesa



835 Hartford Drive, Table Mesa



2290 Hillsdale Circle, Table Mesa

Contemporary (ca. 1945-1970)

Contemporary housing types are distinctive to the postwar period. Illustrating influences of the Modern movement, they feature little to no architectural ornamentation, omitting traditional references entirely. Instead, Contemporary houses emphasize angular forms and horizontality, often using low-pitched gable or shed roofs, or flat roofs with overhanging eaves. Other common features include broad expanses of full-length plate-glass fenestration or horizontal rows of ribbon windows juxtaposed with areas of solid walls. Materials can be brick, wood, or stone, which is less common, but usually these are applied in a geometric pattern without rustication.

Common Characteristics:

- Flat or nearly flat gabled roof; or broad gable-front roofs
- Sometimes rafter tails are visible under roof eaves
- Brick or wood-siding; occasionally stone, which is less common
- No applied ornamentation to façade
- Attached carport or garage
- May be one to two stories, but with strong horizontal emphasis
- Minimal entrance porch, if any
- Entry courtyards
- Windows may be ribbon windows or full-length from floor to ceiling, and often flank solid walls
- Deep overhanging eaves
- Irregular building footprint

In Boulder:

Few Contemporary houses were identified within the 10 postwar subdivisions studied. In Boulder, this housing type appears to be more common among the custom-designed housing of the postwar period and was usually not featured among the house models in tract neighborhoods.

Common Alterations:

Like other postwar housing, the most common alterations to Contemporary houses observed during this survey involved replacement windows and doors.

Examples of Contemporary houses in Boulder:



2990 20th Street, Edgewood (5BL10871)



1777 King Avenue, Interurban Park

Swiss Chalet Character Elements (ca. 1955-1965)

The Swiss Chalet Character Elements are applied decorative features loosely derived from popularized images of traditional Swiss Chalet or traditional cottage folk motifs. When applied to the typical Ranch House type, these decorative features impart an unusual twist on the Ranch house form. One common distinguishing feature of the Swiss Chalet character is scalloped fascia board (also called bargeboard) at the principal façade and/or along the gabled-roof entrance. This feature is often used in combination with more than one exterior cladding material. Common exterior materials include common-bond brick, variegated brick, brick with weeping mortar, simple clapboard siding, rusticated clapboard with wavy edging, and vertical board-and-batten siding. Applied decorative features include wood planter boxes attached to facades underneath window bays, and faux bird houses nested underneath the apex of a front-gable's overhanging eave. These elements appear to be derived from romanticized themes of

vernacular “Olde Europe,” and idealized images and motifs of its pre-industrial country life. Swiss Chalet Character Elements are evident in all postwar housing types, including Simple Ranch, Semi-Custom Ranch, Bi-Level, or Split-Level housing types.

Common Characteristics:

- Scalloped trim, fascia board, or window hoods at the roof eaves
- Asymmetrical entrance gable
- One-story with horizontal emphasis
- Decorative, nonfunctioning shutters or window trim
- Sliding or casement windows
- More than one exterior cladding, often including combinations of common-bond brick, brick with weeping mortar, simple clapboard, rusticated clapboard, vertical siding, or board-and-batten siding
- Faux bird houses located under the ends of gabled eaves

In Boulder:

Swiss Chalet Character Elements are not a common postwar housing type in Boulder, but were found in Edgewood, Martin Acres, Park East, and Table Mesa. These houses were typically built in the late 1950s and 1960s, when stylistic expression became more popular on Ranch houses in Boulder.

Common Alterations:

Like all housing from the postwar era, common alterations to the Swiss Chalet Character Elements in Boulder include replacement windows and siding, both of which typically use vinyl materials instead of wood or brick. In some cases, scalloped bargeboard has been modified or removed in an effort to “modernize” the exterior aesthetic.

Examples of Swiss Chalet Character Elements in Boulder:



1110 Judson Street, Table Mesa (5BL10940)



Eave detail, 1110 Judson Street, Table Mesa (5BL10940)



1980 Edgewood Drive, Edgewood (5BL10863)



Entrance detail, 1980 Edgewood Drive, Edgewood (5BL10863)



Façade detail, 555 S. 43rd Street, Martin Acres (5BL10907)



Faux bird house, 4145 Gilpin Street, Park East (5BL10922)

English Tudor Revival Character Elements (ca. 1955-1970)

English Tudor Revival Character Elements are similar to the Swiss Chalet Character Elements in the way that they are also themed stylistic architectural ornamentation derived from traditional motifs and decorative elements of vernacular architecture. English Tudor Revival Character Elements also feature decoratively scalloped bargeboard at the gable ends, but are distinguished by the steeply-pitched front-gables or cross-gables, whose ends are often covered by flat trim in a decorative pattern. This ornamental bargeboard is often used asymmetrically, such that one end extends longer than the other side, creating a whimsical composition. Diamond-patterned multi-light windows are also common. Instead of dividing muntins in the traditional multi-light construction, these windows are often faux individual lights using a metal cut-out screen in a diamond pattern overlaid on a plate-glass window.

Less common Tudor ornamentation includes faux half-timbering, window hoods, or stone cladding. Horizontal or vertical siding and/or common-bond brick is the common exterior cladding for houses displaying English Tudor Revival Character Elements. Often horizontal siding is rusticated with an uneven wavy edge suggestive of hand-hewn wood planks. These features can be applied to any postwar housing type, including the Ranch, Split-Level, or Bi-Level forms.

Common Characteristics:

- Steeply-pitched front-gabled entrance stoop trimmed by scalloped bargeboard with long, extended eaves; often one eave is longer than the other
- Diamond-patterned multi-light window motifs
- Rusticated horizontal siding

In Boulder:

The English Tudor Revival Character Elements were common to postwar housing in Martin Acres, Park East, and Table Mesa, but typically absent from the other subdivisions examined. Houses displaying this ornamentation were typically built in the late 1950s and 1960s, when stylistic expression became more popular among Ranch and Split-Level type houses in Boulder. The most common version of the English Tudor Character House is the Ranch variant that is common in Martin Acres, which consists of an otherwise Simple Ranch house that features a prominent, steeply-pitched, front-gabled entrance trimmed with scalloped bargeboard. These elements are also present in Park East and Table Mesa on Split-Level type houses that feature unpainted, rusticated horizontal siding and diamond-light patterned windows.

Common Alterations:

The most common alteration to the English Tudor Revival Character Elements among the housing surveyed has been the modification of its common asymmetrical bargeboard on front-gabled entrances. In a few cases, the longer end of the bargeboard has been shortened to create symmetry and a lessening of the whimsical nature of the original motif.

Examples of English Tudor Revival Character Elements in Boulder:



605 S. 42nd Street, Martin Acres (5BL10908)



Entrance detail, 605 S. 42nd Street, Martin Acres (5BL10908)



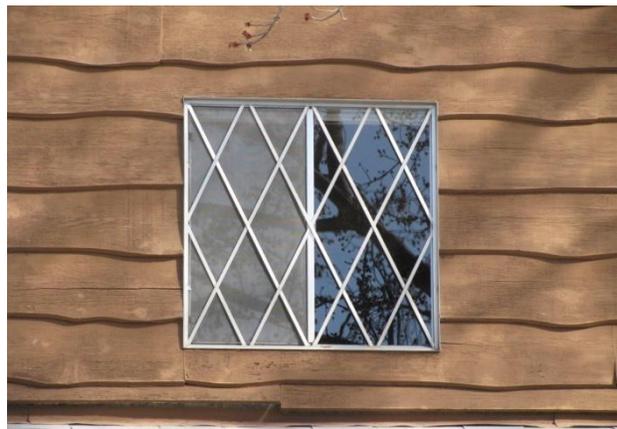
174 S. 42nd Street, Martin Acres



Altered entrance where the bargeboard extension is shortened, 535 S. 42nd Street, Martin Acres



2805 La Grange Circle, Table Mesa (5BL10952)



Window detail, 2805 La Grange Circle, Table Mesa (5BL10952)

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7.0 FINDINGS AND RESULTS

Historic Significance Findings

The results of the historic context and selective survey indicate that Boulder's postwar residential architecture is similar to neighboring cities and towns on the Front Range, but Boulder distinguishes itself due to specific circumstances and influential factors. Foremost were the city's close ties with the University of Colorado, and the many scientific and technological research laboratories established in or near the city during the 1950s and 1960s. Although the University of Colorado was established in 1861, a major period of expansion began immediately after the end of World War II when the University of Colorado's population more than doubled from 3,846 in 1940 to 8,866 in 1950. During the war, the U.S. Navy's Japanese Language School brought 6,000 students to Boulder and allowed the University to retain its staff and maintain housing and classrooms for its students during wartime. After the war ended, the University drew government employees and former soldiers using the GI Bill to Boulder. This influx associated with the University added to the city's population of 20,000 by 1950. In an important shift toward high industry, the University established six new scientific research institutes between 1947 and 1967.

The research institutions established during the postwar period set Boulder apart from other small cities. After heavy lobbying, the National Bureau of Standards' (NBS) arrival to Boulder in 1951 represented a major accomplishment for the city. The number of NBS employees residing in Boulder doubled between 1953 and 1955, and by 1960, the population of NBS employees and their families reached 3,325 people, adding to the increasing need for housing in Boulder. The NBS' location in Boulder led to the city attracting a host of other similar scientific and white-collar industries. The Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Factory opened eight miles south of Boulder in 1952. By 1959, approximately 600 Rocky Flats employees resided in Boulder. Beech Aircraft located offices in Boulder in 1955, employing 500. The Ball Brothers Research Corporation (now the Ball Aerospace & Technologies Corporation) arrived that same year, with 3,000 workers at their facility in an industrial park in east Boulder that also housed numerous smaller research and engineering companies. The National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR) relocated to Table Mesa in 1964, and IBM established its 750-acre campus northeast of Boulder in 1965.

All of these industries and research institutions resulted in population growth of over 72,000 by 1970, along with a need to house the influx of students, professionals, and service workers alike. Developers responded to this demand by creating new postwar residential subdivisions on the available land surrounding the city of Boulder. New neighborhoods coincided with new primary and secondary schools, commercial retail districts such as the shopping areas of Table Mesa and Basemar in south

Boulder, parks and recreation areas, transportation improvements, and other infrastructure supporting a town that was quickly expanding into a small city.

As a secondary enticement, Boulder's picturesque scenery and sunny climate offered its new residents more than simply employment or education. Boulder's dry climate and mild seasons continued to attract health seekers and tourists alike during the postwar era. Following World War II, Boulder again marketed itself as a tourist destination through its ties to the University of Colorado and Chautauqua. The rising numbers of students enrolled at the University of Colorado during the postwar years helped bring national attention to Boulder, and tourism industries in the city steadily rose during the 1950s and 1960s. Boulder's scenic setting amidst the Flatirons formations was a boon to the town's tourism. Widespread automobile ownership and improved roads to Boulder made these natural attractions more accessible to the touring public than ever before. The dramatic landscape only added to Boulder's attributes that made the city an attractive place for people to relocate and settle.

Extensive transportation-driven development during the 1950s and 1960s was not unique to Boulder when compared with other similar Front Range cities and towns that also grew alongside the new highways. Rather, the relationship between Boulder's postwar transportation arteries and the development of residential suburbs is of local significance. The most important new roadway established in Boulder during the postwar period was the Denver-Boulder Turnpike (US 36), which opened in 1952. The highway created an important link with Denver, and indirectly led to the establishment of Boulder's two largest postwar subdivisions of the 1950s: Highland Park and Martin Acres. Secondary roadways important for fostering residential subdivisions were Baseline, which was extended east, and Broadway, which was extended south. Many of the city's postwar subdivisions were established on former farmland and open spaces along these transportation corridors. These roadways were lengthened, paved, and improved to satisfy the demands of the new neighborhoods and industries emerging in south and east Boulder in the postwar era.

Postwar housing patterns in Boulder

Boulder's postwar residential architecture generally followed many of the same postwar movements and architectural trends as the rest of Colorado's Front Range region and the nation. Nearly every city located along the Front Range grew enormously in population between 1945 and 1970. Governmental and private entities built countless new buildings, roads, and infrastructure to keep up with demand. New housing subdivisions established on former open land became a major defining feature of this development across the Denver Metro region and on the Front Range. Postwar subdivisions began to define vast areas in the region and in Boulder. Similar postwar housing types and subdivision plans can be found in most of the Front Range cities. This uniformity resulted in a high level of continuity of residential architecture and neighborhood design in Boulder and across the Front Range. This

architectural consistency was due to the popularity of certain stylistic and architectural trends, but also in part because the same merchant builders were building subdivisions in more than one location, sometimes building subdivisions in several cities at the same time. For example, Turnpike Builders, later renamed Highland Park Builders, participated in some or all of the construction of four of the ten subdivisions studied, including Highland Park, Martin Acres, Baseline, and Table Mesa. Melody Homes, also called High Country Builders, built houses in both the Park East and Table Mesa subdivisions, but was also active in other subdivisions in Denver and the Front Range. As a result, many postwar housing types became common in large numbers across the region.

Common housing types in Boulder and the Front Range include the Minimal Traditional, Transitional Ranch, Simple Ranch and other Ranch variants during the first postwar period between 1945 and 1950. Split-Level and Bi-Level housing types followed in the late 1950s and 1960s. Similar materials were used for a variety of these housing types and across all subdivisions. Combinations of common-bond brick veneer with horizontal or vertical wood siding were the most common forms of exterior cladding in all ten subdivisions. Although all of the houses intensively surveyed have wood-framed construction, many featured brick veneer siding intended to impart the appearance of solid brick masonry construction. Brick types used as exterior veneer generally varied by color only, with blond, red, or brown-colored bricks evident. Builders in Boulder typically used smooth brick finishes rather than rusticated textures. The most common roof types were side-gabled or hipped roof forms. Both roof types were low-pitched slopes of less than 45 degrees, and this was common among new roofs nationwide in the postwar era.

