

**Report No. CDOT-2011- 6**  
**Final Report**

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# **DENVER AREA POST-WORLD WAR II SUBURBS**

**Bunyak Research Associates**  
**Front Range Research Associates, Inc.**

**April 2011**

**COLORADO DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION**  
**APPLIED RESEARCH AND INNOVATION BRANCH**

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**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places  
Multiple Property Documentation Form**

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

New Submission     Amended Submission

**A. Name of Multiple Property Listing**

Historic Residential Subdivisions of Metropolitan Denver, 1940-1965

**B. Associated Historic Contexts**

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Metropolitan Denver Suburban Residential Development, 1940-1965

**C. Form Prepared by**

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**D. Certification**

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation.  
(See continuation sheet for additional comments [ ].)

Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer  
Signature and title of certifying official    Date

State Historic Preservation Office, Colorado Historical Society  
State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of the Keeper    Date of Action

## Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheet in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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### Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University
- Other

Name of repository:

Denver Public Library

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*).

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## **E. Statement of Historic Contexts**

### **1. Metropolitan Denver on the Eve of World War II**

#### **Introduction**

The five-county Denver region experienced a 146 percent increase in its population between 1940 and the end of 1965, growing from 407,962 inhabitants to just over a million. The built-up area of the region pushed outward from the City and County of Denver as more land was absorbed for residential, commercial, and industrial uses. The mechanism that permitted the region to accommodate nearly 600,000 new residents was the creation of newly-platted residential subdivisions in open areas of Denver and in lands previously used for orchards, truck farms, and grazing in the suburban periphery. For many agriculturists in the Denver region their “last harvest” (that is, the sale of their land for development) came in the two decades following the end of World War II (1939-1945).<sup>1</sup>

The creation of a subdivision is a legal process controlled at the local level, requiring the approval of the county or municipality within which the land is located. Subdividing entails the division of a larger parcel of land by its owner (or owners) into smaller units for subsequent sale and development. A plat map is prepared that shows streets, blocks, lots, name of the platter, governmental approvals, and, sometimes, protective covenants, such as minimum house size, required setback from the street, prohibition of temporary or mobile structures, and other restrictions. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Federal Housing Administration developed guidelines to assist in the creation of subdivisions profusely illustrated with examples of “good” and “bad” designs.

The thousands of subdivisions created in the region in the 1940-65 period varied in terms of scale, street layout, size and shape of blocks and lots, amenities, protective covenants, inclusion of special use areas, and the manner in which development proceeded. In size, subdivisions ranged from small block or half-block undertakings to ones comprising full, freestanding planned communities, such as Northglenn and Thornton. Subdivision street configurations varied from rectilinear, open, grid layouts to curvilinear plans with loop roads and cul-de-sacs aimed at curbing through-traffic and eliminating dangerous intersections. Blocks assumed various forms, from simple rectangles (often elongated) to organic, curving shapes; lots, too, ranged from rectangles to wedges and trapezoids.

Some subdivisions represented purely residential developments, while others (generally larger ones) included land for schools, churches, parks, and shopping areas. Specialty subdivisions were organized around a theme such as golf or boating. Some developments utilized previously-platted subdivisions. Subdivisions created during and immediately after World War II reflected the veterans’ housing crisis, as well as labor and materials shortages in their design. In some cases, subdivision platters created the subdivision and put in basic utilities, such as water, sewer, and streets, but left it to the buyers of lots to undertake the tasks of selecting a design and choosing a builder to erect a house. In other instances, particularly for larger-scale subdivisions, the development process was vertically integrated, with the platter also serving as developer—selecting designs, erecting houses, and marketing houses to the final buyers.

As Stanley L. McMichael wrote in 1949, “Recent years have brought startling changes to the business of subdividing real estate. The selling of lots has been merged with the building of houses until today the buyer acquires a complete new home, often including electrical equipment as part and parcel of

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<sup>1</sup> See, Witold Rybczynski, *Last Harvest: How a Cornfield Became New Daleville* (New York: Scribner, 2007).

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the finished product.”<sup>2</sup> In the Denver region, the cast of players engaged in subdivision platting and home construction ran the gamut from small-time operators who built a few houses a year to major national development firms, such as Del E. Webb and F. & S. Construction (Sam Hoffman’s company) which erected hundreds yearly. Techniques in marketing houses, including model homes, billboards, newspaper display advertisements, celebrity appearances, and annual “Parade of Homes” events, played an important role in the process.

The geographic area covered by this MPDF is the Colorado Department of Transportation (CDOT) Region 6 boundary. This 720-square mile area holds the portion of the Denver region that had developed by 1965 and includes parts of Adams, Arapahoe, Broomfield, Denver, Douglas, and Jefferson counties, extending from Golden and Colorado 470 on the west to Interstate 225 in Aurora on the east and from Brighton on the north to a sliver of the Highlands Ranch community in Douglas County on the south. Major municipalities wholly or partly within Region 6 include Denver, Aurora, Lakewood, Thornton, Westminster, Arvada, Littleton, Broomfield, Wheat Ridge, Commerce City, Golden, and Englewood.

In addition to employing the tools typically used to produce a historic context, the project developed and employed a Regional Parcel Database in order to quantitatively understand the dimensions of single-family residential growth in the 1940-65 period. Composed of Assessor data from the five counties within CDOT Region 6, the database provides data at the parcel level for such items as year built, physical address, land use type, square feet of building, parcel area, number of rooms, and roof and wall material. Parcel numbers were used to link this attribute data to parcel polygons, permitting visual display and analysis of data in a geographic information system.

In appreciating how the region’s growth and development occurred, it is important to understand the 1940 baseline from which the region grew, a time when Denver reigned as the area’s undisputed jurisdiction surrounded by small satellite communities. World War II brought new military installations and industries to the area, expanded the transportation system, and exposed tens of thousands of servicemen and women to the region. The conflict encouraged postwar migration to the Denver region and created the framework for the industrial and residential expansion of the region in the 1950s and 1960s.

### Events of the 1920s and 1930s Set the Stage for Subdivision Growth

Urbanist Marc Weiss judges: “All of the elements that constituted what many have referred to as ‘postwar suburbanization’ were firmly in place by prewar 1940.”<sup>3</sup> America’s suburbanization began in the early nineteenth century, and by the 1920s suburban areas were growing at a faster rate than established cities.<sup>4</sup> Reformers considered the movement outward from the city center healthy, reflecting the desire of working and middle class families to escape crowded inner-city living conditions and attendant crime and industrial pollution. A new focus on family life contributed to American preferences for living further from the city and impacted house design.<sup>5</sup> By the end of the

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<sup>2</sup> Stanley L. McMichael, *Real Estate Subdivisions* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 156.

<sup>4</sup> David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, September 2002), iii.

<sup>5</sup> Kay K. Stewart, “Twentieth Century Housing Design,” in Gertrude S. Fish, ed., *The Story of Housing* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1979), 463; Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000*, 97; Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 210.

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decade, suburbanization had progressed to the extent that most American cities were surrounded by suburbs experiencing their own outlying development.<sup>6</sup> As architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright observes, "Most sociologists and planners considered the suburban trend the saving grace of America, embodying a combination of small-town virtues and urban amenities in a carefully planned environment."<sup>7</sup> A shortage of adequate housing for city and suburban dwellers existed by the 1920s, increased during the Great Depression, and became critical during and immediately after World War II.

The restrictive nature of home mortgages constituted one of the biggest roadblocks in the expansion of housing during the early twentieth century. Until the 1920s, most home loans were offered for short periods of about two to three years before they were due in full.<sup>8</sup> Change came when the federal government began treating housing as an important component of national policy.<sup>9</sup> The Division of Building and Housing in the Commerce Department received the task of increasing consumption through standardizing lots, houses, and materials. In 1922 the federal government created a national model building code with standards for components such as plumbing, wiring, flooring, and roofing that could be adopted by municipalities. Model zoning ordinances appeared in 1924 and 1928. The National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) pushed the federal government to stimulate housing growth through loan guarantees.<sup>10</sup>

By the 1920s, some developers planned all features of residential subdivisions, including street width and layout, sewer systems, and the integration of existing landscapes and transit connections. These entrepreneurs sometimes employed unified themes for subdivisions based on residential architectural styles or other features. Some speculative builders catered to working and middle class buyers by erecting several houses of the same design on a tract of land in an effort to produce less costly homes.<sup>11</sup> The era also ushered in improvements in construction techniques, resulting in some lumber companies adopting methods of mass production by the 1930s.<sup>12</sup>

Developers and real estate professionals worked with city planners and elected officials to create regulations and laws beneficial to subdivision development. Most subdivisions were not viable without public assistance such as the completion of infrastructure improvements and provision of services such as fire protection. In addition, regulation of territory surrounding a new residential area was considered important to maintaining its stability. Zoning, a widely used planning tool, controlled aspects such as the use, height, and size of buildings.<sup>13</sup> Zoning also separated residential development from what were considered inappropriate neighboring activities such as farming or industrial operations. In addition, communities also adopted zoning to control the construction of certain types of residential buildings considered undesirable in single-family neighborhoods. The process was seen as safeguarding home values and supporting residential character.<sup>14</sup>

Some developers also regulated the size and value of houses, location of outbuildings, style of architecture, and other details through the use of restrictions placed on the subdivision plat or in

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<sup>6</sup> Architectural Historian Alan Gowans quoted in Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 97.

<sup>7</sup> Wright, *Building the Dream*, 123, 193, 195, 196.

<sup>8</sup> J. Paul Mitchell, ed., *Federal Housing Policy and Programs: Past and Present* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1985), 41.

<sup>9</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 121

<sup>10</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 121.

<sup>11</sup> Wright, *Building the Dream*, 202-204.

<sup>12</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 119.

<sup>13</sup> Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Wright, *Building the Dream*, 213.

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private contracts between the seller and buyer.<sup>15</sup> As Weiss describes, such documents represented the “idea that private owners should surrender some of their individual property rights for the common good, including their own.”<sup>16</sup> Jesse Clyde Nichols, developer of the Country Club District in Kansas City originated the self-perpetuating deed restriction that required the developer’s stipulations to continue indefinitely unless a majority of homeowners voted otherwise. Deed restrictions became one of the main ways developers enforced their planning and design philosophies, as well as other aspects of a subdivision’s future use.<sup>17</sup> Many realtors urged utilization of covenants as a way to prevent mixing of ethnic and racial groups within neighborhoods which was widely believed to ensure stability. Restrictive covenants that blocked the sale of homes to particular racial or ethnic groups proliferated.<sup>18</sup> Controlling lot sizes and house prices also became a way of insuring economic homogeneity.<sup>19</sup>

Expanding use of the automobile profoundly influenced subdivision planning. Traffic engineers concentrated on improving roadways with signals, bridges, and divided highways. Some developers created curving streets and cul-de-sacs to improve the visual appearance and driving experience through their neighborhoods, as well as to provide a safer environment. The automobile impacted the planning of new homes, as garages became a standard feature of residential lots. Developers also began creating small neighborhood shopping areas accessible by car to serve local residents.<sup>20</sup>

The Great Depression impacted the housing industry by dramatically reducing the number and average size of dwellings constructed. Attendant declines in incomes and birth rates resulted in less demand for and construction of new housing. When the federal government entered home financing with the intention of stimulating the economy, it also impacted many other sectors of American life and laid the groundwork for postwar growth. J. Paul Mitchell states that “federal efforts since the 1930s to put home ownership within the reach of more citizens have focused on home financing,” most effectively by making borrowing easier.<sup>21</sup>

### **The National Housing Act of 1934 and the Federal Housing Administration**

Prior to 1934, builders financed residential building by obtaining loans from suppliers and banks, while homebuyers applied to a lending organization. The life of a consumer home loan generally lasted five to ten years or less, with an eight percent mortgage interest rate. Lending practices were based on the judgment of the lender. Sources for loans included banks and savings-and-loan organizations. Savings and loans consisted of groups of individuals investing in savings and loan plans whereby members could apply for a short-term loan to buy a house. Banks and savings and loan organizations often inflated mortgage interest rates to earn a profit. At the time, no national market for mortgage credit existed and lending policies and laws varied by jurisdiction. National economic trends affected short-term loans and their availability. In 1929, the number of loans approved plummeted as defaults on existing loans rose, resulting in a dramatic decline of residential construction across the nation.

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<sup>15</sup> Wright, *Building the Dream*, 200.

<sup>16</sup> Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 69.

<sup>17</sup> Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 3.

<sup>18</sup> Although the Supreme Court outlawed municipal residential segregation ordinances in 1917, it was not until 1948 that it found contractual agreements between individuals that embodied restrictive racial covenants could not be enforced by the judiciary.

<sup>19</sup> Wright, *Building the Dream*, 212.

<sup>20</sup> Wright, *Building the Dream*, 208.

<sup>21</sup> Mitchell, *Federal Housing Policy*, 40.

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In an effort to speed up housing recovery in 1934, Congress approved the National Housing Act. The basic objectives of the legislation were to reform lending practices, to broaden opportunities for home ownership, and to raise housing standards. The act also addressed the fact that almost one-third of the unemployed in America previously worked in building trades, with housing being the most important component of the industry. The government believed new home construction would put the jobless to work and stimulate the economy.<sup>22</sup> With the act, Congress created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and a system of loans that provided a temporary stimulus for new construction loans as a means of creating jobs. The FHA provided loans to both builders and homebuyers. The act also created a stable network of lending institutions with the charter of the National Mortgage Association.<sup>23</sup>

The FHA created guidelines for loan programs to cover lenders against losses due to non-repayment by consumers. Loans could be made on new and existing homes. The act established a housing appraisal system on which lenders could base loans and review the homebuyer's ability to repay. Under FHA guidelines, a homebuyer could borrow more money than previously and payments stretched over a much longer period of time. Loans were granted for up to 90 percent of the value of the house, resulting in lower down payments with loan terms extended to 25 years. In addition, FHA loans provided reasonable repayment rates that included both interest and principal. In turn, the federal government promised to insure financial institutions against losses. The lending institution, which provided the FHA loan, charged the borrower an annual insurance fee on the balance owed to offset losses from defaults on loans. In 1946, after the program proved to be a success, Congress voted to make the FHA permanent. The FHA has influenced lending policies and construction techniques since its inception, revolutionizing the housing loan market.<sup>24</sup>

The FHA also set standards for home construction and required house inspections to ensure standards were met. Inspectors determined the fair market value of a house for lending institutions. FHA standards for quality of housing construction were published by the agency for construction companies seeking FHA financing. The agency published four publications with guidelines and illustrations for homebuilders seeking FHA insured financing: *Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses* (1936), *Planning Profitable Neighborhoods* (1938), *Subdivision Development* (1940), and *Successful Subdivisions* (1940) (See Figure K1).<sup>25</sup> Published standards included minimum lot size requirements and recommendations for setbacks. The FHA recommended subdivision regulations and restrictive covenants to ensure what it considered pleasant housing communities and to maintain neighborhood stability. The agency focused on private development of entire residential communities of single-family homes outside the city center, based on model design standards.<sup>26</sup> Developers could send their preliminary plans for FHA evaluation and receive comments on ways to improve them in order to meet agency guidelines. Simple traditional residential styles that spelled conformity rather than individuality fit the specifications established. Thus, the agency determined the types of construction that became ubiquitous during the postwar era.<sup>27</sup> As Weiss noted, between 1934 and

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<sup>22</sup> Gertrude S. Fish, ed., *The Story of Housing* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1979), 200.

<sup>23</sup> Julian H. Zimmerman, "The Federal Housing Administration Story in Summary: The First 25 Years" (Government Printing Office, 1960) 4, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/23806997/The-FHA-s-First-25-Years> (accessed 4 February 2010).

<sup>24</sup> Elizabeth S. Wilson, "Postwar Modern Housing and a Geographic Information System Study of Scottsdale Subdivisions," August 2002, 11-13; Julian H. Zimmerman, "First 25 Years," 5.

<sup>25</sup> Wilson, "Postwar Modern Housing," 11-12; Unknown, n.d., "FHA Guidelines Loan Programs," <http://www.bad-credit-mortgage-refinance-advisor.com> (accessed 22 July 2009); and Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 29-31.

<sup>26</sup> Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 148.

<sup>27</sup> Neil Larson, "An Overview of Post-World War II Housing and its Significance in Newton, Massachusetts," *The*

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1940 "FHA had fully established the land planning and development process and pattern that a decade later captured media attention as 'postwar suburbanization.'"<sup>28</sup>

In essence, the FHA regulated the housing industry not only nationally but also locally. City and county permit systems established in Denver and surrounding municipalities resulted in standardization of the local construction industry, forcing small builders to conform to city and federal regulations. These standards were intended to protect homeowners. In 1952, an investigation of Denver developer Samuel Hoffman's construction methods resulted in the replacement of inferior siding on houses in Aurora, as well as imposition of a fine.<sup>29</sup> Standardization in construction also resulted in standardization of housing plans. Builders developed a limited set of plans and elevations available to home buyers in planned communities.

The effects of the Act were immediate. When financial institutions received FHA mortgage guarantees that encouraged them to lend more, construction companies began to hire and build again, and increases in the rate of home ownership occurred. In the late 1930s homebuilders still focused on small projects. Most erected no more than a few dwellings a year; only a small number built as many as ten houses. Dolores Hayden found that before World War II about one-third of new houses were built by their owners and another third were erected by small contractors who finished five or fewer houses each year.<sup>30</sup> In 1938, only 33 of nearly 14,000 builders in the country erected more than 100 houses per year in a single city.<sup>31</sup> Beginning in 1939, a personal income tax deduction for mortgage interest further promoted home ownership, resulting in a small construction boom in 1940.<sup>32</sup>

Unfortunately, FHA programs did not benefit all Americans equally. Urban historians such as Kenneth Jackson conclude that agency programs privileged the white middle class and encouraged sprawl and suburbanization at the expense of central cities and the people living in them. To establish an appraisal system, beginning in the 1930s "residential security maps" of cities throughout the country were created, with neighborhoods categorized based on characteristics such as "occupation, income, and ethnicity of the inhabitants and the age, type of construction, price range, sales demand, and general state of repair of the housing stock." Four color-coded neighborhood categories were created. Green signified areas with new buildings and homogenous populations. Blue represented areas still considered "desirable" and assumed to stay that way for many more years. Yellow labeled "definitely declining" neighborhoods. The FHA reserved red for neighborhoods in decline and therefore ineligible for loans.<sup>33</sup>

Neighborhoods with people of color were labeled red, and the term "red-lining" referred to the practice of lenders not approving loans in those areas. The entire rating system resulted from the assumptions that neighborhood decline was inevitable and the presence of non-white people directly contributed to that decline. Because of the rating system, even middle and upper class blacks could not obtain

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*Demolition Delay Ordinance and Post-World War II Housing in Newton, Massachusetts*, 2001, III-2.

<sup>28</sup> Weiss quoted in Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 152.

<sup>29</sup> *Denver Post*, 7 September 1952, 1A and 10 September 1952, 1; "Hoffman Homeowners to Get New Siding on Houses" *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 September 1952, 51.

<sup>30</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 132.

<sup>31</sup> Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 156.

<sup>32</sup> James C. Massey and Shirley Maxwell, "After the War: How the Rush to House Returning Vets Recast Suburbia," *Old House Journal*, April 2004, 89.

<sup>33</sup> Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 207, 197.



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mortgage loans, and many once stable inner-city neighborhoods experienced adverse impacts.<sup>34</sup> As Wright indicates, “Explicit endorsement of segregation—by class and by race—was not only an outcome of federal housing policies; it was a stated principle in every government housing program.” This included FHA guidelines for suburban development that supported segregation as a way of maintaining stable property values. In its publication *Planning Profitable Neighborhoods*, the FHA suggested developers focus on a particular income, age, and racial group when designing a residential area. More blatantly, it refused to guarantee home mortgages in areas that experienced influxes of African Americans, asserting that such change made loans in these locations risky, and it provided a model restrictive racial covenant for developers.<sup>35</sup> For African Americans, as for most working class and many middle class citizens, ownership of a new home remained a distant hope until after World War II.<sup>36</sup>

### **Metropolitan Denver on the Eve of World War II**

[Denver], “Queen City of the Plains,” the State’s capital and largest community, radiates a wide influence throughout the Rocky Mountain region as a commercial, financial, and tourist center. Here a mile above the sea, on fifty-eight square miles of high plains at the junction of Cherry Creek and the South Platte, lives almost a third of all Coloradoans. Eastward, and to the north and south, stretch the tawny plains as far as the eye can see. Some twelve miles to the west abruptly rise the brown and green foothills of the Rockies: beyond them towers the snow-capped Front Range, visible on clear days from Pikes Peak on the south to Longs Peak on the north, a distance of 150 miles.<sup>37</sup>

Seventy years ago, the City and County of Denver dwarfed the metropolitan region’s other counties and cities in terms of population, land area, and commerce. The developed area of the region remained relatively compact, with Denver surrounded by a number of small satellite communities, none of which crossed a county line. Denver encompassed about four-fifths of the region’s population by 1940, with 322,412 citizens out of 407,961 (See Tables J1 and J2). Denver had grown by 12 percent over its 1930 population, and the city embraced 58.75 square miles of land.<sup>38</sup> The Denver central business district comprised the region’s center of banking, retail trade, and commerce. Like several other towns in the metropolitan area, it was a municipality generally pleased with its quality of life and cautious about the impact of future growth.<sup>39</sup>

Arapahoe County held the region’s second-largest population in 1940, with 32,150 people, followed by Jefferson County with 30,715. Smaller numbers of residents were found in Adams County, which included 22,481 people, and the Broomfield area, with about 193 residents. Englewood, the second largest incorporated municipality in the region, had a population of 9,680. Of the 13 municipalities which existed in 1940, most organized in the nineteenth century or during the first decade of the twentieth century (See Table J3). No new city had incorporated since Westminster in 1911. Outlying towns featured small downtown commercial areas, but no shopping centers on the periphery yet existed. As a result of its predominance, Denver’s actions often set the course for the region until the

<sup>34</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 197.

<sup>35</sup> Wright, *Building Suburbia*, 218 and 247; Jack E. Woods, Jr., “Race and Housing, in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 372.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew Hope, “Evaluating the Significance of San Lorenzo Village, a Mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century Suburban Community,” *CRM Journal* (Summer 2005): 51.

<sup>37</sup> Writers’ Program, Work Projects Administration, *The WPA Guide to 1930s Colorado* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1987; orig. pub. New York: Hastings House, 1941), 125 (hereafter, *WPA Guide*).

<sup>38</sup> Other cities of similar size had grown an average of 5 percent during the same period. *Denver Post*, 8 December 1943, 30.

<sup>39</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 March 1950, 22.

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end of World War II.<sup>40</sup> During the 1940-65 period, nine municipalities would incorporate. This burst of town creation occurred in those parts of the region experiencing high levels of subdivision platting and new housing development.

The 1941 Work Projects Administration (WPA) *Guide to Colorado* described Denver as “predominantly ‘a white collar city’—a commercial, financial, political, and tourist center, with increasing interest in the amenities of life.” Gates Rubber, the area’s largest industrial concern, employed 1,500 workers and produced \$8 million in goods yearly. Located in south central Denver at South Broadway and West Mississippi Avenue, Gates manufactured such items as rubber belts, tires, and gaskets. Meat processing was also an important sector of the economy. The Denver Union Stockyards in north central Denver included facilities for cattle, sheep, hogs, and horses; it was the largest receiving market for sheep in the country, handling more than one million head annually. In Golden, the Adolph Coors Company operated a brewery as well as a ceramic and porcelain manufactory. General Iron Works in Englewood specialized in machine shop and foundry work. Brighton in northern Adams County served as home to a Great Western Sugar Company beet sugar factory, a pickle plant, and a vegetable cannery. Acres of close-in agricultural endeavors were still commonplace, with truck farms in Arvada and Adams County along Clear Creek. Westminster and Wheat Ridge residents tended orchards and the latter community grew carnations. The *Guide* noted the region’s pleasant climate and proximity to the Rocky Mountains prompted the emergence of a large sector of the economy catering to tourists, including

a large number of small hotels, furnished cottages and apartments, auto camps, and sightseeing companies with fleets of buses. This commerce from June through August constitutes one of the city’s chief sources of revenue. During these months the streets are thronged with cars from every State of the Union; visitors in gay sports attire, in khaki, in overalls, throng the shopping centers and hotels, and tax to capacity the parking lots in the heart of the city.<sup>41</sup>

The region already had a large federal government presence in 1940, earning it the nickname of “the western Capital.” Sixty-four units of federal departments operated, among them the Denver U.S. Mint. Three active military installations included: Fort Logan, an Army post established in southwest Denver in the nineteenth century; Fitzsimons General Hospital, an Army hospital constructed during World War I; and Lowry Field, an Army Air Corps facility that opened in 1938. Higher education facilities included the Colorado School of Mines in Golden and four private schools: the University of Denver, Regis College, Colorado Women’s College, and Loretta Heights Academy.

The limited access freeway era lay in the future, but three principal U.S. highways passed through the region in 1940, including U.S. 85, 87, and 40 (See Figure K2). U.S. 85/87 entered from the south and followed Santa Fe Drive into Denver, where the routes split with U.S. 85 departing northeast along Brighton Boulevard and U.S. 87 heading north via Federal Boulevard. U.S. 40 passed east west through the region along Colfax Avenue. Most of the roads in the counties surrounding Denver had gravel surfaces. Seven major railroads connected the Denver area with the rest of the nation, and an estimated 60 passenger trains passed through Union Station during summer months. Continental Air Lines and United Air Lines served the region at Denver Municipal Airport (later Stapleton International Airport) at East 32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue and Ulster Street in northeast Denver.

Two interurban rail lines linked Denver with Golden in the foothills to the west, and another served

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<sup>40</sup> Mark S. Foster, *Citizen Quigg: A Mayor’s Life of Civic Service* (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2006), 132.

<sup>41</sup> *WPA Guide*, 75, 136, 151, 367, and 126-27.

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Arvada and Leyden to the northwest. An extensive streetcar system criss-crossed Denver neighborhoods, with lines extending to Aurora, Englewood, Littleton, and Wheat Ridge. June 1940 saw the arrival of trolley coaches and gasoline buses to replace selected streetcar lines. Further plans by Denver Tramway to phase out streetcars were delayed until after World War II.<sup>42</sup>

The region's racial composition in 1940 was 97.7 percent white. Of the area's 8,139 African Americans, all but 303 lived in the City and County of Denver. Other races (including Asians and Native Americans) totaled 1,370 persons, 55.9 percent of whom resided in Denver. Outside of Denver, the only notable numbers of persons of other races lay in Adams County, where 424 persons were counted. A majority of this group was located in the Henderson area and may have been farmers of Japanese heritage. Within Denver, a 1941 study by the University of Denver found African Americans and Hispanos segregated (if not by law, by custom and social pressure) in certain areas of the city. Nearly 85 percent of blacks were found in two census tracts northeast of downtown in the Five Points and Whittier neighborhoods. Two-thirds of Hispanos lived in five census tracts mostly adjacent to the South Platte River. The *WPA Guide* noted that many of these "Spanish-Americans" left the city during summer months to work in the state's sugar beet fields.<sup>43</sup>

Writing in 1949, attorney Charles A. Graham and journalist Robert Perkin described early 1940s Denver as the "reluctant capital" of the Rocky Mountain region. They characterized the city as complacent, "contentedly disinterested in its own continuing growth, abhorrent of risk-taking, chary of progress." The disruption of World War II and the postwar expansion would soon produce a new regional order with rapid growth as its cornerstone.<sup>44</sup>

### The Region's Communities in 1940

To provide a foundation for the discussion of changes occurring in the 1940-65 period, brief descriptions of the region's municipalities in 1940 follow (organized by county). Communities also are included, although some did not formally incorporate by that date.

#### City and County of Denver

In 1858, the search for gold brought the first permanent settlement to the confluence of the South Platte River and Cherry Creek, with Auraria established on the west side of Cherry Creek and Denver City founded on the east. In April 1860, the two communities merged under the name Denver, which honored Kansas Territorial Governor James Denver. Formally incorporated in the next year when Congress established the Colorado Territory, Denver became the Arapahoe county seat and in 1867 secured its position as capital of the territory. The city's connection with a transcontinental railroad in 1870 ensured its continued regional dominance, and it became the state capital in 1876. The riches extracted from Colorado mines fueled a major period of growth, and Denver became the focus of industrial, manufacturing, retail, and financial activity of the Rocky Mountain region during the 1880s and early 1890s. Developers platted numerous subdivisions served by proliferating streetcar companies. A 1902 constitutional amendment established Denver as a city and county and annexed several adjoining towns into the city. From that date until 1941, Denver did not annex additional

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<sup>42</sup> Don Robertson and Rev. W. Morris Cafky, *Denver's Street Railways, 1901-1950*, vol. II (Denver: Sundance Books, 2004), 387-88.

<sup>43</sup> The Census counted Hispanos as "white." L. Carmichael, "Housing in Denver," University of Denver Reports, Bureau of Business and Social Research and the School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance Series (Denver: University of Denver, 1941), 15-16; *WPA Guide*, 126.

<sup>44</sup> Charles A. Graham and Robert Perkin, "Denver: Reluctant Capital," 281, in Ray B. Best, ed., *Rocky Mountain Cities* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1949).

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land.<sup>45</sup> During the early twentieth century the city promoted tourism, became the home of the National Western Stock Show, and expanded its manufacturing and healthcare sectors. Mayor Robert W. Speer led an effort to transform the city by adopting the tenets of the City Beautiful movement, establishing parks and parkways, a civic center, and new public buildings. During World War I (1914-18), the city led efforts to acquire a new military facility, Fitzsimons Hospital. After the war, Denver's economic base widened with the growth of tourism, enlargement of its service and warehouse sectors, exploitation of energy resources, and the attraction of numerous federal agency offices. In the 1920s, Denver called itself "a City of Homes" and viewed itself as "cosmopolitan" and "sophisticated."<sup>46</sup> In 1925 Denver enacted its first zoning ordinance, dividing the city into residential, commercial, and industrial zones and introducing restrictions on uses, building heights, and densities.<sup>47</sup> Denver Municipal Airport opened in 1929. Like other metropolitan area communities, it suffered the profound impacts of the Great Depression. Although its population increased during the 1930s, the construction of dwelling units lagged and few subdivisions were created. As in other communities, federally funded public works projects provided employment and resulted in significant new buildings and infrastructure. In 1940, Denver was the largest city in the state, with a population of 322,412.<sup>48</sup>

### **Adams County Communities**

Adams County towns included Brighton (the county seat) and Westminster in the vicinity of Federal Boulevard and West 72<sup>nd</sup> Avenue. Federal Heights organized in 1940, while Thornton, Northglenn, and Commerce City incorporated in succeeding decades.

### **BRIGHTON**

In 1859, a group of five people settled in the Brighton Valley, and participant George Hazzard later recalled the settlers traveled to the gold camps of Central City and Idaho Springs but, "We could not forget the vision of the South Platte we had passed." Two members of the group went to the future site of Brighton and laid the foundation of five homestead claims on 14 July 1859. In the fall after "moderate success" in mining, the five men returned to the area and built five log cabins.<sup>49</sup> In 1865, the Fulton Ditch Company organized, and the first school opened in 1870 at a local farm. In 1870, Hughes Station was established in the area to serve travelers along the Denver Pacific Railroad.<sup>50</sup> At first, the community consisted of railroad facilities and a few agricultural enterprises. Daniel F. Carmichael platted the townsite of Brighton in February 1881, turned his house into the first courthouse, and donated land for churches. The town incorporated in 1887, and development included a newspaper, a creamery, a three-story opera house, the Kuner-Empson cannery, and the Great Western Sugar Company factory.<sup>51</sup> In 1904, Brighton became the county seat of Adams County. The area's agricultural operations attracted Germans from Russia, Japanese, and Mexican

<sup>45</sup> R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Denver Neighborhood History Project: Overview History of Denver Neighborhood Development" (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, January 1995), 2.

<sup>46</sup> *Denver Municipal Facts*, May-June-July 1926.

<sup>47</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "Overview History," 53.

<sup>48</sup> Lyle W. Dorsett and Michael McCarthy, *The Queen City: A History of Denver*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Colorado Pruett Publishing Co., 1986), 5; Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis* (Niwot, Colo.: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 7-8, 44; Gunther Barth, *Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico, 1988), ix, 9; Jerome C. Smiley, *History of Denver* (Denver: Times-Sun Publishing Co., 1901; reprint, Denver: Old Americana Publishing Co., 1978), 483.

<sup>49</sup> Hazzard quoted in Maude Linstrom Frandsen, *All the Way: An Account of the Development of a City and a Church* (N.p.: n.p., n.d.), 2.

<sup>50</sup> Frandsen, *All the Way*, 3

<sup>51</sup> Colorado State Archives, "City and Town Incorporations," <http://www.colorado.gov> (accessed 17 April 2009).

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immigrants, including migrant workers. Brighton included 4,029 residents in 1940.<sup>52</sup>

### **COMMERCE CITY**

As Colorado historians Stephen Leonard and Thomas Noel describe, "German hog farmers first settled along Sand Creek, feeding their pigs Denver's garbage and then feeding the hogs back to Denver." Italian and Japanese truck gardeners raised vegetables and fruits, and dairies also found the area attractive. The first school in the vicinity opened in 1871. Agricultural endeavors continued to dominate the local economy during the early twentieth century. An oil refinery arrived in 1930, and grain elevators rose late in the decade. Substantial change and growth arrived with the establishment of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal to the east during World War II. Commerce City, organized initially as Commerce Town, did not incorporate until 1952.<sup>53</sup>

### **FEDERAL HEIGHTS**

Colorado and Southern Railway employee Harvey Larsen acquired two-and-a-half acres of land near West 92<sup>nd</sup> Avenue and Federal Boulevard in 1927. The elevated position of the site overlooking Denver inspired Larsen to name the area "Federal Heights." As traffic on the boulevard increased, Larsen established the North Federal Heights Grocery and Supply Station along the thoroughfare. The first privately owned airport in Colorado was established in the vicinity of Federal Heights. In the 1930s, Harry Ruston, who served as Colorado Attorney General, a federal judge, and journalist, built four-runway Federal Heights Airport, also known as "Ruston Field," on 320 acres near the intersection of West 100<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Federal Boulevard. In the late 1930s, the small number of residents in the area used a well on Harvey Larsen's land, which provided drinking water that was of questionable safety. Residents began meeting to discuss the water problems and concluded that incorporation was the only practical solution. Thirty-one residents of Federal Heights incorporated the town in 1940.<sup>54</sup> "At the time, it was a small collection of houses just west of Federal Boulevard near West 88<sup>th</sup> and 90<sup>th</sup> avenues." One of the first town acts was to drill a new well providing better water. Federal Heights served as a convenient location and an affordable place to live for many wartime workers entering the metropolitan area. The community welcomed the makeshift homes that other areas spurned.<sup>55</sup>

### **WESTMINSTER**

In 1870, Pleasant de Spain homesteaded 160 acres northwest of Denver. A small community of farms grew as DeSpain Junction on the Denver Western & Pacific Railroad. At the time, it was a small collection of houses just west of Federal Boulevard near West 88<sup>th</sup> and 90<sup>th</sup> avenues. As early settlers sold out, real estate developer C.J. Harris purchased tracts to subdivide for fruit farms and platted a small village called Harris or Harris Park. The Denver Presbytery built Westminster University, which opened its doors in 1908. A year later, school officials formed the Westminster Realty Company to subdivide school land into 1,000 lots. In April 1911, residents of Harris incorporated, naming their community Westminster in honor of the university. By that time, the Colorado & Southern Railway and the Denver & Interurban electric line served the area. In subsequent years, automobiles traveled Lowell and Federal (U.S. 287) boulevards, the two major north-south streets. From its beginnings and into the 1940s, Westminster served as the center of some of the largest fruit orchards in the metropolitan area and included a community of horse

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<sup>52</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 346-348.

<sup>53</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 361-362.

<sup>54</sup> Colorado State Archives, "Incorporations."

<sup>55</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 May 1989, 8B; "History of Federal Heights," <http://www.ci.federal-heights.co.us> (accessed 10 April 2009).

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properties. Its population reached 534 by 1940.<sup>56</sup>

### **Arapahoe County Communities**

Arapahoe County contained four municipalities in 1940: Littleton, Englewood, and Sheridan to the south of Denver and Aurora to the east. Bow Mar, on the Arapahoe-Jefferson county line, and Centennial, Greenwood Village, Cherry Hills Village, Columbine Valley, and Glendale had not yet organized as cities.

#### **AURORA**

Aurora, today the third most populous city in the state, began as a small hamlet called Fletcher four miles east of Denver. Denver investor Donald K. Fletcher founded the town in 1891 as a real estate venture. Fletcher incorporated in 1903, changing its name to Aurora in 1907. At the time the area was best known for its agrarian industries, including cattle (beef and dairy), bees, chickens, and feed crops.<sup>57</sup> East Colfax Avenue (U.S. 40) became the principal axis of growth and development in the city, connecting it to Denver and serving as the major east-west corridor through the entire metropolitan area. By the 1920s, Aurora served as the gateway city to Denver, with East Colfax Avenue motor courts catering to auto-tourists on their way to the capital and west to the Rocky Mountains. Despite good accessibility, Aurora remained small until World War II, when Lowry Field, Buckley Field, and the Rocky Mountain Arsenal opened, joining nearby Fitzsimons Army Hospital and the Denver Municipal Airport as major employers. The population of Aurora stood at 3,437 residents in 1940.<sup>58</sup>

#### **BOW MAR**

The Bow Mar area developed as an agricultural area home to several large farms. John Bowles and John Marston raised cattle and farmed the gently rolling hills, selling their agricultural products in Littleton and Denver. Two local water bodies, Bowles Lake and Marston Reservoir, were named after the early farmers. The Bowles family farmhouse is located in south Bow Mar today. In 1946, the area began to develop as a large-lot subdivision and did not incorporate until 1958.<sup>59</sup>

#### **CENTENNIAL**

Like other portions of western Arapahoe County, the Centennial area, east of Littleton and south of Greenwood Village, housed a variety of agricultural undertakings through the World War II period. The area remained unincorporated until 2001.

#### **CHERRY HILLS VILLAGE**

In 1922, Henry Van Schaack's Country Homes Land Company sold the idea of "country homes" in an area south of Denver and east of Englewood. Cherry Hills attracted Denver socialites eager for a second home with a country life, expansive estates, mountain views, and privacy. Owners of large tract farms and ranches began to sell in the 1920s and 1930s. Investors bought and sold land once owned by "potato king" Rufus Clark and his Clark Colony, only to subdivide it into smaller parcels. Developers subdivided former Ranches, like those owned by John and Kate Perryman and the Shafroth family, into parcels sold as "acreage." Residents, who enjoyed gardening, horses, and life in

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<sup>56</sup> Dawn Bunyak, "Westminster Selective Intensive Survey, Westminster, Jefferson County, Colorado" (Westminster, Colorado: Westminster Office of Community Development, June 2009), introduction; Albin Wagner, *Adams County, Colorado: A Centennial History, 1902-2002* (Virginia Beach, Virginia: Donning Company Publishing, 2002), 70-75.

<sup>57</sup> Wagner, *Adams County*, 66-70.

<sup>58</sup> *Colorado Yearbook, 1962-1964*.

<sup>59</sup> "Bow Mar," <http://www.bowmar.gov/test/default.htm> (accessed 20 May 2009).

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the country, bought parcels and built homes. Landowners organized to build the Cherry Hills Country Club, named for a small cherry orchard located on a knoll on the club grounds. Cherry Hills Village neighbors organized to form a special district when threatened by Denver's plans to build an airport near their quiet, country village. Attorney J. Churchill Owen, a Cherry Hills resident, drafted zoning legislation in 1939 to protect unincorporated areas by: 1) allowing counties to zone property designed for the county's best future land use and 2) permitting unincorporated areas to organize to create fire protection and improvement districts without incorporating. This allowed Cherry Hills to create both a fire protection district and a district improvement association to protect its interests temporarily without incorporating or annexing. The community did not incorporate until 1945.<sup>60</sup>

### **ENGLEWOOD**

Between Denver and Littleton, a densely inhabited, agrarian community along the South Platte River and Little Dry Creek in Arapahoe County rose out of the lands first homesteaded by Thomas Skerritt in the early 1860s. Skerritt is credited with making a road with his horses, plow, and wagon north from the small agricultural settlement into Denver. That road is now South Broadway Boulevard, the first legally established road south of Denver and a major north-south corridor in the city. The City of Englewood, formerly known as Orchard Place for a large section of fruit trees Skerritt planted, incorporated in 1903 in response to a movement led by Jacob C. Jones, who became its first mayor. Swedish National Sanatorium, established in 1905, became one of the largest employers in the city. Two other large nearby employers at the time were Loretto Academy (now Teikyo Loretto Heights College) and Fort Logan (established in 1887). Hampden Avenue (originally Sheridan Avenue), the major east-west transportation corridor led to Fort Sheridan, later renamed Fort Logan. In 1939, Fort Logan, a training center, became a support unit for Lowry Field. Englewood, the region's second largest municipality in 1940, included 9,680 inhabitants.<sup>61</sup>

### **GLENDALE**

The Glendale area, abutting the eastern edge of Denver about four miles from downtown, originally contained a string of dairy and stock-raising farms along Cherry Creek. Later a number of "commercial gardens" or nightclubs located there. Denver annexations around the settlement in the 1940s created an enclave of unincorporated Arapahoe County within Denver. The area incorporated in 1952.<sup>62</sup>

### **GREENWOOD VILLAGE**

Greenwood Village originally developed in agricultural pursuits, including part of Rufus "Potato" Clark's holdings and a portion of Cyrus Richardson's Greenwood Ranch. Farming and dairying continued into the twentieth century. Famed muralist Allen True had his studio in the vicinity in the 1930s. During the 1930s and 1940s, the area included a mix of farms, small homes, and second country homes for wealthy Denverites. Greenwood Village incorporated in 1950 to avoid annexation by Englewood.

### **LITTLETON**

Richard S. Little, who came to the area in 1860 to lay out Denver's City Ditch, founded Littleton, which became the seat of Arapahoe County. Little and his wife homesteaded on a 120-acre tract lying on

<sup>60</sup> Klasina VanderWerf, *High on Country: A Narrative of Cherry Hills Village, From the Early Beginnings to 1975* (Cherry Hills Land Preserve, 2007) 41-42, 17, 26.

<sup>61</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 283-287; Dave Hicks, *Englewood From the Beginning* (Denver, Colorado: A-T-P Publishing Company, 1971).

<sup>62</sup> Jack E. and Patricia A. Fletcher, *The History of Glendale* (Glendale, Colorado: City of Glendale, 1983) 121-123.

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the South Platte River seven miles south of Denver. Little and partner John G. Lilley established the Rough and Ready Mill in 1867 to process grain from South Platte River Valley Ranches. The mill represented the first manufacturing enterprise in a primarily agrarian area.<sup>63</sup> In 1872, after the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad laid track south of Denver, Little platted Little's Town, or Littleton near his mill. In 1881, the Santa Fe Railroad began serving Littleton, further enhancing its accessibility.<sup>64</sup> By 1890, residents sought incorporation as a town. The town's early identity focused on its agrarian economy and industries that included the mill, creamery, canning, and pickling plants. In 1917, Colorado Highway 285 (now U.S. 85/87 or Santa Fe Drive) south from Denver to Littleton became the first paved state highway. The popularity of U.S. 85 as a major corridor south to Colorado Springs eventually forced the state's transportation engineers to move the highway west of its previous route through Littleton. Littleton adopted a zoning ordinance in 1938 due to concern over commercial buildings intruding into residential neighborhoods. By 1940 three important industries operated in Littleton: Coleman Motors, Red Comet, and Heckethorn Manufacturing and Supply. Despite good transportation access, the population of Littleton in 1940 population hovered at 2,244.<sup>65</sup>

### **SHERIDAN**

In 1859, brothers John and Isaac McBroom settled in the area where Bear Creek meets the South Platte River to homestead 160 acres in the vicinity of present day Sheridan. Swedish immigrant Peter Magnes laid out the town of Petersburg (at the corner of present day Hampden Avenue and South Santa Fe Drive) and encouraged fellow Swedes to immigrate there. The town of Petersburg never officially incorporated. The army established Fort Logan to the west in 1887. Isaac McBroom is credited with laying out the town of Sheridan, named in honor of Civil War General Philip H. Sheridan, who created Fort Logan. Sheridan incorporated in April 1890 and eventually included Petersburg. The town became home to many of the military families and local businessmen associated with life at the fort. In 1940, Sheridan's population stood at 712.<sup>66</sup>

### **Jefferson County Communities**

In Jefferson County, Golden held sway as the county seat and largest city, with Coors Brewing Company, Coors Porcelain, and the Colorado School of Mines as principal employers. Arvada, northwest of Denver, served as an agricultural supply center surrounded by truck gardens. The small communities of Edgewater, Mountain View, and Lakeside abutted Denver on the west between West 20<sup>th</sup> and West 48<sup>th</sup> avenues. The communities of Lakewood and Wheat Ridge were devoted to agriculture and consisted of low density development; they did not incorporate until 1969.

### **ARVADA**

Arvada claims an 1850 gold discovery on Ralston Creek as the beginning of its history.<sup>67</sup> Following major lode discoveries in several parts of Colorado in 1859, a settlement known as "Ralston" formed on a high ridge west of the confluence of Ralston and Clear creeks. By the late 1860s, agriculture

<sup>63</sup> City of Littleton, "General History of Littleton," <http://www.littletongov.org/history> (accessed 16 July 2009); Laurence Steel, *The Roots of Prosperity* (Littleton, Colorado: Littleton Historical Museum, April 1982), 16.

<sup>64</sup> City of Littleton, "General History of Littleton."

<sup>65</sup> R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Historic Buildings Survey, Littleton, Colorado" (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, 17 October 2001), 40-41.

<sup>66</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 290; *Colorado Yearbook*, 1962-964.

<sup>67</sup> Lois Cunniff Lindstrom, *First Gold: Lewis Ralston and Arvada, June 22, 1850* (Arvada, Colorado: Arvada Heritage Printers, 1992), 1; Arvada Historical Society, *Arvada: Just Between You and Me, A History of Arvada, Colorado, During the Period 1870-1904* (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company, 1976).



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was the primary activity in the vicinity and the settlement functioned as a service and supply center.<sup>68</sup> The 1870 connection with the Colorado Central Railroad line encouraged population growth.<sup>69</sup> Experienced townbuilder Benjamin F. Wadsworth and homesteader Louis Reno began planning a residential community, and in June 1870, the name "Arvada" started to replace Ralston in newspaper articles referring to the community.<sup>70</sup> On 28 November 1870, Wadsworth and Reno platted the townsite on land east of present-day Olde Wadsworth Boulevard, which the *Rocky Mountain News* described: "It is adjoining the railroad line and lies on beautiful ground, a spot of rare beauty ...."<sup>71</sup> The town grew slowly, experiencing none of the booms and busts of the mining towns, and it offered itself as a residential alternative to Denver. In 1901, the Denver, Boulder, and Northwestern Railway Company constructed an interurban electric railway linking the community to the Denver streetcar system. The line served as a fast, efficient means of traveling to and from the city, making commuting to work, shopping, and recreation possible. In 1904, the town incorporated, and by 1910 Arvada was the second-largest municipality in Jefferson County, with 840 residents.<sup>72</sup> Although agricultural profits declined during the 1920s, advances in other sectors of Arvada's economy resulted in a decade of rapid expansion, aided by its location on two state highways, Colorado 72 and 121.<sup>73</sup> Arvada created one of the first planning commissions in the metropolitan area in 1929, and established its first zoning ordinance in 1939, creating separate business and residential sectors.<sup>74</sup> Arvada was still a small town surrounded by acres of truck farms in the years immediately preceding the war, with a 1940 population of 1,482.<sup>75</sup>

#### **EDGEWATER**

In 1861, Thomas Sloan uncovered an underground spring while digging a well on his farm. The spring flooded 200 acres and created Sloan's Lake, from which the farmer cut ice to sell to area breweries. The area west of the lake became known as "Edgewater." A cattle trail accessed the lake, which provided water for traveling animals. In 1889, the area was advertised as "a most delightful and elegant area for homes." One history states, "In actuality, it wasn't 'elegant' at all—it was boggy, muddy, and barren—but there was a lot of open space." In 1890, George Noll moved from Denver to build one of the town's first houses and open a grocery and meat market, attracting other settlers. The Manhattan Beach amusement park developed on the north side of Sloan's Lake in 1891, including steamship rides, a roller coaster, a zoo, dance pavilion, and circus acts before closing in 1914. The first school opened in 1891, a one-room log building known as the "hog hollow school" for its location near a pig farm; a brick school replaced it in 1901. The City of Edgewater incorporated in 1904, when it contained several saloons and reportedly featured bordellos along what is now West 25<sup>th</sup> Avenue.<sup>76</sup> The town went dry in 1908, and families gradually replaced the rowdier elements with

<sup>68</sup> Arvada Historical Society, *Waters of Gold, 1850-1870* (Arvada: Arvada Historical Society, 1973), 4, 5, 7.

<sup>69</sup> *Denver Republican*, 28 June 1870, 7; David S. Digerness, *The Mineral Belt: Volume II, Georgetown, Mining, Colorado Central Railroad* (Silverton, Colo.: Sundance Publications, Ltd., 1982), 280-88; Arvada Historical Society, *More Than Gold*, 86.

<sup>70</sup> Wadsworth's wife, Mary Ann, selected the name Arvada in honor of her brother-in-law, Hiram Arvada Haskin, a railroad builder and surveyor. Arvada Historical Society, *More Than Gold*, 1, 2.

<sup>71</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 December 1870, 4.

<sup>72</sup> The 1910 enumeration was the first Census providing a population count for the Town of Arvada. Arvada Historical Society, *More Than Gold*, 177-78;

<sup>73</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 308.

<sup>74</sup> *Arvada Enterprise*, 28 September 1939, 4.

<sup>75</sup> *Arvada: Just Between You and Me*, 180.

<sup>76</sup> Colorado State Archives, "Incorporations."

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a stable, small town atmosphere. The town's 1940 population totaled 1,648.<sup>77</sup>

### **GOLDEN**

Golden's geographic setting in the foothills at the mouth of Clear Creek Canyon strongly influenced its growth and development. Clear Creek, utilized for the city's agricultural and industrial pursuits, split the city into northern and southern components, and two basaltic plateaus, North Table Mountain and South Table Mountain, provided stone for construction. Clay and coal deposits provided material for building materials, fuel, and porcelain and ceramic manufacturing.<sup>78</sup> Like Arvada and Denver, the city's founding resulted from the discovery of gold. The Boston Company, a group of eastern businessmen, recognized the strategic location and established Golden City in June 1859 as a supply center for mining activities in the mountains. The new community grew quickly, and engineer Edward Berthoud recalled that "saloons, hotels, store and dwelling-houses rose as if by magic."<sup>79</sup> Jefferson County chose Golden as its county seat in 1861, and it briefly served as the territorial capital in 1862.

Residents William A.H. Loveland and Henry M. Teller founded the territory's first railroad, the Colorado Central, in 1865. Loveland's railroad connected with Denver in 1870, and its tracks later extended to mining communities along the forks of Clear Creek, guaranteeing the city an important role as a retail, industrial, and manufacturing center.<sup>80</sup> In 1873, Adolph Coors and partner Jacob Scheuler established one of the most influential of these enterprises, a brewery. Golden's founders pushed for the territorial legislature's 1874 decision to make it the home of the Colorado School of Mines (CSM), and in 1881, Golden became the location of the State Industrial School.<sup>81</sup> Berthoud indicated that Golden had 22 industrial plants by the early 1880s. The Adolph Coors Company continued to play a prominent role in the business and community life of Golden, producing beer, porcelain, and malted milk and employing 325 men in 1940.<sup>82</sup> In 1940 Golden recorded a population of 3,175 persons.<sup>83</sup>

### **LAKWOOD**

In July 1889, Golden founder William Loveland, his wife Miranda, and Charles Clark Welch, a Colorado Territorial legislator and official of Loveland's Colorado Central Railroad, platted the town of Lakewood in Jefferson County. The townsite was eight miles west of Denver along West Colfax Avenue, a major east-west corridor between Denver and the mountains. The Lovelands built a home in the new town, which was slow to develop until the interurban Denver, Lakewood, & Golden Railroad passed through the area in 1891. The community between Denver and Golden was well known for its agrarian economy, with large orchards, dairy farms, and smaller ranches. In 1904, near West Colfax Avenue and Pierce Street, Charles D. Spivak founded the Jewish Consumptives Relief Society, a sanatorium that became one of the leading centers for the treatment of tuberculosis. The predominantly agricultural area lacked any cohesive identity during the early twentieth century;

<sup>77</sup> Edgewater Elementary School website, <http://jeffco.k12.co.us/elem/edgewater/history.htm> (accessed 10 April 2009); Judith Allison, *Four Score History of a Town Spring from Saloons* (Edgewater: Edgewater Historical Commission, 1979); Carole Lomond, Irma Wyhs, and Connie Fox, "City of Edgewater," Jefferson County City and Mountain Views, 2006, <http://222.citymntnviews.com> (accessed 10 April 2009).

<sup>78</sup> *WPA Guide*, 283.

<sup>79</sup> Edward Berthoud, "History of Jefferson County, Colorado," in O.L. Baskin, *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado* (Chicago: O.L. Baskin & Co., 1880), 365.

<sup>80</sup> Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago: Blakely Printing Co., 1891), 503.

<sup>81</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 299.

<sup>82</sup> *Canon City Record*, May 16, 1940.

<sup>83</sup> Kenneth W. Rock, *German Footprints in Colorado* (Denver: Rocky Mountain Office of the Institute of International Education and the Goethe Club of Denver, 1983), 35-36.

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instead inhabitants affiliated themselves with small enclaves or neighborhoods, such as Cyrus Creighton's 80-acre residential park called "The Glens." Teacher Ethel Dark reported that Lakewood experienced rapid growth beginning in 1934, "Hundreds of substantial new homes, in every possible style and variety of the new architectural designs, have been built there."<sup>84</sup> Lakewood incorporated in 1969.

### **MORRISON**

In 1859 Canadian stonemason George Morrison came to Colorado, soon settling in the Mt. Vernon area and extracting limestone, gypsum, and sandstone and becoming active in civic affairs. Morrison established a homestead at the mouth of Bear Creek Canyon and built the stone Mt. Vernon House to serve as a general store and tollhouse. Former Territorial Governor John Evans and his associates established the Morrison Stone, Lime, and Townsite Company and platted the town. The Denver, South Park, and Pacific Railroad arrived two years later. The area attracted picnickers and tourists due to its proximity to the mountains and the beautiful Red Rocks area. Building stone, lime kilns, mineral paint deposits, and the surrounding forests led to the town's continued development. Morrison's population reached a zenith of 750 in 1880, declining thereafter to 216 in 1940.<sup>85</sup>

### **MOUNTAIN VIEW**

The Denver investment firm of Carleton Ellis and John McDonough platted the Berkeley and Jefferson Addition, from which Mountain View was created, in December 1888. Ellis and McDonough developed John Brisben Walker's Berkeley farm into a residential neighborhood. Berkeley and Jefferson extended from Sheridan Boulevard west to Fenton Street between West 41<sup>st</sup> and 44<sup>th</sup> avenues. Streets in the subdivision possessed Spanish and Native American names until Denver's unified street system was adopted in 1897. Lakeside Amusement Park entertained crowds north of Mountain View. The area included 375 people in 1904, when residents petitioned to form the town of Mountain View and incorporated. Supporters won an election to create the town by ten votes. In 1939, the town included dwellings, a church, and a grade school that was part of the Wheat Ridge system. By 1940 the population had increased to 711.<sup>86</sup>

### **WHEAT RIDGE**

Until Wheat Ridge incorporated as a municipality in 1969, the area struggled to acquire basic services in the absence of local government. State Senator Henry Lee reportedly provided the name Wheat Ridge, referring to an area where grain grew along the ridges that the Overland Trail passed through from Denver to Central City and Blackhawk. During the nineteenth century, Wheat Ridge included the state's first grange hall, a church, school, post office, Lutheran Sanitarium, stores, wheat farms, and vegetable stands. Fruits and vegetables grew prolifically on farms in the area, and farmers sold their produce at markets in Denver and mountain towns. Pioneers included William W. Wilmore, who established the first nursery, which was followed by a number of others. Together with other Prohibitionists, Wilmore ensured that Wheat Ridge stayed dry until the 1950s. In the 1910s, George Olinger, owner of a local chain of mortuaries, built a large home at West 29<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Wadsworth Boulevard and established Crown Hill Cemetery across the street.<sup>87</sup> Olinger also created subdivisions throughout the metropolitan area, including the 1920 Olinger Gardens in Wheat Ridge. By 1939

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<sup>84</sup> Ethel Dark, "History of Jefferson County, Colorado" M.A. thesis, Colorado State College of Education, 1939, 42.

<sup>85</sup> Maxine Benson, *1001 Colorado Place Names* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 143; Georgina Brown, *The Shining Mountains* (Gunnison, Colorado: B&B printers, 1976), 41; Dark, "History of Jefferson County," iv, 39-40.

<sup>86</sup> "History of Mountain View," <http://home.att.net/~mvcpd> (accessed 10 April 2009); Dark, "History of Jefferson County," 41.

<sup>87</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 310-311.

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Wheat Ridge included a school, church, store, garage, restaurant, and post office.<sup>88</sup> During the late 1930s and early 1940s, acquisition of modern water facilities became a major concern of residents.<sup>89</sup> In 1939, the *Jefferson County Republican* reported that the local Water Committee found “some unbelievable conditions existing.” Citizens were concerned about the potential for rapid growth in the future resulting in continued demand for water.<sup>90</sup>

### **City and County of Broomfield**

By 1940, Broomfield consisted of a small, unincorporated agricultural service center in the southeastern corner of Boulder County. In 1864, Henry and Sarah Church established a ranch at today's 104<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Olde Wadsworth Boulevard, operating a small stage stop along the Cherokee Trail that grew into a larger community known as “Church's.” The Colorado Central Railroad tracks running north from Golden provided a transportation link for the area in 1873. Twelve years later, Adolph Zang and two partners purchased 4,000 acres of land in the vicinity of 120<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Olde Wadsworth Boulevard. Buying out his associates, Zang raised Percheron horses, fruit, and berries on his Elmwood Stock Farm, which included tenant operations producing dryland and irrigated crops. The small agrarian community, initially known as “Zang's Spur,” later received the designation “Broomfield,” for its acres of broom corn.<sup>91</sup> The Denver and Interurban Railway initiated service through the area in 1908 and promoted a new subdivision with \$125 lots “double the size of a city lot and large enough to keep a cow, chickens and have a garden.”<sup>92</sup> During the early twentieth century, grain elevators, a grange hall, a pickle factory, and several commercial establishments opened in the town, which remained a small agriculturally focused community of about 100 people until after World War II. The city incorporated in 1961 and became a city and county in 2001.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Dark, “History of Jefferson County,” 42.

<sup>89</sup> *Denver Post*, 7 February 1940.

<sup>90</sup> *Jefferson County Republican*, 6 April 1939.

<sup>91</sup> Jason Marmor, “Historic Preservation Feasibility Study: Broomfield Heights First Filing and Original Broomfield,” Draft, 7 June 2001 in the files of Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver.

<sup>92</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 333.

<sup>93</sup> City and County of Broomfield, “Way Back When...” <http://www.broomfield.org> (accessed 19 March 2007); Thomas J. Noel and Dan W. Corson, *Boulder County: An Illustrated History* (Carlsbad, Calif.: Heritage Media Corporation, 1999), 52, 128,

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## 2. World War II Era Developments, 1940-45

### Introduction

As urban historian Carl Abbott observes, "In the American West, the contemporary era in urban growth dates from 1940."<sup>94</sup> This is true of the Denver metropolitan area, where more than a decade of economic stagnation was erased by the country's mobilization and entrance into World War II. During the war, the federal government became the largest employer and builder in the metropolitan area as it rapidly constructed facilities associated with regional offices of government agencies and programs training thousands of military personnel before they went overseas. Other people crowded into the region to fill vital wartime jobs in factories, manufacturing products essential to the war effort. Living accommodations were strained to the limit, with hotels at maximum occupancy, family homes crammed with relatives and boarders, large older homes divided into rented rooms, and makeshift lodging created in garages and other outbuildings. An estimated four million servicemen and women passed through Denver during the conflict.<sup>95</sup>

Thousands of veterans responded to the friendly welcome they experienced in Colorado during the war by returning with plans to start families and careers, but immediately faced an acute shortage of adequate housing. Federal programs designed to assist returning veterans in acquiring homes resulted in the metropolitan area's greatest period of growth during the twentieth century, creating hundreds of new residential subdivisions. This development turned agricultural fields and undeveloped urban tracts into neighborhoods and suburbs, expanded small towns into cities, and brought entirely new planned communities to life. Two new municipalities incorporated during the early 1940s: Federal Heights, centered on Federal Boulevard and West 96<sup>th</sup> Avenue in Adams County and Cherry Hills Village, east of Englewood and south of Denver in Arapahoe County.

### Emerging From the Depression: The Denver Metropolitan Area in 1940-41

In 1939, Denver slowly emerged from the stagnation affecting housing growth during the Great Depression. Little dwelling construction occurred during the economic downturn, exacerbating a shortage of adequate housing in the city. Denver moved forward with plans to demolish substandard living quarters and erect three public low-income housing projects in the following year.<sup>96</sup> In September 1940, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported construction of residential and business properties set a ten-year record during the previous fiscal year. Due to the continued housing shortage, an increasing number of families shared single-unit dwellings. The city's growth during the year totaled more than double the general average for 1939.<sup>97</sup>

The 1940 U.S. Census found the average Denver family rented their dwelling, paying \$29.99 per month. Tenants occupied 59 percent of the city's housing, owners occupied 37 percent; The remaining 4 percent of the available living quarters in the city sat vacant. About 43 percent of the city's dwelling units dated to between 1900 and 1919, 25 percent were built before 1900, and 10 percent were erected in the 1930s. A majority of homeowners had no mortgage on their residence. Twenty-six percent of dwellings in the city contained no private bathrooms, while 35 percent needed

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<sup>94</sup> Carl Abbott, "The Metropolitan Region: Western Cities in the New Urban Era," in Gerald D. Nash and Richard W. Etulain, eds., *The Twentieth-Century West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 71.

<sup>95</sup> Stephen J. Leonard, "Denver at War: The Home Front in World War II," *Colorado Heritage* (1987)4: 33.

<sup>96</sup> Work on the first project, Lincoln Park at West 13<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Mariposa Street, began in June 1940. *Denver Post*, 23 December 1939, 12 and 9 June 1940, 4.

<sup>97</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 30 September 1940.

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major repairs.<sup>98</sup>

By the end of 1940, Denver's increased homebuilding amazed even city officials, with 1,775 houses started between January and mid-December and work continuing year-round. The City Building Department also issued construction permits for 698 living units in apartments and bungalow courts during the year. In 1940, housing construction by individual builders was still small in scale. As L.D. Webber, head of the department reported, "As fast as they are completed, a family moves in. There seems to be little speculative building. Most contractors are building for individuals, or they have a prospective purchaser ready to buy or rent."<sup>99</sup>

Many communities reaped the last benefits of New Deal era programs that provided employment through construction and improvement of public facilities. Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Works Project Administration (formerly the Works Progress Administration, WPA) projects wrapped up, and private construction projects increased. Late PWA projects included a Denver sewage disposal plant and the Capitol Annex Building south of the statehouse.<sup>100</sup> Brighton, whose chief industries were farming and dairying, received new federal projects, including erection of a \$75,000 county courthouse addition and the installation of street curbs and gutters.<sup>101</sup> As the nation edged closer to war, shortages of men and materials available for such construction projects increased.

### **Mobilization for War Brings Growing Demand for Housing**

The federal government played a profound role in determining the direction of housing during World War II. During the previous world war, the government intervened for a short time in the housing market due to extreme shortages of dwellings for war workers. In 1940, with two million migrant defense workers experiencing problems finding adequate housing and labor turnover increasing, the government took emergency actions to expand war housing by amending the Housing Act of 1938 to allow the use of its loan and subsidy features for defense worker housing.<sup>102</sup> In its preparations leading up to and during the war, the federal government became a dominant force in the housing market. Not only did it expand and construct military installations and associated housing, it also constructed two million housing units for defense industry workers near their places of employment. Since time was of the essence, a system of designing and building housing as quickly as possible emerged.<sup>103</sup>

As Alan Hess observes, "World War II catapulted the housing industry into the future, just as it did the electronics and aerospace industries."<sup>104</sup> The influx of funds for construction provided those who could hire enough workers and manage large projects the chance to build on a larger scale than ever before by utilizing new materials, processes, technologies, and designs. Many military construction projects during the war required what was essentially the creation of new, self-sufficient communities that included housing, shopping, entertainment, recreation, medical, and administrative buildings.<sup>105</sup> Only a few large builders had the ability to respond quickly to the government's need for construction of what were essentially whole cities at once. These builders, such as Del Webb in Arizona, utilized

<sup>98</sup> *Denver Post*, 4 June 1942, 14.

<sup>99</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 December 1940, 10.

<sup>100</sup> Tolbert R. Ingram, comp., *Year Book of the State of Colorado, 1941-42* (Denver: State Planning Commission, c. 1942), 460-462.

<sup>101</sup> *Denver Post*, 1 January 1940.

<sup>102</sup> Mary K. Nenko, "Housing in the Decade of the 1940s: The War and Postwar Periods Leave Their Marks," in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 247 and 250.

<sup>103</sup> Hope, "Evaluating the Significance," 52.

<sup>104</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 46.

<sup>105</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 46.

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industrial mass production techniques incorporating standardization as the only feasible way to meet required timelines. The companies with experience working on large government projects during the war held an advantage after the conflict to move into the field of large-scale housing developments and planned communities. These companies rose to the forefront in the postwar era through their ability to construct subdivisions quickly and economically.<sup>106</sup>

Construction techniques and materials evolved quickly during the mobilization and war, as Mary K. Nenno found in her study of the impact of war housing:

While not all wartime experimentation had successful applicability in postwar housing construction, it opened up a new period of experimentation in use of materials, equipment, and construction methods which was to change dramatically the appearance and fabric of American housing.<sup>107</sup>

Lessons learned and materials developed during the construction of war housing influenced future construction through the incorporation of prefabrication and site assembly-line methods, the use of plastic pipes and tubing, development of new gluing methods, and advances such as resin-bonded plywood, laminated structural members, and lightweight metal girders and trusses.<sup>108</sup>

By 1940, metropolitan communities already faced housing problems resulting from America's growing war preparedness efforts, as expansions in personnel at military installations reduced dwellings available for civilian occupants.<sup>109</sup> The Denver Housing Authority made residences in the Lincoln Park housing project available for some Lowry Field personnel, stating: "The housing authority feels the city could do nothing finer to help the national defense program than provide more suitable housing facilities for the soldiers and other defense workers."<sup>110</sup>

City officials and the Denver Housing Authority proposed using federal funds to construct low-cost duplexes near Lowry Field for married, noncommissioned officers stationed at the installation to assist those having trouble finding living quarters in the city. More than 120 military families paid more than they could afford or lived in motels.<sup>111</sup> Eventually, the federal government decided to build a \$400,000 125-unit housing project, with Denver providing municipal services such as fire and police protection and maintaining streets.<sup>112</sup> Lowry Field's commanding officer, Col. Early E.W. Duncan, proposed the development be named "Encio Village," derived from the abbreviation "N.C.O" for noncommissioned officer.<sup>113</sup>

Denver, the nation's 24<sup>th</sup> largest city in population, was ninth in the number of new houses built during 1940, with a total of 1,829 erected.<sup>114</sup> To assist national defense workers with new home purchases and address the scarcity of housing, in 1941 the FHA designated Denver as one of 146 places in the country where new dwellings could be financed under more liberal FHA regulations requiring no down payment from the owner-occupant. This was part of a special program funded with \$100 million set aside by President Roosevelt to help defense workers purchase homes with FHA-insured mortgages. The FHA evaluated areas chosen for the program as having a permanent need for new homes.

<sup>106</sup> Hope, "Evaluating the Significance," 52.

<sup>107</sup> Nenno, "Housing in the Decade of the 1940s," in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 247.

<sup>108</sup> Mitchell, *Federal Housing Policy*, 246.

<sup>109</sup> *Denver Post*, 21 April 1941, 7.

<sup>110</sup> *Denver Post*, 6 October 1940, 3.

<sup>111</sup> *Denver Post*, 6 October 1940, 3.

<sup>112</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 21 and 25 March 1941.

<sup>113</sup> *Denver Post*, 27 July 1941, 6.

<sup>114</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 January 1941, 3.

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Anyone could build a house in any part of the city, with the builder putting up 10 percent of the cost and selling it without a down payment or offering it for rent. Expected users of the program included younger men at Lowry Field and workers at the Denver Ordnance Plant.<sup>115</sup> Defense workers also had the option of renting some units in Denver's planned fourth public housing project, Arapahoe Courts.<sup>116</sup>

The continued national housing shortage led the Office of Production Management to support construction of "suitable moderately priced homes" for sale or rent in 270 defense areas in the United States in September 1941. As the only place in Colorado selected, Denver received priorities for building materials for defense worker's housing units erected within reasonable commuting distance of their jobs.<sup>117</sup> From January through October 1941, builders erected 2,622 family living units, 74 percent of which were single-family houses, with one completed about every three hours, day and night. This construction represented a jump of approximately 20 percent over the same period for 1940.<sup>118</sup>

## Descent into War

In December 1940, with Germany in control of France and attacking Britain from the air, President Franklin Roosevelt stated that the country would become "the great arsenal of democracy." Denver Mayor Benjamin Stapleton supported preparedness, but many citizens in the capital and surrounding communities retained isolationist sentiments until Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. During World War II about 12 percent of the total state population (more than 138,000 Coloradans) served in the armed forces, and 3,469 lost their lives.<sup>119</sup> As historian Stephen J. Leonard describes,

Within a year, Denverites were learning air-raid rules, sewing blackout curtains, saving tin and lard, and conserving gasoline and tires. . . . By the end of the war in August 1945, over 1,300 Denver area residents had lost their lives while at home hundreds of thousands of others saw their lives and the city transformed.<sup>120</sup>

As a major center of federal military activities during the war, the metropolitan region welcomed the influx of war workers and those serving in the military. Residents made service members feel welcome by inviting them into their homes for meals, taking them to the mountains for excursions, and greeting them as they arrived at train stations. The United Service Organizations (USO) established clubs in the area, with the largest on California Street in downtown Denver.<sup>121</sup>

With so many men leaving for military service, women were called upon to fill vacant jobs as well as positions directly supporting the war effort at federal installations and in local industries. To train women for such work, Denver Public School's Emily Griffith Opportunity School provided classes in machine shop, welding, sheet metal, and radio maintenance. The University of Denver offered instruction in laboratory skills needed at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal. One professor at the university estimated that women filled half of the jobs in the metropolitan area in 1944.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>115</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 April 1941, 18.