Boulder's period of postwar residential development included the smallest postwar houses. These are found in Boulder's earliest subdivisions of Highland Park, Interurban Park, Martin Acres (first phase), and Sunset Hills. In addition to their modest size, these houses were often built without insulated exterior walls for economic construction and cost-savings. By the mid-1950s, building quality appears to have improved as builders built houses with thicker, insulated walls.

Coinciding with national trends, early postwar period houses were evenly divided between attached one-car garages or carports and those lacking garages. By the mid to late 1950s, attached one-car garages became commonplace. Attached one-car garages and carports grew to two-car garages in Boulder's late postwar housing period from 1960 through 1970. Attached two-car garages were common in the mid-1960s in the late-postwar subdivisions of Park East and Table Mesa.

Boulder's postwar housing stands out from other regional cities for its geographic position abutting the foothills of the Front Range. While the eastern subdivisions were platted on flat tracts of land, the western subdivisions—including Flatirons Park, Table Mesa, and Sunset Hills—accommodated the hilly terrain using curvilinear street patterns and housing customized to sloping lots. When compared with

other postwar subdivisions in Boulder and the Front Range, it is clear that these environmental adaptations are significant defining features of the neighborhoods that adapted to this topography.

Examination of postwar housing outside of Colorado suggests that Boulder's housing types were modest and more conservative when compared with those of the Southwestern region of the United States. Analysis of similar postwar housing studies conducted in Tucson, Scottsdale, and Tempe, Arizona, and in Pasadena, California, allow for a degree of comparative analysis with contemporary housing in Boulder. Geographical and social differences that are undoubtedly important factors that help shape regional architectural tastes and trends hinder strict comparisons between Boulder and cities in Arizona and Southern California. The lack of similar surveys on postwar housing is also a limiting factor. Keeping these limitations in mind, the overall impression of Boulder's postwar housing is that it lacked vigorous application of ornamentation, Modernist influences, and expressive use of exterior building materials. Contemporary and International Style variants in postwar housing common in Arizona and California were nearly absent in Boulder's large-scale subdivisions and appear to be limited to the individual, custom-designed Modernist houses not covered in this study. Also lacking was the full expression of "character" architectural elements in Boulder's subdivisions, particularly those established in the 1950s. When compared with postwar subdivisions in the Southwest, builders in Boulder only rarely applied character elements, such as over-scaled scalloped bargeboards or brackets as seen in the English Tudor Revival, Dutch Colonial, or Swiss Chalet architectural forms. In contrast, postwar housing in Southwestern states exhibits more of these character elements and in more vigorous concentration on individual houses. Moreover, the Southwest's tract houses in the form of "Cowboy Ranches," which featured long porches and elements derived from western imagery and Spanish Colonial Ranch housing types, were virtually absent from the subdivisions studied in Boulder. Although this is not a surprising dissimilarity, as Cowboy and Spanish Colonial themes were not part of Boulder's history and identity before or during the postwar era, these differences point to the regional variations and stylistic origins distinct to Boulder and to Southwestern residential architecture, the latter of which appears to be distinctive from the rest of the country. Rather, Boulder's postwar subdivisions were unassuming in architectural form and style, and generally followed the modest precedents set by rest of the Front Range and mainstream America.

As mentioned in Chapter 3.0 Research Design and Methods, the uniformity and relatively ubiquity of postwar residential resources in Boulder and the greater region caused this study to take a slightly different survey approach. This method involved a selective survey of the representative housing types within each of the ten subdivisions studied in order to gain a baseline understanding of a subdivision as a whole without surveying every individual property. This meant that only 105 properties were intensively surveyed rather than all 5,144 parcels contained within the ten subdivisions. The findings of this survey confirmed that this approach was an effective method of capturing the overall historic

context, character, and composition of each subdivision. The selective intensive survey results coupled with the preliminary reconnaissance survey data provide an overview of each neighborhood and allowed for the identification of areas of historic significance under National Register Criteria and Boulder's Significance Criteria. This method emphasizes the importance of the subdivision as a whole over that of its individual components—the separate residential properties. Therefore, while a number of individual properties stood out as good intact representatives of their types, in many cases there are other similar properties that exist within a neighborhood. With this approach, it was important to take a large-scale approach to analyze and evaluate each subdivision as a whole within its larger context. When the survey findings identified areas of historic significance, this approach also placed less emphasis on minor changes to individual properties and instead focused on the integrity of the subdivision's historic character as one entity. These considerations informed this study's survey and evaluation of each of the ten subdivisions and their 105 representative properties.

Evaluations of the Ten Subdivisions included in the Selective Intensive Survey

Each of the ten subdivisions surveyed were evaluated for historic significance as historic districts against both the National Register Criteria and Boulder's Significance Criteria. The results of primary and secondary historic research, individual property research, the application of the report's historic context, and data collected from the windshield, reconnaissance, and selective intensive surveys identified one potentially eligible National Register Historic District, Table Mesa, and three potentially eligible local historic districts, which are Highland Park, Martin Acres, and Table Mesa.

The Table Mesa subdivision appears to have historic significance for its curvilinear site plan in response to hilly topography, and for its variety of late-postwar residential architecture that is present on a large scale in the neighborhood. Table Mesa's prominent location in southwest Boulder also set an important precedent for future development in this area that continued to occur into the 1970s and 1980s. These characteristics and historic impacts set Table Mesa apart from other contemporary late postwar neighborhoods. As a result, the Table Mesa subdivision could potentially meet standard National Register Criteria for Significance under Criterion A for its contribution as a major residential postwar development in southwest Boulder, and Criterion C for its distinctive site planning and its collection of representative late-postwar residential architecture. This study's reconnaissance survey data indicates that most of the Table Mesa subdivision has been altered, but resurvey may identify smaller sub-areas of integrity and/or significance. Therefore, although the Table Mesa subdivision neighborhood does not rise to the high level of exceptional significance required under National Register Criteria Consideration G at this time, these findings recommend reevaluation of the Table Mesa subdivision for National Register eligibility after it turns 50 years of age in 2017. For these same reasons, Table Mesa also appears to meet Boulder's Significance Criteria as a historic district; however, this finding requires

further investigation into the neighborhood's existing conditions to ascertain the level of alterations that have occurred in the subdivision. This is explained further in the analysis and evaluations of each subdivision below.

The two identified potentially eligible local historic districts are areas within the earliest portions of the Highland Park and Martin Acres subdivisions (please see before for analysis and evaluations). Finally, research and survey of the Sunset Hills subdivision identified a row of four 1958-1959 apartment buildings at 1800, 1820, 1840, and 1860 Alpine Avenue that could have potential historic significance as postwar resources in Boulder. Further investigation is recommended to determine potential significance under Boulder's Significance Criteria.

Although research and survey also identified areas of historic significance within Flatirons Park, Sunset Hills, and Wagoner Manor, none of these subdivisions was identified as potentially eligible as National Register Historic Districts or as local historic districts due to the many alterations and overall integrity loss in each neighborhood. The remaining four subdivisions surveyed—Baseline, Edgewood, Interurban Park, and Park East—are identified as potentially not eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Districts or as local historic districts. Findings and recommendations of these evaluations for each subdivision are described below.

Evaluations of the 105 representative properties surveyed within the ten subdivisions resulted in no recommendations of individual eligibility for listing in the National Register due to their inability to meet any National Register Criteria for individual significance. Rather, this study found that groupings of houses possess potential historic significance for their relationship within the larger subdivision rather than as individual and separate components. This is due to the nature of postwar residential subdivisions, of which the physical aspects of the large-scale development as a collective whole is an essential feature, not its individual resources. To this end, many representative examples of similar housing types lacked significance as individual resources due to their relative ubiquity, but instead are contributing resources to the historic significance of a larger area. For example, many of the properties intensively surveyed within areas of the Highland Park, Martin Acres, and Sunset Hills subdivisions lacked individual significance, but were found to contribute to the overall historic significance of these subdivisions.

Survey data and historic research found all 105 properties to be not eligible under any of Boulder's Significance Criteria for Individual Landmarks for this same reason. Research data suggests that further research may confirm preliminary findings of environmental and/or architectural significance under Boulder's Significance Criteria for six individual properties that stood out as excellent intact examples of their housing types within their respective subdivisions. Two of these properties are located in Flatirons

Park, three are located in Highland Park, and one is located in Sunset Hills. These six properties are described below within the context of their respective subdivisions. Due to the nature of this selective intensive survey, additional intact examples may exist and further investigation may reveal or confirm findings of significance for these six properties and for other similar resources. But again, the findings of this survey emphasize the importance of postwar subdivisions as a collective whole rather than for their individual components. As such, these six properties are historic contributing elements of their overall subdivisions, but do not possess sufficient historic significance as individual resources under either National Register or Boulder's Significance Criteria.

As with any potential historic district, alterations and changes to the built environment can negatively impact how a neighborhood physically and visually conveys its historic significance. For many postwar subdivisions this historic significance lies in their physical attributes, such as neighborhood plan and design and/or collection of residential architecture. Therefore, a subdivision's current condition and the level of changes that have occurred since its period of significance became an important consideration when determining whether a subdivision continued to express its historic significance. For this reason, four subdivisions (Flatirons Park, Sunset Hills, Table Mesa, and Wagoner Manor) that possess historic significance are identified potentially not eligible as historic districts under any criteria due to an accumulation of a variety of changes and alterations to properties since each subdivision's period of significance. For all ten subdivisions examined in this study, where historic significance was identified, the period of significance was determined to be the duration when the neighborhood was developed.

Common alterations to postwar houses within all ten subdivisions surveyed include replacement windows, front doors, garage doors, and exterior siding materials. These changes resulted in a moderate degree of integrity loss and the diminished ability of the house to convey its original appearance. In some cases, moderate changes have occurred to a property's landscape from the addition of a fence or other visual obstructions to a property's front yard. Major changes discovered include additions to the front of the house, such as enclosed one-car garages or car-ports, or second-story additions to a one-story house. The most extreme examples involved total remodeling or numerous cases of demolition of resources within a subdivision. An accumulation of many of these moderate and major alterations can prevent a subdivision from conveying the original appearance and feeling of a postwar subdivision.

A detailed summary of all of the intensive survey data is listed in Appendix B. OAHF Architectural Inventory Forms are included in Volume II of this report.

7.1 Baseline

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Not Eligible
Period of development	1958-1962
Major developer/builder	Highland Park Builders
Number of properties	365
Level of changes observed among properties	72 Minor, 136 Moderate, 157 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

Research and survey data indicate that the Baseline neighborhood's historic significance does not rise to the level required to be potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District. The Baseline subdivision is only tangentially related to key Boulder postwar trends of University growth, construction of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike, and the arrival of scientific and technological laboratories to Boulder. City directory research of the seven Baseline properties intensively surveyed indicates that most Baseline homeowners worked in a variety of local blue-collar and white-collar industries, but no one individual or group stands out as historically significant. The neighborhood's primary builder, Highland Park Builders, is more significant to other earlier neighborhoods in Boulder, such as Highland Park, and did not achieve prominence due its association with the Baseline subdivision. Baseline features an orthogonal grid and does not feature many of the design hallmarks of postwar subdivisions that the FHA standards expressed, such as cul-de-sacs, curvilinear roadways, and community park spaces. Although the neighborhood is relatively intact, the housing types, which consist of Simple Ranch housing variants, are unremarkable for their period of development in the late 1950s. By that time, postwar houses in other neighborhoods were beginning to exhibit more architectural diversity and expression than the housing types built in Baseline at the same time. In effect, Baseline's residential architecture lagged behind the rest of Boulder and the Front Range due to the houses' small size and simple Ranch architecture. As a result, Baseline does not stand out among the local and regional subdivisions from the period and therefore lacks sufficient significance to meet National Register Criteria as a National Register Historic District.

Local Historic District Evaluation

As with the National Register Historic District evaluation, findings of this study revealed only peripheral associations between the Baseline subdivision and locally significant past events, including movements in transportation, community planning and development, social history, architecture and design, or politics and government, nor significant associations with locally important individuals or groups. Reconnaissance data shows that Baseline's Simple Ranch housing is commonplace among the city's postwar housing stock. The neighborhood's primary builder, Highland Park Builders, is also more significant to other earlier neighborhoods in Boulder, such as Highland Park, and did not achieve

prominence due its association with the Baseline subdivision. Baseline’s neighborhood plan is a simplified version of the postwar subdivision model, and does not feature many hallmarks of postwar residential planning, such as curvilinear streets, cul-de-sacs, or parks. It does not stand out for its design features, residential setting, housing, or its geographic location relative to the larger historic context of Boulder. It also was not a trendsetting example of neighborhood design, or local homebuilding techniques and practices in Boulder, and it did not establish a pattern of significant development in the area. For these reasons, the Baseline subdivision is identified as potentially not eligible as a local historic district due to a lack of Historic, Architectural, and Environmental significance.

Selective Survey Results

Reconnaissance data identified seven representative housing types in the Baseline subdivision, shown in Table 4 and Figure 58 below. Collectively these seven housing types represent a cross-section of the types of postwar houses present in the Baseline neighborhood. None of these houses were found to be individually significant, and thus are identified as potentially not eligible under National Register or Boulder’s Significance Criteria.

Table 4. Baseline Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10856	1961	710 30th Street	Simple Ranch	Front-Gable	Horizontal and Vertical Siding
5BL10857	1961	715 37th Street	Simple Ranch	Hipped	Brick, Vertical Siding
5BL10858	1961	750 32nd Street	Simple Ranch	Front-Gable	Vertical Siding
5BL10859	1961	755 31st Street	Simple Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick, Vertical Siding
5BL10860	1961	785 31st Street	Simple Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick, Horizontal Siding
5BL10861	1961	965 37th Street	Simple Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick, Vertical Siding
5BL10862	1961	975 36th Street	Simple Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick, Board and Batten Siding

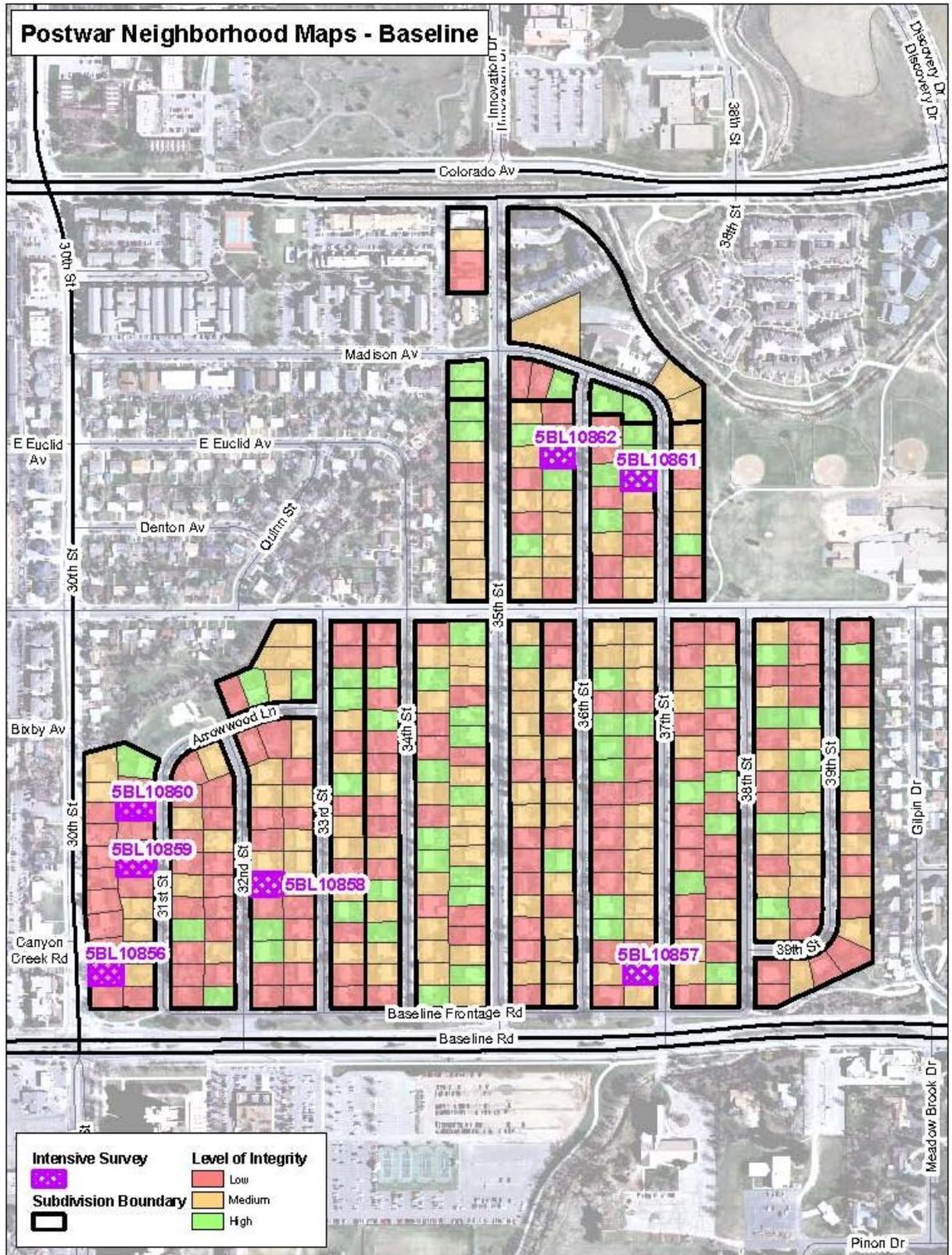


Figure 58. Baseline Reconnaissance Survey Results and Properties Identified for Intensive Survey

7.2 Edgewood

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Not Eligible
Period of development	1953-1959
Major developer/builder	Assorted
Number of properties	149
Level of changes observed among properties	25 Minor, 54 Moderate, 70 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

Results of the research and survey data indicate that the Edgewood neighborhood's historic significance does not rise to the level required to be potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District. Edgewood was established during the second period of postwar development from 1951 through 1959. This north-central neighborhood was established due to the general population growth in Boulder in the mid-1950s, and is only tangentially related to key Boulder postwar trends of University growth, and the arrival of scientific and technological laboratories to Boulder. City directory research of the nine representative properties intensively surveyed indicates most of the neighborhood's homeowners worked in a variety of local blue-collar and white-collar industries. Its neighborhood plan followed the typical postwar subdivision model, and did not introduce any new hallmarks of postwar residential planning, such as parks, when it was established. Although Edgewood's neighborhood plan uses curvilinear roadways and some cul-de-sacs, it does not exhibit any distinguishing characteristics that make it stand apart from other postwar neighborhoods developed during the mid-1950s. The neighborhood is relatively intact and retains a moderate-to-high degree of historic physical integrity overall; however, the neighborhood's housing types are primarily Simple Ranch variants and are undistinguished within the city's larger context for their period of development in the mid-1950s.

Local Historic District Evaluation

Study findings indicate that the Edgewood subdivision does not have potential significance as a local historic district. Research did not reveal close locally significant associations between the Edgewood subdivision and significant past events in Boulder. Edgewood's housing primarily consists of Simple Ranch variants, which are commonplace among the city's postwar housing stock. Boulder County Assessor Records indicate Highland Homes (likely Highland Park Builders) was one of the original builders of Edgewood. However, the Highland Homes/Highland Park Builders are more significant to earlier postwar subdivisions in Boulder, such as Highland Park, and did not achieve prominence due the association with the Edgewood subdivision. Edgewood's neighborhood plan followed the typical postwar subdivision model, including cul-de-sacs and some curvilinear streets, but it did not introduce any new hallmarks of postwar residential planning in Boulder when it was established. Its geographic

location in north-central Boulder was an out-growth of the developed downtown areas of Boulder and is not geographically significant relative to the larger historic context of the city.

Selective Survey Results

Reconnaissance data identified nine representative housing types in the Edgewood subdivision, shown in Table 5 and Figure 59, below. Collectively these housing types represent a cross-section of the types of postwar houses present in Edgewood; however, none of these houses were found to be individually significant and therefore are identified as potentially not eligible under National Register or Boulder’s Significance Criteria.

Table 5. Edgewood Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10863	1958	1980 Edgewood Drive	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Vertical Siding
5BL10864	1956	2811 20th Street	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10865	1957	2247 Edgewood Drive	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick, Vertical Siding
5BL10866	1956	2840 19th Street	Ranch	Hipped	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10867	1955	2840 21st Street	Ranch	Gable-on-Hipped	Brick
5BL10868	1955	2841 21st Street	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick
5BL10869	1956	2901 21st Street	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick
5BL10870	1957	2921 21st Street	Ranch	Cross-Hipped	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10871	1956	2990 20th Street	Ranch	Front-Gable	Brick; Shingle



Figure 59. Edgewood Reconnaissance Survey Results and Properties Identified for Intensive Survey

7.3 Flatirons Park

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Not Eligible
Period of development	1947-1962
Major developer/builder	Assorted
Number of properties	25
Level of changes observed among properties	4 Minor, 8 Moderate, 13 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

When the Flatirons Park subdivision was created, it was distinctive for its hillside setting and the positioning of a variety of Custom and Semi-Custom Ranch houses that, as an ensemble, were distinctive among the new residential developments that emerged during the period between 1947 and 1967, effectively covering all three periods of postwar residential development in Boulder. The neighborhood's design features, residential setting, housing, and its geographic location at the western edge of the city were significant relative to the larger historic context of the City of Boulder. Historic photographs show how the original architectural relationships between the houses was created through their uniform horizontal emphasis of form accentuated by low-pitched roofs with deep overhanging eaves, all of which were compatible with and integrated into the subdivision's hillside topography. Despite this historic and architectural significance, subsequent changes to numerous individual houses within the neighborhood range from major alterations to full reconstruction. The project reconnaissance survey revealed that only four of the 25 postwar buildings surveyed in Flatirons Park appear to be unaltered and fully intact. Eight houses have a moderate degree of alterations and the remaining 13 houses have had substantial changes. The demolition of many individual houses and new construction in the neighborhood has significantly changed the neighborhood's overall character and as a result, it no longer retains its original integrity of feeling, setting, and association of a subdivision entirely developed during the 1950s and 1960s. As a result, although Flatirons Park appears to have historic significance under National Register Criteria A and C, the subdivision is identified potentially not eligible as a National Register Historic District due to loss of integrity.

Local Historic District Evaluation

The substantial cumulative alterations within the Flatirons Park subdivision that preclude Flatirons Park from National Register Historic District eligibility also prevent the subdivision from attaining potential eligibility as a local historic district due to the numerous major changes to the majority of the houses. Although the original subdivision meets Boulder's Significance Criteria for architectural and environmental significance, the demolition of many individual houses and the introduction of new construction and incompatible buildings in the neighborhood have substantially changed its overall character. As a result, Flatirons Park no longer conveys its original appearance from its 1947-1967

period of significance. For these reasons, Flatirons Park is identified as potentially not eligible as a local historic district.

Selective Survey Findings

Reconnaissance data identified five representative housing types in the Flatirons Park subdivision, shown in Table 6 and Figure 60, below. All five of these houses were found to be not individually significant under either National Register Criteria or Boulder’s Significance Criteria. Although identified as potentially not eligible, two of the five properties, 425 Christmas Tree Drive and 825 Circle Drive, stood out as rare intact examples of Semi-Custom postwar houses within Flatirons Park in light of the few unaltered houses within the subdivision.

Table 6. Flatirons Park Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10872	1956	412 Christmas Tree Dr.	Semi-Custom Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick; Stone
5BL10873	1960	425 Christmas Tree Dr.	Semi-Custom Ranch	Cross-gabled-on-hipped	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10874	1954	850 Circle Dr.	Semi-Custom Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10875	1956	825 Circle Dr.	Semi-Custom Contemporary Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick
5BL10876	1959	870 Willow Brook Rd	Split-Level	Cross-Gabled	Vertical Siding; Brick

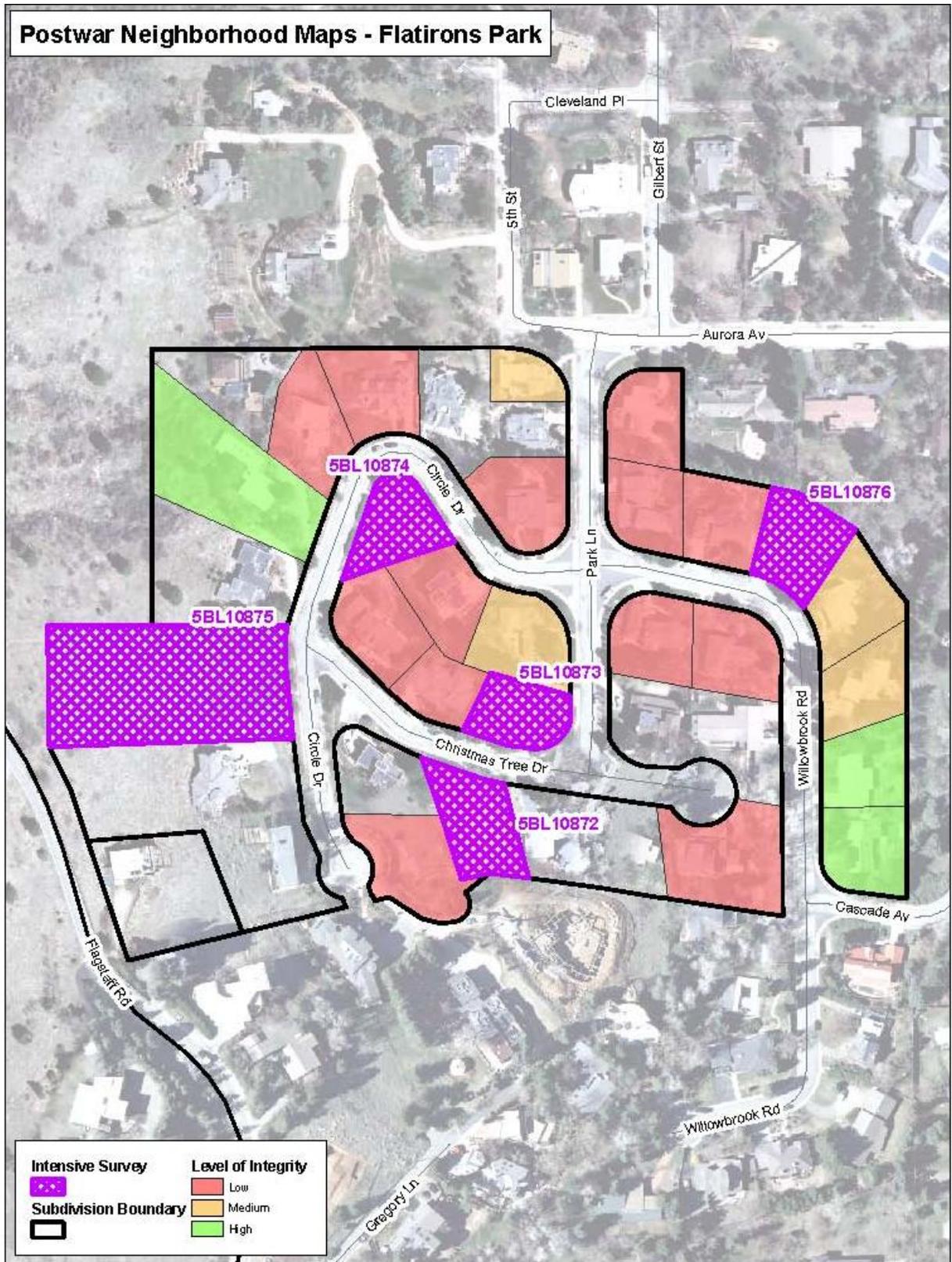


Figure 60. Flatirons Park Reconnaissance Survey Results and Properties Identified for Intensive Survey

The house at 425 Christmas Tree Drive (5BL10873) is distinguished from the four other houses surveyed in Flatirons Park because it represents an uncommon example of an intact Semi-Custom Ranch type residence in Boulder (Figure 61). Built in 1956, the house's high level of historic physical integrity, particularly when compared to the many highly altered neighboring houses in Flatirons Park, makes this property is a rare



Figure 61. 425 Christmas Tree Drive (5BL10873)

survivor of its type. The house's adaptation to its hillside site also exemplifies a defining characteristic of the Flatirons Park subdivision. The neighborhood's accommodation to its location against the foothills was relatively uncommon among Boulder's postwar housing subdivisions in the 1950s. Residential data indicates that sloping sites were limited to the custom and semi-custom postwar houses of the postwar period, and 425 Christmas Tree Drive is a representative of this type of house. The property further achieves this compatibility and environmental appropriateness with its original outdoor deck at the rear of the house that takes advantage of this lot's sloping elevation and views to the northeast toward downtown Boulder. As a result, the property contributes to the historic significance of the overall Flatirons Park subdivision.