<sup>116</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 30 July 1942, 5.

<sup>117</sup> *Denver Post*, 20 September 1941, 3.

<sup>118</sup> *Denver Post*, 19 November 1941, 1.

<sup>119</sup> *Colorado State Planning Commission, Year Book of the State of Colorado, 1945-47 (Denver: Colorado State Planning Commission, 1948), 578.*

<sup>120</sup> More than 60,000 Denver-area citizens were called to service. Leonard, "Denver at War," 31.

<sup>121</sup> Leonard, "Denver at War," 32.

<sup>122</sup> Leonard, "Denver at War," 35.



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### Impact of Federal Activities

As Carl Abbott judges, “National defense has been one of the nation’s growth industries since 1940, and one whose effects have been felt disproportionately in western cities.”<sup>123</sup> Historian Gerald Nash likened the impact of the war to the discovery of silver mines and the arrival of railroads in importance to Colorado.<sup>124</sup> At the beginning of the 1930s, the Denver area included only two federal military facilities: the Army’s Fort Logan and Fitzsimons General Hospital. Throughout the decade, Denver’s Chamber of Commerce and municipal government spent considerable time and energy promoting the city as the “Little Capital of the United States,” an effort sometimes referred to as the “Second Capital Program.”<sup>125</sup> This economic development effort to convince federal agencies to locate their regional offices in the city reflected the view that, unlike large manufacturing plants, federal installations were clean enterprises. As historians Lyle Dorsett and Michael McCarthy observe, “Smog, dirt, and noise did not accompany federal offices, the employees were not interested in unionizing, and they were relatively well paid. Government payrolls stimulated Denver’s economy, and so did the extensive purchases of supplies by the various agencies.”<sup>126</sup>

By the early 1940s, Denver served as the home of a number of federal agencies. All of the cabinet departments except the State Department operated bureaus or agencies in the Denver vicinity. The number of federal employees in the state, most of who worked in the Denver area, was estimated at between 9,000 and 10,000. The federal government paid the largest payroll in the state, disbursing about \$2 million per year in wages in 1940.<sup>127</sup> In that same year, the government was “in the midst of a vast local building program, one of the largest and most diversified ever undertaken in any part of the country.”<sup>128</sup> The number of federal administrative offices grew from 134 in 1938 to 185 in 1942, a 38.1 percent increase in four years. As the 1942 *Colorado Yearbook* noted, “Of the 185 listed 134 or 72.4 percent are national or regional in character and indicate the recognition in Washington of Denver as the principal administrative center for the western half of the United States.”<sup>129</sup> The federal government also became the largest property owner in Colorado, with extensive holdings in the metropolitan area.<sup>130</sup>

In response to German aggressions, Congress approved substantially increased levels of military spending, including new construction. War Department officials began studying locations around the country as potential sites for rapid construction of new military installations. Primary qualities desired were large expanses of undeveloped land, access to transportation facilities, availability of large numbers of workers, and temperate weather. With the emergence of Japan as a threat, locations in the interior of the country became attractive. A number of military facilities either opened or expanded in the metropolitan area during the war, attracting large numbers of civilian workers as well as members of the armed forces. The City and County of Denver gained an army medical depot and a bomber modification center, while Lowry Field underwent a massive expansion and Fort Logan received additional missions. Fitzsimons General Hospital experienced great growth, including an immense new main hospital building. East of the small community of Derby (now part of Commerce

<sup>123</sup> Abbott, “Sources of Metropolitan Growth,” 82.

<sup>124</sup> *Denver Post*, 3 September 1989, 1A.

<sup>125</sup> Ingram, *Colorado Year Book, 1941-42*, 443; *Denver Post*, 1 January 1940, 7A.

<sup>126</sup> H. Lee Scamehorn, *The First Fifty Years of Flight in Colorado*, University of Colorado Studies, Series in History No. 2 (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1961); Lyle W. Dorsett and Michael McCarthy, *The Queen City: A History of Denver*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1986); 220-221.

<sup>127</sup> *Denver Post*, 1 January 1940, 7A.

<sup>128</sup> *Denver Post*, 4 June 1940, 2A, 12A.

<sup>129</sup> Ingram, *Colorado Year Book, 1941-42*, 444.

<sup>130</sup> Ingram, *Colorado Year Book, 1941-42*, 445.

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City), the Rocky Mountain Arsenal complex produced chemical and incendiary weapons. In Arapahoe County, the Army Air Corps established Buckley Field. Jefferson County received the Denver Ordnance Plant, where Remington Arms produced small weapons ammunition. The area's military payroll rose from \$3 million in 1939 to \$152 million at the war's end. The operation of these facilities not only affected the regional economy and housing market during the war, but many continued to function as major centers of employment after the war, attracting new residential and commercial growth. A summary description of the region's principal military facilities and defense manufacturing facilities follows.<sup>131</sup>

**FITZSIMONS GENERAL HOSPITAL**

Denver led the campaign to acquire a military facility for the metropolitan area during World War I. Although the War Department ignored the region when establishing cantonments and calling for contracts for munitions and supplies, one official judged Denver "the finest place on earth for a recuperation hospital."<sup>132</sup> The climate of Colorado had long been considered beneficial in the treatment of tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases, and a number of sanitariums operated in the state. In addition to its advantageous weather, local boosters believed the metropolitan area's labor supply, railroad network, pleasant residential neighborhoods, business and industrial sectors, and central location made it a desirable place for a military hospital.<sup>133</sup> The War Department recommended that such an institution be established if a suitable site could be secured. Denver leader William G. Evans exhorted his fellow citizens to contribute to a campaign to purchase the Guthrie Nursery eight miles east of Denver near Aurora, stating: "This hospital is a bigger thing than we realize. It is a bigger thing and will be far more vast a project than the government authorities themselves dream."<sup>134</sup>

Fitzsimons General Hospital, originally General Hospital Number 21, built on 595 acres on the plains of Adams County in 1918-19, specialized in the treatment of veterans returning from World War I with respiratory diseases such as tuberculosis. Designed to be a self-sufficient operation, the installation included medical buildings, residential quarters, administrative offices, recreational and educational facilities, utility structures, and agricultural fields and buildings. The post played an important role in the local economy, providing jobs and purchasing supplies.<sup>135</sup> By the 1920s, Fitzsimons was described as the largest active military hospital in the world and the largest tuberculosis hospital in the United States.<sup>136</sup>

In 1939, the War Department examined all areas of military preparedness, and the Army undertook extensive projects to renovate its existing medical facilities, including Fitzsimons.<sup>137</sup> During World War II, military hospitals expanded at a record rate. A number of problems resulting from rapid mobilization surfaced, including labor shortages, lack of adequate housing near the hospital, and inadequate transportation to the post. Civilians took over jobs traditionally held by enlisted men, such

<sup>131</sup> *Denver Post*, 4 September 1989, 13A.

<sup>132</sup> *Denver Municipal Facts*, 1(December 1918); Denver Chamber of Commerce, "Denver General Hospital No. 21 Known as the United States Recuperation Camp," *The Booster Edition* 1918.

<sup>133</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 23 August 1917.

<sup>134</sup> *Denver Post*, 13 and 18 February 1918.

<sup>135</sup> John S. Stewart Post No. 1, *Veterans of Foreign Wars*, comp., *Fitzsimons General Hospital: The Story of a Great Institution, 1918-1938* (Denver: John S. Stewart Post No. 1, Veterans of Foreign Wars, 1938), 13; *Fitzsimons Army Medical Center* (N.p.: National Military Publications, 1984), 2.

<sup>136</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 August 1937; *Annual Report of the Surgeon General*, 1939, 186.

<sup>137</sup> U.S., Department of the Army, Office of the Surgeon General, *Annual Report of the Surgeon General* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), 188.

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as medical technicians, orderlies, clerks, and cooks. In addition, a new military unit, the Women's Army Corps, filled a critical need for noncombat services resulting from the war.<sup>138</sup> In 1941, Fitzsimons opened a new \$3.75 million main building, reportedly "the largest single hospital structure ever built by the Army."<sup>139</sup> The following year, Fitzsimons experienced the greatest growth in its history, including hospital and staff facilities, a post chapel, and a second technician's school with capacity for 1,000 students and 59 new buildings. The hospital grounds also included a prisoner of war camp for treatment of tubercular Italian, German, and Japanese prisoners.<sup>140</sup> In 1944, a new set of buildings was erected to house the members of the Women's Army Corps who arrived to supply desperately needed assistance in medical positions such as physical therapists, laboratory and x-ray technicians, dental hygienists, pharmacists, optometrists, and medical and surgical technicians.<sup>141</sup> The authorized bed capacity at Fitzsimons rose to 3,417 in 1945.<sup>142</sup>

### **LOWRY FIELD**

In 1934, the Army Air Corps announced it intended to build a new technical school to replace its facilities at Chanute Field, Illinois, establishing two major prerequisites for the new site: favorable weather conditions for aerial photography and adequate space for a bombing range.<sup>143</sup> Denver boosters campaigned to secure the training base, submitting a formal bid to the War Department, and after consideration of 82 sites around the country a Congressional committee recommended the area as its top choice for the location of the new training base.<sup>144</sup> To facilitate the plan, in 1935 Denver voters passed a bond issue to purchase the land and buildings of the Agnes Memorial Sanitarium, a former tuberculosis hospital in east Denver established by Lawrence C. Phipps, Sr., at East 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Quebec Street, as a site for the post. After two years of debate, Congress authorized the War Department to retain some services at Chanute and establish the new Denver Branch of the Air Corps Technical Training School, later named Lowry Field after Lieutenant Francis B. Lowry, the only Denver aviator killed in action during World War I. Aurora lay a short distance to the northeast and Arapahoe County included a portion of Lowry.

Beginning in 1937, the Works Progress Administration completed one of its largest projects in Colorado, with more than 1,500 workers involved in renovating the 17 existing Gove and Walsh-designed sanitarium buildings for the school, constructing infrastructure on the 880-acre campus, and building runways. Four modular hangars disassembled at other posts arrived at the new installation. Lowry's original role was to give state of the art training in two specialized fields: aircraft armament and aerial photography. The first training classes at the new facility were conducted on 28 February 1938, and in July the Army Air Corps announced a \$3.5 million four-year expansion program.<sup>145</sup> The technical training offered at Lowry Field played an important role in the overall national defense build-up before World War II by preparing highly skilled technicians for the nation's air corps.

As the nation accelerated its efforts toward military preparedness, Lowry's physical facilities grew at a

<sup>138</sup> Clarence McKittrick Smith, *United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services, the Medical Department: Hospitalization and Evacuation, Zone of Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1956), xi and 33.

<sup>139</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 August 1937.

<sup>140</sup> Smith, *United States Army*, 195-196.

<sup>141</sup> Mattie E. Treadwell, *United States Army in World War II, Special Studies, The Women's Army Corps* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1953), 340.

<sup>142</sup> Smith, *United States Army*, 306; *Fitzsimons Army Medical Center*, 4.

<sup>143</sup> The Army Air Corps became the Army Air Forces in June 1941.

<sup>144</sup> Michael H. Levy and Patrick M. Scanlan, *Pursuit of Excellence: A History of Lowry Air Force Base, 1937-1987* (Lowry Air Force Base, Colo.: History Office, 1987), 9-10; *Denver Post*, 2 September 1937.

<sup>145</sup> *Denver Post*, 14 July 1938, 3.

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dramatic rate.<sup>146</sup> The City of Denver acquired additional lands to support Lowry Field, including a 64,000-acre tract 20 miles to the southeast to be used as a bombing range, the largest such facility in the country at the start of World War II. In 1941, Denver also purchased 960 acres approximately seven miles east of Lowry Field as an auxiliary landing field, named Buckley Field. Pilots from Lowry landed at Buckley Field, loaded bombs, and then flew along a government-owned corridor to the bombing range, where the payloads were dropped.<sup>147</sup>

By the start of 1940, Lowry's military personnel, 44 officers and 1,350 enlisted men, included 600 students. By the end of the year, \$15 million in Army funds enlarged the facility with a second permanent hangar and a variety of new buildings; another 112 buildings were under construction.<sup>148</sup> By the summer of 1941, the base housed nearly 8,000 officers and 15,000 enlisted men; it trained more than 15,000 men between 1 July 1941 and 30 June 1942. Beginning in 1942, the War Department assigned Lowry the ambitious task of training 55,000 troops each year. To meet its expanded role, Lowry created a new self-contained unit entirely for training aircraft armor technicians, known as "Lowry Field Number 2." By 1944, more than 600 buildings, many of them of the temporary type of construction, stood at Lowry Field. In all, approximately 168,000 persons attended courses at the installation during the war.<sup>149</sup>

### **BUCKLEY FIELD**

The 1937 establishment of Lowry Field paved the way for future military growth in the metropolitan area. In 1942, with the expansion of the existing technical training school at Lowry Field, the War Department announced it would construct Buckley Field, a new \$20 million air facility accommodating 12,000 men and 350 officers near Denver. Located near Lowry Field in Arapahoe County, the new school reflected the need for more specialized aerial warfare training, as Buckley primarily prepared its students in maintaining and calibrating aircraft weapons. The existing bombing range seemed like a logical site for a new training facility, although the government found it necessary to enlarge the original Buckley Field site through condemnation. Because so much private and defense building occurred in the Denver area during the war, it was difficult to find the skilled labor needed to construct the new base. With an emphasis on standardization and speed, and its contractors working on a two-shift basis from sunrise to sundown, Buckley opened three months after construction began, on 1 July 1942. On Labor Day, almost 50,000 local citizens attended an open house at the new training center, which encompassed over 700 buildings.<sup>150</sup>

Like many other military facilities during the war, Buckley comprised a camp city, with barracks, schools, administrative headquarters, hospital buildings, churches, stores, movie theaters, a bank, a newspaper office, and other facilities, all served by its own coal-fired steam heating system, and its own water, sewage, and electrical systems. As the war progressed and the demand for trained soldiers increased, additional training facilities for armament, military police, and flying were added. In

<sup>146</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 October 1938, 15, *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 April 1940, 3; "Lowry Technical Training Center and Officer's Row Historic Districts, Denver Landmark Application, June 1995.

<sup>147</sup> In 1942, the size of the auxiliary landing field increased substantially. *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 March 1939, 24, and 19 May 1939, 2.

<sup>148</sup> Levy and Scanlan, *Pursuit*, 17-21; *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 December 1940; Melvin Porter, *A Forty Year Look at Lowry Air Force Base* (Lowry Air Force Base, Colo.: Lowry Technical Training Center, 1978), 22.

<sup>149</sup> Wesley F. Craven and James L. Cate, eds. *The Army Air Forces in World War II: Men and Planes*. Vol. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1955; reprint 1983), 127 and 468; Levy and Scanlan, *Pursuit*, 21, 24, 29, and 31; *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 July 1941 and 1 April 1942; Wilson and Co., *Master Plan: Lowry Air Force Base, Denver, Colorado* (Denver: Wilson and Co., 1955).

<sup>150</sup> *Denver Post*, 2 April 1942 and 30 June 1942; *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 April 1942; Carl Vincent McFadden and Leona McFadden, *Early Aurora* (Aurora, Colo.: Aurora Technical Center, 1978).

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1943, Buckley also commanded three basic training camps on the bombing range. In the same year, it received the mission of operating as an Army Air Forces convalescent center where casualties from the war were sent to recover before being relocated throughout the country.<sup>151</sup>

In the first six months of 1943, approximately 30,000 soldiers graduated from armament training at Buckley Field and another 10,000 soldiers received basic training. Army Air Forces expansion reached its peak during that year, and as the bulk of trained men moved to the theaters of war, contraction of training facilities on the home front became necessary. In July 1945, Buckley became a subpost of Lowry Field, although it was one of four basic training centers kept open until September 1945. Its hospital and photographic training facilities remained, and in 1945 the Chemical Training Center of the Army Air Forces moved to Buckley Field, as did the Camouflage Training Center. Despite its status as a subpost, the retention of Buckley was seen as a victory for the Denver Chamber of Commerce and other civic groups who hoped to see the base converted into a "West Point of the Air" after the war.<sup>152</sup>

### **FORT LOGAN**

Denver citizens donated the land for Fort Logan in southwest Denver in 1887, and before World War II it was utilized as an annual training post, with an estimated 800 Army officers and personnel stationed there. In 1941, the Army Air Corps made it a substation of Lowry Field, providing a clerical training school for 1,500 students and officers; in 1942 it became an independent unit with the same function. Fort Logan also encompassed an army reception center to receive and process selectees from Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, who remained at the post from the time of induction until assignment to cantonments across the country.<sup>153</sup>

### **DENVER ORDNANCE PLANT**

The War Department contracted with the Remington Arms Company, a subsidiary of E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, to supervise the construction of and to operate the Denver Ordnance Plant in January 1941. The 1941-42 *Colorado Yearbook* reported that the program, funded at more than \$122 million for erection of buildings, acquisition of equipment, and manufacture of ammunition, represented the largest single contract for construction and operation of a plant in Colorado's history up to that time. Further expansion occurred throughout the war to facilitate the production of small arms ammunition of 30-caliber cartridges of ball, armor-piercing, and tracer types. The facility located on 2,080 acres of land, formerly occupied by the Hayden Ranch west of Denver, in what is now Lakewood. In 1941, the widening of West 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue from Sheridan Avenue to the site of the new Remington Arms Plant provided workers with easier access to the facility.<sup>154</sup> Dedicated on 26 October 1941, the plant consisted of 265 buildings of varied types divided into four separate production units.

The facility received the Army-Navy "E" award for outstanding performance in September 1942. During the war, American industrialist Henry J. Kaiser's plant also produced heavy munitions on the site, and other parts of the acreage housed facilities for producing K rations for soldiers.<sup>155</sup> At the

<sup>151</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 July 1942, 4 April 1943, 24 October 1943; *Denver Post*, 30 June 1942, 24 October 1943, 6 February 1944.

<sup>152</sup> Craven and Cate, *The Army Air Forces*; *Denver Post*, 21 December 1944; McFadden and McFadden; Charles Whitley, *Colorado Pride: A Commemorative History, 1923-1988* (Buckley Air National Guard Base, Aurora, Colo.: Colorado Air National Guard, 1989).

<sup>153</sup> Ingram, *Colorado Year Book, 1941-42*, 488-89.

<sup>154</sup> Arvada Historical Society, *Arvada: Just Between You and Me*, 179.

<sup>155</sup> Leonard, "Denver at War," 34.

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height of the war in 1943, the plant employed 40 percent of Denver's factory workers, about 19,500 men and women.<sup>156</sup> Buildings at the plant were constructed in a permanent manner so they could be used following the war, and a quarter-mile strip of undeveloped land surrounded the factory area. After the war, the facility became the Denver Federal Center, housing a wide range of federal agencies.<sup>157</sup>

### **DENVER MUNICIPAL AIRPORT AND THE BOMBER MODIFICATION CENTER**

Faced with growing numbers of flights serviced by a number of small landing fields in the region, the City and County of Denver conducted a site study for a consolidated municipal airport in the mid- to late-1920s. The selected site, a location in northeast Denver along Sand Creek, possessed several advantages: "Denver's new port has no surrounding buildings, or residences, any smoke stacks, trees, or wires." Some critics argued that it was too far from downtown Denver. The initial development of Denver Municipal Airport began in 1929, with grading of runways and construction of a terminal/administration building, a hangar, and a small support building. The airport was formally dedicated in October 1929. Flying services, express companies, a restaurant, and the U.S. Weather Bureau located at the airfield in the early 1930s. During the 1930s, the airport received three additional hangars. United and Continental airlines established operations at the field in 1937, and the Colorado National Guard moved its air activities there the following year.<sup>158</sup>

In July 1942, the Continental-Denver Modification Center for bomber aircraft opened at the airport. Operated by Continental under the supervision of the Army Air Forces, the facility represented part of the military's plan to incorporate every possible commercial aviation facility into production of planes for the war effort. The *Denver Post* reported that the Modification Center was "not in any sense a manufacturing plant, but instead is devoted to altering, equipping, and fitting new bombers with whatever additional equipment may be needed for any specific flying task at any particular moment." The center worked on new Boeing B-17 "Flying Fortress" heavy bombers, which flew directly from the factory in Seattle to Denver, where they entered an assembly line and received equipment for overseas combat duties. Continental Airlines pilots thoroughly tested the planes before they were turned over to the Army. Approximately 800 people worked in three shifts at the plant by 1943.<sup>159</sup>

The Army announced plans to build a larger modification center on 90 acres of land near the airport extending from Syracuse to Ulster streets and from East 32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue to south of the Union Pacific tracks in 1943. The new "Modification Center Number 13," also operated by Continental, cost approximately \$5 million to construct and opened by October 1943. The new hangar contained shops, offices, stores, and production lines. Other buildings included a cafeteria accommodating 800 people, guardhouses, quarters for incoming pilots, warehouses, ammunition storage, and a coal-fired heating plant. A railroad spur connected the center to the Union Pacific tracks. This was the largest modification center in the country for the B-17 Flying Fortress, while the Army retained the old center for testing of heavy bombers. The new center equipped a variety of other planes including the B-29 Superfortress and planes used for photoreconnaissance over Japan. The facility offered nearly 1,500 types of modifications, including everything from wiring changes to major engineering projects. At the peak of employment in February 1945, 3,200 people worked round the clock to complete planes, with

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<sup>156</sup> *Denver Post*, 4 September 1989, 13 A; Leonard, "Denver at War," 34.

<sup>157</sup> Ingram, *Colorado Year Book, 1941-42*, 491-92; *Denver Post*, 4 September 1989, 13A.

<sup>158</sup> *Denver Municipal Facts* (September-October 1929): 2; R. Laurie Simons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Historic Land Use, Stapleton International Airport, Denver, Colorado," prepared for Camp, Dresser and McKee, Inc., by Front Range Research Associates, Inc., 27 August 1991, 9-11.

<sup>159</sup> *Denver Post*, 20 April and 20 September 1942.

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women comprising 37 percent of the workforce.<sup>160</sup>

In August 1944, Denver renamed the airport in recognition of Denver Mayor Benjamin F. Stapleton's efforts to construct a municipal flying field in 1929. By the end of the war, Stapleton Airport had more than doubled its original area and covered 1,435 acres. The airfield employed more than 1,200 workers and included four runways, six hangars, a traffic control tower, and a post office.<sup>161</sup>

**ROCKY MOUNTAIN ARSENAL**

Construction of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, ten miles northeast of downtown Denver in Adams County, began in June 1942 and continued at a feverish pace until its completion in 1944.<sup>162</sup> This was the last chemical arsenal built during the war. The facility, constructed at a cost of about \$50 million, included almost 300 buildings together with highly technical equipment and machinery, making it one of the largest chemical warfare plants in the nation. Operated by the Army Chemical Warfare Service, the facility initially covered 27-square-miles located east of Commerce City and north of the Union Pacific Railroad tracks and the Denver Municipal Airport. The government selected the site for its inland location, Denver labor supply, existing highways and railroads, climate, terrain, and supply of cheap and adequate water of low temperature that could be used in the manufacture of certain chemical agents.<sup>163</sup> Approximately 200 farm families experienced condemnation of their properties and were relocated to permit construction of the Arsenal.<sup>164</sup> The Army cleared away most of the buildings the farmers left behind, including houses, barns, sheds, and silos. The Rose Hill School served for many years as an officers' club for Arsenal personnel.<sup>165</sup> Mustard and ethylene plants began operations under the control of the Army's Chemical Warfare Service at the site by the end of 1942.<sup>166</sup>

During World War II, the Arsenal manufactured and assembled chemical, toxic, and incendiary munitions, including chlorine, distilled mustard, Lewisite, napalm, PT-1, M74 bombs, and M47 bombs.<sup>167</sup> Loading and clustering of incendiary bombs became a major function of the facility. Arsenal workers also reworked M69 bombs and filled shells with phosgene gas. Although chemical weapons were not used against Germany or Japan, other weapons produced at the Arsenal were employed effectively. Incendiary bombs produced at the Arsenal caused 83,000 deaths in a March 1945 raid on Tokyo and the *Denver Post* boasted "69 cities were reduced to smoldering ash heaps with compliments of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal." More than 100,000 tons of such bombs came from the plant during the war.<sup>168</sup> The Arsenal also served as a prisoner of war camp housing German and

<sup>160</sup> *Denver Post*, 20 April, 31 May, 5 September 1943, 16 January, 7 December 1943 and 31 August 1945; *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 May and 31 August 1945; Robert J. Serling, *Maverick: The Story of Robert Six and Continental Airlines* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1974), 76.

<sup>161</sup> Jeff Miller, *Stapleton International Airport: The First Fifty Years* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Press, 1983), 49.

<sup>162</sup> Michael G. Schene, "Rocky Mountain Arsenal," HAER Documentation, No. CO-21, c. 1985, 64.

<sup>163</sup> Army Service Forces Chemical Warfare Service, *History of Rocky Mountain Arsenal* (Denver: Rocky Mountain Arsenal, 1945), vol. 1, part 1, 3-11.

<sup>164</sup> Ingram, *Colorado Year Book, 1941-42*, 492-93.

<sup>165</sup> Ernest Maurer, Interview by R. Laurie Simmons, 19 May 1998; *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 July 1995, 6D; Brighton Genealogy Society, *The History of Brighton, Colorado, and Surrounding Area* (Dallas, TX.: Curtis Media Corporation, 1987), 93.

<sup>166</sup> Stephen Collins and Shawn Day, "From Need to Nuisance: A History of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal," ES-480, Colorado School of Mines, 8 May 1986.

<sup>167</sup> Rocky Mountain Arsenal Contamination Control Program Management Team, *Installation Restoration at Rocky Mountain Arsenal, Selection of a Contamination Control Strategy for RMA*, vol. 1, Final Report, September 1983, 1-1.

<sup>168</sup> Schene, "Rocky Mountain Arsenal," 64.

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Italian prisoners and as the site of the Western Chemical Warfare School.<sup>169</sup> The Arsenal employed about 3,000 people during the war.<sup>170</sup>

**DENVER MEDICAL DEPOT**

In 1942, 37.4 acres of land in northeast Denver at East 38th Avenue and York Street became one of 11 branch medical depots operated by the Surgeon General of the Army during the war. Local newspapers reported both Omaha and Salt Lake City exerted every effort to win the facility.<sup>171</sup> Starting with 11 buildings designed by Temple Hoyne Buell, erected by the F.J. Kirchof Construction Company, and completed in 1942, the depot expanded with new facilities in 1943 and 1945. Two large warehouses each required 1,250,000 bricks; the first took just 22 days to complete.<sup>172</sup> Formal dedication ceremonies occurred on 21 September 1942, ahead of the original construction schedule.<sup>173</sup> All of the original buildings were brick construction except for two sentry boxes and a maintenance supply building. As expansion occurred, the site also included a number of temporary buildings. During the war the depot received, repackaged, and shipped approximately 250 million tons of medical supplies, supporting Army facilities in the eight Rocky Mountain states and western Texas. The depot supplied general hospitals such as Fitzsimons, as well as station and post hospitals. It was a key facility for drugs, chemicals, biological products, surgical supplies, and laboratory, x-ray, dental, pharmacy, hospital, and field equipment.<sup>174</sup>

The workforce at the Denver Medical Depot expanded from two Army officers and a handful of civilian employees to 350 workers by the end of 1942. Nearly all workers were civilian civil service employees administered by a detachment of Army officers; no enlisted men were stationed at the depot. By June 1943, 769 civilians and 39 Army officers worked at the Depot. About 47 percent of the workers were women, and blacks and Hispanos also comprised part of the workforce. The depot sometimes received an order from the Army to "ship one 1,000 bed hospital" to a specific destination. Equipment lists prepared for such contingencies included all of the thousands of items necessary, from x-ray machines to a front door mat. The complete hospital would be shipped within 48 hours.<sup>175</sup>

**LOCAL INDUSTRIES CONVERT TO WAR PRODUCTION**

A variety of local industries switched to manufacturing products for the war effort, including such Denver companies as Colorado Tent and Awning, which made parachutes; Allied Chemical and Dye and General Chemical, which provided sulfuric acid; and Growsold Ski Company, which produced snowshoes.<sup>176</sup> Also in Denver, the Bay Petroleum Company produced butane; Electromatic Typewriters Incorporated crafted torpedo firing mechanisms; Wright Engineering Supply manufactured fuse setters and spare parts; and General Foods supplied field rations. In Englewood,

<sup>169</sup> Schene, "Rocky Mountain Arsenal;" Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 223-224 and 351-352; Rocky Mountain Arsenal Contamination Control Program Management Team, *Selection of a Contamination Control Strategy for Rocky Mountain Arsenal*, Final Report, prepared for the U.S. Army Toxic and Hazardous Materials Agency and the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, (N.p.: September 1983), vol. 1.

<sup>170</sup> Army Service Forces, *History of Rocky Mountain Arsenal*, vol. 1, part 1, 3-11.

<sup>171</sup> *Denver Post*, 2 April 1942, 1.

<sup>172</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 June 1942 and *Rocky Mountain News*, 26 July 1942, 18.

<sup>173</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 September 1942, 5.

<sup>174</sup> Charles M. Wiltse, ed., *Medical Supply in World War II* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, Office of the Surgeon General, 1968), 17, 128, 566; *Denver Post*, 26 March 1942 and 10 June 1942.

<sup>175</sup> *Denver Post*, 31 December 1942, 11A, 7 April 1943, 3 and 8 June 1943; *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 July 1945, 11; Clarence M. Smith, *The Medical Department: Hospitalization and Evacuation, Zone of Interior, United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, Office of the Chief of Military History, 1956), 137; *DMD News*, Anniversary Number, 1943.

<sup>176</sup> Leonard, "Denver at War," 34.



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Arapahoe Manufacturing made projectiles, while Heckethorn Manufacturing produced chemical fuses, firing pins, and projectiles in Littleton.<sup>177</sup> In 1942, the Federal Solvents Corporation in Arvada, a subsidiary of International Distilleries, announced it would make grain alcohol for military use at its plant. This was the only manufacturer west of Peoria, Illinois, to produce this product for war use.<sup>178</sup>

Gates Rubber Company, the sixth largest rubber company in the world and Denver's largest industrial employer, increased its production during World War II and focused its output on military needs. With the loss of male employees to the military, hundreds of women joined the Gates' workforce, toiling in six-day, forty-eight-hour weeks. Military equipment produced by the firm during the war ranged from belts for invasion boats to tires for trucks, jeeps, and planes. Gates invested in research and development and successfully created synthetic rubber, an important advance since much of the natural rubber supply from the Far East was unavailable. Given the critical need for rubber products during the war, the company received priorities for construction materials and labor and significantly expanded its plant between 1942 and 1945. Gates received the coveted Army-Navy "E" Award in July 1943 for its wartime output and its synthetic rubber innovations.<sup>179</sup>

### **The Metropolitan Area at War**

The metropolitan area's population reached 433,970 in 1942. War contracts in the area amounted to between \$310 and \$315 million, and one-third of Denver's companies were involved in war production, including ship and airplane components, large-caliber shells, canvas and leather products, heavy duty trailers, and electrical and scientific instruments.<sup>180</sup> Dealing with wartime restrictions constituted a major part of life. The Office of Price Administration (OPA) allocated the sale of scarce food items such as tea, sugar, and honey and stopped the manufacture of new refrigerators. The agency also attempted to control rent increases as the housing shortage grew worse.<sup>181</sup>

The Denver housing vacancy fell dramatically, to 0.4 percent, in 1942. Arvada conducted a survey of the number of spare rooms people had in their homes in 1942, in case people from the West Coast needed to move inland.<sup>182</sup> The Chamber of Commerce served as a clearinghouse for information about housing for those employed in war jobs. The chairman of the Denver Defense Council stated that "any sacrifice made by home owners to help provide living quarters for defense workers was a direct contribution to the war effort."<sup>183</sup> The government froze rent prices in defense-related areas of the country in hopes of preventing exploitation of workers. Denver's zoning board judged erection of trailer camps by war workers a serious problem and planned an ordinance regulating their use and requiring sanitary facilities and fire prevention measures. The following year, the city opposed government proposals that called for relaxation of the city building code in relation to construction of 300 privately financed housing units and conversion of 650 homes. City Building Inspector Lyle D. Webber stated, "We will fight to maintain rigidly our building code to insure proper construction and

<sup>177</sup> Heritage Research Center, Ltd., "WWII Industrial Facilities: Authorized Federally Funded Facilities," <http://www.heritageresearch.com> (accessed 28 January 2010).

<sup>178</sup> Lloyd W. Gorrell, ed., *Arvada Comes of Age* (Westminster, Colorado: Arvada Historical Society, 2002), 4.

<sup>179</sup> R. Laurie Simons and Thomas H. Simmons, "Intensive Historic Buildings Survey Gates Rubber Company Plant, Denver, Colorado, 2007," prepared for Cherokee Denver by Front Range Research Associates, Inc., Denver, Colorado, 27 July 2007, 30-32.

<sup>180</sup> *Rocky Mountain News, Sunday Magazine*, 3 January 1993, 11M.

<sup>181</sup> Gorrell, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 3.

<sup>182</sup> Gorrell, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 2.

<sup>183</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 June 1942, 17.

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safe and durable homes and improvements.”<sup>184</sup> Reversing the trends of the 1930s, unemployment dropped to 2.6 percent.<sup>185</sup>

America’s rubber shortage at the start of the war led to rationing of rubber tires, further restricting private transportation. Arvada issued only five certificates approving the purchase of new tires in January 1942.<sup>186</sup> Denver allowed residents to possess only five tires and required them to turn the rest in.<sup>187</sup> Rubber became the focus of its own scrap drives, with metropolitan residents donating old tires, sink stoppers, rubber toys, tennis shoes, and anything else they could spare that was made of the material. Citizens also collected metal, including everything from used toothpaste tubes to old license plates. In February, the sale of new cars ceased. By 1943, driving by private citizens was restricted to traveling for work and other essential purposes, and gas sales were limited. Car-sharing clubs sprang up to conserve rubber tires, gasoline, and wear and tear on automobiles. Streetcars experienced a tremendous growth in ridership.<sup>188</sup>

### **Efforts to Cope with the Housing Shortage, 1943-44**

The surge of people into the metropolitan area resulted in an extreme housing crisis by 1943, when only 529 new dwelling units were built in Denver. In December, a local real estate survey showed the city with an estimated population of 355,000 and a residential vacancy rate of 0.3 percent, despite recent construction. The survey judged that “practically all desirable rental properties are occupied” and “both the war effort and welfare of Denver would be served by a sizable construction program.”<sup>189</sup> However, high construction costs due to shortages of labor and materials continued to depress development. Stores provided temporary housing, and hotels experienced maximum occupancy.<sup>190</sup> Historian Stephen Leonard recalls that his grandmother converted her single-family-home into a multi-unit residence by renting the attic, two sleeping rooms and two apartments on the second floor, two sleeping rooms on the first floor, and utilized the furnace room, chicken coop, and the garage as tenant rooms.<sup>191</sup>

Denver completed only one new school building during the war, erecting Montclair Elementary in 1943 despite wartime shortages of labor and materials in order to serve hundreds of children who moved to Denver while their parents attended the Technical Air School at Lowry Field. Since these children needed educational facilities, the federal government through its Federal Works Agency contributed to the construction of a new building to replace the outdated and overcrowded Montclair School. The new school, designed by Gordon D. White, was described as conservative modern in style, to fit in with the houses and boulevards near Lowry Field.<sup>192</sup> The city’s Emily Griffith Opportunity School expanded during the war, playing a vital role in training more than 24,000 people for defense work. The district built a school shop for national defense training, and held new classes in home front activities.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>184</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 February 1943, 10.