The house at 825 Circle Drive (5BL10875) also stands out in Flatirons Park as a highly intact example of Semi-Custom, two-story, ca. 1950s single-family residence (Figure 62). Reconnaissance Survey data indicates that this property is unusual as a tract postwar house that conforms to the city's foothills. The property achieves this compatibility and environmental appropriateness through its



Figure 62. 825 Circle Drive (5BL10875)

position set into the steep toe of Flagstaff Mountain, and through its architecture by featuring two stories of plate-glass windows that maximize views eastward and northeast. The house's Contemporary architectural elements, as expressed by its stack-bond brick veneer and its nearly all-glass, two-story wall, are unusual design features for tract housing in the 1950s in Boulder. Field survey and the Boulder County Assessor photograph, taken in 1956—the year the house was built—indicate that the house is virtually unaltered on the exterior. For these reasons, 825 Circle Drive contributes to the historic significance of the overall Flatirons Park subdivision.

7.4 Highland Park

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Potentially Eligible
Period of development	1952-1962
Major developer/builder	Turnpike Builders, Inc.
Number of properties	658
Level of changes observed among properties	161 Minor, 326 Moderate, 171 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

Although the oldest portion of Highland Park has historic significance under National Register Criteria, survey findings indicate that the Highland Park subdivision does not retain sufficient integrity to be identified potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District. Historic research suggests that Highland Park has local significance under Criterion A in the area of community development and planning as an early postwar residential subdivision in Boulder. Highland Park is closely associated with the establishment of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike (US 36), which runs along the neighborhood's eastern edge and was established the same year, 1952. The neighborhood's annexation to Boulder promoted the city's new growth and expansion to the south that continued well after Highland Park was completed. As one of the largest postwar neighborhoods of the 1950s in Boulder, Highland Park set an important example of large-scale residential patterns of development in the city. The expedient construction of vast numbers of moderately priced houses in Highland Park demonstrated the dire need for housing in Boulder at that time, as well as the efficient building methods used to achieve it. Consequently, the success of the neighborhood and the large number of new families who moved there led to new schools, commercial development, and transportation routes that channeled growth to south Boulder. Established in 1952, Highland Park also stands out for its close association with new postwar industries in Boulder such as the aerospace industry, atmospheric research at the National Bureau of Standards, various research programs at the University of Colorado, Dow Chemical, and the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Factory south of Boulder, all of which were begun at the same time Highland Park was established. Highland Park's proximity to these employment centers led to its housing many of the employees or students who worked in these important and emerging industries.

Highland Park also appears to meet National Register Criterion C in the area of architecture, as a locally significant example of a postwar neighborhood that displays the architectural evolution from simple tract housing with minimal stylistic ornamentation of the early 1950s to the larger and more stylistically expressive housing types of the early 1960s, during the neighborhood's last phase of development west of Broadway. At the same time, each period of development exhibited architectural uniformity as a result of a limited number of models, a fact which may be credited to its creation by only one developer, Turnpike Developers (which became Highland Park Builders after 1955). Highland Park demonstrates

hallmarks of postwar neighborhood planning, such as curvilinear roads, community parks, and tree-lined streets. Its final period of growth west of Broadway and south of the National Bureau of Standards also set the precedent for further residential development to the south, which eventually became the Table Mesa subdivision.

Alterations to numerous houses and landscapes within Highland Park preclude the subdivision from meeting the National Register's identified aspects integrity as a National Register Historic District. An accumulation of many moderate-level changes, such as replacement windows, doors, enclosed garages or carports, the deterioration of many original landscapes and front yards, and a number of drastic changes, such as second-story additions or in a few cases, total demolition, has negatively impacted the neighborhood's integrity of design, materials, workmanship, setting, feeling, and association to the point where its ability to convey its period of significance is diminished. Reconnaissance survey data indicates that only 24 percent of the neighborhood has had minor changes, while 50 percent of the houses have had moderate-level changes and 26 percent have had major changes. As the result of these cumulative alterations, Highland Park's integrity does not rise to the level required for eligibility under the National Register Criteria and the subdivision is therefore identified potentially not eligible as a National Register Historic District.

Local Historic District Evaluation

Results of research and survey indicate that portions of Highland Park have historic significance under Boulder's Significance Criteria and are identified as a potentially eligible local historic district due to the City of Boulder's more inclusive standard of alterations allowable under the city's Significance Criteria. Highland Park's first generation of development became one of Boulder's largest postwar neighborhoods of the 1950s. The neighborhood set an important example of large-scale residential patterns of development in the south part of the city. As a result, this study identified significance at the local level for Highland Park under the Significance Criterion for architecture. Turnpike Builders is also significant for its development of Highland Park, which was its first involvement in a major subdivision in the city at that time. Highland Park's geographic importance in south Boulder is also locally significant as a precedent of new urban and residential expansion south of city limits at the time. This southward-focused residential development set a trend that continued well after Highland Park was completed. The subdivision is also geographically important for its proximity to the emerging scientific employment centers in or near south Boulder that led many employees to live in the neighborhood when it was first established. Although Highland Park has an accumulation of alterations, as outlined in the National Register Historic District evaluation above, survey findings indicate that the existing conditions are intact enough to allow the neighborhood continue to meet Boulder's Significance Criteria due to its more inclusive nature. Highland Park still has many intact postwar housing types, including some rare survivors of early postwar housing.

Recommended boundaries for the identified area of potential significance encompass Highland Park's first major area of development that set the trend for later postwar housing construction in south Boulder (see Figure 63). This period of significance begins in 1952, when the subdivision was first established, and ends in 1957, when the housing east of Broadway was completed. This period represents the earliest and most significant area of development that set a precedent in housing construction and neighborhood development in south Boulder in the early 1950s. Highland Park's areas west of Broadway are not included in the area of potential significance because those areas were developed later, from 1957 through the mid-1960s, and by that time the mode of housing development in south Boulder had been firmly established. Reconnaissance data suggests that this area's potentially contributing resources are properties with minor to moderate alterations, within a potential local historic district in Highland Park. Properties in this area with major alterations would be potentially noncontributing resources. This preliminary identification of significance and potential district boundaries should be confirmed by more in-depth study of this area.

Selective Survey Findings

Reconnaissance data identified 13 representative housing types in the Highland Park subdivision, listed in Table 7 below and Figure 64, above. All 13 houses are identified as potentially not eligible under both National Register and Boulder’s Significance Criteria for individual landmarks. However, three properties, 2605 Stanford Avenue, 345 28th Street, and 365 30th Street, stood out within the Highland Park subdivision for their excellent intact condition as postwar resources. Two of these three properties, 345 28th Street and 365 30th Street, also stand out as intact representative contributing resources within a potentially eligible historic district within Highland Park. These three properties are described below.

Table 7. Highland Park Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10877	1963	2605 Stanford Ave.	Semi-Custom Ranch	Side-Gable	Vertical Siding; Stone
5BL10878	1962	2795 Regis Dr.	Ranch	Gable-on-Hipped	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10879	1957	320 Colgate Ave.	Transitional Ranch	Cross-Hipped	Brick
5BL10880	1954	345 28th St.	Transitional Ranch	Side-Gable	Horizontal Siding
5BL10881	1954	365 30th St.	Ranch	Front-Gable	Horizontal Siding; Vertical Siding
5BL10882	1957	375 Bates Ave.	Ranch	Hipped	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10883	1952	395 27th St.	Ranch	Hipped	Horizontal Siding
5BL10884	1956	464 S. Lashley Lane	Ranch	Hipped	Brick
5BL10885	1961	2180 Kohler Dr.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10886	1961	2475 Kenwood Dr.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10887	1958	2590 Dartmouth Ave.	Ranch	Cross-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10888	1960	2710 Stanford Ave.	NeoColonial	Side-Gable	Brick; Vinyl
5BL10889	1958	3190 Dover Dr.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding

The Ranch house at 2605 Stanford Avenue (5BL10877) stands out in Highland Park as a good example of an intact postwar house with Usonian architectural details (Figure 64). Usonian features include stone cladding, which is random and uncoursed, exposed rafter tails and exposed



Figure 64. 2605 Stanford Avenue (5BL10877)

rafter tails at open eaves. Built in 1964 during the late postwar period, the house conveys a high level of historic physical integrity, particularly in light of the changes that have occurred to many of the neighboring houses. The house may be a Semi-Custom design since no other house in Highland Park appears to have the same form or floor plan as this building. According to a Boulder Tax Assessor Record photograph, the house and landscape are both entirely intact and retain good historic physical integrity.

The house at 345 28th Street (5BL10880) is an excellent example of a Transitional Ranch residence in Highland Park (Figure 65). Built in 1954, this house's high degree of integrity conveys its history as a rare, intact example of the Highlander, one of three original house models built in the area.. Reconnaissance Survey data indicates that only four other Highlander models currently remain within Highland Park. The house conveys a high level



Figure 65. 345 28th Street (5BL10880)

of historic physical integrity, particularly in light of the changes that have occurred to many of the neighboring houses. Key architectural features of the Transitional Ranch type that are exhibited by this house include its small, boxy size of 936 square feet, simple side-gabled roof and lack of roof overhang, and a large four-part picture window at the façade. The detached one-car garage is also original to the house. A Boulder Tax Assessor Record photograph shows that the house and landscape are highly intact, with the exception of the replacement front door and a modified side window.

The house at 365 30th Street (5BL10881) stands out as an intact example of an asymmetrical, front-gabled Ranch house in Highland Park (Figure 66). A Boulder Tax Assessor Record photograph indicates that the house is virtually unchanged since it was built in 1954. The house's high level of historic physical integrity conveys the original appearance of the Highland Park neighborhood, and therefore the house is considered to be a



Figure 66. 365 30th Street (5BL10881)

contributing resource within a potential local historic district in Highland Park.

7.5 Interurban Park

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Not Eligible
Period of development	1947-1967
Major developer/builder	Assorted
Number of properties	134
Level of changes observed among properties	42 Minor, 51 Moderate, 41 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

Research and survey data indicate the Interurban Park subdivision’s historic significance does not rise to the level required to be identified potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District. Interurban Park contains houses built during the earliest prewar period in the late 1940s, but its development began well before the postwar period when it was first platted and established in 1908. Although the subdivision developed slowly over more than 60 years, it is dominated by the postwar period of development between 1947 and 1967. As a result, the neighborhood displays an architectural diversity of postwar housing not found in other postwar neighborhoods that developed in a shorter period of time featuring a limited number of models. Interurban Park’s housing varies in terms of size, and residential architectural types are primarily Simple Ranch and Semi-Custom Ranch houses, though Minimal Traditional and Contemporary housing types also exist. The houses do not appear to have been developed by a single builder or developer, but rather by individual property owners who likely chose their own house plans and builders.

The majority of Interurban Park’s houses are single-family, but the subdivision also includes several duplex residences that demonstrate the Simple Ranch housing type. Although duplex postwar housing is not necessarily common in Boulder, this aspect of the Interurban Park neighborhood falls short of the historic significance required meet National Register criteria. Interurban Park lacked the large-scale, developer-driven housing development typical of the postwar era, such as that featured in neighborhoods like Highland Park and Martin Acres. Instead, Interurban Park was developed in a piecemeal fashion. The subdivision features an orthogonal grid and does not include many of the design hallmarks of postwar subdivisions that the FHA standards expressed, such as cul-de-sacs, curvilinear roadways, and community park spaces. Interurban Park is also only tangentially associated with the key Boulder postwar trends of University growth, construction of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike, and the arrival of scientific and technological laboratories to Boulder. City directory research of the ten Interurban Park properties intensively surveyed indicates that most homeowners worked in a variety of local blue-collar and white-collar industries. As a result, although Interurban Park developed over a longer period than other postwar subdivisions, its significance does not rise to the level required by

National Register criteria. It is therefore identified potentially not eligible as a National Register Historic District.

Local Historic District Evaluation

Interurban Park is also identified potentially not eligible as a local historic district due to the neighborhood’s lack of historic significance within the context of its 60-year period of development in Boulder, including the postwar period. While Interurban Park contains houses built during the earliest postwar period in the late 1940s, its development began much earlier, having been first platted and established in 1908. The subdivision developed slowly over more than 60 years, and as a result, Interurban Park does not convey any one period of architectural growth in Boulder. Interurban Park’s housing was common among the city’s postwar housing stock, and similar examples of housing exist in the other postwar neighborhoods studied. The neighborhood’s slow and piecemeal pattern of development was the result of variety of builders. The Interurban Park neighborhood plan followed an orthogonal grid and did not introduce any new hallmarks of postwar residential planning when it was established. It does not stand out for its design features, residential setting, housing, or its geographic location relative to the larger historic context of Boulder. It was not a trendsetting example of neighborhood design, or local homebuilding techniques and practices in Boulder, and it did not establish a pattern of significant development in the area. Historic research also did not reveal close associations between the Interurban Park subdivision and significant past events, including local movements in transportation, community planning and development, social history, architecture and design, or politics and government, nor with locally important individuals or groups. For these reasons, Interurban Park is identified potentially not eligible as a local historic district.

Selective Survey Results

Reconnaissance data identified 10 representative housing types in the Interurban Park subdivision, shown in Table 8 and Figure 67, below. Collectively these 10 housing types represent a cross-section of the types of postwar houses present in the Interurban Park neighborhood. None of these individual houses were found to be significant under National Register or Boulder Significance Criteria and therefore, all are identified potentially not eligible as individual resources under either criteria.

Table 8. Interurban Park Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10890	1954	350 20th St.	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10891	1954	385 21st St.	Ranch	Gable-on-Hipped	Horizontal Siding
5BL10892	1951	1770 Bluebell Ave.	Split-Level	Hipped	Horizontal Siding; Stone

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Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10893	1967	1805 King Ave.	Bi-Level	Side-Gable	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10894	1951	1860 Bluebell Ave.	Ranch	Hipped	Brick
5BL10895	1951	2032 Mariposa Ave.	Ranch	Front-Gable	Horizontal Siding; Stone
5BL10896	1948	2110 Baseline Rd.	Minimal Traditional	Front-Gabled w/Principal Hipped	Horizontal Siding
5BL10897	1950	2147-2149 Columbine Ave.	Ranch	Cross-Hipped	Brick
5BL10898	1950	2220 Columbine Ave.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Horizontal Siding; Stone
5BL10899	1945	2231 Columbine Ave.	Hipped-Roof-Box	Pyramidal-Hipped	Horizontal Siding

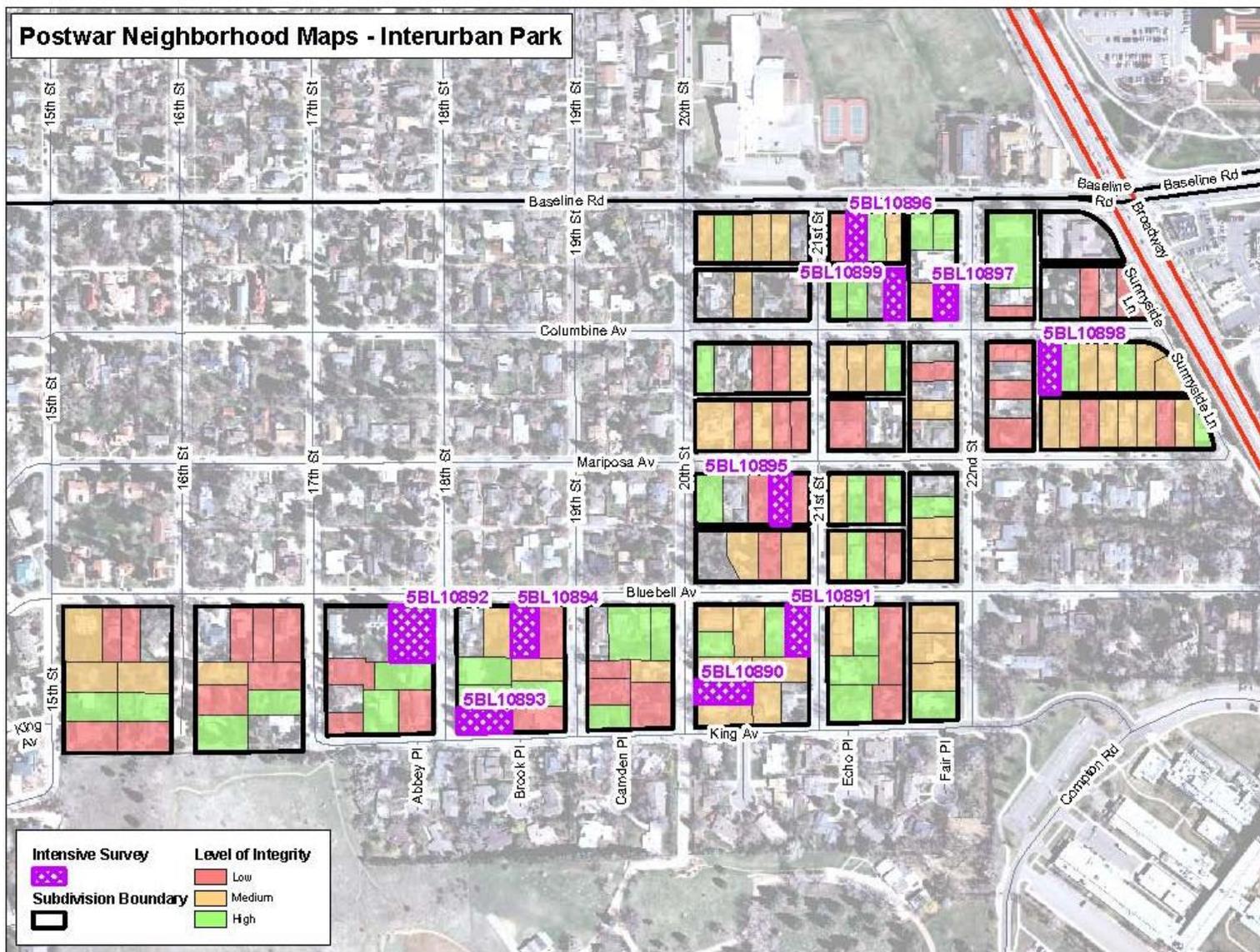


Figure 67. Interurban Park Reconnaissance Survey Results and Properties Identified for Intensive Survey

7.6 Martin Acres

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Potentially Eligible
Period of development	1954-1962
Major developer/builder	Highland Park Builders
Number of properties	1150
Level of changes observed among properties	286 Minor, 516 Moderate, 348 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

Martin Acres appears meet Criterion A for its close association with the establishment of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike (US 36), which was established in 1952 and runs along the neighborhood's eastern edge. The neighborhood's annexation to Boulder promoted the city's new growth and expansion to the south that continued well after Martin Acres was completed. As one of the largest postwar neighborhoods of the 1950s in Boulder, Martin Acres set an important example of large-scale residential patterns of development in the city. The expedient construction of vast numbers of moderately priced houses in Martin Acres demonstrated the dire need for housing in Boulder at that time, as well as the efficient building methods used to achieve it. The success of the neighborhood and the large number of new families who moved there led to new schools, commercial development, and transportation routes that channeled growth to south Boulder. Established in 1954, Martin Acres also stands out for its association with new postwar industries in Boulder such as the aerospace industry, atmospheric research at the National Bureau of Standards, various research programs at the University of Colorado, Dow Chemical, and the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Factory south of Boulder, all of which were begun at the same time Martin Acres was established. Martin Acres' proximity to these employment centers led to its housing many of the employees or students who worked in these emerging postwar industries.

Martin Acres also appears to meet Criterion C as a good example of a post-World War II neighborhood that exhibits variations of simple tract housing with minimal stylistic ornamentation of the mid to late 1950s. The subdivision's early period of development exhibited architectural uniformity due to a limited number of models, a fact which may be credited to its creation by only one developer, the Francis & Williams Company, also known as Melody Homes or High Country Homes. As a neighborhood, Martin Acres demonstrates hallmarks of postwar neighborhood planning, such as curvilinear roads, community parks, and tree-lined streets. The larger and more stylistically expressive housing types of the early 1960s were found in the neighborhood's last phase of development, the William Martin Homestead Addition. This later phase of development featured houses that were more commonplace by that time, and lacks significance due the precedent that had already been set in terms of location and housing types in south Boulder.

Although study findings indicate that Martin Acres has National Register significance under National Register Criteria A and C in the area of Community Planning and Development as a Boulder postwar residential development of the 1950s and early 1960s, survey results suggest that the subdivision's areas of historic significance do not possess sufficient integrity to be potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District. An accumulation of numerous moderate-level changes, such as replacement windows, doors, or enclosed garages or carports, the deterioration of many original landscapes and front yards, and a number of drastic changes, such as second-story additions or in a few cases, total demolition, have negatively impacted the neighborhood's integrity of design, materials, workmanship, setting, feeling, and association. The neighborhood no longer conveys its significance from the postwar period due to a cumulative impact of these numerous alterations. As a result, Martin Acres' historic and physical integrity does not rise to the level required under the National Register's aspects of integrity, and the subdivision is identified potentially not eligible as a National Register Historic District.

Local Historic District Evaluation

Research and survey findings indicate that while Martin Acres does not meet National Register Criteria as a National Register Historic District, portions of the subdivision have historic significance and appear to retain sufficient integrity to be potentially eligible as a local historic district due to the City of Boulder's more inclusive standard of alterations allowable under the city's Significance Criteria. Martin Acres' status as one of Boulder's first generations of postwar subdivisions, along with neighboring Highland Park to the north, set an important example of large-scale residential patterns of development in the south part of the city. Martin Acres still includes many intact postwar housing types, despite the alterations that have occurred in the neighborhood. Due to the retention of many rare postwar survivors, it is thus architecturally significant at the local level. The property's builder, Francis & Williams Company, also known as Melody Homes or High Country Homes, is locally significant for its development of the subdivision. The subdivision's geographic importance is significant for its location in south Boulder, and its promotion of new urban and residential growth and expansion south of city limits at the time. This southward-focused development set a trend that continued well after Martin Acres was completed. It is also geographically important for its proximity to the emerging scientific employment centers in or near south Boulder that led many employees to live in Martin Acres when it was first established.

Recommended boundaries for the areas of potential significance within Martin Acres encompass the subdivision's first major areas of development that set the trend for later postwar housing construction in south Boulder (see Figure 68). The period of significance, 1954 through 1957, encompasses the earliest portions of Martin Acres north of Table Mesa and southwest of Morehead Avenue, but excludes the later William Martin Homestead Addition. These portions of Martin Acres represent the most ground-breaking areas of development that meet Boulder's Significance Criteria for the precedent in

housing construction and neighborhood development in south Boulder. The William Martin Homestead Addition was developed later, from 1958 through the mid-1960s, and by that time the mode of housing development in south Boulder had been firmly established. Reconnaissance data suggests that Martin Acres' area of potential significance contains 332 contributing resources within this estimated boundary. This number is defined by properties noted to have minor to moderate-level alterations. The 201 properties found to have major alterations would be noncontributing resources in a potential historic district. This preliminary identification of significance and potential district boundaries should be confirmed by more in-depth study of this area.

Selective Survey Results

Reconnaissance data identified 15 representative housing types in the Martin Acres subdivision, shown in Table 9 below and Figure 68 above. Collectively these 15 housing types represent a cross-section of the types of postwar houses present in the neighborhood. None of these houses were found to be individually significant under National Register or Boulder’s Significance Criteria.

Table 9. Martin Acres Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10900	1956	305 S. 42nd St.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10901	1957	345 S. 44th St.	NeoColonial	Side-Gable	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10902	1956	370 S. 40th St.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick
5BL10903	1957	430 S. 43rd St.	Ranch	Gable-on-Hipped	Brick
5BL10904	1956	465 S 40th St.	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10905	1957	470 S 44th St.	Ranch	Front-Gabled	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10906	1959	525 S 43rd St.	Ranch	Front-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10907	1959	555 S 43rd St.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10908	1958	605 S 42nd St.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick, Vinyl
5BL10909	1960	610 S 41st St.	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10910	1959	730 S 45th St.	Ranch	Cross-Hipped	Brick
5BL10911	1961	3625 Berkley Ave.	Split-Level	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10912	1960	3992 Fuller Ct.	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10913	1957	4550 Martin Dr.	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick
5BL10914	1961	4658 Ingram Ct.	Split-Level	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding

7.7 Park East

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Not Eligible
Period of development	1963-1967
Major developer/builder	Melody Homes
Number of properties	290
Level of changes observed among properties	92 Minor, 146 Moderate, 92 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

Research and survey findings indicate that the Park East subdivision’s historic significance does not rise to the level required to be potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District. Park East was established within the third period of postwar development, from 1960 until 1967. The subdivision is an example of a typical 1960s late-postwar neighborhood in the Front Range. Platted on flat land in east Boulder, its neighborhood plan followed the typical postwar subdivision model of curvilinear street pattern and cul-de-sacs, which were common among postwar subdivisions in Boulder and throughout the Front Range in the 1960s. It did not introduce any new hallmarks of postwar residential planning or neighborhood design when it was established, and was not a trendsetting example of neighborhood design. Because Park East’s position in east Boulder followed an already-established trend of eastward growth in the city, its position did not establish a pattern of significant development in the area. Park East’s housing types include Bi-Level, Split-Level, and Ranch houses that are representative of common postwar housing types found in Boulder and throughout the Front Range. Although this housing is representative of the late-postwar era, and reconnaissance data suggests that Park East’s housing retains a high level of integrity, collectively it is not distinctive for any design advances or popular trends, and therefore lacks significance under Criterion C. As a result, the Park East neighborhood does not rise to the level of historic significance required to be identified potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District.