<sup>185</sup> *Denver Post*, 4 September 1989, 1A.

<sup>186</sup> Gorrell, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 1.

<sup>187</sup> Leonard, “Denver at War,” 36.

<sup>188</sup> Gorrell, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 2 and 13.

<sup>189</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 December 1943, 30.

<sup>190</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 December 1943, 30.

<sup>191</sup> *Denver Post*, 4 September 1989, 1A.

<sup>192</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 20 March 1942, 7, 14 April 1943, 26, 18 November 1948, 46; *Montclair School Dedication Program*, 18 April 1943.

<sup>193</sup> Denver Public Schools, Denver Public Schools Manuscript Collection, WH-1990, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library; Denver Public Schools, Planning and Engineering Services, “List of Schools and

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War workers crowding into Denver looked in less expensive outlying areas for places to live. Westwood, southwest of Denver, developed during the Depression as a “shack town, trailer town, and tent town,” where prairie land sold at low prices. Lots could be obtained for \$1.00 down and 50 cents per week. During World War II, a boom came to Westwood due to its proximity to the Denver Ordnance Plant, cheap land, and lack of building restrictions. Rapidly built houses sprang up, as did businesses such as corner groceries and roadhouses. On 27 April 1944, Westwood incorporated, and it voted for annexation to Denver in 1945. Legal entanglements kept the community from becoming part of the city until 28 April 1947.<sup>194</sup>

Despite the acute housing situation, Denver opposed federal government proposals for loosening the city building code.<sup>195</sup> Local residents in parts of the city also objected to some potential construction during the war. In 1943, Park Hill homeowners protested a plan by Superior Construction Company to erect a 25-unit war housing project in the Haddon Manor Addition, calling the buildings cheap and fearing they would lower surrounding property values.<sup>196</sup> Denver enacted a new housing code in 1944 with the intention of eliminating substandard dwellings in the city. The code prohibited many kinds of structural defects and granted the city building inspector “far-reaching power to order repairs or prohibit practices considered insanitary [sic],” subject to a board of review.<sup>197</sup>

By 1944, the metropolitan area included about 68,000 war workers, with 35 percent being women and 4.5 percent minorities. Most of the people needing housing were recent migrants to the area.<sup>198</sup> The National Housing Administration announced a planned \$2 million worth of housing construction for 500 war workers to supplement 400 such units authorized previously. The dwelling units, to be financed with private funds and completed by private builders, included both new houses and existing dwellings converted into multi-family units. Aurora received 200 of the units, with other construction scattered throughout the metropolitan area, wherever affordable land existed.<sup>199</sup> The dwellings cost an average of \$4,800 and rented for about \$45 per month, without furnishings. Family dwellings included three bedrooms, a living room, kitchen, dining room, and bathroom. Erection of garages was not allowed.<sup>200</sup> F.L. Carmichael, a University of Denver professor who studied Denver’s housing situation, recommended that it was not advisable to undertake a large construction program until after the war, when private enterprise would result in the building of “modern low-cost houses, and rehabilitation of blighted areas.”<sup>201</sup>

By the time of the Allied invasion of Europe in the summer of 1944, many people believed the war would soon be over, and some left their war jobs to return to the private sector. In the fall, the metropolitan area experienced a serious labor shortage as students and teachers returned to school and some women left their home front jobs for housework in anticipation of returning husbands. Farmers in Jefferson County experienced acute shortages of local labor in 1945, resulting in the recruitment of large groups of Mexican and Jamaican workers. New optimism about the outcome of

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Architects, 19 December 1962; Kenton Forrest, Gene McKeever, and Raymond McAllister, *A History of the Public Schools of Denver* (Denver: Tramway Press, 1989), 48.

<sup>194</sup> Denver Planning and Community Development, *Westwood Neighborhood Plan* (Denver: Denver Planning and Community Development, 1986), 9.

<sup>195</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 February 1943, 10.

<sup>196</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 April 1943, 16.

<sup>197</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 5 January 1945, 10 and 1 October 1945, 24.

<sup>198</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 March 1944, 15.

<sup>199</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 26 January 1944, 16.

<sup>200</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 February 1944, 22.

<sup>201</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 March 1944, 11 September, 9 November and 17 December 1944.

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the war led the region to begin preparations for future growth.<sup>202</sup>

In December 1944, Denver received priorities for 1,000 new homes to be built by private capital and industry. The housing addressed the needs of growing numbers of workers employed at war industries. Half of the houses sold at \$6,000 each or rented for \$50 per month, while the others cost less than \$5,000. Only civilian war workers relieving the labor shortage were eligible to buy the homes. Builders could sell one-third of the units and rent two-thirds. Officials hoped the houses would be built in time for the peak employment schedules established by the War Department.<sup>203</sup>

The *New York Times* found that people all over the country were “saving and planning to build.” In response, a series of home-planning programs, many started by savings banks and others by manufacturers of building materials, department stores, and other entities, educated potential homebuyers through exhibits and lectures about topics ranging from architectural plans to financing to interior décor. The Denver Chamber of Commerce provided a series of free classes to people who could demonstrate evidence of saving toward a new home.<sup>204</sup>

### Servicemen’s Readjustment Act

On 22 June 1944, President Roosevelt signed the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act, popularly known as the “GI Bill of Rights.” The Act sought to diminish anticipated economic and social problems of the postwar period for veterans and was based on the assumptions that they were not able to save as much money for buying a home as civilians; veterans, upon discharge, would immediately want to purchase houses; a separate agency would deal with mortgage loans; and the act would stimulate the construction industry. Provisions of the law granted veterans unemployment insurance for a year, guaranteed their loans for constructing homes or starting businesses, and paid a large part of their college or vocational school education in an amount related to their length of service. The Veterans Administration (VA) started issuing mortgage guarantees for discharged service members. The process provided 30-year loans for 85 percent of the cost of new home construction.<sup>205</sup>

In addition, low-interest business loans guaranteed by the federal government were offered to veterans, enabling them to invest in small businesses such as small motels, restaurants, or other commercial enterprises. Concerned over the large number of veterans returning to the job market, the federal government realized that small business entrepreneurship was one avenue for veteran employment. To assist veterans in their small business pursuits, the federal government published and distributed pamphlets about starting “mom-pop” businesses like cleaners, repair shops, restaurants, and motels. Federal employee Harry Barclay Love wrote “Establishing and Operating a Year-Round Motor Court,” published by the U.S. Government Printing Office in 1945 as part of the government’s Industrial (Small Business) Series.<sup>206</sup> A number of these small, family-run motels operated along the early auto routes, such as East Colfax Avenue, in the Denver area.

Although the act ended in 1956, Congress approved various versions of a GI Bill for each wave of returning combat veterans. The 1944 law sparked a postwar housing boom and contributed to the suburbanization of America. The education of over seven million veterans expanded the “white-collar”

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<sup>202</sup> Gorrell, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 32, 23 and 27.

<sup>203</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 December 1944, 13.

<sup>204</sup> *New York Times*, 7 May 1944.

<sup>205</sup> In 1952 the benefits of the GI Bill were extended to veterans of the Korean War through the Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act. Mitchell, *Federal Housing Policy*, 107-109.

<sup>206</sup> Love’s pamphlet and the impact of the federal government’s attempt to energize the economy in relation to mom-pop motels in the history of American tourism, specifically the motel, is discussed in depth in John A. Jakle, Keith A. Sculle, and Jefferson S. Rogers, *The Motel in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

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workforce that could afford a home in the suburbs and achieve a middle-class lifestyle.

**“We Can’t Live in Foxholes Here”: Returning Veterans Seek Housing, 1945**

The end of the conflict in Europe on 8 May 1945 brought great joy throughout the metropolitan area, but local citizens waited until Japan surrendered on 14 August to stage a massive celebration. Doris Forsyth, a student at the University of Denver at the time, recalled the pandemonium as everyone poured into downtown Denver, the streetcars stopped running, and servicemen kissed every pretty girl who walked by.<sup>207</sup> As the nation’s citizens prepared to return to normal life, local leaders worried about the return of economic depression. With thousands of people employed at military installations and war manufacturing facilities in the area, it was unclear how many would face layoffs and whether there would be jobs for returning veterans. Stephen Leonard found that many of the anticipated problems never arose, as the nation never fully demobilized and soon embarked on new military commitments leading to further expansion. Most of the established military facilities remained active, and federal agencies continued to employ thousands of local workers at the site of the Denver Ordnance Plant. A new set of challenges faced the area’s leaders, including providing enough homes for the servicemen and women returning to establish families and careers.<sup>208</sup>

In the fall of 1945, the government removed wartime restrictions on housing construction, giving preference to moderately priced dwellings for veterans.<sup>209</sup> City officials started to concentrate on identifying shoddy dwellings and those in need of major repairs, describing Denver’s slums as a “creeping blight ... spreading in every direction.” Walter A. Gail, director of the Denver Housing Authority stated that private builders satisfied the housing requirements of higher income groups, but the needs of lower income groups were unmet.<sup>210</sup>

The country encouraged veterans to think of home ownership as one of the rewards they earned for service in the war, but at the end of 1945 government officials, builders, and real estate agents predicted that the existing housing shortage would become even more serious before it improved.<sup>211</sup> At the time, about 1,500 houses were under construction, but hundreds stood unfinished due to lack of labor and construction materials such as lumber, bricks, and plumbing supplies. An estimated 5,000 houses would be needed immediately and the same number by the end of 1948.<sup>212</sup>

The *New York Times* observed in December 1945 that “home, sweet home is a nightmare crisis instead of a song for America’s war-shifted millions, and their housing problem is a top priority headache in every section of the nation ....”<sup>213</sup> More than 1100 metropolitan area families were “doubled up” and desired their own houses. Prices for existing houses jumped 75 to 125 percent or more. The Denver Board of Realtors launched a citywide drive to find houses for veterans in December, as more than 18,000 local men had been discharged, with another 22,000 scheduled to return. About 65 percent of the veterans were single when they left the city and now had wives and children.<sup>214</sup> Every person in the city was asked to help in providing temporary homes. The Denver Zoning Board eliminated restrictions on rooms and semi-apartments in residential areas. According to the *Rocky Mountain News*, the housing shortage forced many returning families to sleep in hotel

<sup>207</sup> Doris Forsyth, Port Orchard, Washington, Telephone Interview by R. Laurie Simmons, 19 February 2010.

<sup>208</sup> Leonard, “Denver at War,” 39.

<sup>209</sup> Nenko, “Housing in the Decade of the 1940s,” in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 254.

<sup>210</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 28 November 1945, 21.

<sup>211</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 232.

<sup>212</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 December 1945, 24.

<sup>213</sup> *New York Times*, 9 December 1945.

<sup>214</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 December 1945, 17.

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lobbies or even the train station.<sup>215</sup>

Frustrated veterans' groups demanded that the governor take action, suggesting that unoccupied portable houses be transferred immediately from Wichita, Kansas; that the legislature appropriate funds for acquiring prefabricated houses; and that housing be created at schools and federal facilities. They asked Denver's mayor to authorize the use of unoccupied buildings for temporary dwellings, including structures such as schools, firehouses, and clubhouses.<sup>216</sup> Others suggested that buildings at the Denver Ordnance Plant could be converted to dormitories, as could classrooms at the Colorado School of Mines. A particularly ironic suggestion came from Governor Vivian, who proposed that buildings at the former Japanese internment camp at Granada could be moved for use as veteran's housing in the Denver area. He also suggested that owners of summer houses in the mountains could rent them to veterans.<sup>217</sup> The plight of homeless veterans picketing city hall on Christmas Day stirred the hearts of Denverites.<sup>218</sup> More than 100 homeless veterans and their families carried signs reading, "What about those wartime promises?" and "We can't live in foxholes here."<sup>219</sup>

### **Municipal Annexations in the Metropolitan Area**

During the war, local communities sought to attract new residents coming into the region, and municipalities began adding lands to accommodate expansion necessary for wartime and postwar activities and housing requirements. A circa 1942 Golden brochure advertised "a city of cheap electricity" and "modern homes," as well as "an ideal residential section" with "many beautiful sites for buildings."<sup>220</sup> In 1942, the Aurora City Council passed ordinances to regulate new housing due to concerns about conditions in potential areas of annexation, and the following year the city adopted unified zoning to protect future development. Aurora expressed concern about Denver annexing land in and around its city limits.<sup>221</sup>

In 1902, Denver annexed Argo, Berkeley, Elyria, Globeville, Montclair, and Valverde, becoming "in effect 'a state within a state' in size and power." The city boundary then remained the same until the outbreak of World War II. On 11 December 1941, the city made its first acquisition of land for Denver Municipal Airport, with an airfield expansion coming the following year. In 1943, the city annexed the Mountain View Park area, followed by two annexations in 1944, adding almost 1.5-square-miles.<sup>222</sup>

Foreseeing tremendous future growth at the war's end, Denver added lands from areas surrounding the city. In January 1944, the City Council approved annexation of 260 acres in Arapahoe County, a move challenged by Englewood.<sup>223</sup> In September 1944, Mayor Benjamin Stapleton indicated the city wanted to annex territory along its southern boundary, noting that taxes from the expansion area would cover the cost of its acquisition. The mayor observed, "I do not think it is fair for any county to

<sup>215</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 and 9 December 1945; *Denver Post*, 10 December 1945, 22.

<sup>216</sup> *Denver Post*, 15 December 1945, 1.

<sup>217</sup> The War Relocation Authority responded that the buildings were of a "very temporary type" and could not be transported and rebuilt. *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 December 1945, 5.

<sup>218</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 and 18 December 1945.

<sup>219</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 8, 15, 19, 26 December 1945, 5; *Denver Post*, 18 and 26 December 1945

<sup>220</sup> *Golden—The Gateway to the Rockies*, circa 1942, Golden Clipping File, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

<sup>221</sup> Steven F. Mehls, Carol J. Drake, and James E. Fell, *Aurora: Gateway to the Rockies* (Evergreen, Colorado: Cordillera Press, 1985), 96-99.

<sup>222</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 December 1947, 1C.

<sup>223</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 January 1944, 5.

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stand in the way of another which desires to expand and which is in a position to do so.”<sup>224</sup>

By 1945, Denver was poised for its after-war growth. In July 1945, Mayor Stapleton announced that the city needed \$7.5 million for “an extensive postwar improvement program.” Stapleton hoped for gradual growth for the city and opined that many veterans who hoped to return to the area would probably change their minds when they got home. He outlined a four-point program of improvement that included construction of storm sewers, development of air facilities, slum clearance, and cooperation with state and federal agencies in building a “super-highway along River Road.” Stapleton indicated these expenditures would align Denver with the postwar plans of other major cities.<sup>225</sup> The Chamber of Commerce felt the city faced “the greatest period of peacetime economic expansion in its history.”<sup>226</sup>

Between 1904 and 1944, the municipal boundaries of Arvada remained unchanged. During that period, Arvada established and maintained its position as a farm service center surrounded by an area of intensive agricultural production. The owners of the small, closely spaced farming tracts increased their production during the war, providing vital foodstuffs for the civilian and military populations. In 1945, Arvada studied its water supply to prepare for postwar growth. Leonard Fisher of the Arvada Chamber of Commerce predicted that “truck gardening and some small farms will disappear and give way to home sites” during the postwar period.<sup>227</sup> Arvada’s November 1945 addition of the Loberg Subdivision north of the commercial district represented the first increase in the area of the town since Arvada’s incorporation in 1904. Embracing the 40-acre residential subdivision north of Ralston Road and east of Wadsworth Avenue constituted one of the first indications Arvada was embarking on its journey from rural service center to major suburban city.<sup>228</sup>

### **Local and Regional Planning Efforts in the 1940s**

In 1923, the Colorado Municipal League organized as an association of local officials who promoted mutual cooperation for the improvement of municipal government and to support or oppose legislation relating to cities and towns.<sup>229</sup> The Denver Regional Planning Association formed in 1938, and a year later the five-county Upper Platte Valley Regional Planning Commission organized with the intention of extending physical planning to the metropolitan area.<sup>230</sup> During its early years, the group dealt with inter-county zoning, highways, water, and parks. In 1939, the state empowered boards of county commissioners to oversee physical development of and zone any unincorporated areas within their counties. Counties with populations of 15,000 received authority to appoint five-member county planning commissions to regulate the size of buildings and use of land, issue and approve building permits, and control development in zoned areas, as well as develop master plans.<sup>231</sup>

The Denver Planning Commission dealt with housing and construction problems in the years before and after Pearl Harbor.<sup>232</sup> In 1940 the Commission released its revised *Denver Planning Primer*,

<sup>224</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 September 1944, 5.

<sup>225</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 July 1945, 13.

<sup>226</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 August 1945, 6.

<sup>227</sup> Gorrell, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 45.

<sup>228</sup> Arvada City Clerk, “Annexations,” copy in the file of Front Range Research Associates, Denver; Gorrell, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 37.

<sup>229</sup> Colorado State Planning Commission, *Year Book of the State of Colorado, 1945-1947* (Denver: Colorado State Planning Commission, 1948), 538.

<sup>230</sup> Carl Abbott, *The New Urban America: Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 116.

<sup>231</sup> Colorado State Planning Commission, *Year Book, 1945-1947*, 538.

<sup>232</sup> Abbott, *The New Urban America*, 116.

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described as “a textbook and discussion of Denver’s plan,” by which it intended to educate citizens about the historical evolution of the city’s planning and provide a background for future planning decisions.<sup>233</sup> The document noted that “the relationship of a large city and its suburban territory . . . is one of the most important problems facing the planner today,” requiring that planners think in terms of metropolitan areas rather than city limits.”<sup>234</sup>

In 1941, Jefferson became the first county to adopt a County Zoning Ordinance under the provisions established by the state in 1939.<sup>235</sup> In explaining the new zoning to county residents, officials noted that the county experienced rapid growth in its unincorporated sections that had little control over construction. County Commissioners noted, “There is no idea of excluding those who are unable to build pretentious houses or to make it hard for them to acquire a home in this county.”<sup>236</sup> The concept was to promote growth in an orderly manner to protect property values.

Organized in August 1942 with support of major bankers and the Real Estate Exchange, the Denver Metropolitan Planning Project sought to preserve downtown property values through capital improvements embracing roads, freeways, and parks. The cooperative effort by the Denver Planning Commission, the Colorado State Planning Commission, the National Resources Planning Board, and the University of Denver focused on preserving the city’s expanded manufacturing base. In 1943, the group reorganized as the Denver Regional Association with Rockefeller Foundation funds and directed its attention to land use, employment, industrial development, and economic reconversion. A pamphlet produced by the Association, *Facing the Challenge of War and Postwar Problems*, stressed the need for adequate electric power and water for postwar growth.<sup>237</sup>

In 1944, the Tri-County Planning Commission (TCPC), composed of Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson counties, organized to deal with issues affecting counties surrounding Denver. The group addressed problems such as building codes in unincorporated areas, and water, sewage, and transportation questions impacting the metropolitan area adjacent to Denver. The TCPC operated until 1949.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> The Denver Planning Commission, *Denver Planning Primer*, rev. ed. (Denver: The Denver Planning Commission, 1940), 3.

<sup>234</sup> *Denver Planning Primer*, 55.

<sup>235</sup> Arvada Historical Society, *Arvada: Just Between You and Me*, 179.

<sup>236</sup> *Colorado Transcript*, 29 February 1940.

<sup>237</sup> Abbott, *The New Urban America*, 116.

<sup>238</sup> State Planning Commission, *Colorado Year Book*, 1945-1947, 538.



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### **3. Growth of the Denver Metropolitan Area and Post World War II Subdivision Development, 1946-65**

#### **Population and Housing: Patterns of Growth in the Denver Area**

Denver and its surrounding counties added nearly 700,000 people between 1940 and 1970, growing from 407,961 to 1,102,901. Writing in 1959, journalist Robert L. Perkin characterized the 1940s and 1950s as “the years that shook Denver” and observed:

With the same abruptness in which the Pike’s [sic] Peakers had created Auraria from prairie dog flats and willow bottom, Denver changed into a large city. It became, in the years immediately after World War II, one of the dozen or so “exploding metropolises” . . . . The Denver explosion was both more violent and more precipitate than most of the rest. In little more than a decade population in the Denver metropolitan area more than doubled. The equivalent of a city the size of Oakland or Atlanta was piled in rapid heapings on all that the previous nine decades had accomplished. Postwar growth was in many places dramatic; in Denver it was melodramatic.<sup>239</sup>

Geographic shifts in population and jurisdictional changes characterized the period. In 1940, Denver comprised nearly four-fifths of the five-county region’s total population.<sup>240</sup> While the central city continued to grow, more rapid increases in the suburban periphery reduced Denver’s share to less than half of the total by 1970. Nine new municipalities incorporated in the counties around Denver between 1940 and 1965. Denver and other municipalities annexed substantial territories into their corporate limits. A discussion of the region’s population dynamics and physical expansion at the regional, county, and city levels follows, using U.S. Census Bureau reports and data developed from the Regional Parcel Database.<sup>241</sup>

#### **Population Magnitude and Change**

##### **THE FIVE-COUNTY REGION**

The explosive growth of the five-county Denver region in the mid-twentieth century is illustrated in Table J1, which details population change in the 1940-70 period. The region nearly tripled its population, from 407,961 in 1940 to 1,102,901 in 1970. Inter-County Regional Planning Commission estimates indicated that the metropolitan area topped one million inhabitants by the end of 1965. Growth rates varied considerably by decade. During the 1940s, the five counties added 156,047 inhabitants for a 38.3 percent growth rate. Writing in 1949, Charles A. Graham and Robert L. Perkin observed the region was “bursting out at the seams. Building is underway everywhere, and still the roofs are not numerous enough to meet the demand. Many of the newcomers are ex-GI’s who discovered Denver when they were stationed at Lowry and Buckley Fields, and now have come back to make homes.”<sup>242</sup> The 1950s saw even more dramatic growth, with a population increase of 295,798 (or 52.4 percent). While lower, the 28.3 percent increase during the 1960s nevertheless added another 243,095 persons to the region.

The developed area of the region concomitantly grew. Figures K3 through K5 show the region’s

<sup>239</sup> Robert L. Perkin, *The First Hundred Years* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1959), 571.

<sup>240</sup> Nearly all of CDOT Region 6 is contained within the five counties of Adams, Arapahoe, Broomfield, Denver, and Jefferson. A narrow slice of northern Douglas County, which contained virtually no population during the period, is also within the region; data for Douglas County is therefore not included in this discussion.

<sup>241</sup> For a discussion of the development and limitations of the Regional Parcel Database see Section H.

<sup>242</sup> Graham and Perkin, “Denver: Reluctant Capital,” 313.

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urbanized area as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau from 1950 through 1970. The maps track the expansion of the developed or built-up extent of the region. The Census Bureau defined “urbanized area” as a central city (Denver) and the contiguous “surrounding closely settled incorporated places and unincorporated areas that comprise its urban fringe.” The successive maps show steady growth in the Denver region’s developed area, increasing from 105.2 square miles in 1950, to 167.4 square miles in 1960, to 292.8 square miles in 1970. The population residing within the urbanized area correspondingly increased: 1950, 498,743; 1960, 803,624; and 1970, 1,047,311. During the 1950-70 period, the amount of developed land within the area grew faster than population--178 percent versus 110 percent—resulting in declining population density.<sup>243</sup>

In 1950, the region’s urbanized area covered 105.2 square miles, embracing Denver and abutting territory mostly to the south, west, and east (See Figure K3). In Arapahoe County to the south, the area included Englewood, Cherry Hills Village, Sheridan, and Littleton, extending to about Windermere Street and Ridge Road. Development in Jefferson County abutted the Denver County boundary from Arvada on the north to about West Alameda Avenue on the south, including Edgewater, Mountain View, and Lakeside, and west to roughly Youngfield Street. The built-up area to the east included Aurora and the grounds of Fitzsimons General Hospital to about Potomac Street. Areas in Adams County to the north included lands adjacent to the Denver boundary as well as Westminster and Federal Heights.

By 1960, the urbanized area grew to 167.4 square miles. The Adams County part increased substantially, filling most of the acreage between the Rocky Mountain Arsenal and the South Platte River and including the Derby area and the newly incorporated Commerce Town (See Figure K4). Thornton and areas on both sides of Interstate 25, extending to Westminster and Federal Heights on the west, were included as part of the built-up region. In Jefferson County, the urbanized area extended west through the Pleasant View vicinity to include the City of Golden and proceeded south along the Denver boundary to about West Jewell Avenue. The City of Arvada greatly expanded its boundary, and development occurred along both sides of Clear Creek. To the east, Aurora grew further into Adams County, as well as expanding southward, and the developed area pushed eastward along East Colfax Avenue to about Tower Road. On the south in Arapahoe County, Bow Mar incorporated on the Jefferson County line and the urbanized area grew south of Cherry Hills Village to about Orchard Road. Littleton annexed territory south to about Dry Creek Road, and a built-up area east of the city extended east of South University Boulevard.

Figure K5 shows the status of the urbanized area in 1970, which then covered 292.8 square miles. Aurora grew east to Piccadilly Road to absorb Buckley Air National Guard Base and south to the vicinity of Cherry Creek Reservoir. The resulting enclave between Denver and Aurora became part of the built up area. Littleton expanded its border south to the Douglas County line, and development to the east extended to Interstate 25 and south to the county line. Greenwood Village incorporated, extending east across Interstate 25 to the west edge of Cherry Creek Reservoir. In Jefferson County, Wheat Ridge and Lakewood, both of which incorporated in 1969, extended from Clear Creek on the north to West Hampden Avenue (U.S. 285) on the south and from the Denver County line at Sheridan

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<sup>243</sup> The 1940 metropolitan district concept presented a less precise picture of the region’s built up area since it used election precincts to define the area and included areas with relatively low population density (150 persons per square mile). It appears that relatively undeveloped portions of Arapahoe, Adams, and Jefferson counties were included. U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Population, Colorado, 1950* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), xiv and *Census of Population 1960: Colorado, Part 7, vol. I* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961, 7-15, *1970 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population: Colorado, Part 7, vol. I* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1973), 7-30; and 1940, metropolitan districts.

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Boulevard west to Interstate 70 and Rooney Road. Much of the area between Interstate 70 and Golden also developed. Arvada increased its corporate limits north to West 88<sup>th</sup> Avenue and west to Ward Road. In Adams County, Northglenn incorporated, pushing the north edge of the urbanized area to East 120<sup>th</sup> Avenue. Thornton and Westminster both annexed new lands. The Welby area south of Thornton developed, as did the area southwest of Interstate 25 and the Denver-Boulder Turnpike (U.S. 36).

### **COUNTIES**

Table J1 and Figures K6 and K7 present population data for the five constituent counties of the region. The City and County of Denver remained the most populous jurisdiction throughout the 1940-70 period, increasing by 192,266 persons from 322,412 in 1940 to 514,678 in 1970. Denver posted a 29 percent increase during the 1940s, when it added 93,374 persons and accounted for 60 percent of the region's growth during the decade. The city and county recorded slower growth rates in the 1950s and 1960s, 18.8 percent and 4.2 percent, respectively. Its addition of 78,101 persons during the 1950s was the second highest of the five counties and comprised 26.4 percent of regional growth. While Denver's growth was impressive, the surrounding suburban counties grew even more rapidly and reduced the central city's proportion of total regional population from 79 percent in 1940 to 46.7 percent in 1970.

Adams County to the north grew from a population of 22,481 in 1940 to 185,789 in 1970, an eightfold increase. The 163,308 new residents comprised a 726.4 percent increase. During the 1950s, the county led the region, adding 80,062 persons (a 199 percent increase) and capturing 27 percent of its increase. Construction of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike and Interstate 25 stimulated this growth by enhancing the county's transportation accessibility. Adams County, second after Jefferson County, added 65,493 inhabitants during the 1960s (a 54.4 percent increase).

To the west, Jefferson County recorded the greatest increase to its 1940 population, adding 202,306 persons and growing from 30,725 in 1940 to 233,031 in 1970 (a 658.4 percent increase). The county nearly doubled its population in the 1940s (adding 24,962 persons or an 81.2 percent increase) and more than doubled it in the 1950s (a 71,833 or 129 percent rise). These gains were dwarfed by Jefferson County's growth in the 1960s, when the jurisdiction gained 105,511 persons. The county's 82.7 percent increase during that decade constituted 43.4 percent of the region's growth.

Arapahoe County to the south also displayed strong growth, rising from 32,150 residents in 1940 to 162,142 in 1970, a fivefold increase. The county posted a 62.1 percent increase (19,975 persons) during the 1940s. The county more than doubled its population during the 1950s, adding 61,301 persons (a 117.6 percent increase). Arapahoe County acquired an additional 48,716 inhabitants during the 1960s for a 54.4 percent increase.

The City and County of Broomfield, formed in 2001, comprised a minor proportion of the region during the 1940-70 period. Construction of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike and attendant subdivision platting activity raised the population to about 4,500 by 1960 and led to the city's incorporation in 1961. By 1970, the city's population totaled 7,261.

### **MUNICIPALITIES**

In 1940, the territory comprising today's Colorado Department of Transportation Region 6 contained 13 municipalities (See Figure G1). Denver was dominant with a population of 322,412; the population in the remaining 12 cities and towns totaled just 27,907 (See Table J2). Figure K8 displays growth trends for 1940 through 1970 for the region's most populous cities in 1970. Aside from Denver, only six municipalities had populations in excess of 1,000 persons in 1940. The largest was Englewood,

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adjoining Denver to the south, with 9,680 persons and the ninth most populous city in Colorado. Three of the largest municipalities were county seats: Brighton, 4,029; Golden, 3,175; and Littleton, 2,244. Aurora, to the east along Colfax Avenue, contained 3,437 residents and Arvada to the northwest held 1,482.

During the 1940s, Denver added more than 90,000 inhabitants. Its 1950 population of 415,786 persons preserved its rank as the nation's twenty-fourth largest city. Most of the other cities in the metropolitan region posted higher percentage growth rates than Denver but added smaller absolute numbers of persons. Englewood added 7,189 residents for a 74.3 percent increase and remained the second most populous city in the area and the sixth largest in Colorado with a population of 16,869. Aurora, boosted by the presence of World War II-era military installations, added nearly 8,000 persons and more than tripled its population to 11,421 to become the tenth largest city in the state. Golden grew by 2,063 (a 65 percent rise) to 5,238, while Brighton increased slightly to 4,336 and remained the region's fourth largest city. Westminster tripled its population, rising from 534 to 1,686. Sheridan more than doubled its size, from 712 persons in 1940 to 1,715 in 1950. Littleton, Edgewater, and Arvada posted 1940s increases of more than 50 percent, producing 1950 populations of 3,378, 2,580, and 2,359, respectively. Two new cities, Federal Heights and Cherry Hills Village, incorporated during the 1940s. Overall, Denver grew by 29 percent during the decade, while the combined population of the other cities in the metropolitan area saw an 85.4 percent increase.

The 1950s saw suburban cities and towns account for more of the regional increase in population than Denver: 124,732 (61 percent) versus 78,101 (39 percent). Denver, with a 1960 population of 493,887, rose to become the nation's twenty-third most populous city. Aurora emerged as the region's second largest city by 1960, growing by 37,127 residents during the 1950s to record a population of 48,548. Englewood, the region's third largest city, nearly doubled in size and recorded a population of 33,398 in 1960. Arvada's 19,242 inhabitants in 1960 represented more than an eightfold increase over 1950. Westminster and Littleton recorded 1960 populations of more than 13,000, representing increases of 721.5 percent and 304.7 percent, respectively. Thornton, one of six new cities organized in the area in the 1950s, posted a 1960 population of 11,353, while Commerce Town had 8,970 residents. In addition to Denver, the state's top 15 most populous municipalities in 1960 included six other regional cities: Aurora, fourth largest; Englewood, sixth; Arvada, ninth; Westminster, eleventh; Littleton, twelfth; and Thornton, fourteenth.

The pattern of rapid suburban growth continued through the decade of the 1960s. Estimates produced by the Inter-County Regional Planning Commission indicate that the population of the five-county region rose to more than one million by the end of 1965. Denver topped a half million residents during the decade and recorded a population of 514,678 in 1970, an increase of 4.2 percent (20,791 persons) since 1960. The population of suburban municipalities more than doubled, rising by 256,665 inhabitants (145.4 percent). The 1970 Census revealed that Lakewood, incorporated in 1969, was the region's second largest city with a population of 92,743. Aurora, with 74,974 residents in 1970, added 26,426 persons during the 1960s. The 54.4 percent growth was lower than the city recorded in the 1950s. Arvada exceeded its growth of the prior decade by adding 30,602 inhabitants (a 159 percent increase) to record a 1970 population of 49,844. Englewood, substantially built-out and unable to annex territory, posted a 1970 population of 33,398, an increase of less than 300 persons. Two newly incorporated communities, Wheat Ridge with 29,778 residents and Northglenn with 27,748, reported larger 1970 populations than Littleton, which contained 26,466 inhabitants. The populations of Thornton, Westminster, and Commerce City ranged between 13,000 and 20,000 in 1970.

The growth reported by the U.S. Census for a municipality reflects the increase occurring within the

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existing territory of a city from the time of the previous census plus the added population contained within territory annexed by the city in the years between censuses (See Table J4). In some cases the added territory developed prior to annexation; in others it was raw land that became built-up after its acquisition by the municipality. For 1960 and 1970, the Census Bureau produced counts of population within the annexed parts of cities added since the previous enumeration. In 1960 the areas annexed in the previous ten years contained 81,810 persons; the comparable figure for 1970 was 119,308. Of these totals, lands annexed by the City and County of Denver accounted for 38,283 of the 1950-60 total and 56,872 of the 1960-70 total. Suburban cities represented a majority of the population in annexed areas: 1950-60, 53.2 percent and 1960-70, 52.3 percent.<sup>244</sup>

### Single-Family Dwellings: Growth and Characteristics

Information from the Regional Parcel Database (see Section H for a discussion of its development and limitations) provides insights into temporal and geographic components of 1940-65 growth within Colorado Department of Transportation (CDOT) Region 6. Aggregations of the parcel data for the region, counties, and municipalities reveal differences by time period for trends in dwelling construction, land absorption, and density of development, while characteristic data (such as building type and wall and roof materials) supply additional understanding. CDOT Region 6 contained 739,032 parcels, of which 516,260 were classified as single-family residential, excluding condominiums and townhouses. Dwellings built between 1940 and 1965 numbered 160,846.