Because all of Park East’s housing is less than 50 years of age, this study evaluated Park East under both standard National Register Criteria for properties older than 50 years of age and under National Register Criteria Consideration G for properties with exceptional significance that are less than 50 years of age. Since the subdivision was not found to be significant under standard National Register Criteria, it was also not found to be significant under Criteria Consideration G.

Local Historic District Evaluation

Established during the third period of postwar development from 1960 through 1967, research did not reveal close associations between the Park East subdivision and significant past events, including local

movements in transportation, community planning and development, social history, architecture and design, or politics and government, nor with locally important individuals or groups. Park East’s housing was common among the city’s postwar housing stock, where similar examples exist in other subdivisions. As a result, it lacks local significance in Boulder and does not stand out as an important example of local postwar subdivision design from the period. The neighborhood’s primary builder, Melody Homes, is more significant to other neighborhoods in Boulder, such as Table Mesa, and did not achieve prominence due its association with the Park East subdivision. Park East’s neighborhood curvilinear plan is typical of the late-era postwar subdivision model in Boulder, the Front Range, and the country. It does not distinguish itself for its design features, residential setting, housing, or its geographic location relative to the larger historic context of Boulder. It also was not a trendsetting example of neighborhood design, or local homebuilding techniques and practices in Boulder, and it did not establish a pattern of significant development in east Boulder when it was developed.

Selective Survey Results

Reconnaissance data identified 12 representative housing types in the Park East subdivision, shown in Table 10 and Figure 69, below. Collectively these houses represent a cross-section of the types of postwar architecture present in the Park East neighborhood. None of these houses were found to be individually significant under National Register or Boulder’s Significance Criteria, and therefore none are identified as potentially eligible under either criteria.

Table 10. Park East Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10915	1967	735 Morgan Dr.	Bi-Level	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10916	1965	820 Gilpin Dr.	Other; Colonial Revival elements	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10917	1967	825 Orman Dr.	Other; Colonial Revival Elements	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10918	1965	845 Inca Pkwy	Bi-Level	Side-Gable	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10919	1965	851 Inca Pkwy	Bi-Level	Side-Gable	Brick: Vertical Siding
5BL10920	1966	990 Morgan Dr.	Ranch	Gable-on-Hipped	Brick: Horizontal Siding
5BL10921	1965	4055 Gilpin Dr.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10922	1967	4145 Gilpin Dr.	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding

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Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10923	1965	4160 E. Aurora Ave.	Bi-Level	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10924	1965	4280 Evans Dr.	Split-Level	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10925	1966	4281 Eaton Ct.	Split-Level	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10926	1966	4621 Talbot Dr.	Split-Level	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Vertical Siding

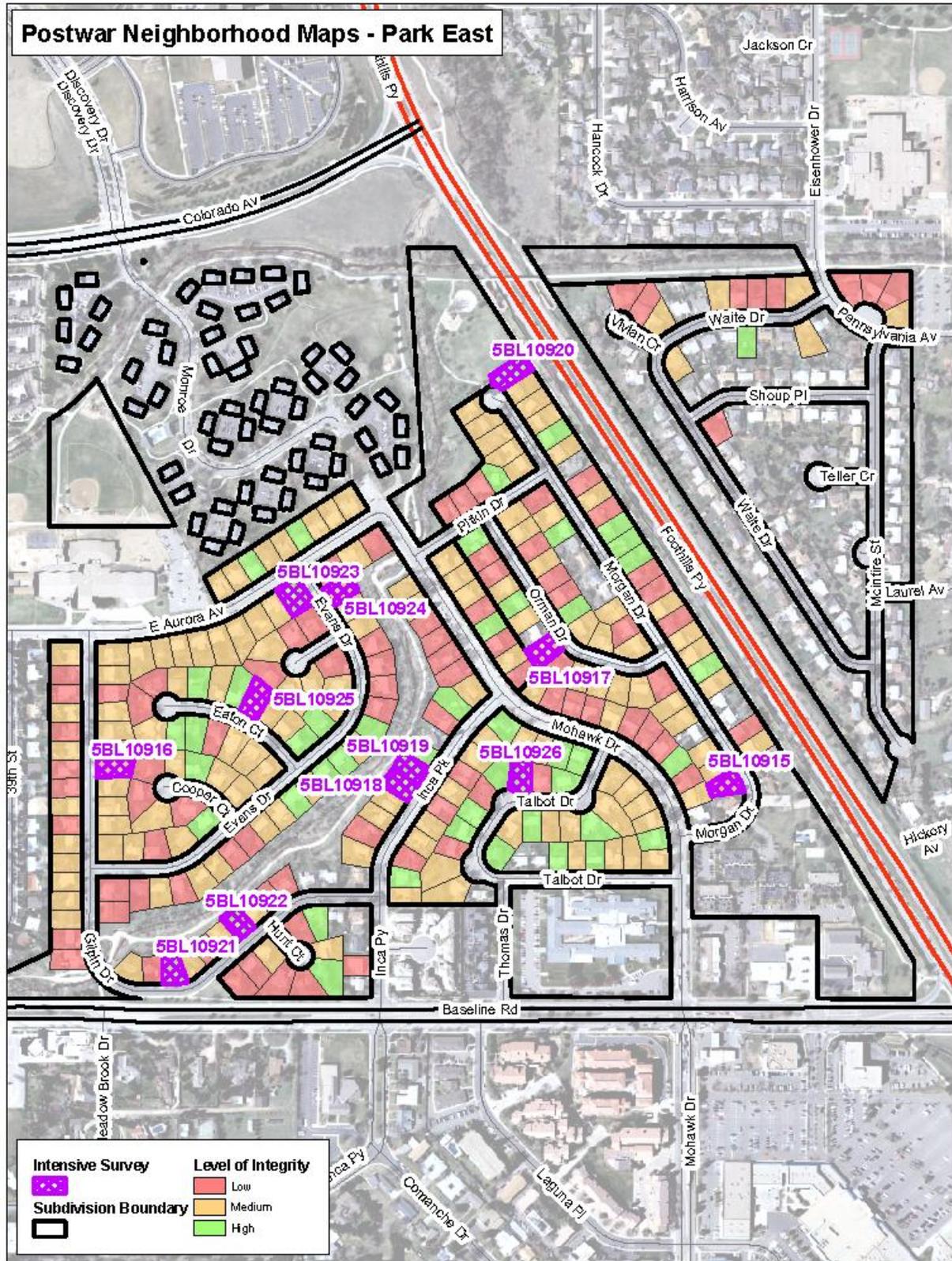


Figure 69. Park East Reconnaissance Survey Results and Properties Identified for Intensive Survey

7.8 Sunset Hills

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Not Eligible
Period of development	1946-1962
Major developer/builder	Wilkins Construction
Number of properties	113
Level of changes observed among properties	10 Minor, 34 Moderate, 69 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

Research and survey data indicates that the Sunset Hills neighborhood's historic significance does not rise to the level required to be identified potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District. The Sunset Hills subdivision does not meet Criterion A because is not closely associated with significant past events, including local movements in transportation, community planning and development, social history, architecture and design, or politics and government. It was primarily established in 1947 during the first period of postwar development, but development continued through 1962 into the third period of development, which was from 1960 to 1967. Sunset Hills does not stand out for its design features, residential setting, housing, or its geographic location relative to the larger historic context of the City of Boulder. Its neighborhood plan followed the typical postwar subdivision model, and did not introduce any new hallmarks of postwar residential planning, principally curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs, when it was established. It was not a trendsetting example of neighborhood design, or local homebuilding techniques and practices in Boulder, and it did not establish a pattern of significant development in the area. The neighborhood does not meet Criterion B because research has not indicated that the subdivision is closely associated with locally or regionally significant builders, developers, or other locally important individuals or groups. Although the original housing along Sunset Boulevard included six houses designed by prominent architect Glen H. Huntington, all of these houses have been demolished. The subdivision also does not meet Criterion C because the extant housing is not distinctive for any design advances or popular trends, and does not stand out as containing important architectural examples of postwar design among the local and regional subdivisions from the period due to both lack of significance and numerous changes made to the earliest groups of postwar houses in the neighborhood. As a result, the Sunset Hills neighborhood does not achieve the level of historic significance required to be identified potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District.

Moreover, the subdivision has had a significant degree of both major and minor alterations, from complete demolition of many original houses of all types within the subdivision, to minor alterations such as replacement doors and windows and in-filled one-car garages. The subdivision contains 106 properties consisting of 14 properties with minor alterations, 30 properties with moderate alterations,

and 64 properties with major alterations. The accumulation of these alterations has substantially impacted the historic physical integrity of the overall neighborhood in terms of materials, feeling, and association from the period when it was established, and this loss of integrity has adversely affected the ability of the neighborhood to convey its original appearance as a postwar subdivision.

Local Historic District Evaluation

Research and survey findings also indicate that Sunset Hills does not meet Boulder’s Significance Criteria as a historic district. Research did not reveal close associations between the Sunset Hills subdivision and significant past events, including local movements in transportation, community planning and development, social history, architecture and design, or politics and government, nor with locally important individuals or groups. It was primarily established in 1947 during the first period of postwar development, but development continued through 1962 into the third period of development, which was from 1958 to 1967. The subdivision did not have close associations with locally or regionally significant builders, developers, or other locally important individuals or groups. Although the original housing along Sunset Boulevard included six houses designed by prominent architect Glen H. Huntington, all of these houses have been demolished. The extant housing is not distinctive for any design advances or popular trends, and does not stand out as important architectural examples of postwar design among the local and regional subdivisions from the period due to both lack of significance and numerous changes made to the earliest groups of postwar houses in the neighborhood.

Moreover, the Sunset Hills subdivision has had a significant degree of both major and minor alterations, from complete demolition of many original houses of all types within the subdivision, to minor alterations such as replacement doors and windows and in-filled one-car garages. The accumulation of these alterations has substantially impacted the historic physical integrity of the overall neighborhood in terms of materials, feeling, and association from the postwar period when it was established. This loss of integrity has negatively impacted the neighborhood’s ability to convey its significance as a postwar subdivision. Additionally, Sunset Hills does not stand out for its design features, residential setting, housing, or its geographic location relative to the larger historic context of the City of Boulder. Its neighborhood plan followed the typical postwar subdivision model, and it did not introduce any new hallmarks of postwar residential planning when it was established. It was not a trendsetting example of neighborhood design, or local homebuilding techniques and practices in Boulder, and it did not establish a pattern of significant development in the area.

Selective Survey Results

Reconnaissance data identified six representative housing types in the Sunset Hills subdivision, shown in Table 11 and Figure 71, below. Collectively these houses represent a cross-section of the types of postwar architecture present in the neighborhood. None of these buildings were found to be

individually significant under National Register or Boulder’s Significance Criteria, and therefore all are identified as potentially not eligible under both criteria.

Table 11. Sunset Hills Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10927	1957	1500 Alpine Ave.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Horizontal Siding
5BL10928	1950	1505 Sunset Blvd.	Ranch	Cross-Hipped	Brick
5BL10929	1954-1958	1526 Sunset Blvd.	Split-Level	Cross-Hipped	Brick
5BL10930	1952	1547 North St.	Ranch	Hipped	Brick
5BL10931	1950	1584 North St.	Minimal Traditional	Hipped	Horizontal Siding
5BL10932	1958	1840 Alpine Ave.	International Style	Flat	Brick; Stone

Although none of Sunset Hills’ intensively surveyed properties were identified individually significant, the apartment building at 1840 Alpine Avenue (5BL10932) stands out in the subdivision as an uncommon representative of an unaltered multi-family property from the 1950s in Boulder (Figure 70). Its architectural form as two-story brick apartment building is one of four similar apartment buildings on Alpine Avenue in Sunset Hills. All four buildings are located in a row on the south side of the road; the other three residences are located at 1800, 1820, and 1860 Alpine Avenue. Because most of the postwar housing in Sunset Hills and throughout Boulder consists of single-family detached houses, these four apartment buildings appear to be relatively uncommon postwar resources. Although only 1840 Alpine Avenue was intensively surveyed in this report, reconnaissance survey results revealed that all four apartment buildings feature similar variations of minimalist architecture that is expressed through brick and stone. Intensive survey of 1840 Alpine Avenue found that the building possesses a high



Figure 70. 5BL10932, 1840 Alpine Avenue, Sunset Hills

degree of integrity on the exterior with only few minor alterations. The other three apartment buildings appear to possess a high level of integrity as well. Property records revealed that all four buildings were built in 1958 or 1959. Research did not identify the name of the builder of 1840 Alpine Avenue, but the close dates of construction and the architectural similarities between all four

buildings suggest that one builder built the group of the buildings. These four buildings may possess historic significance as representatives of a new form of housing in 1958 that was not readily available in Boulder up to that point. Preliminary research suggests that these four buildings may also have environmental significance under Boulder's Significance Criteria in light of their visible location at the intersection of Alpine Avenue and 20th Street in north-central Boulder. This survey recommends intensive survey of the properties at 1800, 1820, and 1860 Alpine Avenue, and further research into the potential historic architectural or social significance of 1950s-era apartment buildings in Boulder.

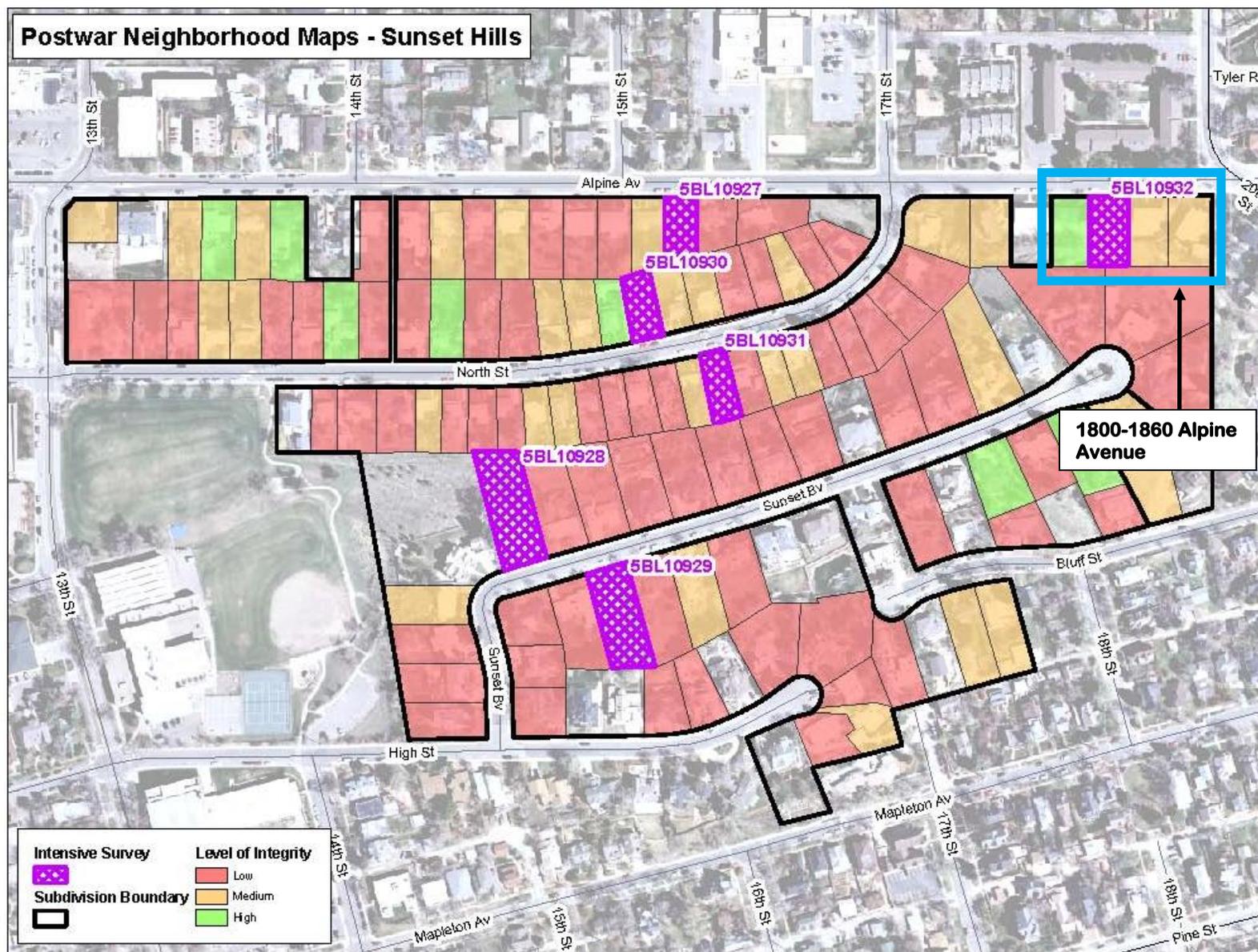


Figure 71. Sunset Hills Reconnaissance Survey Results and Properties Identified for Intensive Survey; 1800-1860 Alpine Avenue, Sunset Hills (outlined in blue)

7.9 Table Mesa

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Potentially Eligible
Period of development	1963-1967
Major developer/builder	Highland Park Builders, Melody Homes, Keith Homes, Inc.
Number of properties	1258
Level of changes observed among properties	248 Minor, 572 Moderate, 438 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

Research and survey findings indicate that the Table Mesa neighborhood has historic significance according to standard National Register Criteria and may be potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District pending further investigation. With 1,744 individual parcels, Table Mesa is the largest subdivision examined in this study. Established during the third period of postwar development from 1960 to 1967, the Table Mesa subdivision’s primary and defining characteristic is its curvilinear street plan set upon hilly topography at the base of Table Mesa. This characteristic sets the subdivision apart from similar late-era postwar neighborhoods in Boulder. The Park East subdivision is one such example studied in this investigation, but preliminary data suggests that other examples exist in Boulder as well. Park East also shares many of the same housing models as Table Mesa because the same builders were active in both subdivisions during the 1960s. However, Table Mesa distinguishes itself from Park East and other subdivisions established in the 1960s through its hilly site plan and the mountain views afforded, while Park East has relatively flat topography in a location in east Boulder. Historic context research suggests that Table Mesa’s hilly and scenic neighborhood plan is uncommon in the greater Front Range as well. Table Mesa’s establishment at the west side of Broadway impacted the city’s transportation network in south Boulder by establishing a major east-west roadway, Table Mesa Drive. Table Mesa’s residential architecture and design represent domestic forms and stylistic elements popular during the 1960s in Colorado and nationwide, but they were not trendsetting examples of housing design, or local homebuilding techniques and practices in Boulder. Instead, the subdivision followed styles and forms already made popular elsewhere in the Front Range and Denver metro area. Over 12 different builders were active in the subdivision, but no one builder stands out as having a distinctive impact on the subdivision or on Boulder.

Although Table Mesa appears to be a good representative of a late-postwar subdivision, it is not an *exceptional* example of this type of subdivision in the Front Range. As a result, because all of Table Mesa’s housing is less than 50 years of age, the subdivision does not meet National Register Criteria Consideration G for properties with exceptional significance that are less than 50 years of age. This

study recommends further investigation after the subdivision ages in the next 10 years and becomes potentially eligible under standard National Register Criteria for properties 50 years of age and older.

A second finding that warrants resurvey is Table Mesa's low level of integrity according to the reconnaissance survey results. Reconnaissance survey data show that only 20 percent of Table Mesa's houses have unaltered facades, while 45 percent of the houses have been moderately altered and 35 percent have had major alterations. This data indicates that Table Mesa's ability to convey its identity and appearance as a mid-1960s residential subdivision in Boulder may be compromised through loss of and alterations to its original materials, design, workmanship, feeling, and association. As a result, the Table Mesa neighborhood may not retain sufficient historic physical integrity to convey its significance as a late-postwar subdivision. However, this data is contrary to the preliminary windshield survey findings that suggest the Table Mesa subdivision has a high level of integrity. One caveat to these contradictory findings is that the reconnaissance survey data may be considered a preliminary method of analysis. Moreover, this selective intensive survey investigation examined only 25 of the subdivision's 1,744 individual properties. In light of Table Mesa's exceptionally large size, additional investigation into the neighborhood's level of alterations is recommended to help clarify inconsistent findings of integrity.

Local Historic District Evaluation

Research and survey results suggest that the Table Mesa subdivision has significance under Boulder's Significance Criteria as an identified potentially eligible local historic district, but further investigation is recommended. Although Table Mesa's curvilinear plan is typical of the late-era postwar subdivision model in Boulder, the Front Range, and the country, the subdivision's environmental features as characterized by its hilly setting against the Table Mesa and Flatirons geographical landmarks to the west, as well as the scenic views afforded by this site plan, distinguish the neighborhood from other mid-1960s subdivisions in Boulder and the region. Table Mesa's development also appears to have had a major impact on the city's transportation patterns in south Boulder. These two aspects of Table Mesa's physical development indicate that the subdivision meets Boulder's Significance Criteria for environmental significance on the local level. Table Mesa's late-postwar-era housing types are common in other Boulder neighborhoods, such as Park East. For this reason, the subdivision lacks architectural distinctiveness and significance as a whole. The large number of builders (over 12) that were active in the neighborhood resulted in a wide range of architectural diversity across the neighborhood, but no developers or builders stand out as significant for their achievements in Table Mesa.

Although Table Mesa appears to have environmental significance in Boulder, reconnaissance survey data suggests that much of Table Mesa's housing has been significantly altered and this has impacted the subdivision's integrity as a whole. Since this study's preliminary windshield survey in Table Mesa did not suggest this high level of change in the subdivision, additional investigation into the level of changes

and alterations is recommended. Additionally, Table Mesa’s relatively recent establishment between 1964 and 1967 further justifies follow-up examination of the neighborhood in 10 years in order to gain a greater historic perspective through the passing of time. A future, more in-depth investigation of a larger number of properties may also find that this large subdivision possesses smaller groupings of houses or areas that retain higher levels of significance and integrity than the subdivision as a whole.

Selective Survey Results

Reconnaissance data identified 25 representative housing types within the Table Mesa subdivision, shown in Table 12 and Figure 72, below. These houses represent a cross-section of the types of postwar architecture present in the Table Mesa neighborhood. Intensive survey results found none of these properties to be individually potentially eligible for listing in the National Register or as landmarks in Boulder.

Table 12. Table Mesa Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10933	1963	2605 Vassar Dr.	Split-Level	Front-Gable	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10934	1967	2820 Table Mesa Dr.	Split-Level	Shed	Horizontal and Vertical Siding
5BL10935	1965	3005 Vassar Dr.	Split-Level	Front-Gable	Horizontal Siding
5BL10936	1963	609 Hartford Dr.	Ranch	Hipped	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10937	1966	930 Miami Way	Other	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10938	1966	985 Yale Rd.	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick
5BL10939	1964	1070 Hartford Dr.	Other	Side-Gable	Brick; Vinyl
5BL10940	1966	1110 Judson Dr.	Other	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10941	1965	1195 Ithaca Dr.	Other	Gambrel	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10942	1965	1240 Fairfield Dr.	Bi-Level	Side-Gable	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10943	1964	1290 Berea Dr.	Bi-Level	Side-Gable	Horizontal Siding; Brick
5BL10944	1964	1295 Berea Dr.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10945	1966	1390 Ithaca Dr.	Bi-Level	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10946	1967	1470 Judson Dr.	Ranch	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10947	1966	2165 Table Mesa Dr.	Neo-Mansard	Mansard	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10948	1966	2220 Hillsdale Cr.	Bi-Level	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Vertical Siding

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Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10949	1963	2650 Vassar Dr.	Ranch	Front-Gable	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10950	1963	2695 Stephens Rd.	Split-Level	Side-Gable	Brick; Vertical Siding
5BL10951	1967	2765 Darley Ave.	Other	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10952	1966	2805 La Grange Cr.	Split-Level	Cross-Gabled	Horizontal Siding; Brick
5BL10953	1966	2825 La Grange Cr.	Split-Level	Cross-Gabled	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10954	1966	4317 Butler Cr.	Ranch	Other	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10955	1965	4380 Butler Cr.	Bi-Level	Side-Gable	Brick; Horizontal Siding
5BL10956	1966	4395 Grinnell Ave.	Bi-Level	Side-Gable	Horizontal Siding; Brick
5BL10957	1967	4420 Ludlow St.	Ranch	Hipped	Brick; Horizontal Siding

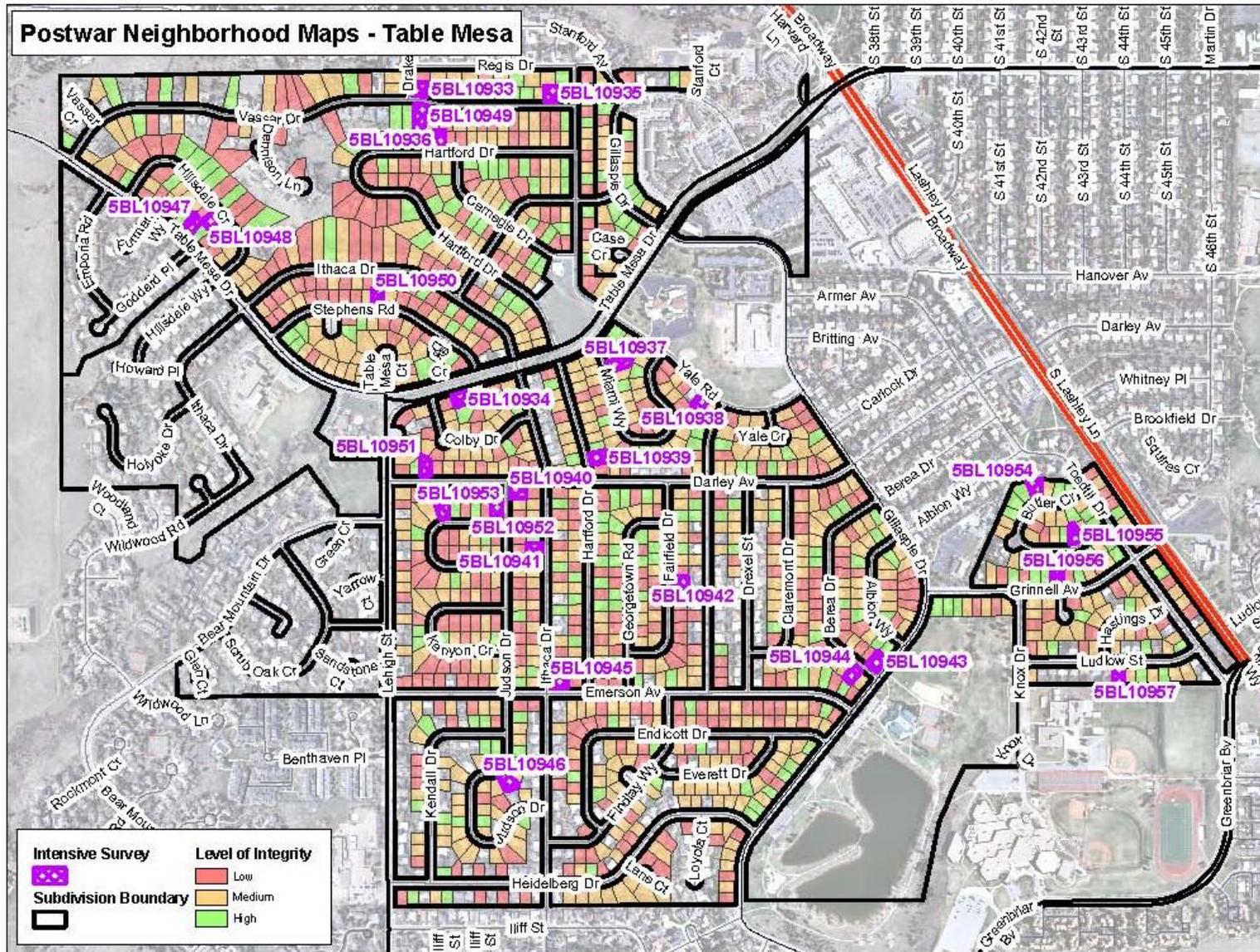


Figure 72. Table Mesa Renaissance Survey Results and Properties Identified for Intensive Survey