In recent years discussions of the demographics of housing allude to the massive number of single-family dwellings constructed to house the Baby Boom generation and their families in the immediate decades following World War II and the challenges this raises for historic buildings documentation and assessment. However, data from the Regional Parcel Database reveal that single-family residences constructed between 1940 and 1965 only comprise about a third (32.9 percent) of the region's existing single-family housing stock, a large but not dominant proportion. The largest group by far consists of dwellings erected after 1965, which constitute 55 percent of total dwellings. By contrast, pre-1940 residences make up just 12.1 percent of the total.<sup>245</sup>

### TRENDS IN DWELLING CONSTRUCTION BY YEAR AND SUB-PERIOD

Considerable variation by year and jurisdiction in single-family dwelling construction in the metropolitan area existed over the 1940-65 period.<sup>246</sup> Table J5 and Figure K9 display numbers of dwellings erected by year for the region and its jurisdictions for the 1940-65 era, while Figure 10 plots the location of all parcels built-out during that period. The early 1940s reflect the rebound from the Depression era reported in contemporary newspaper accounts, with more than 2,000 units erected each year from 1940-42. The effects of wartime controls on construction materials and labor are seen in 1943 and 1944 when the number of houses built fell to 729 and 700, respectively. The number of completed houses rose steadily from 1,124 in 1945 to 5,321 in 1949. After a slight drop in 1950, the number of dwellings erected jumped to 7,578 the following year. The number of dwellings constructed

<sup>244</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960, Characteristics of the Population, Number of Inhabitants, Colorado* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), Table 9 and *1970 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population, Colorado* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), Table 8.

<sup>245</sup> Condominiums and townhouses are not included in these figures. If they were, the post-1965 proportion would be even greater.

<sup>246</sup> The data reported from the Regional Parcel Database may not correspond to figures presented in contemporary newspaper accounts due to such factors as: the time lag between issuance of building permits and construction; demolition of dwellings erected between 1940 and 1965; and the effect of Assessor "adjusted year built" changes. In addition, the Regional Parcel Database uses current jurisdictional boundaries in tabulations; thus, data for the current City of Centennial were reported in Unincorporated Arapahoe County for the 1940-65 period.

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each year between 1951 and 1964 averaged 8,823. The top year for housing construction was 1955 with 15,098 units (9.4 percent of the 1940-65 total), followed by 1954 with 11,276 dwellings. After 1962, the number of houses erected fell for the next three years. The 1965 total of 4,635 represented the first time since 1950 that the region added less than 5,000 dwellings.

Table J6 groups the number of dwellings erected into five sub-periods (1940-45, 1946-49, 1950-54, 1955-59, and 1960-65) for all jurisdictions in the region. More than half (57.9 percent) of the 160,846 houses built in the region during the era dated to between 1955 and 1965, with 1955-59 alone accounting for 47,521 dwellings. The 1940s, which included the war years when restrictions on civilian building were in place, had the lowest number of dwellings, with slightly more than 28,000.

The City and County of Denver included 57,251 (35.6 percent) of total regional dwellings erected, followed by Jefferson County with 43,546 (27.1 percent). The 32,097 residences built in Adams County represented 20.0 percent of the regional total, while Arapahoe County's 26,304 comprised 16.3 percent. Broomfield contributed 1,648 dwellings (1.0 percent) to the regional total. Some counties posted greater numbers of dwelling units in early parts of the period and some in later years (See Figure K9). Denver erected its greatest number of dwellings (19,350) during the 1950-54 period, whereas Adams County saw its highest number in the late 1950s, when 13,921 dwellings were constructed. Jefferson County posted its largest gain (17,060) during 1960-65, as did Arapahoe County with 10,712. The picture of regional growth that emerges is substantial growth in Denver from the 1940s through the late 1950s, combined with growing contributions by Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson counties in the 1955-65 period (with Adams County more significant in the late 1950s and Jefferson and Arapahoe counties more important in the early 1960s). Denver's regional share of total new dwellings declined throughout the period, from 61 percent in the 1940s to 13.9 during 1960-65.

At the sub-county level, four jurisdictions each added more than 10,000 dwellings between 1940 and 1965. Lakewood led the region's cities with 17,581 dwellings (10.9 percent of the regional total), followed by Aurora with 12,510 (7.8 percent). The unincorporated portion of Adams County and Arvada experienced increases of 10,539 and 10,524, respectively (or about 6.5 percent). In general, Adams County cities saw their largest jumps in numbers of dwellings in the 1955-59 period, while those in Arapahoe and Jefferson counties recorded their biggest increases during 1960-65.

Average year-built for the 1940-65 period provides a summary measure of the relative age of the housing stock across jurisdictions (See Table J7). The regional average age of construction was 1955. Denver recorded the oldest average year-built with 1952. Jefferson County, with a 1956 average, and Adams and Arapahoe counties, with 1957, were closely clustered. Broomfield, which just started to develop in the late 1950s, posted the most recent average year-built at 1959. Among municipalities, tiny Mountain View had a 1948 average year-built. Eight cities and towns had averages in the early 1950s: 1952, Edgewater; 1953, Englewood; and 1954, Aurora, Commerce City, Golden, Morrison, and Wheat Ridge. Jurisdictions with early 1960s averages included: 1961, Glendale and Greenwood Village and 1962, Northglenn and Centennial. The remaining jurisdictions had averages in the late 1950s.

#### **TRENDS IN LAND ABSORPTION, DWELLINGS PER ACRE, AND PARCEL SIZE**

Variations in parcel size and the number of dwellings per acre can produce substantial differences in the look and feel of communities, from a relatively compact housing form to more open country-like development patterns. To provide a frame of reference for the 1940-65 data below, it is useful to compare data from older neighborhoods. For example, the area lying southeast of West 32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue and Lowell Boulevard (recently designated as the Ghost Denver Landmark Historic District) largely built-out by 1941, with most of its housing stock dating prior to 1910. The area's 23.1 residential acres

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hold 204 houses, yielding a density of 8.8 houses per acre (twice that of the region for the 1940-65 period) and an average parcel size of 4,941 square feet (half the average size of 1940-65 parcels).

The parcels holding the 160,846 dwellings erected in the five-county region between 1940 and 1965 contained 36,310 acres of land (or 56.7 square miles) (See Table J7). This yields a density of 4.4 dwellings per acre and an average parcel size of 9,833 square feet.<sup>247</sup> Denver posted the highest housing unit density at 5.6 dwellings per acre, while Arapahoe County (3.7 dwellings per acre) and Jefferson County (3.9 dwellings per acre) had the lowest densities. Adams County and the City and County of Broomfield were close to the regional average, with 4.3 and 4.1 dwellings per acre, respectively. Jefferson County accounted for 30.5 percent (17.3 square miles) of total land developed for single-family housing during the period, followed closely by Denver with 28 percent (15.9 square miles). Adams and Arapahoe counties each comprised about 20 percent of the region's land developed or somewhat more than 11 square miles each. Single-family land in Broomfield comprised about 1 percent of the region (0.6 square miles).

Municipalities varied greatly in terms of housing densities and land absorption for the 1945-60 period. Arapahoe County contained many of the communities with the lowest dwelling densities, including: Cherry Hills Village, 0.7 dwellings per acre; Columbine Valley and Greenwood Village, each with 1.1 dwellings per acre; and Glendale, 2.1 dwellings per acre. Bow Mar, which straddles the Arapahoe-Jefferson county boundary, posted a density of 1.0 dwelling per acre. Unincorporated Jefferson County had 2.0 dwellings per acre for the period. Three older cities in Jefferson County recorded the greatest densities: Mountain View, 15.0 dwellings per acre; Edgewater, 12.1 dwellings per acre; and Golden, 7.8 dwellings per acre. Other cities with more than five dwellings per acre included Denver (5.6), Englewood (5.1), and Aurora (5.0).

In terms of acres of land developed within municipalities for single-family dwellings, the City and County of Denver absorbed 10,157 acres between 1940 and 1965. Communities developing more than 2,000 acres each included: Unincorporated Adams County (2,978 acres); Aurora (2,487 acres); Unincorporated Jefferson County (2,411 acres); and Arvada (2,200 acres).

Parcel size also varied greatly across municipalities, although most did not deviate greatly from the regional average of 9,833 square feet (See Table J7). Arapahoe County contained eight of the jurisdictions with parcel areas greater than 12,000 square feet: Cherry Hills Village (61,247 square feet or 1.4 acres); Bow Mar (43,590); Greenwood Village (40,500); Columbine Valley (38,417); Glendale (20,596); Unincorporated Arapahoe County (14,138); Centennial (12,755); and Littleton (12,265). Unincorporated Jefferson County (21,350) and Unincorporated Adams County (12,311) also had larger parcel sizes. Three Jefferson County municipalities recorded the smallest parcel areas, Mountain View (3,040 square feet), Edgewater (3,600), and Golden (5,575), while the average parcel size for Denver was 7,728 square feet.

### **BUILDING TYPES**

While some differences in terminology exist across counties, it is apparent that Ranch houses (broadly defined) dominated house types erected in the region between 1940 and 1965 (See Table J8). Of the four suburban counties that appear to use similar classification schemes, Ranch type dwellings comprised 86 percent of the total (89,507 of 103,595 total dwellings). Relatively small numbers of other building types were represented: Split Level, 4,566 (3.8 percent); Two-Story, 3,427 (3.3 percent); Bi-Level, 2,815 (2.7 percent); Tri-Level, 1,360 (1.3 percent); and One-and-a-Half-Story,

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<sup>247</sup> To make the average parcel size more readily understandable dimensions of 79' x 125', 98' x 100', or 85' x 116', for example, would yield about 9,833 square feet in area.

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914 (0.9 percent).

The City and County of Denver employs a different approach to categorizing building types. Of the 57,251 dwellings within Denver, 47,803 (83.5 percent) were classified as One-Story buildings. Given the time period, many of the houses in this category fall into the Ranch type used by the other counties. Other important building types for Denver included: Two-Story, 1,849; Bi-Level, 1,389; and Rowhouse, 1,209.

**CONSTRUCTION CHARACTERISTICS**

*Rooms and House Size.* The Regional Parcel Database contains incomplete data on number of rooms, bedrooms, and baths, making it difficult to compare data across counties or compute five-county averages.<sup>248</sup> Table J9 presents the information that could be extracted. Adams and Denver counties were the only jurisdictions reporting data on total rooms per house. Adams had an average of 5.2 total rooms for the 1940-65 period versus 5.0 for Denver. Four of the counties provided data on number of bedrooms and baths. The average number of bedrooms varied from 3.1 in Broomfield to 2.0 in Arapahoe County; Adams County and Denver County averaged 2.8 and 2.4 bedrooms, respectively. Arapahoe and Broomfield counties reported an average of 1.9 bathrooms, while Adams and Denver had 1.5 baths.

Information on house size was available for all five counties.<sup>249</sup> The regional average house size for 1940-65 was 1,350 square feet. Four counties were somewhat above the regional average: Broomfield, 1,422 square feet; Denver, 1,420 square feet; Jefferson, 1,412 square feet; and Arapahoe, 1,391 square feet. Adams County dwellings were somewhat smaller, averaging 1,102 square feet for the era.

*Wall and Roof Materials.* Analysis of building materials used for exterior walls and roofs is again limited by data availability. Information on exterior wall materials was available for Denver and Adams counties, although different categories were used within each jurisdiction. Within Denver, brick was the predominant wall cladding (55.4 percent of dwellings), followed by frame (35.2 percent), concrete block (3.0 percent), brick and frame (2.8 percent), and stucco (2.6 percent). The results were somewhat different for Adams County, where 69 percent of dwellings had masonry veneer cladding and 30.3 percent of houses featured frame exterior siding.

Three counties (Adams, Arapahoe, and Broomfield) reported data on roof materials. Asphalt/composition shingles represented the overwhelming choice for roofing, applied to 93.1 percent of dwellings. Wood shakes, used on 3.9 percent of houses, were a distant second, followed by built-up roofs (2.8 percent).

**Transportation and the Suburbanization of the Denver Region**

The suburban movement in the United States dates to the nineteenth century, but contemporary historians cite the postwar decades as a defining period in the emergence of a national suburban culture, in part due to the rise in popularity of the American automobile. From the perspective of urban historians, the automobile and suburbanization were closely linked in shaping urban centers. The relationship between the automobile and suburbanization became plainly obvious after World War II, when enormous population shifts from rural to urban centers and between states became evident. Veterans returned home to extended families, typically sharing an apartment or a house with parents

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<sup>248</sup> County Assessors collect and maintain this type of information but the initial data collection effort by the Denver Regional Council of Governments did not obtain it.

<sup>249</sup> The data reported is the current house size, which is not necessarily the square footage as originally constructed.



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and grandparents. Millions of former G.I.s and their wives dreamed of a home of their own and a new start in new places. Developers and builders, eager to accommodate this growing housing market demand, bought land in open spaces on the fringe of cities to build new houses—modern, efficient houses. On these undeveloped sites, generally agricultural land, builders did not have to raze or demolish existing structures to build. Building contractors were able to design and build entire communities on a blank slate without concerns for existing city street systems, buildings, or neighborhoods.<sup>250</sup>

After World War II, American auto makers restructured manufacturing plants from military production to produce automobiles to meet a pent up demand for new and affordable cars. As automobile ownership numbers increased, suburban development away from mass transit corridors surged. The automobile not only affected the development of interstates and thoroughfares where car dealerships, garages, and service stations appeared; it also affected residential growth. The automobile allowed greater movement than mass transit. It opened the countryside. With the move to the country or suburbs, often areas without access to public transportation, Americans became more reliant upon the automobile as a means for commuting to and from work, shopping in the city, and transporting children to and from school and activities. The automobile became an integral component to nearly every aspect of life in the suburbs.

### Denver's Earliest Road System

The Colorado legislature established the State Highway Commission in January 1910, with over 1,600 miles of primary roads.<sup>251</sup> In that year, early state commissioners appointed by Governor John F. Shafroth traveled the extent of the state to identify and designate the first seven state primary roads. These early “highways” all led to Denver. These were not the modern highways that we are familiar with today. State commissioner appointee Thomas H. Tully relates, “We found bridges we did not dare to cross in a car, encountered mud that stuck us, found grades we managed to crawl up at a speed a snail could beat, and roads that were never meant for anything but a horse-drawn vehicle.”<sup>252</sup> Three of the first routes were State Primary Road Number 2 from Denver to Fort Collins, State Primary Road Number 3 from Denver to Colorado Springs, and State Primary Road Number 4 from Colorado Springs to Pueblo.<sup>253</sup> The roads were little more than dirt tracks from former wagon roads. Subsequent federal acts and funding improved the condition of the state’s roads. The federal acts will be explained in more detail later.

When President Woodrow Wilson signed the 1916 Federal Aid Highway Act into law, federal funds became available to assist the state in improving and constructing new routes through Colorado. Federal Aid Projects 1 and 2 funded work on the North-South Road that connected Denver to both southern Front Range cities—Colorado Springs and Pueblo—and northern ones—Loveland and Fort Collins. When the highway system applied numbers to routes instead of names, the North-South Road became incorporated into U.S. Highway 85. During the interstate era, U.S. Highway 85 became Interstate 25.<sup>254</sup> Although the 1916 act provided federal funds to improve roads to Denver, those

<sup>250</sup> Mark S. Foster, *A Nation on Wheels: The Automobile Culture in America Since 1945* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 2003) 56; Owen D. Gutfreund, *Twentieth-Century Sprawl: Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004), 5.

<sup>251</sup> Associated Cultural Resource Experts (ACRE), “Highways to the Sky: A Context and History of Colorado’s Highway System” (Denver: Colorado Department of Transportation, 2002) 5-20.

<sup>252</sup> Quote from *Colorado Highways*, April 1929(b): 9 as quoted in ACRE, “Highways to the Sky,” 5-20.

<sup>253</sup> Clay Fraser, “Valley: Valley Highway Document of Structures on the Valley Highway, Denver, Colorado,” Prepared for Hermsen Consultants (Loveland, Colorado: FRASERdesign, July 2000) 2.

<sup>254</sup> Fraser, “Valley,” 2, and Marion C. Wiley, *The High Road: Colorado Department of Highways History* (Denver: Colorado

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funds could not be used in upgrading the City's street system. Funding for street construction in Denver came from city coffers.

Traffic congestion in the City prompted Denver planners to study traffic patterns to devise solutions to alleviate the congestion. Studies in the late 1920s and early 1930s resulted in a number of predictions for higher population figures in the metropolitan area and with it increased numbers of automobiles. A 1929 traffic flow map in a 2000 Colorado Department of Transportation study highlighted the City's major east-west corridors as Colfax Avenue, West Alameda Avenue, and West 44<sup>th</sup> Avenue, with only Colfax Avenue extending completely through the City. The other two ended at or before the Denver business center. The City's major north-south arteries were Broadway Boulevard and Santa Fe Drive, with lesser arteries being South Logan Street, South Downing Street, and Colorado and University boulevards. Two angular arteries that served the northwest quadrant of the City were Speer Boulevard and 20<sup>th</sup> Street. According to the map, the City's boundaries were basically 44<sup>th</sup> Avenue on the north, Alameda Avenue on the south, Federal Avenue on the west and Colorado Boulevard on the east. Attempts to develop a major street plan for Denver in the 1930s failed due in part to a lack of funding. Despite congested Denver streets, public transportation struggled to keep ridership numbers up as more and more riders became automobile owners.<sup>255</sup>

### **The Interstate Era**

The U.S. Department of Transportation, State Department of Highways, or county and city governments fund, construct, and maintain roads and highways across the nation. The first federal highway program originated in 1916 with modest objectives and limited federal funding. The 1916 Federal Act required the Colorado State Highway Commission to meet certain minimum organizational requirements to receive and distribute funds.<sup>256</sup> Construction after receipt of federal funding ended when the United States entered the First World War. During the war, federal decision makers realized a system of national highways was essential to military defense. During the Great Depression, federal and state governments saw road building as the labor-intensive industry it was. Federal highway projects offered employment opportunities to thousands of out-of-work young men during this period while expanding the infrastructure in and around cities. During the Second World War, the government again focused on highway building for national defense.<sup>257</sup> As a result, Congress passed a number of acts to establish the modern federal highway or interstate network.

Three Highway Acts identified a strategic federal interest in designating defense highway and interstate networks across the nation. The Defense Highway Act of 1941 designated specific highways for movement of troops and war materials and supplies. The Federal Highway Act of 1944 authorized a 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System and provided limited federal funding for the extension and improvement of highways within municipalities.<sup>258</sup> The Second World War interrupted any efforts at highway planning, but in the interim President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed a seven-man committee to develop a plan for future development of an integrated national highway system.

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Department of Highways, 1976) 14-15.

<sup>255</sup> Fraser, "Valley," 2 and 4.

<sup>256</sup> ACRE, "Highways to the Sky," 5-25.

<sup>257</sup> Lee Mertz, "History of Highways," *Federal Highways Administration* (July 15, 2009), <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/history> (accessed August 24, 2009); Fraser, 1.

<sup>258</sup> Foster, *A Nation on Wheels*, 104-105; Richard F. Weingroff, "Highway History: To Control the Levers," <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/hwyhist06e.cfm>; "Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956: Creating the Interstate System," <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/rw96e.cfm>. For more information, on the Federal Highways Administration website (<http://www.fhwa.dot.gov>), there are several articles in *Public Roads* written by Richard F. Weingroff and a history of highways written by Lee Mertz that discuss the history of federal highway acts and the highway administration.

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As a result of that committee's efforts, President Dwight Eisenhower signed the Federal Highway Act of 1956 or the Interstate Highway Act. The Interstate Highway Act outlined the national network or a superhighway system and provided a funding mechanism through the Highway Trust Fund, a fund generated by taxes such as a national gas tax.<sup>259</sup> Altogether the three Acts proposed a 42,500-mile system that connected important urban centers and areas of national strategic importance by means of four-lane, divided highways with grade separations and interchanges.<sup>260</sup> Urban historian Mark Foster declared the 1956 act as one of the most important pieces of legislation of the decade, if not century, because "interstate highways profoundly affected rapidly evolving patterns of metropolitan development."<sup>261</sup>

### Building Highways

The principal functions of highways are to transport people and goods. Movement of people and goods can be national, regional, or inter-city. An integrated system of highways facilitates movement across the nation, within regions, and within a state. There are three types of transportation systems: interstate highways, state highways, and secondary roads or farm-to-market roads. Federal funds construct interstate highways and also provide limited funds to "federal aid primary and secondary roads." Federal aid primary roads connect Colorado cities and connect Colorado to adjacent states, while federal aid secondary roads are "farm-to-market" highways that connect to the primary road system.<sup>262</sup> Because this report principally focuses on the Denver metropolitan region, only those highways and feeders within the metropolitan area will be discussed.

Due to a dramatic increase of motor vehicle registration in the decade between 1930 and 1940, Denver Mayor Benjamin Stapleton hired landscape architect and developer Saco R. DeBoer to study the city's transportation problem. DeBoer presented the "Denver Plan" for "citywide modernization to facilitate automobile travel in the City through a series of 'circumferential bypass routes, radial feeders, diagonal highways, widened downtown streets, new parkways and boulevards'."<sup>263</sup> In DeBoer's study, he presumed population growth would be on the periphery of the city. In the end, DeBoer's plan languished on the drawing table. World War II interrupted Stapleton's plans to improve the City's streets and highway systems.

During the war, the motor vehicle registration numbers dropped due to rubber, metal, and gas rationing. After the war, rationing ended and vehicle registration in the State jumped from a 1945 low of 269,616 to 422,595 in 1950. Over the next five years, the number increased another 35 per cent.<sup>264</sup> By 1956, Denver County alone had over 185,000 cars registered. Budgetary constraints, that resulted when state funds were funneled into the wartime effort, placed a strain on the highway department forcing them to deal with an ever-increasing backlog of road maintenance. Roads and highways constructed or repaired under the New Deal programs of the Work Projects Administration and later the Public Works Administration inadequately served the growing number of vehicles. As one journalist writes in a 1959 *Denver Post* article on the history of Denver traffic, "The wartime and postwar boom unhinged a lot of things in Denver, but its streets most of all."<sup>265</sup> The journalist pointed out that the streets, the majority oiled streets and not paved, were useless against the heavy traffic

<sup>259</sup> Foster, *A Nation of Wheels*, 104-105.

<sup>260</sup> ACRE, "Highways to the Sky, 7-10; Foster, *A Nation on Wheels*, 104-105; Wiley, 29-31; Mertz, "History of Highways."

<sup>261</sup> Foster, *A Nation on Wheels*, 114; Gutfreund, *Twentieth-Century Sprawl*, 105.

<sup>262</sup> Inter-County Regional Planning Commission (ICRPC), "Transportation in the Denver Region," Master Plan Report No. 3, 1958 (Denver: The Commission, 1958), 4 and 12-13.

<sup>263</sup> Gutfreund, *Twentieth-Century Sprawl*, 80.

<sup>264</sup> *Colorado Year Book, 1956-1958*, 577.

<sup>265</sup> *Denver Post*, "The Story of Denver Traffic," in "This is Colorado," 21 June 1959, 244.

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plying the metropolitan area.

Denver mayor Stapleton's successor, Quigg Newton, and Colorado Department of Highway's engineer Charles Vail lobbied for improvement of the city and state transportation systems. Urban areas, such as Denver, were the first to benefit from this focus on freeway and expressway improvements.

In 1941, then Colorado State Highway Engineer Charles Vail convinced the State Legislature to pass the Colorado Freeway Act to provide funding for construction of a multi-lane thoroughfare through Denver. Three years later Vail commissioned a study for a north-south, limited-access highway through the city. The highway was a direct result of a new concept of high-speed freeways in Europe and the recently opened first portion of the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Federal funding provided through the federal highway acts made its way slowly to Colorado highway coffers. Vail hired the firm Crocker and Ryan to study various north-south routes through Denver and make recommendations. In December 1944, Crocker and Ryan recommended the alternative that followed the Platte River. They referred to it as the Valley Route, because it was located in the Platte River Valley. Funding for the project stalled. Charles Vail died January 1945. His successor Mark Watrous obtained state funds in the spring of 1946 for the project and construction of the highway, now part of Interstate 25, progressed. Table J10 presents data on when various segments of the freeway system were constructed, while Figures K11 through H13 show the status of the regional highway system in 1953, 1958, and 1962.<sup>266</sup>

In Washington, the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) worked to establish standardization in road construction across the nation. General policies for a uniform, standardized system included at minimum four lanes of traffic, divided in the middle by guard rails, grade separations at intersections of streets, railroads, and other crossovers, and interchanges that allowed ingress and egress points. FHWA formally established interstate construction standards in a 1956 highway design manual that became the industry's guide. Many of these standards were employed in the construction of Interstate 25 over the course of its construction.<sup>267</sup>

In November 1958, the 11.2-mile highway opened running from 46<sup>th</sup> Avenue on the north to Colorado Boulevard on the south. Use of the road quickly surpassed design and expansion was required within a decade. During the 1960s, the Department of Transportation (formerly Department of Highways) expanded the number of lanes on the interstate. In 1964, the interchange at West 46<sup>th</sup> Avenue became the crossroads between Interstates 70 and 25 when the plains segment of Interstate 70 opened to Denverites.<sup>268</sup>

As engineers and laborers worked on the new interstate in Denver, Boulder residents began a push to get a direct route built between Boulder and Denver. There were only two torturous routes for workers traveling between Boulder and Denver, a zigzag route along Colorado 7 and U.S. 287 or Colorado 93 south to Golden and then east to Denver on Alameda Avenue. The most vocal proponent for the direct route between Denver and Boulder was University of Colorado Professor Roderick L. Downing.

Over the years, Downing had taken his students out onto the farmland between Boulder and Denver to map out a proposed highway to Denver. Because the state had no funding, the Boulder city government and its residents proposed a toll road. Like State Engineer Vail, Boulder proponents

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<sup>266</sup> Wiley, *The High Road*, 41, and Fraser, "Valley," 8.

<sup>267</sup> ACRE, "Highways to the Sky," 9-17.

<sup>268</sup> ACRE, "Highways to the Sky," 7-11, and Wiley, *The High Road*, 45.

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referenced the success of eastern toll roads in funding new construction projects. Although Boulder was a strong proponent for the toll road, northern communities near the proposed road protested almost as vehemently against the road, claiming it would split their communities in half and decrease property values. Nevertheless, the state legislature passed the Turnpike bill in 1949. The highway department began construction on the 17.3-mile road at 28<sup>th</sup> Street in Boulder beginning in October 1950. During the construction of the turnpike, an additional 12 miles of crossover and service roads were built. The Denver-Boulder Turnpike officially opened 19 January 1952, although completion of the final segment at Denver's Federal Boulevard did not happen until August of that year.<sup>269</sup>

Automobile owners paid 25 cents and trucks ten cents for a one-way trip on the new toll road. State legislators had promised that when the road was paid off the toll booths would be removed. In September 1967, bulldozers demolished the booths and the Denver-Boulder Turnpike was designated the Denver-Boulder Freeway (U.S. 36).<sup>270</sup> Suburban communities in the north like Broomfield, Westminster, Louisville and later Superior experienced a building boom in the late 1950s largely due to the road's arrival.<sup>271</sup>

Although these two projects, Interstate 25 and the Denver-Boulder Toll Road, were the largest to impact the metropolitan area in the 1950s, transportation authorities and city planners realized that additional traffic improvements were crucial to open direct routes to the growing number of suburban industrial and employment centers. Access to future residential, commercial, and industrial centers required new highways and existing streets to be extended. For an example of the Denver area's 1950 and 1958 transportation situation refer to Figures K11 through K13.

The Highway Planning Commission, a division of the Colorado Department of Highways published a 1953 report recommending improvements to the state's highway system. The commission's two main recommendations were to reorganize the department and return nearly 4,000 miles of highway to the counties. A second report followed in 1958, published by the Inter-County Regional Planning Commission. This report outlined proposals that included developing specific highways to freeway standards, others to expressway standards, and adding or improving major roads in the Denver metropolitan region to link residential areas, major shopping centers, and economic or business centers. While these suggestions, especially reducing the number of state funded roads, relieved some of the fiscal pressures, funding was still a major issue for the highway department in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>272</sup>

### Transportation to Suburban Industrial Centers

In 1959, Boettcher & Company, an industrial and municipal developer, stated in the *Denver Post*, "Now a new 'gold' is being discovered in Colorado...a golden wealth in industrial development providing a vast potential for new enterprise."<sup>273</sup> In Richard Walker and Robert Lewis' essay, *Beyond the Crabgrass Frontier*, the authors argue that the interaction of industry and suburban residential growth more accurately describes suburbanization than the conventional theory that residential movement was a desire to have a "home in the country" or "life halfway between city and country."<sup>274</sup>

<sup>269</sup> Wiley, *The High Road*, 32.

<sup>270</sup> Wiley, *The High Road*, 33.

<sup>271</sup> Unknown, "A Promise Kept: The Denver-Boulder Toll Road," in *Colorado Heritage* (Winter 1996): 13-15; Dianna Litvak, CDOT Region 6 Senior Historian, "US36 EIS, Post World War II Residential Development Abutting the US36 Highway Corridor (Denver: Colorado Department of Transportation, 2009), 9-11.

<sup>272</sup> ACRE, "Highways to the Sky," 7-2.

<sup>273</sup> Advertisement, "This is Colorado," in Special Centennial Magazine section of the *Denver Post* dated June 21, 1959.

<sup>274</sup> Richard Walker and Robert Lewis, "Beyond the Crabgrass Frontier: Industry and the Spread of North American Cities, 1850-1950," in *Manufacturing Suburbs: Building Work and Home on the Metropolitan Fringe* (Philadelphia: Temple

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Most classical studies on urbanization explain that central manufacturing zones in cities resulted in an attempt to lower transportation costs to urban markets and to centrally-located shipping centers. Industrial suburbanization did not occur until after World War II when transportation by car and truck provided “unprecedented speed and flexibility in moving workers and goods.”<sup>275</sup>

Industrial and employment bases in Denver support this theory. Military installations in Aurora, military-based manufacturing in Lakewood and Littleton, the Arsenal in northern Adams County, and military and space technological industry in southwest Jefferson County, developed new business and industrial sectors in outlying areas around Denver, promoting growth in neighboring suburban territories. History and Urban Studies professor Owen Gutfreund points out that during the pre- and postwar period, the Denver region grew at twice the national average, asserting that widespread military facilities in the region acted to decentralize the metropolitan area.<sup>276</sup>

New and growing industrial centers built up extensive concentrations of related activities. In the Littleton area, specialized suppliers, merchants, and research and development institutions like American-Coleman Motor Company, C.A. Norgren, data-system corporations Ramo-Wooldridge Corporation (precursor to the TRW Corporation), and Datamatic Corporation established facilities and plants. Datamatic Corporation was a joint venture between Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Company and Raytheon Corporation. Missile, rocket, and space industrial centers in south Jefferson County, such as Johns Manville and the George L. Martin Company (later Martin-Marietta and eventually Lockheed-Martin) followed in later years.

City and county commissioners and developers, including Denver realtors and developers Van Schaack, Walter Koelbel, and George Wallace, eyed former agricultural acreage for rezoning as industrial centers. In 1957, Koelbel sought rezoning approval for a 140-acre industrial park site near Littleton. George Wallace’s Denver Technological Center in Greenwood Village became a reality in 1961, when he purchased the first 40-acres of farmland that eventually grew to more than 800 landscaped acres adjacent to Interstate 25 south of Denver. In 1956, Calvin Snyder, a local real estate developer and director of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, and his associates assembled some 7,000 acres in south Jefferson County, to be used as Glenn L. Martin’s Kessler/Waterton location for the research and development of the Titan Intercontinental Ballistic Missile for the U.S. space and military programs. At the same time, large and small developers snatched up smaller parcels for developing residential areas to provide homes for an expanding labor market near these employment centers.<sup>277</sup>

Employment bases in the northern metropolitan area included the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, established in 1942, and Dow Chemical’s Rocky Flats nuclear weapon plant, which opened in 1951. The 20,000-acre Arsenal, near the eastern terminus of the new Denver-Boulder turnpike, provided employment opportunities to unincorporated Adams County. Subdivisions, even cities, sprang up in its vicinity. Commerce City incorporated in 1952 in Adams County. The Arsenal plant employed workers who produced chemical and toxic products during World War II and the Korean War (1950-53). As laborers arrived to work in the plant, the housing shortage in this region prompted a proliferation of new housing starts. The Turnpike Land Company began construction in 1955 on the Broomfield Heights Subdivision, located on the former Zang Ranch, adding more than 4,000 residents to the local population by 1961. Other developers, such as Perl Mack, capitalized on

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University Press, 2004), 16-31.

<sup>275</sup> Walker and Lewis, “Beyond the Crabgrass Frontier,” 19.

<sup>276</sup> Gutfreund, *Twentieth-Century Sprawl*, 84.

<sup>277</sup> Tomasso, 88.

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building new neighborhoods adjacent to the new toll road. The value of land bordering new freeways and key transportation routes increased dramatically. Studies found that while land values increased along new freeways, similar properties in others areas not impacted by improved transportation modes decreased in value.<sup>278</sup>

Crucial to these metropolitan industrial centers was a well-developed transportation system. As Walker and Lewis point out in their essay, *Beyond the Crabgrass Frontier*, "The city is one large labor market, but at a finer scale, metropolitan areas embrace many nodes of industry and fields of workers' residences, linked by transit and daily journeys to work."<sup>279</sup> As these nodes appeared around the hub of Denver, counties and municipalities around the metropolitan center clamored for funding to improve their transportation corridors. Cities near Denver, especially those with high numbers of military facilities, siphoned State funds away from the City for road and highway building. In addition, federal subsidies for suburban home ownership prompted an explosion of subdivisions outside Denver city limits threatening Denver's tax base.<sup>280</sup> Denver quickly worked to develop a regional planning organization.

A 1958 transportation study by the Inter-County Regional Planning Commission sought to coordinate activities within the greater area so that each region would benefit from an efficient system of transportation networks to and from commercial and business centers. The study not only considered automobile routes, but air, railroad, and public transit. Proposals for automobile routes required construction of new highways and reconstruction of some existing ones. The commission offered their reasoning as,

...the location of interchanges on freeways and expressways can determine the pattern and timing of local development. Limited and controlled access highways encourage the development of land adjacent to interchanges and discourage the development of land in intervening areas. The proper location and spacing of interchanges can facilitate the efficient development of the Regions' future residential, commercial, and industrial areas.<sup>281</sup>

The commission proposed transportation corridors to be developed or improved in the Denver area to enhance movement in, around, and out of the city. The study outlined three highway classifications: 1) freeways, 2) expressways, and 3) major highways that move traffic from local areas to expressways and freeways.<sup>282</sup> Proposed highway configurations to form the backbone of the highway system included U.S. 87, U.S. 36/40/287, U.S. 6, and U.S.40/Colfax Avenue. Another proposed regional highway was construction of an "Outer-Belt Freeway" that never materialized. The outer-belt freeway concept continues to draw headlines 50 years later as the metropolitan area attempts to connect C-470 and E-470.<sup>283</sup>

Planned expressways in the metropolitan area carried workers to strategic plants such as the Glenn L. Martin Plant and Lowry Airbase. Expressways allowed partially controlled access to their systems only at major intersections (spaced not less than one-half mile apart) and through median strips separating opposing traffic. Traffic signals interrupted the flow of traffic only at major intersections. Traffic flowed at rates of 40 to 50 miles per hour. The planning commission recommended extending Wadsworth Avenue from Broomfield to the Martin Plant in southern Jefferson County to become the

<sup>278</sup> Litvak, "US36 EIS," 16.