7.10 Wagoner Manor

National Register Historic District	Not Eligible
Local historic district	Not Eligible
Period of development	1954-1957
Major developer/builder	Wagoner Construction Company
Number of properties	26
Level of changes observed among properties	1 Minor, 5 Moderate, 20 Major

National Register Historic District Evaluation

Research and survey findings indicate that the Wagoner Manor subdivision has historic significance under National Register Criteria, but lacks the integrity required to be potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District. When the Wagoner Manor subdivision was created in the mid-1950s, it was distinctive for its location outside the eastern boundary of Boulder at the time, and for the pastoral setting that was created there. The positioning of the subdivision's three variants of the Simple Ranch housing type on large one-acre lots created an ensemble of houses that expressed many of the pastoral environmental qualities that were idealized in television and print media in the 1950s. As such, Wagoner Manor appears to have significance under Criteria A and C for community planning and development for its distinctive environmental design that keenly expressed the ideals of the postwar era. Despite this historic and architectural significance, however, nearly all of Wagoner Manor's original 28 houses have been modified to varying degrees since their construction. Reconnaissance survey data indicates that only one house remains intact, while five houses have been moderately changed and 20 houses have had major changes. Alterations range from filled-in garages and new garage additions to second-story additions. As a result, the overall character of the neighborhood has substantially diminished and it no longer retains its original integrity of materials, design, workmanship, feeling, setting, and association to be considered potentially eligible as a National Register Historic District.

Local Historic District Evaluation

Intensive and reconnaissance survey results indicate that the cumulative alterations to the 28 properties of the Wagoner Manor subdivision preclude it from eligibility as a potential historic district due to the numerous changes to all but one of the subdivision's houses. The original subdivision meets Boulder's Significance Criteria for its representation of Semi-Custom Ranch type architecture. The neighborhood also appears to have environmental significance for its overall landscape plan, the housing's compatibility with the site, and the large size of the lots at the outskirts of Boulder in the mid-1950s. However, the numerous moderate and major changes to nearly all of the houses have negatively impacted Wagoner Manor's ability to convey the appearance and feeling of the original neighborhood.

As a result of these alterations, Wagoner Manor is identified potentially not eligible as a local historic district.

Selective Survey Results

Reconnaissance data identified three representative housing types in the Wagoner Manor subdivision, shown in Table 13 and Figure 73, below. These three houses represent a cross-section of the types of postwar architecture present in the Wagoner Manor neighborhood. None of these houses were found to be individually significant under National Register or Boulder’s Significance Criteria as potentially eligible resources.

Table 13. Wagoner Manor Residences in Selective Survey

Site Number	Build Date	Address	House Type	Roof Configuration	Exterior
5BL10958	1955	704 Brooklawn Dr.	Ranch	Gable-on-Hipped	Vertical Siding
5BL10959	1955	802 Brooklawn Dr.	Ranch	Side-Gable	Vertical Siding
5BL10960	1956	809 Brooklawn Dr.	Ranch	Gable-on-Hipped	Horizontal Siding

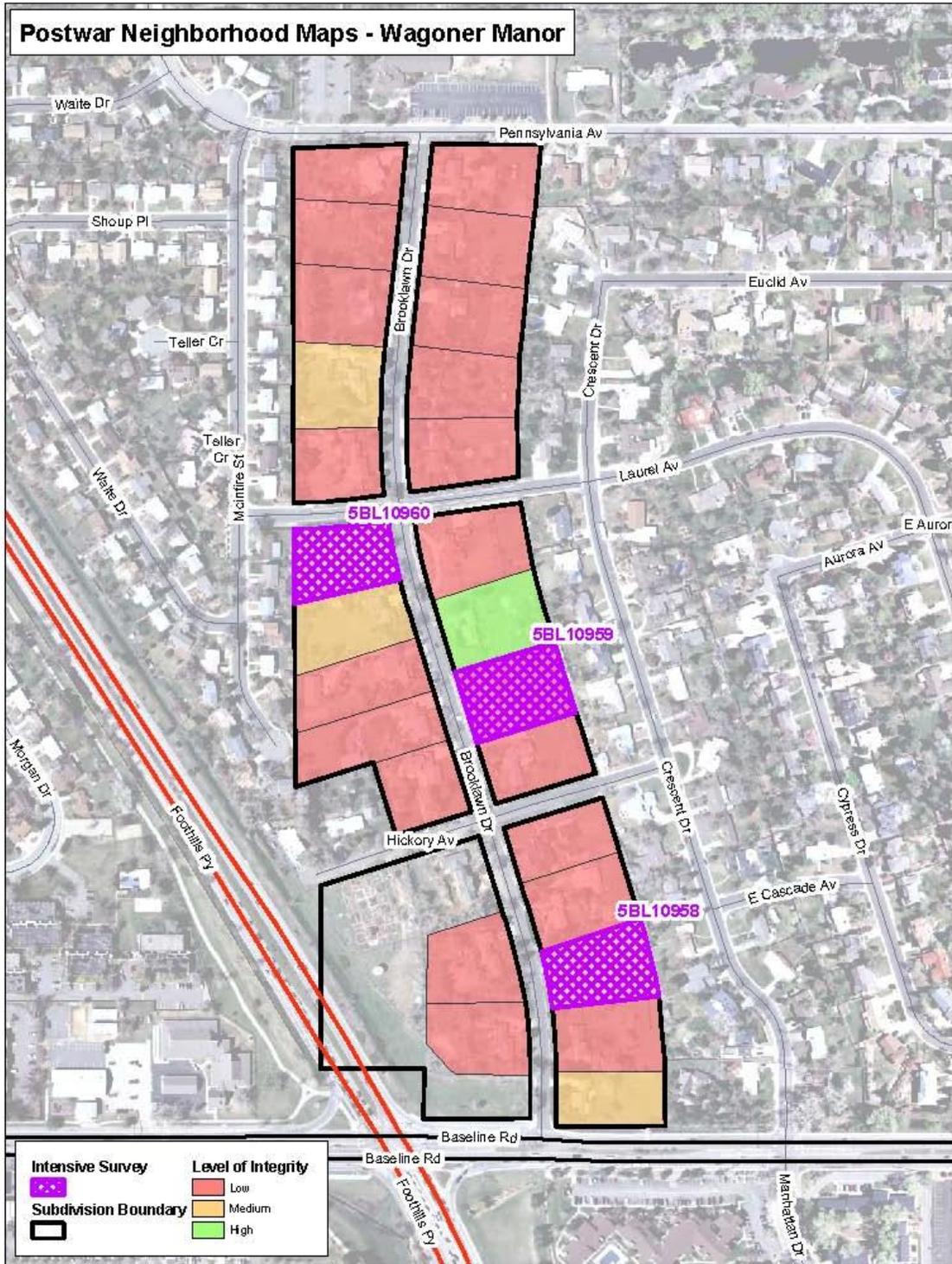


Figure 73. Wagoner Manor Reconnaissance Survey Results and Properties Identified for Intensive Survey

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8.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

Keeping in mind that this study is the first baseline historic context of postwar residential subdivisions in Boulder, the City of Boulder and Landmark Preservation Advisory Board can refer to this project's historic context and findings as a reference to identify properties of potential significance within the City that have not been intensively surveyed. The City is encouraged to apply the questions for evaluation of postwar subdivisions (listed on pages 44 and 45) to help evaluate whether a property may have significance to the postwar period under any National Register or local Significance Criteria. Although the City usually evaluates properties considered for review on an individual basis as needed, the City is encouraged to place more weight on preserving the character of a potentially significant subdivision as a whole rather than its individual houses. This approach is guided by the fact that most postwar subdivisions, including those in Boulder, were conceived as whole neighborhoods rather than for their individual components.

With this approach, the City is encouraged to explore the use of "Character Areas" as one way to manage areas of potential historic significance without implementing the stricter guidelines that historic districts may carry under the City's current historic preservation ordinance. Character Areas are those that are considered to have special architectural or historic interest and that possess a character or appearance deemed desirable to preserve or enhance. They are areas of the community that have achieved a unique, recognizable character that is different from other neighboring areas. These differences may be the result of topography, age and style of housing, built environment, land use patterns, landscaping, street patterns, open space, or streetscapes. In the case of this study of postwar residential subdivisions, Character Areas could include the three areas identified as potentially eligible historic districts, which are Highland Park, Martin Acres, and possibly Table Mesa, pending further examination at a future date.

Character Areas can be beneficial to an entire community because their identification provides a higher awareness of the value of the physical character of a neighborhood. This allows for:

- General awareness of the character of individual areas of the community and how they fit together and contribute to the overall community;
- Inclusion of "character" as a consideration for private and public decisions within the area;
- A more complete and more commonly understood vocabulary of the historic character elements for an area;
- Higher prioritization of projects promoting character issues in the city budget;
- A basis for networking by area residents and business owners; and

- Wider acceptance of the visual and functional differences of varying neighborhoods within the city.

This survey report can serve as the first step in establishing a Character Area Plan, which involves background research and identification of potential areas of significance that may qualify as potential Character Areas. From this point forward, the city of Boulder may wish to complete a comprehensive set of policies, guidelines, and recommendations for the housing that contribute to the historic significance of these identified Character Areas. The plan could integrate these findings of historic significance with a planning tool that will also reflect visions for the future of the area, expectations of the community, and aspirations of the area's residents. This approach includes public outreach as a key component to finding a balance between maintaining the historic character of a neighborhood while addressing the goals and desires of its residents in a manner that is best suited for each neighborhood. Implementation of a Character Area Plan would also include a strategy for implementing those policies, guidelines, and recommendations for the city's Landmark Preservation Advisory Board. These ideas have been adapted from the planning methods developed by the City of Scottsdale, Arizona, and the City of Boulder is encouraged to consult their staff directly for more information (City of Scottsdale, 2010).

Future Study

Topics suggested for future research, recordation, and survey include the following:

- Research during this study identified at least three other postwar residential neighborhoods that may be worthy of future investigation. These subdivisions are known as Keewaydin Meadows in east Boulder south of Baseline Road, Melody Heights in north Boulder in the vicinity of Kalmia Avenue and 16th Street, and the Newlands subdivision of north Boulder approximately north of Alpine Avenue and west of Broadway. Future investigations of these neighborhoods could involve a preliminary reconnaissance survey and a focused historic context of the neighborhood. If the results of this survey and research, as well as the application of the overall historic context prepared in this report, identify potential historic districts and/or housing types, then a selective intensive survey of representative housing types may be recommended. The goal of this undertaking would be to identify potential postwar housing districts and/or important and intact postwar housing types not previously discovered in this study. These investigations may also demonstrate that certain housing types exist only within the ten subdivisions surveyed in this project, a fact that would enhance either individual or collective significance of the postwar housing evaluated in this report.

- Although this project focused on residential development, other postwar building types worthy of further research and study include public schools and research institutions, such as NBS (NIST). These building types are interesting for their architectural design and their close relationship with Boulder's suburban expansion during the postwar era.
- The continuation of oral history recordation as part of the Maria Rodgers Oral History Program at the Carnegie Branch Library for Local History in Boulder is also highly encouraged. In light of the scarcity of written history on the postwar era in Boulder to date, especially the social history from this period, these personal accounts and recordings have proven invaluable to establishing the historic context of this study. It is recommended that this effort include the residents of many neighborhoods included in this selective survey who were the original residents and are currently still living in their postwar house. These interviews will only further inform our understanding of this rich and important part of Boulder's recent past and the history of its postwar housing.
- Finally, this study recommends that the City of Boulder consider developing an approach for evaluating alterations and non-historic changes on a property that has potential historic significance. This approach could be modeled on the National Register's seven aspects of integrity. Incorporating an analysis of integrity into Boulder's Significance Criteria would greatly assist future cultural resource investigations when the ability of a resource to physically convey its historic significance has been impacted by numerous alterations.

The vast number of buildings, structures, and landscapes developed in Boulder during the postwar era means that the results of this survey will serve as a preliminary understanding of this 20-year period of large-scale residential growth in Boulder. This report will allow the staff of the City of Boulder's Planning and Development Services and the City's Historic Preservation Landmarks Board members to identify important postwar neighborhoods and articulate their importance to the larger community and elected officials, while eligibility recommendations will assist staff members to make informed decisions about which neighborhoods merit consideration for a variety of levels of designation and protection. Public outreach will also be a key component of communicating the historic significance Boulder's residential architecture and its neighborhoods within the context of the city and the dramatic changes that occurred during the postwar period.

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