<sup>279</sup> Walker and Lewis, "Beyond the Crabgrass Frontier," 25.

<sup>280</sup> Gutfreund, *Twentieth-Century Sprawl*, 84.

<sup>281</sup> "Transportation in the Denver Region," 34.

<sup>282</sup> "Transportation in the Denver Region," 21.

<sup>283</sup> Matthew Salek, "The Highways of Colorado," 1997, <http://www.mesalek.com> (accessed 25 August 2009).

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Wadsworth Expressway. At that time, Wadsworth was a dirt road from Hampden Avenue south. The newly-paved extension of Wadsworth reached the plant in 1962 and became State Highway 121. Wadsworth expansion and improvements also improved traffic conditions for the Denver Federal Center. Improvements on Federal Boulevard followed when the commission recommended it also become an expressway to the Martin plant.<sup>284</sup>

Sixth Avenue became an expressway to provide a direct route between the city and the Denver Federal Center. In 1954, the state highway department rerouted U.S. 6 from its shared alignment on Colfax Avenue/U.S. 40 on the west in Golden utilizing Sixth Avenue east to Federal Boulevard where it followed Eighth Avenue east to Broadway north to Brighton Boulevard and northeast out of the metropolitan area. In 1957, state highway maps began to differentiate two- and four-lane roads. The eastern half of U.S. 6 was a four-lane highway. In the late 1950s, the highway department began to replace signaled intersections with overpasses and underpasses to allow increased speeds on freeways. The 1958 Commission proposed U.S. 6 follow Sixth Avenue to become a freeway through the city. However it would take a succession of extensions and interchanges between 1960 and 1966 before the Sixth Avenue Expressway reached Simms Avenue on the west and Interstate 25 on the east. To facilitate the effectiveness of the freeways and expressways, major connector roads had to be improved.<sup>285</sup>

Major road extensions and improvements under construction or proposed in the 1958 study affected all four quadrants of the Denver area. Major roads provided access at most streets, but signals were at major intersections only. Where major roads accessed freeways, traffic was separated by interchanges. In some instances, two separate streets may be used as reciprocal one-way major thoroughfares, e.g. Broadway and Lincoln Street. In the south, County Line Road between Arapahoe and Douglas Counties opened in the late 1950s as a major road. By 1956, Bowles Avenue was extended to Platte Canyon from Santa Fe Avenue.<sup>286</sup>

New arterial roads and improvements opened to the Martin factory. In 1957, the highway department widened and improved the road base on Platte Canyon Road to allow delivery of heavy equipment to the Martin facility. Another section of the network of roads into the Martin plant incorporated State Highway 75 when it was widened from two lanes to four lanes in 1958. Highway 75, a short section of road approximately four miles in length, broke away from State Highway 85 in Littleton west to Platte Canyon Road. The highway department moved State Highway 85 from downtown Littleton west of the main commercial district to improve the flow of traffic. State Highway 85 had long been a major corridor between Denver and Colorado Springs.<sup>287</sup>

In 1947, Hampden Avenue or S.H. 70 ran east-west from Morrison Road on the west to West Cherry Creek Road on the east near the Kenwood Dam. The City of Denver considered its early flood control measures for the Cherry Creek basin incorporating the Kenwood Dam built in 1935 as inadequate; they replaced it in 1950 with the Cherry Creek Dam. The route on a 1958 Colorado Department of Highways map continued east of West Cherry Creek Road to veer north on the new extension of South Havana Street (S.H. 30) into Aurora. In 1962, West Hampden Avenue, now U.S. 285, became a four-lane road west from the metropolitan area to Turkey Creek Canyon Road.<sup>288</sup>

Improvements in the east half of the city were stymied by a north-south barrier formed by the Rocky

<sup>284</sup> "Transportation in the Denver Region," 22.

<sup>285</sup> Matthew Salek, "The Highways of Colorado."

<sup>286</sup> "Transportation in the Denver Regions," 22.

<sup>287</sup> Salek, "The Highways of Colorado," 1997.

<sup>288</sup> Colorado Department of Highways Road Map, 1957.



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Mountain Arsenal, Stapleton Airport, Lowry Air Field, Fairmount Cemetery and Cherry Creek Reservoir, as well as Denver residents who claimed expressways would ruin established neighborhoods like the Country Club District and Congress Park. The Denver Regional Planning Commission suggested again that an Outer-Belt freeway be constructed. Overall it appears that most major roads improved during and immediately after the report was published were located on the west side of the metropolitan area. The north area benefited substantially from the construction of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike and Foothills Highway that extended State Highway 93 from State Highway 72 to the Rocky Flats Weapons Plant to Boulder and the National Atomic Energy offices.

Affordable automobile prices and rising incomes for Denver area families increased the number of motor vehicles on Denver's new freeways and expressways. Denver newspaper ads for new models coming out of Detroit were followed by articles on how to read a road map and highway signs and how to navigate the city's new freeways and expressways. Vehicles moved between the downtown business center, industrial centers on the surrounding fringe, and into the growing suburban development.

### **Regional Efforts to Solve the Veterans Housing Crisis, 1946-49**

The nation emerged from World War II determined to meet the unprecedented demand for single-family houses fueled by large numbers of returning veterans. In 1945 and 1946, the military services discharged ten million men and women, who came home matured by war experiences and seeking to build a new life by starting families, finding good jobs, and living in their own homes. However, scarcities of materials and labor and the process of conversion from war production to peacetime construction hampered the speed with which houses could be built. Acute housing shortages continued to exist in several parts of the country after the war, and veterans' families suffered from lack of available places to live. As a national organization of developers concluded, "Up to 1947 we had a period of tooling up for community development."<sup>289</sup> Insuring an adequate supply of housing for veterans' families became a major focus of all levels of government. The country's response in meeting postwar housing requirements permanently transformed the home construction industry and the lifestyles of families moving into the new residential developments.<sup>290</sup> Across the nation, annual construction of single-family housing rose from 114,000 in 1944 to 1,692,000 by 1950.<sup>291</sup>

Most of the houses provided for returning veterans at the immediate end of the war represented "starter homes," built quickly and inexpensively with the anticipation they would be improved, enlarged, and individualized by the homeowners. As preservation planner Neil Larson observes, producing homes that were within the buying power of the majority of returning veterans required "drastic reductions in space and labor." Among the features of traditional homes found to be disposable in the postwar era was the basement. Early FHA-approved houses utilized concrete slab foundations. In addition, building every room on one level, as in Ranch type houses, saved time and materials, although some Cape Cods featured an unfinished attic that could eventually be converted to living space. Figure K36 is representative of the Cape-Cod style found during this period. Dining rooms were unnecessary formalities if kitchens accommodated a table where the family could enjoy their meals, and their removal enhanced the flow of open space into the living room favored after the war. New families did not mind having two small bedrooms and one shared bathroom if it meant owning their own home rather than renting or crowding in with relatives. Larson notes,

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<sup>289</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1960*, 3.

<sup>290</sup> Neil Larson, "An Overview of Post-World War II Housing and its Significance in Newton, Massachusetts," *The Demolition Delay Ordinance and Post-World War II Housing in Newton, Massachusetts*, 2001, III-1.

<sup>291</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 233.

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Clearly, the veterans' families were enthusiastic partners in the ideological process of creating a new, affordable single-family house . . . homebuyers were extremely optimistic, appreciative, and resourceful. While critics condemned these houses and their communities as slums-in-the-making, the veteran families were committed to making them work. There was a sense of privilege in these communities, a feeling of being in the now and part of a trail-blazing endeavor that consoled them. And, ultimately, they came to vastly outnumber (and outlive) their detractors.<sup>292</sup>

With newly returning veterans marrying and starting families, the wave of new births or "baby boom" resulted in a new emphasis on family life that influenced the design of homes. The suburb was seen as a better family alternative to the "crowded and dangerous" inner city. Although the term "tract housing" is often used derisively today, Dolores Hayden reports that during the immediate postwar period it represented belonging and upward mobility.<sup>293</sup> As planning of the postwar era encouraged locating housing near employers, many of the larger developers created subdivisions near the industries that played a major role in the postwar economy of metropolitan areas, including governmental agencies and aerospace and technology firms. Commuting to work by car from suburbs outside of the city also became a normal part of daily life as highways expanded.

The Urban Land Institute (ULI) organized in December 1939 as a non-profit, research and educational organization focusing on urban planning and land development. Sponsored by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, ULI acted as a consultant to that group on land development, but was independent of it. In 1944, the ULI created a Community Builders' Council composed of a small group of prominent developers from cities geographically distributed throughout the country. The Council's approach was "toward the practical and realistic application of sound principles developed through actual experience of outstanding men in the urban development field." In 1947, the group published the first edition of *The Community Builders' Handbook*, which provided detailed advice for planning new developments, recommending "methods and procedures that have stood the test of sound land planning and engineering design." The handbooks provided a how-to guide for developers of the era.<sup>294</sup>

During the postwar era, developers continued to utilize covenants and deed restrictions as a way of preserving and protecting qualities they deemed important and positive in their subdivisions. The 1947 *Community Builders Handbook* judged protective covenants and deed restrictions as "an essential instrument in maintaining stability, permanence, character and desirability in community development." Standard restrictions addressed the size, type, and design of houses, the size of setbacks, lot size, temporary structures, nuisances, and reservations for utility easements.<sup>295</sup> Volunteer boards of residents, known as "Homes Associations," collected fees from property owners to pay for street and park repair and enforce deed restrictions. As Dolores Hayden found, developers of affluent suburbs increasingly wished to exclude buyers on the basis of race, religion, and social class.<sup>296</sup> In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed judicial enforcement of restrictive covenants in housing, and two years later the FHA stopped approving mortgages in restricted neighborhoods, although it continued to accept unwritten agreements and established traditions resulting in

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<sup>292</sup> Larson, III-2-3.

<sup>293</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 149.

<sup>294</sup> Community Builders' Council of the Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builder's Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1947, rev. 1948.), vii, viii.

<sup>295</sup> Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builders Handbook 1947*, 89.

<sup>296</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 69.

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segregation for another 20 years.<sup>297</sup>

The late 1940s witnessed the application of principles of modern community planning to subdivision development. Expanding concepts about the impact of environment upon quality of life that dated to the Progressive Era, planners pushed for well-designed neighborhoods as basic units, including not only houses, but schools, churches, parks and recreational facilities, shopping areas, and other resources. New consideration focused on controlling traffic passing by and entering neighborhoods, and an increased emphasis on design and layout of streets resulted in abandonment of grids within the subdivision for curvilinear streets that slowed vehicles and enhanced safety. Representative of the period were the views of Hugh R. Pomeroy, a member of the Los Angeles Regional Planning Commission:

In the proper relation between the subdivider and the regional planner, both are engaged in the work of building a metropolis unit by unit. Each subdivision becomes an added piece in the great mosaic that gradually assumes the physical shape determined by the design of the builders.<sup>298</sup>

In 1949, President Harry S. Truman signed the Federal Housing Act, with a goal of each family securing a “decent home and a suitable living environment.”

Early postwar developments excluded many features considered necessities of urban life, including public transportation systems, schools, and libraries. Dolores Hayden found that during the 1940s and 1950s, many suburbs were built with septic tanks rather than sewer systems to increase developers’ profits. Homebuyers of the era, desperate to move into a home of their own or to leave inadequate housing, were willing to work together over time to gain amenities for their new communities.<sup>299</sup>

The pervasive impact of the automobile resulted in the emergence of a variety of new types and styles of buildings and a proliferation of enterprises servicing cars. Drive-in restaurants, fast food chains, and coffee shops sported eye-catching designs intended to lure travelers in for a meal. The number of motels expanded along well-traveled roadways. Drive-in theaters provided an easier way for parents to bring their families to the movies. Supermarkets surrounded by parking lots met the needs of consumers by providing a wider selection of goods than smaller neighborhood grocery stores. A major shift from downtown shopping in the heart of the city to patronizing outlying shopping centers occurred. The growth of residential areas on the outer edges of the city and the corresponding movement of business and industry reflected the lack of available undeveloped land within the city core and the outward expansion made possible by the car.<sup>300</sup>

### **Expanded Efforts to End the Veterans’ Housing Crisis**

The metropolitan area’s inability to solve its housing shortage reached a critical stage during the winter of 1945-46. At a Denver City Council meeting on 31 December 1945 more than 400 veterans, along with their wives and children, demanded action to solve the problem. Some of the families had been living in garages and hotel lobbies. Members of the American Veterans’ Committee (AVC) proposed the city obtain federal grants for emergency housing, make unused city buildings available for families, remove zoning restrictions preventing room rental and trailers, grant permits only for low-

<sup>297</sup> Jack E. Woods, Jr., “Race and Housing,” in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 370 and 372; Wright, *Building*, 247-248.

<sup>298</sup> Hugh R. Pomeroy quoted in Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), xiii.

<sup>299</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 137.

<sup>300</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 168.

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cost housing, and allow no commercial construction, and work against discrimination aimed at minority groups seeking housing. The veterans criticized "real estate and construction interests" whom they accused of blocking federal housing projects.<sup>301</sup>

At a special meeting in early January 1946, the Denver City Council renewed a call for allowing veterans to occupy unused barracks at Lowry (a plan previously rejected by the Army). The Council also passed a resolution favoring creation of a trailer camp on 19 acres of vacant city land in North Denver. Members of AVC requested the city pay for running water and sewer pipes on the site and allow them to set up their trailers there. The council rejected pleas for stopping commercial construction and allowing trailers in any part of the city. The United Enlisted Veterans of America asked Governor Vivian to lease Camp George West to their organization so they could sublet housing to veterans' families.<sup>302</sup>

By 7 January 1946, Denver's mayor and city council agreed to lease to veterans three sites in the city where they could erect prefabricated and other houses and have access to city sewer and water facilities. The army induction center at Fort Logan was also examined as a potential housing facility.<sup>303</sup> The Denver Zoning Board approved the first veterans' housing project in North Denver with 100 building sites within two days.<sup>304</sup> During the same month, the Denver School Board agreed to turn the Globeville and Albion grade schools into apartments for school-employee veterans.<sup>305</sup> A study presented to Governor Vivian by the State Planning Commission found that Denver County needed 9,308 new dwelling units.<sup>306</sup>

### **North Denver Veterans' Housing Project**

To comply with its promise to assist homeless veterans, the City of Denver and representatives of the Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA) agreed to build 480 housing units in March 1946. The FPHA intended put up military barracks and Quonset huts acquired from federal wartime installations by contract and turn them over to the city. In April, Denver received assurances that 1,200 emergency housing units would be arriving soon, with veterans receiving top priority for obtaining them. Platt Rogers received the contract to move the houses from war center areas in Oklahoma and in Leadville, Uravan, and Pando, Colorado.<sup>307</sup>

A North Denver Veterans' Housing Project established on land east of Pecos Street and north of West 48<sup>th</sup> Avenue planned to utilize some of the structures.<sup>308</sup> The structures measured 20' X 48' and contained two units, each featuring two bedrooms, a bath, a living room, and a kitchenette.<sup>309</sup> The city planned to charge a nominal rent for the emergency housing. Families utilized the veterans' project while awaiting construction of affordable new dwellings in the metropolitan area, a period that lasted much longer than originally anticipated.

The city loaned the veterans' project equipment for collecting garbage in 1947 and discussed obtaining a surplus barracks to serve as a community center. Denver also acquired playground

<sup>301</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 January 1946, 4.

<sup>302</sup> *Denver Post*, 3 January 1946, 1; *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 January 1946, 5.

<sup>303</sup> *Denver Post*, 7 January 1946, 3.

<sup>304</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 January 1946, 5.

<sup>305</sup> *Denver Post*, 22 January 1946, 9.

<sup>306</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 February 1946, 10.

<sup>307</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 April 1946, 1.

<sup>308</sup> *Denver Post*, 7 May 1946, 1.

<sup>309</sup> *Denver Post*, 13 June 1946, 7.

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equipment for the veterans' children.<sup>310</sup> Still occupying the location in 1951, the residents confronted Mayor Quigg Newton with the unsanitary conditions prevalent at the site. He responded the barracks and Quonset huts were only designed to last five years and major improvements were not scheduled. The city planned to abandon the project in that year, but extended the deadline due to continued lack of affordable alternative housing.<sup>311</sup> A former project manager stated the city's lack of concern for conditions at the housing area reflected the fact the public "lost interest in veterans a few short months after the war ended."<sup>312</sup>

During the same period, families of about 1,000 men stationed at Lowry Field lived in inadequate housing. In response to the closure of other military installations, the base expanded to accommodate the transfer of personnel. Officials at Lowry Field opened the post's guest houses to some families and tried to assist others in finding places to live. The *Denver Post* noted, "The personnel of the field appears to be increasing steadily and available facilities have long since ceased to meet the demands since Denver has been bursting at its seams with civilians alone since long before the end of the war." Entire military families were living in one room in motels and small apartments.<sup>313</sup>

Although described as the "second most critical housing area of the nation" in September 1946, Denver had no construction underway to replace inadequate living facilities. Substandard housing constituted a major problem for minorities, with 88.8 percent of housing for Hispanos considered in that category, as well as 44.8 percent of dwellings for blacks. Among white-occupied units, 26.7 percent of the existing housing was classified as substandard. However, completion of thousands of new houses faced delays due to shortages of materials, and building veterans' housing still ranked as a first priority throughout the nation.<sup>314</sup>

### **New Materials and Technology: Prefabricated Emergency Housing**

The government created the Veterans Emergency Housing Program (VEHP) to stimulate construction of affordable housing for veterans to record numbers in 1946. In addition to giving veterans the first opportunity to acquire new homes, limiting nonresidential construction, and increasing production of building materials, the effort encouraged the "development and expansion of a new industry of low cost factory built housing" by providing assistance through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.<sup>315</sup> The VEHP called for 2.7 million new nonfarm houses and resulted in stronger and continued price controls on building materials. It also established priorities for the purchase of equipment by residential builders and provided subsidies to stimulate production of materials and equipment. Before it ended in January 1947, the effort substantially increased new housing starts.<sup>316</sup>

In March 1946, Denver's Building Department gave approval for the first prefabricated houses in the city. United Plastic Products Company received authorization to begin offering frame houses manufactured by Fabricated Homes of Brooklyn. The houses, priced at \$2,970, exclusive of plumbing and freight costs, consisted of two bedrooms, a living room, dining room, kitchen, bathroom, and utility room with heating and laundry equipment. Constructed of kiln-dried wood, the exterior walls

<sup>310</sup> *Denver Post*, 1 February 1946, 3 and 11 April 1947, 9.

<sup>311</sup> *Denver Post*, 30 October 1951, 16.

<sup>312</sup> In 1946 the city also took control of 50 housing units on Sunset Ridge near Fort Logan that had been managed by the FPHA. The Denver Housing Authority then operated the project. *Rocky Mountain News*, 26 July 1947, 5 and 3 November 1951, 12.

<sup>313</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 March 1946, 1A.

<sup>314</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 September 1946, 6.

<sup>315</sup> President Harry S. Truman, "Statement by the President on the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program," 4 December 1946, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu> (accessed 19 October 2010).

<sup>316</sup> Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 246; Nenno, "Housing in the Decade of the 1940s," in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 255.

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came in 12 sections. Interior wall sections were composed of gypsum board, and the tongue-and-groove pine floor constituted eight sections. The tongue-and-groove board roof with asphalt shingles came in 14 sections and contained four gables. The house included rock wool insulation and all hardware. Four men could erect a house in one day; the interior took twice as long. Bolts held the house together, and it could be set on a foundation or above a basement. The company also manufactured houses ranging from one story with two rooms to two stories with seven rooms, varying in price from \$950 to \$4,000. Several of the houses appeared in suburbs around Denver before the city allowed them.<sup>317</sup>

Not all applications for prefabricated dwellings received the city's blessing despite the shortage of available housing. Convertible Homes, which planned to manufacture steel houses in Denver, was banned for constructing them in "frame-house areas of the city" despite the fact that its display of houses at East Colfax and Holly attracted more than 30,000 visitors in its first month.<sup>318</sup> Property owners in South Denver filed a protest against the issuance of permits for prefabricated houses and trailers in their area, believing that such structures would be "detrimental and injurious to property values" and "a hazard and menace to public health."<sup>319</sup>

In March 1947, prefab houses in Denver in the vicinity of East 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Verbena Street were "popping up like mushrooms after a warm spring rain."<sup>320</sup> Described as "a complete package," they were built by a new Denver company, Durabilt Homes, and cited as "the first factory-built, prefabricated homes to be erected in Denver under the city's rigid building code." Engineer James G. Blackinton, who designed the houses, and brothers and realtors Donald W. and Arthur W. Decker were partners in the business. Veterans received first preference in buying. The company planned to complete at least one dwelling each week during the year, with all of the production being for Denver. A contractor and a factory representative could erect the houses in one day.<sup>321</sup>

Prefabricated sections of the dwellings featured "stressed skin" panels of wood, gypsum board, or insulation boards glued and nailed together to provide rigidity and strength. Delivered to the site on a special trailer, sections of interior and exterior walls were then fitted together and nailed. Pre-cut roof rafters and ready-to-set aluminum windows speeded assembly. Siding or shingles covered exterior walls to eliminate a prefabricated look. The homebuyer's price included the lot, house, sidewalks, and a complete electric kitchen. Arthur Decker reported the houses met the requirements of the National Housing Agency and received the approval of the Denver Veterans Administration as eligible for GI loans. A \$7,100 two-bedroom house contained 694 square feet, while an \$8,000 three-bedroom house included 800 square feet.<sup>322</sup>

### No Home in the West: Continued Shortages Despite Increased Construction

Between September 1945 and 1946 construction of more than 3,000 residential units began in areas surrounding Denver. This growth represented a 33 percent increase over all residential construction completed from 1930 to 1940. The average cost of units built was \$3,433, although some dwellings consisted of temporary garage houses, while others were expensive residences. Construction during 1946 was still small in scale: Brighton (46 units), Westminster (33), Englewood (310), Westwood (281), Littleton (44), Golden (120), and Arvada (17). Lakewood boomed, with 852 new units.

<sup>317</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 March 1946, 35.

<sup>318</sup> *Denver Post*, 19 March 1946, 1.

<sup>319</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 March 1946, 35.

<sup>320</sup> It is not known whether any of these houses still stand.

<sup>321</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 March 1947, 24.

<sup>322</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 March 1947, 24.

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Surprisingly, the Tri-County Planning Association reported the time required for completing a dwelling doubled since 1940, when three months represented the average. About 60 percent of the homes built took six months to complete, while 15 percent required more than one year. Much of the length of construction time could be traced to the "almost endless" list of materials in short supply. El Roy Nelson, director of the planning group, concluded, "The figures for the rising construction indicate a market spread of Denver beyond its corporate limits to form a great metropolitan region of the Rocky Mountain Empire."<sup>323</sup>

During the fall of 1946, Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson counties set construction records for new dwellings. Nonetheless, in October the *Denver Post* reported hundreds of veterans waited outside the gates at Buckley Field to move from their attic and basement rooms into a proposed veteran's village that had not yet been created.<sup>324</sup> In the same month, the commanding general of Lowry Field received physical custody and accountability for Encio Village adjacent to the installation. The occupants of those houses received permission to continue occupying them without an increase in rent until the end of 1947.<sup>325</sup> During 1946, Colorado's construction contractors employed an average of 10,800 workers monthly, an increase of 23.2 percent over 1945, but well below the peak wartime years.<sup>326</sup>

By Thanksgiving 1946, Denver was in the midst of the worst housing shortage in its history, with the number of vacant rental properties fewer than in 1945. Builders completed more than 1,800 dwelling units during 1946, with 3,860 under construction during the year, including 1,078 temporary units erected under the Veterans Emergency Housing Program. Shortages of manpower and materials continued to hamper construction, but more homes were built in Denver than in 257 comparable cities. About 15,000 more families lived in the city in 1946 than at the beginning of the decade.<sup>327</sup>

In December 1946, *Collier's Magazine* published an article about Denver's acute housing shortage. Entitled "No Home in the West," the piece criticized the city for being caught "with its foundations down." It noted that during the war some cities competed for temporary housing for war workers, while "Denver's most influential citizens fought just as desperately to keep them out." Denver was one of a small number of communities in the nation that did not erect emergency housing for defense workers during the war, according to the article. Instead, "war workers built squalid shanties, moved into trailers in Westwood and Sheridan Heights. They blighted neighborhoods, potentially the most desirable in town."<sup>328</sup>

After 1946, which saw completion of 4,144 housing units, production dipped in Denver. Totals for the remainder of the decade included 2,813 units in 1947; 3,340 in 1948; and 4,119 in 1949.<sup>329</sup> In 1947 a committee appointed to study the housing needs of veterans in the metropolitan area estimated that between 15,000 and 20,000 more dwelling units would be required in the next three years. The committee also proposed that a Denver Veterans Housing Authority be created to tackle the problem. At the same time, 75 percent of Denver's married veterans reported they were dissatisfied with their living quarters and were looking for another place to live.<sup>330</sup>

<sup>323</sup> *Denver Post*, 20 October 1946, 9A.

<sup>324</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 October 1946, 1.

<sup>325</sup> *Denver Post*, 31 October 1946, 6.

<sup>326</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 February 1947, 4.

<sup>327</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 28 November 1946, 14.

<sup>328</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 December 1946, 13.

<sup>329</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 18 November 1951, 33.

<sup>330</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 August 1947.

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Despite the “still-acute” shortage, house construction in Denver during the first half of 1947 fell 75 percent from the previous year. Most of the houses completed resulted from permits issued in 1946. The slump stemmed from the high cost of new houses, which caused buyers to wait before acquiring a home. Analysts faulted the building industry for not producing enough residences at prices affordable for the average family.<sup>331</sup> Meanwhile, construction materials became more plentiful, and the economic prospects of business and industry improved. Construction gradually increased, as people tired of waiting to build homes, but the number of houses produced was below the total for 1946.<sup>332</sup> The average single-family home built in 1947 included 854 square feet, 45 square feet more than houses built the previous year. Forty-three percent of the houses contained basements, 61 percent featured garages, and 95 percent included central heating.<sup>333</sup>

### **Reform of Municipal Building and Development Ordinances**

In the late 1940s, some cities within the Denver region revised their building codes to impose new regulations governing subdivision development. Builders were required to provide adequate services, including such features as paved streets, set-asides for park and school sites within a subdivision, and installation of water and sewer lines. Fast-growing unincorporated areas abutting cities and towns tended not to reflect these tight constraints. Such unregulated construction posed potential problems when unincorporated parcels annexed by a city did not meet the requirements of the municipal development ordinances.

In 1942, the Aurora City Council passed ordinances to regulate new housing areas. Growth outside the city limits worried council members due to the potential issues arising through annexation. Realizing a lack of zoning would only hurt the city’s development in the future, the city developed and passed a set of unified zoning measures in November 1943. One of the jurisdiction’s largest concerns was Denver’s efforts to annex land in and around its city limits. After the war, the Aurora City Council and Chamber of Commerce initiated a promotional campaign to attract residents, emphasizing the community’s cheap land, its proximity to Denver’s city center, open space, and Colorado’s environment and recreational opportunities. Aurora annexed east and southeast of its city limits and found the acquired parcels did not meet city ordinances concerning street grading and funding for water and sewer lines. This led Aurora to revise its zoning in 1946 to require builders to provide adequate services to new subdivisions, such as streets and water and sewer lines. At the same time, the council established a commission to direct and manage future growth. An influential leader in the process was Councilman Chester Tupps, who later became mayor. In addition, to extend services throughout Aurora, the city created improvement districts to provide services without raising taxes. This met with limited success, as some districts ran out of funds or infighting resulted in a failure to finish projects, leaving the city to use public funds to complete them.<sup>334</sup>

### **New Denver Leadership and Continued Growth Pressures**

Federal military and war production facilities that played a large part in Colorado’s contribution to the war effort faced readjustment following the conflict. In 1946-47, Buckley Field became headquarters for training activities of the Naval Reserve and the Colorado National Guard. The Denver Ordnance Plant emerged as the Denver Federal Center, a large facility housing federal civilian departments. The Rocky Mountain Arsenal became a permanent army installation tasked with keeping its plant in

<sup>331</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 July 1947, 6.

<sup>332</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 June, 2 October, and 23 November 1947; *Denver Post*, 14 June 1947.

<sup>333</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 January 1948, 39.

<sup>334</sup> Mehls, Drake, and Fell, *Aurora*, 93, 96-99 and 103-104.



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standby mode, storing military equipment, and maintaining Chemical Corps equipment. Declared surplus in 1946, the Denver Medical Depot turned into a Veterans Administration facility. Denver's Bomber Modification Center was deactivated on 1 April 1946 and absorbed into Stapleton Airport.<sup>335</sup>

The continued federal presence in the metropolitan area represented one factor in its rising economy and attendant growth. The years following the end of World War II saw a dramatic increase in home ownership. By April 1947, a survey by the U.S. Bureau of the Census revealed that owners occupied 53 percent of dwellings in the Denver metropolitan area, as compared to 42 percent in 1940. The number of dwelling units in the area increased by about 32,000, or 27 percent, above 1940. The median size of households and median number of rooms in dwelling units remained about the same overall, although owner-occupied units showed an increase in household size to 3.2 persons and 5.1 rooms. About 9,000 married couples "doubled up" with other people, an increase of 105 percent since 1940. On a national scale, a reported six million families were doubled up and 500,000 lived in quarters designed for temporary use.<sup>336</sup> Social observers believed such sharing of dwellings created new problems for family living.<sup>337</sup> Eighty percent of houses in the Denver metropolitan area possessed electric lights, running water, a flush toilet, a bathtub or shower, and cooking facilities. The median price of a rented dwelling unit rose to \$32, and the vacancy rate of houses for sale or rent stood at about 1.5 percent.<sup>338</sup>

In May 1947, Denver's 77-year-old Benjamin Stapleton, who had served as mayor almost continuously since 1923, ran for a sixth term. Critics called his administration complacent, even arrogant, and overwhelmed by issues confronting postwar Denver and its thousands of new residents.<sup>339</sup> Stapleton lost the election to a 35-year-old graduate of Yale Law School and Navy veteran, James Quigg Newton, Jr. As Leonard and Noel assess, Newton

wielded power well, instructing his department heads to map out changes that would catapult Denver into an era of aviation, governmental professionalism, and expanded municipal services. Not since the days of Mayor Speer had the city undergone such a transformation.<sup>340</sup>

As part of his efforts to modernize the city during two terms in office, Newton created the Denver Planning Office and led efforts to develop metropolitan area planning through such organizations as the Tri-County Commission, which addressed topics such as water distribution, zoning, and legislative issues. He sought to create an economy that provided employment for the expanding population and publicized the attractions of the region to new businesses, federal facilities, and aerospace firms. Under his administration, buses replaced electric trolley service in the city and the number of parking lots and garages increased. Construction of the Valley Highway and the Boulder Turnpike constituted two important achievements supported by Newton. In the realm of civil rights, the mayor's creation of a Committee on Human Relations marked a milestone in the city.<sup>341</sup>

The city's housing problems required much attention during the Newton administration. In 1947, Denver's chief building inspector reported that one of every four dwellings in the city was substandard

<sup>335</sup> Colorado State Planning Commission, *Year Book, 1945-1947*, 578-584.

<sup>336</sup> Make-shift living quarters included such things as former trolley cars, surplus grain bins, and possibly a large ice box. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 232.

<sup>337</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 October 1947, 26.

<sup>338</sup> *Denver Post*, 12 August 1947, 24.

<sup>339</sup> Mark S. Foster, *Citizen Quigg: A Mayor's Life of Civic Service* (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2006), 89.

<sup>340</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 244.

<sup>341</sup> Foster, *Citizen Quigg*, 132-33, 136-37, 139.

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and failed to meet the building code. The principal reason for classifying living spaces as substandard was lack of indoor toilet facilities. Inspector Peter J. Allen indicated that 60 to 90 percent of the substandard dwelling units were found in areas along the Platte River. He attributed the high number of such residences to the lack of renovation during the war years and the doubling up of families.<sup>342</sup>

The construction of affordable and low cost housing continued to lag in the metropolitan area despite the efforts of Mayor Newton and other local officials.<sup>343</sup> Veterans still seeking homes represented a large component of the demand for such housing. Many vets lived in housing projects operated by the Denver Housing Authority and moved to other dwellings as their incomes rose or private houses became available. By February 1948, Denver included four housing projects with a total of 770 units providing homes for 3,414 people. The largest, Lincoln Park Homes on West Colfax Avenue at Mariposa Street, accommodated 1,732 persons.<sup>344</sup>

By the late 1940s, public schools in the area faced the question of how to educate the Baby Boom generation. In October 1948, Denver citizens approved a \$21 million bond issue to address the need for expanded educational facilities, with elementary schools given priority for construction and expansion. In November, the *Denver Post* reported “a tidal wave of new school-age children threatens to reach such a height that even Denver’s present 21-million-dollar building program cannot care adequately for them all.”<sup>345</sup> Until the early 1950s, when the new buildings reached completion, the school district employed split shifts, increased class sizes, used larger rooms for two classes, and improvised classroom space in libraries and auditoriums.

In 1949, a majority of residents polled in a survey by the University of Denver Opinion Research Center felt Denver had either enough or too many residents. According to the *Denver Post*, the city saw itself as a “balanced community” not dependent on a single industry or an abundance of natural resources, but a political, business, and industrial capital of a large area “relatively undeveloped, a city of homes, a city of fine schools, a city of cultural and artistic leanings.”<sup>346</sup> Noted journalist George Sessions Perry in a *Saturday Evening Post* article judged the city as “comfortable, handsome and civilized” but “just a little uninterested being anything more than a quiet capital.”<sup>347</sup>

## Annexations

A single annexation to Denver in 1946 added about one-third of a square-mile of land, while four such actions (cited as Osner, Burns, G.I., and Westwood) in 1947 comprised more than three square miles. By the end of 1947, Denver expanded more than in any previous year since 1902 and also posted its largest annual measurable population increase. The city was almost 22 times as large as it had been at the time of its incorporation in 1864. Westwood, described as a “war-swollen community” with some 7,000 residents south of West Alameda Avenue and west of South Federal Boulevard, represented the largest annexation. The *Denver Post*’s George Kelly judged that “one word—annexation—has been the key in the Mile High City’s amazing growth from a handful of log and mud huts . . . to its present status as a sixty-six-square-mile metropolis.”<sup>348</sup>

By 1947, once pastoral communities flourishing with farms, dairies, and orchards on Denver’s periphery were being reborn as residential subdivisions. Development occurred in areas outside of

<sup>342</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 November 1947, 1.

<sup>343</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 January 1948, 18.

<sup>344</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 February 1948, 44.

<sup>345</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 November 1948, 1A.

<sup>346</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 August 1949, 18.

<sup>347</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 August 1949, 5.

<sup>348</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 December 1947, 1C.

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municipal boundaries, with the provision of such services as water, utilities, police and fire protection, streets, and sewage disposal falling to county governments. Leonard and Noel point out that the lack of services and a community identity made many of these new developments a prime target for Denver annexation attempts.<sup>349</sup> In a study of urban sprawl, urban historian Owen Gutfreund found the Denver Planning Office during the 1950s recommended the city mount an offense of “aggressive annexation to the geographic limits of efficient municipal services.”<sup>350</sup> Later defensive measures taken by suburban cities and counties through incorporation and legislative actions stymied Denver’s expansion.

Denver newspapers chronicled annexation conflicts as the city moved to enlarge its boundaries. In May 1946, Denver added land near Littleton, studied a corridor into Jefferson County, eyed the Lakewood area, and talked to Englewood citizens favoring annexation.<sup>351</sup> In 1949, Mayor Newton vetoed annexation bids out of growing concern over the availability and costs of water supply and other services needed by areas to be acquired.<sup>352</sup> The pause was temporary, and Denver soon resumed its growth. In 1949, the city planned to annex 1,000 acres to the south for protection and to adopt provisions to prevent uncontrolled fringe development. Zoning would make it almost impossible to build cheap and unsightly improvements along the city’s border. A city official indicated, “Protection of the approaches to the city is necessary for Denver’s postwar future, just as expansion is.” The city believed that areas coming under its jurisdiction received the benefits of sanitary sewers, an adequate water supply, police and fire protection, fine schools, and other services. Stapleton Airport and Lowry Field limited the city’s expansion to the east, packing houses prevented growth to the north, and there were limited opportunities for western expansion. Expansion to the south was seen as the most desirable option.<sup>353</sup>

### Metropolitan Growth and Development in the 1950s

Albert Cole, U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator during the 1950s, judged that during the era “the nation made startling progress in catching up on the housing deficit built up during the Depression and World War II.”<sup>354</sup> He evaluated the decade as one of transition, characterizing 1950-53 as a period of waiting in the housing industry. The period began with President Truman’s reduction of the housing credit to conserve materials for the Korean War and diminish inflation in 1950. The transitional nature of the decade is seen in provisions of the Housing Act of 1954, which placed more emphasis on private rather than government initiatives, proposed a new urban renewal program involving the private sector, increased local responsibility in elimination of slums and blight, and encouraged the participation of financial institutions in a home mortgage credit program.<sup>355</sup>

The 1954 Housing Act also raised the ceiling for the cost of new homes the FHA could insure from \$16,000 to \$20,000, thereby encouraging the construction industry to produce record numbers of new houses. The peak year for housing starts utilizing VA financing was 1955, when about 24 percent of all private non-farm residential units employed such loans.<sup>356</sup> The 1958 Emergency Housing Act

<sup>349</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 304.

<sup>350</sup> Owen Gutfreund, *Twentieth Century Sprawl: Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004), 93.

<sup>351</sup> *Denver Post*, 21 November 1946, 4, 2 May 1946, 20, 12 December 1946, 6, 8 January 1947, 3; *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 November 1946, 7 and 18 September 1947, 5.

<sup>352</sup> *Denver Post*, 22 June 1949.

<sup>353</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 30 September 1949, 30.

<sup>354</sup> Albert M. Cole, “Federal Housing Programs: 1950-1960,” in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 331.

<sup>355</sup> Cole, “Federal Housing Programs,” in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 277-78 and 284-85.

<sup>356</sup> About 40 percent of World War II veterans eventually purchased houses with VA-guaranteed loans. Nenko, “Housing

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included a variety of provisions designed to increase residential construction. At the end of the decade, the Eisenhower administration's efforts to control spending and reduce inflation did not stop passage of the 1959 Housing Act, which "set the stage for an upward swing in production."<sup>357</sup>

By the late 1950s, the direct influence of the federal government in the mortgage and housing markets saw a decrease. Builders turned from focusing exclusively on construction of houses for veterans to producing more residences for people in middle and upper income levels. The number of builders using savings and loans for their financing expanded appreciably in the years after the war, rising to 43 percent by the mid-1960s.<sup>358</sup>

Suburban subdivisions of the era appealed to a very specific group of Americans. In 1950, the average age of a suburban resident was 31; few were senior citizens. Children were present in ever-growing numbers, representing the Baby Boom generation. Persons living alone, widowed, or divorced were small in number. Only 9 percent of women in suburban homes worked, compared to 27 percent of all women.<sup>359</sup> Decentralization of employment in the nation continued, resulting in demand for housing in outlying areas and the loss of jobs in the inner city. Postwar suburbs began attracting the preponderance of new manufacturing and retail positions.<sup>360</sup>

Cole observed that "with a few exceptions, there were no substantial federal government policies of programs directed toward ending separate but equal housing" during the 1950s. He noted that in the nation's capital in 1950 a black customer could not eat in a restaurant with whites or buy or rent a house in a white neighborhood. As African Americans fought for and gained equal access to restaurants, theaters, transportation, and schools, outrage over residential discrimination increased. In 1953, the President's Advisory Commission on Housing reported, "Too often the opportunities of minority groups to obtain adequate housing are extremely limited or nonexistent."<sup>361</sup> In December 1957 New York became the first city to prohibit racial discrimination in housing. In 1959, the federal government adopted the responsibility of insuring equality in the administration of housing programs. However, Jack E. Woods, Jr., former Director of Housing for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) reported that by December 1959 less than 2 percent of new FHA-financed housing was available for occupation by blacks.<sup>362</sup>

### **New Expansion**

The 1950s saw six new communities emerge: Greenwood Village (1950); Commerce Town (later Commerce City) (1952); Glendale (1952); Thornton (1956); Bow Mar (1958); and Columbine Valley (1959) (See Table J3). Four of the new 1950s communities formed in Arapahoe County: Glendale abutted the east boundary of Denver; Greenwood Village lay south of Cherry Hills Village; Bow Mar straddled the Arapahoe-Jefferson County line east of Marston Lake; and Columbine Valley located south of Littleton and east of U.S. 85. In Adams County, Commerce Town adjoined the north boundary of Denver adjacent to U.S. 85, while Thornton arose further north on the east side of U.S. 87 (later Interstate 25).

Increases in private residential construction during the 1950s brought myriad changes to the homes and lifestyles of residents of the metropolitan area. Large-scale residential subdivisions and planned

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in the Decade of the 1940s," in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 253.

<sup>357</sup> Cole, "Federal Housing Programs," in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 332.

<sup>358</sup> Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 24 and 33.

<sup>359</sup> Wright, *Building*, 256.

<sup>360</sup> Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 23.

<sup>361</sup> Cole, "Federal Housing Programs," in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 319-321.

<sup>362</sup> Woods, "Race and Housing," in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 372.

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communities, extensive highways and other infrastructure improvements, and the completion of new schools, churches, shopping centers, office buildings, and other facilities permanently altered the region. In 1950, 7,198 dwelling units were built in Denver, representing the biggest year for home building in the city's history up to that time. However, between 1940 and 1950, the suburban population increased almost two-and-a-half times as fast as that of Denver (74 percent versus 29 percent.).<sup>363</sup>

To gain more land for development, Denver continued to annex adjoining lands, necessitating the construction of public utilities, shopping centers, schools, and roads. In 1950, the *Denver Post* found that the city was running out of open space suitable for affordable homesite development. In an editorial entitled "Bustin' Our Britches," the newspaper suggested, "Denver should let its belt out a little and take in some of the surrounding countryside."<sup>364</sup> City Planning Director William F. Henninger indicated his department was working on a long-range plan to provide for the city "taking its place among the nation's largest cities."<sup>365</sup>

Local carpenters went on strike in 1950 for better wages and benefits, but builders complained carpenters were not willing to negotiate to end the dispute. In June, Denver area builder Frank Burns of Burns Construction Company asserted he was forced to go to an open shop after the strike entered its fifty-fourth day. Since an open shop did not require union affiliation for work, labor unions and councils cried foul. Well-known builders who operated under the open shop policy included Hutchinson & Carey, M.C. Bogue, Economy Homes, and B.W. Fellers.<sup>366</sup>

In 1951, the Denver area reported an excellent year for building permits, completion of public projects, and developments in the suburbs. The *Denver Post* noted these gains took place despite government restrictions and financing difficulties and aided by the area's status as the "second national capital," which permitted defense-related work to proceed. About half of Denver's permits were for construction of 5,008 dwellings and apartment buildings. The average house saw completion about two months after issuance of a permit. Major public and commercial buildings erected during the year included a nine-story Veterans Administration Hospital (under construction since 1948) and the \$2.3 million Denver Coliseum to be used for the National Western Stock Show and other large-scale entertainment events such as boxing, hockey, and stage productions. The year saw completion of nearly \$4 million in the construction of new public schools, additions, and installations.<sup>367</sup>

Among the many metropolitan area businesses erecting new buildings in 1951, C.A. Norgren and Company, which manufactured pneumatic industrial equipment, moved to an "ultramodern" plant in Englewood. The company's new facility provided more than twice the space of its former location in Denver. Six years later the firm relocated to an even larger facility in Littleton. Western Electric Company built a \$2 million plant for distribution of telephone equipment to a seven state region. International Harvester Company completed a \$1 million district office and warehouse in northeast Denver. In addition, a \$4 million renovation of two immense warehouses and other buildings at the former Denver Medical Depot created a headquarters facility for administering Air Force spending at installations around the world. The federal government spent more than \$2 million remodeling buildings at the Federal Center into offices and laboratories. The Corps of Engineers expended about \$3 million to expand area military bases, and a multi-million-dollar expansion of the Rocky Mountain

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<sup>363</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 26 November 1951, 26.

<sup>364</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 May 1950, 12.

<sup>365</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 18 November 1951, 33.

<sup>366</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 June 1950, 1.

<sup>367</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 December 1951, 38.

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Arsenal was in progress.<sup>368</sup>

In March 1951, state and city officials expressed surprise about the announcement that a \$45 million atomic plant for a “major but secret type of production” would be erected on a “barren” 2,500-acre site 24 miles northwest of Denver and ten miles north of Golden known as “Rocky Flats.” The Atomic Energy Commission indicated bombs “as such” would not be built at the plant, which would produce “no dangerous wastes” nor use large amounts of water, gas, or electricity. The Commission’s Santa Fe office, which had charge of research, development, testing, and production of atomic weapons at Los Alamos, was responsible for overseeing the plant, operated by Dow Chemical Company.<sup>369</sup>

Residential suburbs in the northern and western parts of the metropolitan area represented attractive places to live for Rocky Flats workers.<sup>370</sup> As Arvada historian Judy Morley reports, “Some residents feared the presence of the plant and its implications for the Cold War would turn Arvada and its residents into primary targets should U.S./Soviet relations turn openly hostile.”<sup>371</sup> However, most people welcomed the facility for its new jobs and the likelihood many of its employees would buy houses and patronize businesses in Arvada.<sup>372</sup>

### **Housing Design and New Subdivisions in the Early 1950s**

Although Denver residents traditionally erected brick houses, acceptance of different construction systems resulted from a 1950s revision to the building code proposed by a committee headed by architect G. Meredith Musick. A 1951 publication mentioned that most of the newer houses being built in the Denver area represented the “Modern Ranch,” with its trademark, “a large window commanding the favorite local view, the Rocky Mountain range a few miles to the west.” The publication noted some developers employed architectural firms to produce cost-saving designs. For those with more money to spend, Arapahoe Acres and the Mile High Cooperative were suggested, along with Belcaro Park and the Polo Grounds, with houses starting at \$30,000 designed by residential architects such as Carl F. Bieler, Victor Hornbein, and Eugene Sternberg.<sup>373</sup>

Denver suburbs received \$40 million worth of new construction in 1952, with seven major residential projects creating more than 7,000 houses scheduled for the following year in Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson counties. The largest of the anticipated developments for 1953 was the 5,000-house planned community of Thornton along north Washington Street a few miles north of the Denver boundary. In addition, Earl A. Richardson planned the first large-scale subdivision to take advantage of the mountain views on the bluffs east of the South Platte River in Adams County. There, Richardson, previously president of Fargo Oil Company in Denver, proposed construction of 105 homes ranging in price from \$12,000 to \$15,000 in an area named Hazeltine Heights. Guy Martin, a Denver lumberman, announced he would build more than 400 houses of a similar price in Martindale, at West Alameda Avenue and Harlan Street in the Lakewood area. Meadowlark Hills, extending a half-mile south and east of West 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Garrison Street, would consist of 400 \$15,000 to \$20,000 brick houses and include a park and 11-acre commercial zone. At the same time, Franklin Burns prepared for an expansion of his Burns-Brentwood development south of Jewell Avenue; Hutchinson and Carey envisioned a 170-acre project along Interstate 25 and East Hampden Avenue;

<sup>368</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 December 1951, 38.

<sup>369</sup> *New York Times*, 24 March 1951.

<sup>370</sup> *New York Times*, 24 March 1951.

<sup>371</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 109.

<sup>372</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 110.

<sup>373</sup> *Progressive Architecture*, March 1951.

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and M.C. Bogue proposed extending his Virginia Village in east Denver.<sup>374</sup>

Not every developer's plans proceeded smoothly. What was described as "one of the biggest housing enterprises in Denver's postwar building boom," a 300-acre project north of West Jewell Avenue and east of Sheridan Boulevard encompassing the subdivisions of Hurley Heights and Mar-Lee Manor faced foreclosure in 1952. Artcraft Builders Incorporated defaulted on mortgages on the development totaling \$1,528,000, after failing to complete construction of 191 houses by a promised deadline. The project was initially envisioned as an \$18 million venture producing as many as 1,800 homes. One observer analyzed a diminishing market for houses resulted in financial problems for the company.<sup>375</sup>

### Declines and Advances in 1953-54

In 1953, the pace and value of residential homebuilding in Denver experienced a marked decline from that of the previous year. Tightening of mortgage financing by the federal government and a shortage of large building sites in the city produced a 75 percent decrease.<sup>376</sup> However, construction of downtown Denver skyscrapers proliferated and small scale home construction in areas surrounding the city continued unabated.<sup>377</sup> Eugene Miller of the Denver Association of Home Builders asserted large developers were "going outside the city to build where they can get land." The lack of building sites seemed to be responsible for the fact that suburban areas were far outpacing the city in growth.<sup>378</sup>

The suburbs in fact grew at a record-breaking pace during 1953, when unincorporated areas of Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson counties posted historic increases. Among the reasons for such gains was final development of the Hoffman Heights subdivision east of Aurora.<sup>379</sup> By the end of the year, Denver and its tri-county neighbors rose to third place in the value of construction among western cities.<sup>380</sup>

Responding to the trend of growth in the suburbs eclipsing Denver, the city continued to work on an annexation policy to bring in new acreage for development. City Planner William Henninger estimated the 68-square-mile municipality contained suitable building sites for only 14,000 more single-family residences (encompassing about 2,000 acres or 6 percent of the total land area), severely inhibiting its future growth. Space limitations already impacted general contractors producing residences, many of whom were not renewing their licenses in Denver. As available sites for construction dwindled, the cost of remaining city lots escalated. This impacted smaller builders, who competed for sites with larger companies. One of the solutions to the problem the City Planning Board considered involved allowing construction of multi-family dwellings in single-family zones. Another alternative was annexation of surrounding suburban areas, although the 1953 budget did not permit such actions since the city was required to provide services to newly added areas.<sup>381</sup>

### Substandard and Temporary Housing Persists

At the end of 1953, Denver's chief building inspector noted he could condemn and tear down 1,700 slum housing units, but the residents would have no place to go. The sanitation director indicated 5,000 privies were still in use in the city, and between 10,000 and 15,000 dwellings needed

<sup>374</sup> *Denver Post*, 29 December 1952, 1.

<sup>375</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 April 1952, 5 and 21.

<sup>376</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 June 1953, 1.

<sup>377</sup> *Denver Post*, 31 December 1954, 3.

<sup>378</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 December 1953, 11.

<sup>379</sup> *Denver Post*, 1 April 1953, 3.

<sup>380</sup> *Denver Post*, 21 December 1953, 1.

<sup>381</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 April 1953, 5 and 18 August 1953, 17; *Denver Post*, 3 April 1953, 37.

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immediate repairs. The city's housing code was criticized as weaker than its building code in relation to residences, as it did not require electricity, had no enforceable standards for heating, and did not ensure bath or sewer connections. People lived "with kerosene lamps, on dirt floors, using outside 'privies,' going bathless for months, and burning stairways, porches, railings and furniture in beat-up wood stoves to keep warm."<sup>382</sup> A study by the University of Denver found since 1939 the Hispano population of Denver increased more than 70 percent and the black population by almost 65 percent. Yet discrimination and lack of income confined many of these families to areas with substandard housing and rising crime.<sup>383</sup>

Veterans still living in emergency housing, originally created to provide temporary residences for returning service members, were forced to find other accommodations. The Buckley Field veterans' village closed in June 1953, having reached 235 occupied units with about 900 occupants.<sup>384</sup> The following year, the city ended emergency and temporary veteran's housing in the Denver area, with sites at Fort Logan and the veterans' project at West 46<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Pecos Street being among the last to shut down. During the peak of the crisis, Fort Logan housed 331 families, while 500 families lived in North Denver. Low income families in the two areas received top priority for moving into public housing in the city. The Denver Housing Authority sold the buildings at Fort Logan and on West 46<sup>th</sup> Avenue after the last residents moved out.<sup>385</sup> The 389 student families living in the University of Denver's temporary Buchtel Village and the 246 households occupying Pioneer Village faced eviction in July 1954 as the city zoning board ordered those housing facilities closed. Most of the projects' tenants were World War II or Korean War veterans studying on the GI Bill. The Denver Housing Authority offered the families the opportunity to live in public housing.<sup>386</sup>

In 1954, veterans using GI loans earned an average yearly income of \$5,790 and paid an average of \$11,640 for their homes. Their average age was 32 and their average down payment totaled \$1,100, making their monthly payment about \$95.15. Across the country, about two of every five new home loans required no down payment. More than one-third of the mortgages on new homes extended 26 to 30 years.<sup>387</sup>

Denver experienced the best economic conditions in its history in 1954, with more than \$100 million expended, mostly on 5,553 new dwelling units. The city's population increased 20,000 over the previous year and more jobs than ever before were filled, with 233,500 people working. The *Denver Post* greeted the annexation of southwest Denver's Harvey Park, which opened hundreds of new building sites and "paved the way for a new housing boom."<sup>388</sup> The newspaper noted accompanying television and church booms also came in 1954.

The months of August and September alone witnessed developments totaling 18,200 houses started or planned in the metropolitan area. K.C. Ensor, initiating his 550-home Harvey Park development in southwest Denver, stated, "We base our plans on sales. And sales are good, very good. Right now we're 60 homes ahead of construction in sales."<sup>389</sup> The sales manager at Arvada's Alta Vista development found customers fell into three categories: families of men transferred to Denver for jobs, people who were renting, and people who wanted to move up from two-bedroom homes into

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<sup>382</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 December 1953, 15.

<sup>383</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 December 1953, 15.

<sup>384</sup> *Denver Post*, 14 January 1953.

<sup>385</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 June 1954, 21.

<sup>386</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 July 1954, 26.

<sup>387</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 July 1955, 3.

<sup>388</sup> *Denver Post*, 31 December 1954, 3.

<sup>389</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 September 1954, 3.



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larger ones. According to real estate agent George Morrison, president of Morrison and Morrison, three-fourths of his homebuyers previously lived in rental units. He noted that as soon as one family left a rented property, another moved in. Some builders reported large numbers of those buying worked in oil and uranium jobs.<sup>390</sup> Denver Chamber of Commerce President Walter K. Koch stated that “an era of expansion and development has overtaken Denver.”<sup>391</sup>

By 1954 the fastest-growing outlying parts of the Denver area encountered problems obtaining enough infrastructure facilities, such as water, sewers, and streets. *Cervi's Journal* noted,

Suburban centers which were formerly geographically isolated from Denver and from each other have been tied together in many cases by residential and commercial building; and this, combined with extensive additional developments on the urban fringes, has resulted in a greatly enlarged urbanized area.<sup>392</sup>

### **Height of the Home Construction Boom in the Suburbs, 1955**

Kenneth Jackson found “by 1955 subdivisions accounted for more than three-fourths of all new housing in metropolitan areas.”<sup>393</sup> The Denver metropolitan area continued to grow in 1955, bolstered by \$95 million in federal mortgage insurance and a rapidly expanding population. The number of guaranteed loans rose 41 percent above the level of the previous year. State FHA Director Eugene F. Duffy emphasized, “Colorado is enjoying a steady growth based around sound economics. And that means more and more homes are needed.” Analysis of mortgage commitments showed the focus of greatest housing activity was in Denver and the six suburbs of Arvada, Aurora, Broomfield, Englewood, Golden, and Littleton.

However, the capital city saw its boom falter due to a dwindling number of available home building sites. In addition, federal credit restrictions in VA and FHA house purchases required larger down payments and virtually eliminated no-down payment opportunities. As one city building inspector noted, “Future home construction in Denver will have to result from annexation.”<sup>394</sup> In 1955, Denver Water Board members approved a policy whereby water would not be furnished to developments outside the city that did not conform to Denver’s general zoning classifications. The move was seen as an effort to force suburban areas to meet Denver’s standards in order to avoid “semi-slum and blighted developments at the edge of the city.” City officials judged water to be one of their most effective tools in this issue. The Water Board noted rapid development outside the city limits occurred largely due to extension of the Denver water system.<sup>395</sup> Valuation for all new construction in Denver was slightly below 1954 figures at \$99,853,596.<sup>396</sup> Despite this troublesome trend, the city reported a record business year.<sup>397</sup> Table J11 presents data for 1946 through 1963 on residential building permits, value of construction, and average home price.

One of the bright spots of the Denver housing market in 1955 was the new \$25-million Harvey Park subdivision in southwest Denver, developed by Hutchinson Homes that included 2,200 homes, schools, parks, and a business district. Ted Hutchinson, the company president, stated it would compare in size and impact with University Hills but offer “an even finer mountain view.” Located on a

<sup>390</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 September 1954, 3

<sup>391</sup> *New York Times*, 3 January 1955.

<sup>392</sup> *Cervi's Journal*, 21 October 1954, 2.

<sup>393</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 235.

<sup>394</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 October 1955, 6.

<sup>395</sup> *Denver Post*, 7 December 1955, 3.

<sup>396</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 December 1955, 8.

<sup>397</sup> *Denver Post*, 1 January 1956, 2A.

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600-acre site on a sloping ridge west of Loretto Heights annexed to the city that year, the subdivision included three model homes priced from \$11,750 to \$14,950. The houses offered two or three bedrooms, full basements, brick veneer construction, three floor plans, and 13 different elevations. Lots measured 75' x 110', with ample space between the houses, and full city services and utilities provided. The company asserted, "We believe we have something new in suburban living, still inside the city limits and only 15 minutes from downtown." The firm planned to produce 600 to 850 houses a year, and long-range plans included a shopping center, school, and park construction along Bear Creek. Potential buyers received reassurances the Colorado Highway Department planned to extend Hampden Avenue west from Santa Fe Drive to the Soda Lakes region near Morrison, a route that would connect with Interstate 25 "to provide rapid access to the downtown area from the southwest corner of the city."<sup>398</sup>

*House & Home* magazine reported in 1955 a growing demand for larger houses: "the basement is coming back into its own, newlyweds are only a small part of the house market and the garbage disposal is the kingpin of appliances." Surveys of homebuyers by the publication also found 66 percent wanted houses with three bedrooms and 21 percent wanted four. Everyone wanted more than one bathroom and 63 percent said they would pay 10 percent more for a basement. A large majority were also willing to spend more for air conditioning. In terms of appliances, 92 percent wanted a garbage disposal and 63 percent a dishwasher. A growing number of people wanted and believed they could afford a more expensive home.<sup>399</sup>

### **The Cold War Produces Fallout Shelter Subdivisions**

The Cold War influenced the planning of some subdivisions in the metropolitan region as the federal government instructed families to be prepared to provide for their own survival following a nuclear attack. Its pamphlet, *What You Should Know About the National Plan for Civil Defense and Mobilization*, suggested: "Some home owners may build underground concrete shelters which give practically complete protection from fallout and some protection from blast. Others may choose to protect themselves from fallout, at lower cost, with basement concrete block shelters." The Office of Civil Defense and Mobilization expected that about 90 percent of the population would require protection from fallout and encouraged "the immediate building or improvisation of fallout shelters."<sup>400</sup>

In 1955, United Construction Company of Wichita, Kansas, responded to the threat of nuclear war, announcing it would build a 179-house, \$3 million subdivision on a 60-acre tract of land at Inspiration Point between West 50<sup>th</sup> and West 52<sup>nd</sup> Avenue from Harlan Street to Sheridan Boulevard. The company planned to build from three to five show homes for potential buyers. Houses in the subdivision would be brick and priced between \$14,000 to \$35,000, based on size and location. The more costly houses featured atomic bomb shelters in the basements.<sup>401</sup> The first houses built included

lift slab concrete construction under which reinforced concrete is poured on the ground and then jacked up to form roof and ceiling with mobile partitions for room divisions that carry no weight. Entire weight of the reinforced concrete is carried on steel poles, giving a high degree of flexibility of interior arrangement, including changes after construction

<sup>398</sup> *Denver Post*, 15 May 1955, 23A.

<sup>399</sup> Results of *House & Home* survey reported in *Cervi's Journal*, 2 June 1955, 1.

<sup>400</sup> Office of Civil Defense and Mobilization, *What You Should Know About the National Plan for Civil Defense and Defense Mobilization*, December 1958, <http://coldwar-c4i.net> on (accessed 2 June 2010).

<sup>401</sup> *Denver Post*, 30 October 1955, 20 A.

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as the family needs change.<sup>402</sup>

An article in *Cervi's Journal* indicated it was possible to utilize the roof of these houses for a helicopter landing platform.<sup>403</sup> In 1958, the Land Development Company revealed the creation of Inspiration Point Estates in the same area, a luxury home development with curving streets and mountain views. Construction data shows about a dozen homes in the area completed in the late 1950s, with most erected in the early 1960s.<sup>404</sup>

The *Denver Post* covered dedication ceremonies in 1959 opening "the nation's first fallout shelter in a housing subdivision." The director of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization participated in the event and commented bomb shelters were a homeowner's responsibility, becoming as basic to dwellings as bathtubs. Other civil defense directors from around the nation attended the event, as did state and local officials.<sup>405</sup> Builder Jack C. Hoerner became interested in the shelters at a National Defense Resources meeting after learning Russia was outpacing America in their construction. Arvada's County Civil Defense Director recommended homeowners build their own bomb shelters, and schools and other buildings be similarly equipped.<sup>406</sup>

Hoerner's subdivision, known as "Allendale Heights" and located between West 58<sup>th</sup> and West 64<sup>th</sup> avenues from Kipling Street to Ward Road, included 10' x 13' concrete radiation shelters as standard equipment on all homes. Located under one-car garages adjacent to the basement, the walls of the structures were 8"-thick reinforced concrete with ceilings 12" thick. Each shelter contained a ventilating system, a water tank, and a chemical toilet. Hoerner estimated adding the shelters to his subdivision cost about \$250 per building.<sup>407</sup> Of the 40 houses Hoerner planned to build, about 15 contained fallout shelters. A regional study later found communities on the metropolitan area's periphery were underserved in terms of fallout shelter protection.<sup>408</sup>

### Construction Reaches the Saturation Point in Some Areas: 1956-1957

In 1956, city building department officials stated Denver's home construction boom might be entering its final stages. Figures showed building permit valuations were down from the previous year. Chief City Building Inspector Donald S. Harber stated, "It looks as if Denver has reached the saturation point as far as home building is concerned. There simply isn't much vacant land in the city where new houses may be built."<sup>409</sup> However, other large construction projects bolstered the economy and year-end building permits totaled a healthy \$102.1 million. At the same time, the housing boom continued in the suburbs.<sup>410</sup>

*House and Garden* magazine in September 1956 featured Denver, described as "the newest metropolis in the country, sprawling at the foot of the mountains." The publication discussed the city's influence in the Rocky Mountain Empire, as well as the thousands of families who chose the metropolitan area as a

<sup>402</sup> The number of houses built and their addresses is unknown. *Cervi's Journal*, 10 November 1955, 1.

<sup>403</sup> *Cervi's Journal*, 10 November 1955, 1.

<sup>404</sup> *Denver Post*, 30 October 1955, 20A and 20 January 1958, 28.

<sup>405</sup> *Cervi's Rocky Mountain Journal*, 19 August 1959, 3.

<sup>406</sup> *Cervi's Rocky Mountain Journal*, 19 August 1959, 3..

<sup>407</sup> *Denver Post*, 24 August 1959, 14; *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 August 1959, 6.

<sup>408</sup> In 1960 the Structural Clay Products Institute published a booklet with plans for basement and above-ground shelters, noting they could be put to other uses during peacetime and also could serve during natural disasters.

<sup>408</sup> The 1961 Berlin and 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis stimulated further public interest in fallout shelters. *Denver Post*, 23 August 1959, 6E; Gorrell, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 215; Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, *Community Shelter Planning: Denver Region* (Denver: Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, 15 June 1965), 7.

<sup>409</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 August 1956, 26.

<sup>410</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 August 1956, 26; *Denver Post*, 4 January 1960, 32.

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place to live: "They are less impressed by the romantic tradition of the West than by present-day opportunities to own homes in pleasant surroundings and send their children to modern schools and well-kept playgrounds." The magazine found local residents "fond of sports, proud of its homes, attuned to growth." New houses displaying a decidedly Modernist influence were also highlighted, including designs by William Muchow, Joseph Marlow, and Victor Hornbein.<sup>411</sup>

The *Denver Post* found in 1957 that "Denver's mass-market home building industry is having serious trouble." Large-scale affordable home building dropped by 50 percent in 1956 and continued to decline, sources of cheap mortgage money "dried up," and demand for medium-priced houses slid. Lenders favored investments other than mortgages, whose interest rates were controlled by law on VA and FHA loans. With little money available for new VA loans, National Association of Home Builders (NAHB) pressed Congress for easier mortgage credit. The *Post* cited a large builder who averaged 700 new houses a year through 1955, but built 300 in 1956 and planned 100 in 1957. An unidentified official of one of the largest real estate firms stated that "the business is really in bad shape, but no builder will say so for publication for fear of making it worse." In the Denver area approximately one in every 15 wage earners worked in a field associated with home construction, thus the region faced economic difficulties if the trend continued.<sup>412</sup>

The following year, the federal government took steps to stimulate the economy through the housing industry. An Emergency Housing Act made mortgage funds more abundant and easier to obtain. By the spring of that year, Coloradans applied for home loans in record numbers.<sup>413</sup> By the summer of 1958, contractors built more homes in the Denver area, and construction exceeded that of 1956 by the end of the year despite the shortage of available home sites in the city. Denver posted an all-time record building permit valuation of \$104.216 million for the year.<sup>414</sup>

Adams County posted the highest rate of growth of suburban counties based on change in assessed valuation in 1958. In Jefferson County, Arvada was cited as the fastest-growing community, recording a 592 percent increase for the 1950-58 period. Lakewood placed a close second and Wheat Ridge posted the third fastest growth. Both Lakewood and Wheat Ridge remained unincorporated communities. Golden posted the fourth-largest increase in assessed valuation, followed by Edgewater and Mountain View. Arapahoe County lagged far behind its neighbors due to property reclassifications, but quickly gained through new development.<sup>415</sup> In 1959 Arvada proclaimed itself the fastest growing city in the Denver metropolitan area during the decade, with a 599.4 percent increase from its population of 2,359 in 1950 to 16,500 in 1959.<sup>416</sup> Denver building permit totals dropped below those of its 1958 record year, totaling \$95,878,923, including permits for construction of 2,524 housing units valued at more than \$25 million.<sup>417</sup>

### **Annexations During the 1950s**

In 1954, Denver annexed a large area on its southeastern border, where such subdivisions as Virginia Village, Krisana Park, and Lynwood were under development. The population of the annexed area consisted mostly of young families whose growth was expected to increase the number of people in the area to 10,000 in five to seven years. Inclusion of the territory within the city resulted

<sup>411</sup> *House and Garden*, 110(September 1956)3: 131-138.

<sup>412</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 April 1957, 3A.

<sup>413</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 16 April 1958, 5.

<sup>414</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 28 June 1958, 12; *Denver Post*, 18 December 1958, 1.

<sup>415</sup> *Denver Post*, 22 August 1958, 19.

<sup>416</sup> *Arvada Enterprise*, 21 May 1959.

<sup>417</sup> *Denver Post*, 4 January 1960, 32.

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from acceptance of the city council's principle that property owners in new areas donate 8 percent of the addition's land area or the cash equivalent to offset the cost of construction of public buildings and parks and mitigate the expense of providing essential services. Press reports described residents as happy to receive Denver police and fire protection, which would result in lower water and fire insurance rates. The *Denver Post* judged this "an important milestone in an accelerating expansion that some experts believe will double Denver's population in about 15 years." Two developers donated to the city 49 acres of undeveloped land for parks and a school site. Until a school was completed children would be bused to existing Denver public schools nearby.<sup>418</sup> In 1956, citizens' committees from College View, Scenic View, and Loretto Heights in southwest Denver asked the city to begin annexation of their areas, despite objections from Englewood. Representatives of those communities gave City Planner George Nez the go-ahead for annexations, which had been planned for some time.<sup>419</sup>

Littleton businessmen and its Chamber of Commerce invited bordering areas to request annexation to the city in 1955. The *Denver Post* explained, "Thousands of acres of both developed and undeveloped land south of Denver as far as the Douglas County line, 12 miles from Denver, rapidly is gaining significance to Englewood, Littleton and Denver as the area's population continues to swell and building sets new records."<sup>420</sup> Officials of Littleton and Englewood believed that Arapahoe County developments would build up to the Douglas County line in a few years.

Arvada grew from 332 acres at the end of the war to 1,932 in 1956.<sup>421</sup> In May 1958, Arvada annexed two areas north of the city, 505-acre Arvada Heights and 115.8-acre Oberon Addition, increasing its size by 26 percent.<sup>422</sup> The *Denver Post* observed in November that during the 1950s Arvada "has burst its seams and seeks to annex an estimated 700 acres adjacent to town where vast home construction is under way."<sup>423</sup> The state legislature proposed an ultimately unsuccessful constitutional amendment allowing Denver, Pueblo, and Colorado Springs to annex adjacent communities in order to provide them with water, sewers, and other infrastructure and services.<sup>424</sup>

Annexations also helped drive growth in Westminster during the postwar years. John M. Snyder studied Westminster's expansion and found during the 1940s and 1950s there were a total of 30 annexations. The 1960s saw 22 annexations, followed by 69 during the 1970s. The data illustrate Westminster's drive to avoid becoming landlocked like Northglenn.<sup>425</sup> Westminster's 1970 annexation of 5,000 acres north of its existing city limits became the largest single annexation in the state at the time. The annexation pulled in the Western Electric plant and residential developments to the north. Annexations brought in water rights to expand the city's water supply and led to future confrontation with the adjacent cities of Arvada, Northglenn, Thornton, Broomfield, and Federal Heights.<sup>426</sup>

### Local and Metropolitan Planning

In 1950, Arvada evaluated a master plan for its development over the next 50 years based on a study by the University of Denver's School of Architecture and Planning. Major recommendations of the

<sup>418</sup> *Denver Post*, 22 August 1954, 20A.

<sup>419</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 April 1956, 11.

<sup>420</sup> *Denver Post*, 27 March 1955, 23A.

<sup>421</sup> Morely, *Centennial Arvada*, 109.

<sup>422</sup> *Denver Post*, 27 May 1958, 35.

<sup>423</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 November 1958, 2E.

<sup>424</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 122.

<sup>425</sup> John M. Snyder, "An Evaluation of Colorado's Attempts to Cope with Rapid Growth," PhD dissertation, Colorado State University, 1982, 205.

<sup>426</sup> Wagner, *Adams County, Colorado*, 144-145; Coel, *A New Westminster*, 103.

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study included removal of the state highway from Arvada's main commercial thoroughfare, changing zoning ordinances and building codes, expanding the business district, creating a civic center, establishing parking areas, and creating new residential subdivisions.<sup>427</sup>

In Denver, the Quigg Newton administration released a 1953 master plan written by City Planning Director William F. Henninger with input from the Planning Commission and a committee of 90 Denver citizens. The mayor indicated the document would provide "a background for channeling into orderly patterns every major aspect of Denver's growth in the next twenty years." The plan developed a new zoning law, a new annexation policy, and revision of the city's tax policies to address "mounting costs of the growing metropolitan area." The report noted that Denver was a city where trade and services provided 80 percent of jobs in the city, while manufacturing provided only 17 percent. Tourism accounted for one-fifteenth of the Denver economy. About 45,000 government employees worked in the area, a number expected to double by 1970. However, the master-plan document noted several major cities in the nation included more federal employees and more federal agencies, disputing Denver's claim as the second American capital.<sup>428</sup>

By the 1950s, when surrounding areas grew faster than Denver, new forms of regional decision-making and cooperation among numerous municipalities and leaders emerged. At a 1955 meeting attended by representatives of Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson counties and their unincorporated areas, Denver Mayor Quigg Newton urged suburban and county officials to join his jurisdiction in the formation of a four-county organization to deal with problems resulting from growth in the metropolitan area. Newton stated, "If we don't take steps to solve our problems, we as a four-county community are going to suffer." Water, annexation, zoning, and traffic were some of the challenges facing the entire area that would benefit from a united front. Denver's Manager of Improvements, Thomas P. Campbell, indicated Denver's policy was not to just "grab off" surrounding lands, which was the reason the city required annexed territories to give it eight percent of their assessed valuation.<sup>429</sup>

In response, metropolitan area leaders approved the creation of an Inter-County Regional Planning Association to deal with the problems of interest to cities and suburban areas. The organization initially included the counties of Adams, Arapahoe, Denver, Douglas, and Jefferson and the city of Broomfield. In February 1956, the group changed its name to the Inter-County Regional Planning Commission (ICRPC). ICRPC became the region's principal planning agency and conducted studies on population and housing, transportation, aviation, standardization of street names, and sewage treatment. A 1956 sewage study resulted in the creation of the Metropolitan Denver Sewage Disposal District. The group approved the region's first transportation plan in 1958 and signed a memorandum of agreement on transportation planning with the Colorado Department of Highways in 1963.<sup>430</sup>

In 1956, the ICRPC and the Denver Planning Board studied the possibility of Denver either becoming a sprawling city extending from Thornton to the Douglas County line or encompassing its current area and surrounded by a system of well-planned "satellite" communities, separated from it by buffer zones. Golden was seen as a good example of a suburban town independent of Denver and separated from it by undeveloped areas. Similar suburban centers could develop at places such as Castle Rock and the Martin plant in southern Jefferson County. Denver Planning Director George Nez indicated it would be almost impossible to stop high-density growth around the edges of Denver due

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<sup>427</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 August 1950, 37.

<sup>428</sup> *Denver Post*, 24 April 1953, 34.

<sup>429</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 February 1955, 28.

<sup>430</sup> *Denver Post*, 31 March 1955, 54; Denver Regional Council of Governments, "Shaping the Region with One Voice," pamphlet, Denver: Denver Regional Council of Governments, 2005.

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to constant and increasing pressure from subdividers interested in new housing projects. However, the proposed new type of development would establish satellite towns separated from the city by agricultural fields, parks, and "estate-type" houses with large lots. Nez and other planners felt Denver should not undertake a "pell-mell annexation program," which would result in problems like those being experienced by Los Angeles.<sup>431</sup>

The first meeting of suburban mayors in the metropolitan area's history took place in 1957, and officials of 14 suburban communities invited Denver Mayor William Nicholson to participate in a study of plans to create a metropolitan super-government. Mayor Nicholson pledged complete cooperation, noting he had always favored consolidation of Denver and surrounding counties. The mayors planned to study the Dade County, Florida, plan whereby Miami joined with suburban cities to provide basic municipal services.<sup>432</sup>

Coordinated regional planning remained elusive in the early 1960s. Writing in 1963, Franklin M. Bridge, Assistant Director for Research at the Bureau of Governmental Research and Service at the University of Colorado, observed, "The proposition that the planning function for a metropolitan area is inevitably regional, however, seems far from accepted in the Denver region." While the primary function of the ICRPC was adoption of a regional plan for the physical development of the area, Bridge noted that the plan could be effective within an individual jurisdiction only if its government officially adopted it. He likened the ICRPC to the United Nations, but with all ICRPC member governments having a veto over plan implementation. Bridge saw the ICRPC's role as largely advisory. Boulder County became a member in 1966 and the following year Douglas County withdrew. In 1968 the organization became the Denver Regional Council of Governments (DRCOG).<sup>433</sup>

### **Crisis Mode in the Schools During the 1950s**

Adequate classroom space to house the burgeoning Baby Boom generation became a critical concern in the early 1950s for school districts in the Denver region, which scrambled to construct new schools. The 1954 *Community Builders Handbook* advised, "The presence of elementary schools is one of the greatest drawing cards in new residential developments . . . If you are working in new territory with a very large project, you will find that a school will be needed."<sup>434</sup> Many postwar subdivisions set aside a parcel of land to be donated to a school district for erection of a building serving the families buying homes in the area. By 1960 some developers sold school districts such land rather than donating it. The 1960 *Handbook* suggested, "By purchasing of sites school boards will take a realistic view of all factors including the safety of children, and the high cost of providing surplus streets and sidewalks plus more land than a school needs or can care for."<sup>435</sup>

A crisis mode prevailed in schools in many parts of the metropolitan area after the war, as buildings rushed to completion were already overcrowded by the time their doors opened. Many schools operated on double or triple schedules due to lack of adequate space. Buildings of the postwar era often reflected the speed of construction, economy, and standardization necessary to provide classrooms for all the new students. In 1952, Denver Public Schools Superintendent Kenneth E.

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<sup>431</sup> The Denver metropolitan area did not adopt an "urban growth boundary" until decades after Nez's original recommendation. *Denver Post*, 17 February 1956, 17; *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 March 1956.

<sup>432</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 September 1957, 5.

<sup>433</sup> Franklin M. Bridge, *Metro Denver: Mile-High Government* (Boulder, Colorado: Bureau of Governmental Research and Service, University of Colorado, 1963), 55-56.

<sup>434</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1954*, 35.

<sup>435</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1960*, 147.

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Oberholtzer (1947-67), who guided the district through much of its immense expansion after the war, reported the number of children in Denver increased by 3,000 each year since the start of the decade. The Superintendent raised the figure to 4,000 the following year. School districts sought to address the most pressing needs in areas growing the fastest first.<sup>436</sup>

In 1946, Littleton voters approved a \$275,000 school bond to build the new North Elementary School. Between 1950 and 1955, a succession of school bonds resulted in the construction of West, South, and East Elementary Schools, as well as a new high school (Heritage).<sup>437</sup> The school district later changed the name of South Elementary to the Ralph Moody Elementary. When Littleton's Centennial Elementary School opened in February 1958, students and parents marveled at the "new style school" with classrooms built around offices, a multipurpose room, and labs.<sup>438</sup> Brighton approved a \$350,000 school bond issue in 1953 to construct a new high school that would represent the first new building in the school district since 1926. At the time, the city had only one elementary school, one junior high, and one high school for its 234-square-mile district, which was known as Adams County No. 27.<sup>439</sup> Until a large school was built, the Alta Vista subdivision in Arvada publicized its intention to offer local families "cottage schools," small buildings designed to resemble a home and providing students with a friendlier educational environment.<sup>440</sup>

In Denver, Ellis Elementary in the rapidly-growing southeast part of the city had a rated capacity of 630 students, but opened to 701 students in December 1955 although the school was not yet complete. Denver's Johnson Elementary, originally planned for construction at East First Avenue and Grape Street, was moved when the district determined that the area of Jewell Avenue and South Irving Street was growing faster and had no schools. When the school opened in the Brentwood neighborhood in 1953 more than 1,200 families lived in the area. The Brentwood Improvement Association held a series of planning meeting with school officials to provide input on the new school.<sup>441</sup>

Community suggestions were a significant component in the design of several schools. Citizens of the Belcaro Park and Bonnie Brae neighborhoods provided suggestions for the building of Knight Elementary. A survey of local residents found people wanted a building meeting the needs of schoolchildren, as well as one that could be used as a community center. In addition, local citizens favored a school compatible with the architectural pattern of the community. Citizens, school personnel, the architect, and the general contractor planned the building with these needs in mind.<sup>442</sup> Some existing schools took advantage of the construction of a new building to teach students about design and building trades. Students at Baker Junior High in Denver interviewed the architects and trades people, wrote papers about their findings, and built models of their new school.<sup>443</sup>

The speed, economy, and standard features required by Denver Public Schools caused some local architects to complain that the dictatorial specifications regarding the design of new buildings eliminated the impact of the skill and imagination of the architects. Victor Hornbein, who designed

<sup>436</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 May 1952 and 26 August 1954, 31.

<sup>437</sup> Hicks, *Littleton*, 35. West Elementary School became the first building for Arapahoe Community College. The children from Rapp Elementary School moved into the new West Elementary School building and the old Rapp school was razed. The former West Elementary School is the one-story building north of the main ACC building.

<sup>438</sup> Hicks, *Littleton*, 35.

<sup>439</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 January 1953.

<sup>440</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 109.

<sup>441</sup> *Denver Post*, 30 March 1950 and 26 April 1952; *Johnson School Dedication Program*, 27 April 1953.

<sup>442</sup> *Stephen Knight Elementary School Dedication Program*, 28 April 1952.

<sup>443</sup> *Denver Post*, 27 May 1957.



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Cory Elementary School, found there was “too great a uniformity in the school building program.” Eugene Sternberg also objected to the school board telling the architects how to do their jobs. Critics called the new schools “unimaginative factories for education,” and some questioned the requirement buildings be built to last 100 years when they might be obsolete in 25. Although some felt the district was not providing younger architects with opportunities to work on schools, experienced professionals such as William Muchow noted, “The school board has set up such strong restrictions that even the architect who might want to get something imaginative into the design couldn’t. But if the schools took too many changes it would reflect directly on the school board.”<sup>444</sup> Others, such as Charles Gordon Lee, who designed several schools in partnership with J. Roger Musick, reported they had no complaints. In response to criticism, the district informed citizens that the school specifications resulted from hours of conferences with teachers, principals, and administrators to determine the best buildings for their needs.<sup>445</sup>

Despite the rush to complete new buildings and the financial limitations placed on construction, some buildings did employ innovative designs. In 1949, the *Rocky Mountain News* reported an “Ultra-Modern” new school would replace the old Gilpin, originally erected in 1881. Smith, Hegner & Moore designed a building to “meet increased demands of students and . . . include the latest in equipment.” The building was constructed at an angle with two wings so that a maximum amount of light filled every room. It abandoned such items as the old school’s desks topped with green leather and hand-painted floral designs for “scientific” green blackboards, connected kitchenettes, big windows, and broad halls. Ample playground space served students and the entire neighborhood, which lacked adequate parks and playgrounds.<sup>446</sup>

Postwar school construction presented a dramatic contrast to that of earlier years in its uniformity of style. Most buildings represented the International style, stemming from the work of European architects during the 1920s and characterized by horizontal proportions; one- to two-story heights; broad, flat walls with irregular setbacks; linear open (sometimes L-shaped) plans; flat roofs; and ribbons of stacked windows. New materials found favor in school construction, including steel and aluminum, reinforced concrete, and decorative panels of aggregate, stucco, tile, and stone. Ornamental features were pared down to elaborated entrances and, occasionally, ornamental panels of aggregate or tile, or sections of wall composed of layered sandstone of varied thickness. The new schools featured innovative uses of space, including rooms that could be employed for a variety of activities, such as cafeteria/community meeting rooms and gymnasium/auditoriums. The schools continued to be located on large undeveloped sites, with some school grounds merging into public parks. In some cases, the same plan served for more than one school in Denver. For example, J. Roger Musick and Charles Gordon Lee prepared the plans used to construct both Carson and Johnson elementary schools, though the exterior consisted of different colors of brick.

Some of the region’s finest architects designed metropolitan area schools. In Denver, prominent architects such as Temple Buell (Knight, Kunsmiller, Merrill and Whiteman during the 1950s), Musick & Lee (Philips, Carson, Goldrick, and Johnson), C. Francis Pillsbury (Hallett, Gust, Ellis, and McMeen), and Gordon D. White (Grant, Kepner, and Cowell) kept busy working on schools of the era, along with many of the other leading architects in the city, including some who were designing

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<sup>444</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 August 1953, 1.

<sup>445</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 August 1953, 1.

<sup>446</sup> Denver Public Schools, “A Few Facts About Gilpin School,” 8 April 1953; *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 February 1949 and 8 August 1951.

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important buildings in downtown Denver and its suburbs.<sup>447</sup>

### **Water Issues and Denver's Blue Line**

In addition to severe school shortages, water was another resource in demand during the postwar era. Securing adequate water supplies for continued subdivision development, always a critical issue for western communities, continued to be a goal of primary importance in the metropolitan area. By 1954, for the first time in history, suburban wells began going dry, and one expert reported, "Private well drilling as a source of appreciable amounts of domestic water soon will be a thing of the past in Metropolitan Denver." One suburban developer analyzed, "If you put enough straws in the largest ice cream soda in the world you can drain it awfully fast." A representative of one large pump company noted that people did not realize what was happening to the metropolitan water supply: "It's getting to be a real struggle for water in some suburban neighborhoods where a lot of deep wells have been drilled close together."<sup>448</sup>

In response to the growing scarcity of water caused by the continued boom in housing throughout the metropolitan area and droughts in the state during the 1950s, the Denver Water Department developed the concept of a "blue line." In 1955, Denver's Manager of Improvements, Thomas P. Campbell, explained Denver's blue line encompassed the area the city could "reasonably expect to serve with water as the city grows. We cannot serve water to just anyone who asks."<sup>449</sup> He reported with the present rate of growth, Denver's water supply would stand at full consumption by 1965. The blue line made development more difficult in some areas and led some suburbs to create their own water agencies.<sup>450</sup>

The City of Aurora initially was within the blue line, but its rate of building placed new subdivisions outside the boundary. Aurora established its own water district in 1949, headed by Jerome Grutza, to acquire water and prepare for Denver's deadline. In two short years, Aurora reached its storage capacity and new department head Guy Paris instituted a freeze on new taps and water consumption and rationed water for lawns. During the 1950s, Aurora hired consultants to devise a strategy to accumulate water rights and storage to carry them into the future.<sup>451</sup>

Arvada's existing supply of drinking water from wells could not meet the demands of postwar growth. Rationing of motors and pumps during the war resulted in the city's inability to address maintenance, repair, and replacement problems, and the question of water reached a crisis stage in 1946. Although Arvada built new wells and pumping stations, it barely kept up with new subdivisions. Filter Plant Number 1 alleviated some shortages when completed in 1956. In 1960, citizens initiated a petition drive to block issuance of building permits for new homes since the growing number of new lawns strained the system.<sup>452</sup> The community finally acquired a dependable water supply in that year when Mayor Gail Gilbert reached an agreement with the Denver Water Board allowing the city to purchase as much water as it needed "at favorable rates." In addition, voters passed the largest bond issue up to that time to build a new storage reservoir. However, during the dry summer of 1962 Arvada experienced shortages as its new Ralston Filter Plant, which would process 9 million gallons of water

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<sup>447</sup> Denver Public Schools, Planning and Engineering Services, "Architects Commissioned for Various School Projects 1948 through 1962, 19 December 1962.

<sup>448</sup> *Cervi's Journal*, 1 July 1954, 1.

<sup>449</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 February 1955, 28.

<sup>450</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 459-460.

<sup>451</sup> Mehls, Drake, and Fell, *Aurora*, 111-113.

<sup>452</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 June 1960, 25.

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per day, experienced delays in opening and existing facilities were unable to meet demand.<sup>453</sup>

In a 1986 interview Jordon Perlmutter described his Perl-Mack development company's experience with the blue line when creating Perl-Mack Manor in Adams County in 1955:

Then, as now, water was a crucial factor in the growth of the suburbs. At the time, Denver had drawn a 'blue line' around the city. No tap permits would be issued outside of that area. The area had access to the new Denver-Boulder Tollroad [U.S. 36] and was close to downtown. Denver wouldn't give us water, so we went out and got our own.<sup>454</sup>

Perl-Mack purchased water rights to Clear Creek and created its own water and sewer district.

### Construction of Shopping Centers Accelerates

As the Denver region added more population in outlying areas, shopping areas arose to meet retail needs (See Table J12). The 1954 *Community Builders Handbook* noted, "Shopping centers are recent developments. The present-day shopping center began as an experiment to go with suburban living and the automobile."<sup>455</sup> Precedents included Kansas City's Country Club Plaza, a 1920s development by J.C. Nichols, and Hugh Prather's 1931 Highland Park Shopping Village in Dallas, a unified center with stores surrounded by parking. Three types of shopping centers existed: 1) neighborhood centers (sometimes known as the strip mall), the smallest type, which included one anchor, usually a supermarket or variety store, as well as 10 to 15 other stores, and provided for local residents' daily needs; 2) community centers, medium-sized developments with 20 to 40 stores and a junior department store as the anchor; and 3) regional centers, the largest facilities, serving a wide metropolitan area and including at least one big department store anchor and 50 to 100 other stores in an enclosed shopping space on many acres of land.<sup>456</sup>

Shopping facilities in the Denver metropolitan area were diverse in scale and scope. Completed in 1951, Merchants Park on South Broadway in Denver, a \$1.2 million facility, featured the "latest merchandising methods" and parking for 500 cars. The center's 18 stores ranged from a Miller's Supermarket, to branch stores of Joslin's, Walgreen Drugs, Fontius Shoes, and Woolworth's. Denver developer Richard Mark erected the facility, which included a sunken garden opening into a below-ground restaurant and bowling alley. Mayfair Shopping Center, which opened in the same year, occupied a block in east Denver. The \$1 million complex of stores included a King Soopers and a Sooper-K drugstore. Its modern features included "slanting, no-glare windows throughout and an inter-store broadcast network for announcements, paging of patrons, and bargain advertising."<sup>457</sup>

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, shoppers still favored central business districts for making major acquisitions, but gradually adjusted to the concept and convenience of shopping centers. In 1954, Congress permitted accelerated depreciation for new development of greenfield income-producing property.<sup>458</sup> Construction of commercial buildings, including facilities such as malls, fast food restaurants, motels, office buildings, and supermarkets, accelerated. As historian Thomas

<sup>453</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 120 and 127-128; *Arvada Enterprise*, Arvada Harvest Festival Section, 9 September 1972, 6A.

<sup>454</sup> *Rocky Mountain Business Journal*, 3 February 1986, 15.

<sup>455</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1954*, 124.

<sup>456</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1954*, 125, 122, 124; Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 170.

<sup>457</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 December 1951, 38.

<sup>458</sup> This provided developers with a tax advantage by allowing a higher rate of depreciation during earlier years of ownership. A greenfield property is a rural or semi-rural undeveloped site that becomes the focus of new commercial or industrial development.

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Hanchett opines, "Throughout the mid-1950s, developers had sought locations *within* growing suburban areas. Now shopping centers began appearing in the cornfields *beyond* the edge of existing development."<sup>459</sup> Developers of shopping centers benefited enormously from accelerated depreciation, and, as Dolores Hayden found, "With new tax write-offs, over 98 percent of malls made money for their investors."<sup>460</sup> State and local governments also encouraged such construction with carrots such as economic development grants, construction of infrastructure, and tax abatement.<sup>461</sup>

Denver architect and developer Temple Buell acquired 49 acres of land at the intersection of First Avenue and University Boulevard for \$25,000 in 1925. Without specific plans for the site at the time he leased the acreage to the city for use as a dump. While in Kansas City working on a project, Buell met famed developer J.C. Nichols, who predicted cities would develop with scattered commercial districts. In response, Buell conceived the Cherry Creek Shopping Center as the perfect project for his favorably-situated land, with buildings focused around a landscaped mall surrounded by convenient parking, an innovative idea in comparison to the older shopping areas with streets passing through the shopping center. He believed the mall should be a safe, car-free place for children.<sup>462</sup> After the war, the architect finalized his proposal, but Denver expended five years approving his plans. Construction began in 1950 and the facility opened in 1953, reportedly the nation's first pedestrian mall, attracting major department stores such as Sears and Denver Dry Goods.<sup>463</sup>

In Arvada developers interested in creating a large regional shopping mall inquired about land prices in downtown Arvada in the early 1950s. They found it impossible to assemble a piece of land large enough at a reasonable price and turned to a site in the small community of Lakeside. Arvada regarded the creation of this commercial rival as "an economic jolt it never recovered from."<sup>464</sup> Lakeside Shopping Center, at West 44<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Harlan Street, opened in 1956, featuring a mall with department stores on the edge of Lake Rhoda (See Figure K14). The center drew shoppers from throughout the western suburbs and adjacent sections of Denver, impacting commerce in older downtowns such as that of Arvada, which offered fewer stores.<sup>465</sup>

In 1954, plans moved forward for a new shopping area known as Arvada Square at West 58<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Ralston Road on 68 acres of land. Instead of a single shopping center development, the area was rezoned for commercial and residential uses. The \$5 million shopping area, developed by Forsberg Development Company and designed by architects Ramsey and Reeves, neared completion in 1958. The project, described as "the first major shopping center to be developed for Arvada in half a century," featured parking for 2,000 cars.<sup>466</sup>

In June 1955, the Thornton Shopping Center opened at East 88<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Washington Street in Adams County, with a Miller's Supermarket and a Woolworth's as anchor stores; a Safeway store joined in 1958. September 1960 brought an announcement that Fuller and Company would erect the Northland Shopping Center on Washington Street between East 86<sup>th</sup> and East 88<sup>th</sup> avenues. A Red Owl Supermarket and a Republic-Rexall Superdrug became the principal tenants. The site was selected "because of the tremendous growth in the Thornton-City View Heights area." Construction on the \$12 million North Valley Shopping Center, at the southeast corner of Interstate 25 and West

<sup>459</sup> Thomas Hanchett quoted in Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 164.

<sup>460</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 168.

<sup>461</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 169.

<sup>462</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 January 1990, 8.

<sup>463</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 413; *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 August 1981.

<sup>464</sup> *Arvada Enterprise*, Arvada Harvest Festival Section, 9 September 1978.

<sup>465</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 122.

<sup>466</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 November 1958, 2E.

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84<sup>th</sup> Avenue, got underway in 1966. A market study for the new shopping center characterized the area along Interstate 25 from the Denver county line to beyond Northglenn as “one of the fastest growing regions in the Denver metropolitan area, with estimated 1980 unsatisfied sales potential of \$20 million a year.” The center opened in late 1967 with May D&F and Montgomery Ward department stores as key occupants, as well as about 50 specialty shops. Developed by Winmar Realty Company, the facility was one of the four largest shopping centers in the Denver area.<sup>467</sup>

In 1959, *Denver This Week* listed 14 shopping centers started, completed, or expanded during 1958 through early 1959, including everything from major regional centers to strip shopping areas. Among the largest projects was the Bear Valley Shopping Center at South Sheridan Boulevard and West Hampden Avenue on a 30-acre site planned for a 350,000-square-foot center. Initial tenants included such businesses as Miller’s Supermarket, Hodel’s Drugs, and Duckwall’s Variety Store. Alameda Shopping Center at West Alameda Avenue and South Zuni Street consisted of a brick facility with 200,000 square feet situated on 21.9 acres and with parking for 1,500 cars. Businesses in the center included a King Soopers grocery, an Old South Restaurant, a Woolworth’s, and Walgreen Drugs. Littleton Square Shopping Center, a \$1.4 million concrete and porcelain facility at South Broadway and Littleton Boulevard with 120,000 square feet of space contained parking for 800 cars and businesses such as King Soopers, Furr’s Food, Bill Bennett’s Coffee House, and 28 other tenants. Montview Shopping Center at West 72<sup>nd</sup> Avenue and Federal Boulevard in Adams County, an 83,000-square-foot center on a ten-acre site, cost \$1.25 million. In 1956, Dunton Realty encouraged the city of Westminster to annex land at West 72<sup>nd</sup> Avenue and Federal Boulevard so the company could build a shopping center. Dunton claimed the Westminster commercial district could not meet the needs of all its residents. Groundbreaking for the seven million dollar Westminster Plaza was held in August 1958.<sup>468</sup> Construction of the Westminster Plaza Shopping Center, a regional facility with 260,000 square feet featured such stores as King Soopers, Safeway, J.C. Penney, Woolworth’s and Midland Federal Savings, was finished in 1959.<sup>469</sup>

### **Civil Rights and Housing Restrictions**

Discrimination in access to well-built, affordable private housing was common in the metropolitan area during the years before the war. Denver-area black leaders, like those at the national level, possessed few options with which to counter unfair practices. In 1940, the *Colorado Statesman*, Denver’s African American newspaper, discussed the impact of red-lining, noting that housing choices for the community were limited to dated properties in need of extensive repair and improvement that sold for \$2,500 to \$3,000, and charged that: “Conversely, the real thing can be seen upon the fringes of our City, in the hundreds of new and attractive homes, containing all of the modern features, and priced at 4000 dollars.” Money for new houses could not be obtained to build houses “within this racial zone” due to deterioration of the existing properties and low wages of residents. The *Statesman* concluded, “Some months ago, the FHA offered citizens within this zone of racial encirclement an opportunity to rent and live in ‘new homes,’ the same as other people do, but a group comprising realtors, and others having selfish interest, blocked this movement.”<sup>470</sup> A year later the *Statesman* noted the housing situation remained a “grave problem” due to racial restrictions.<sup>471</sup>

<sup>467</sup> *Denver Post*, 14 September 1960, 2E, 6 April 1966, 33, and 17 October 1967, 55; Casteneda, *Thornton*, 67; *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 August 1966, 74.

<sup>468</sup> Coel, *A New Westminster*, 118-119.

<sup>469</sup> “Denver Builds,” *Denver This Week*, 6 April 1959, 8-9.

<sup>470</sup> *Colorado Statesman*, 1 March 1940, 4.

<sup>471</sup> *Colorado Statesman*, 25 April 1941, 2.

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Members of minority groups also faced discrimination in public housing. In October 1941, the Denver Housing Authority faced charges of discrimination against Hispanos in regard to plans for its Las Casitas Housing Project at West 12<sup>th</sup> and Federal Boulevard. An investigating committee of social workers found the housing "deficient in several important aspects," including construction of apartments with concrete floors and coal stoves for hot water and cooking. The group found the living conditions worse than those of the Lincoln Park project and judged, "Should these less-than-minimum standards be permitted, the government would be placed in the position of establishing an inferior status for Spanish-speaking citizens." DHA Chairman James Quigg Newton responded that the project constructed on a cost-saving budget to permit low rental fees within the reach of families to pay: "We think the project is going to be a wonderful thing. The apartments are beautiful, especially when they are compared with the slum conditions in which many of these families are now living at higher rentals."<sup>472</sup>

During the war, blacks continued to struggle for and gain important advances in civil rights. In 1942, Earl Mann, a Republican from Denver, became the first African American elected to the Colorado legislature in the twentieth century.<sup>473</sup> However, equality in housing was still far in the future. Many parts of the metropolitan area attached covenants to properties that prohibited them from being sold to certain racial and/or ethnic groups. Federal loan policies and bankers' redlining of non-white areas reinforced this process.<sup>474</sup> Jessie Whaley Maxwell became the first black principal in Colorado while working for Denver Public Schools and her husband, Hulett Maxwell, was a pharmacist and drugstore owner. When purchasing a home in 1942, they found that blacks could not live east of High Street. Many houses came with covenants containing restrictive clauses that specified they could not be sold to African Americans. As Mrs. Maxwell noted, "Park Hill was off limits to Black people."<sup>475</sup>

Denver's small Japanese American community, many of whom lived in the Five Points area by the outbreak of the war, grew from 324 in 1940 to 2,310 in 1944. Although the number of families in Denver was small, the community established Simpson Methodist Church on California Street. Following President Roosevelt's signing of Executive Order 9066, the government removed more than 120,000 Japanese residents of the West Coast and placed them in a system of ten relocation centers. One of these camps opened on the plains of southeastern Colorado near the small town of Grenada. The relocation center, known as Amache, gradually released many of its residents so they could pursue jobs and educational opportunities, and some made their way to the metropolitan area. A number of former evacuees attended the California Street church, which provided services in Japanese. In 1943, Nisei (first generation Japanese Americans born in the United States) members of the congregation requested that services in English also be conducted.<sup>476</sup> Although Governor Ralph Carr opposed putting American citizens in relocation centers, Japanese Americans received a mixed welcome along the Front Range. Colorado citizens refused to pass an amendment to the state constitution barring Japanese aliens (who were not allowed to become citizens) from owning land, although Denver voters approved it by a large margin.<sup>477</sup>

<sup>472</sup> Newton was father of future mayor Quigg Newton. *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 October 1941, 5.

<sup>473</sup> *Denver Post*, 3 September 1989, 1A.

<sup>474</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 147.

<sup>475</sup> Billie Arlene Grant, Ernestine Smith, and Gladys Smith, comp., *Growing Up Black in Denver* ([Denver, Colo.?]: B.A. Grant, c.1988), 71.

<sup>476</sup> Simpson United Methodist Church, *Diamond Jubilee Directory*, (Arvada: Simpson United Methodist Church, 1982); Andrew Cleary, *Simpson United Methodist Church: 1884-1984* (Arvada: Simpson United Methodist Church, 1984); Simpson United Methodist Church, "75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration: 1907-1982," (Arvada: Simpson United Methodist Church, 1982), copy in the files of Front Range Research Associates, Denver.

<sup>477</sup> Leonard, "Denver at War," 38.

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African Americans continued to search for ways to break out of segregated housing districts after the war. In 1949, charges of racial discrimination flew in the controversy over a new residential development in Park Hill. The proposed Cavalier Subdivision (later known as Elmsdale Heights), apparently marketed as a new housing area exclusively for blacks, consisted of ten acres divided into 48 two-lot building sites located between Dahlia and Elm streets from East 35<sup>th</sup> to East 36<sup>th</sup> avenues. Emil Cavalier acquired the land to be developed by the Jack Shelton Realty Company; both were white. Some white homeowners and homeowners' groups in neighboring areas became concerned about their property values when about a dozen African Americans bought options on home sites in the new subdivision in the spring of 1949.

Councilman Ernest P. Marranzino, who represented the area and indicated he was trying to protect the prospective buyers, attempted to block approval of the subdivision during city council meetings. Park Hill resident Walter Brandenburg testified that the proposed development would "get two groups of people working against each other" and "reduce property values of one section in favor of another." Even some blacks opposed the subdivision, seeing it as "self-segregation." However, Council President A.A. Blakely said that the council could not consider factors such as the race of persons moving into a subdivision when voting on its authorization. Another councilman noted that the proposed development highlighted "the very dire need for better housing of our Negro population." An attorney for the developer charged "a deliberate effort is being made here to block this development on the basis of race, creed, and color." Before one of the largest crowds in its history, the city council approved the subdivision by a vote of six to two. Subsequently, Brandenburg, chairman of the Park Hill Heights Improvement Association, indicated that the neighborhood accepted the fact that blacks would move into north Park Hill. The area developed with brick Ranch houses during the early to mid-1950s.<sup>478</sup>

African American efforts to gain equal access to housing continued throughout the postwar period. In 1951 a study of ten American cities praised Denver for its progressive efforts at bringing an end to segregation during the administration of Mayor Quigg Newton through the construction of 4,000 low-rent dwellings occupied without regard for ethnic or racial origins of tenants. The city also received commendation for its efforts to eliminate inequality in public employment, recreation, and private housing. The authors of the study judged that "the first step [to ending segregation] is to recognize the right of minorities to live anywhere they choose. Federal funds must not be used to build new ghettos."<sup>479</sup>

*Denver Post* writer George Brown studied Denver's progress in eliminating discrimination in housing in 1954. Brown concluded "racial bigotry is embedded deep in the Denver housing situation" and its housing "showed more prejudice than any other phase of the city's activity." Brown found blacks were unable to purchase homes in many parts of the city and whites still feared "depreciation" when African Americans moved in their neighborhoods. Blacks, therefore, could not take advantage of the modern housing and low down payments in new subdivisions; they still lived in segregated parts of the city. While Five Points had been the focus of black housing before the war, the postwar period saw their area of residence expand eastward. Brown observed that York Street constituted the east boundary of the segregated area in 1951, while in 1954 the boundaries of African American housing extended from a few blocks east of York Street to the river bottom on the west, and from East 17<sup>th</sup> Avenue on

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<sup>478</sup> *Denver Post*, 5 April 1949, 2, 6 April 1949, 24, 12 April 1949, 2, 14 April 1949, 33, 19 April 1949, 3, 26 April 1949, 2, 27 April 1949, 2; *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 April 1949, 6.

<sup>479</sup> *New York Times*, 15 April 1951.

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the south to the railroad yards on the north.<sup>480</sup>

Realtors continued to refuse to work with blacks who tried to buy houses outside the boundary of the red-lined area, and financial institutions also participated in the discrimination. If the home to be purchased was located within a "restricted" section, banks would not approve a mortgage because it was considered an "area which is deteriorating and becoming blighted." Local lenders asserted their corporate offices relied on maps prepared by Denver's planning and zoning offices when making such decisions.<sup>481</sup> City Planning Director William F. Henninger faced citizen's questions regarding the issue of defining segregated areas as "blighted" neighborhoods at a hearing concerning Denver's proposed new zoning ordinance in May 1954 and responded zoning dealt with "regulated land usage," not segregation.<sup>482</sup>

In 1955, Denver realtor Abigail Brown, who conducted business mostly in the Five Points area, charged the Denver Board of Realtors engaged in a silent conspiracy not to sell houses in traditionally white blocks to African Americans. She stated "Denver realtors are operating a so called 'gentleman's agreement' that is working a tragic hardship on many Negro GIs who are qualified to buy new homes." Brown also asserted the government's Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Plan, created to assist minority buyers, was not functioning effectively in Denver. The program, designed to seek such financing for minority purchasers, included an appeals process for mortgage applicants after they were refused home loans by two lenders.<sup>483</sup>

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, praised Denver in 1957 as a "progressive city" for its efforts to ease housing problems for blacks. Wilkins found "vast improvement" during the postwar period in making the city a better place to live for minority groups. He cautioned that school boards sometimes created segregated schools by drawing districts to include only white or black neighborhoods.<sup>484</sup>

Colorado became the first state to outlaw discrimination in private housing with its 1959 Fair Housing Practices Act.<sup>485</sup> The Act prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of dwellings based on race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry; prevented questions about a person's background during real estate transactions; and established similar regulations in financing. The Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission received responsibility for enforcing the law.<sup>486</sup> By the time the law passed, segregated neighborhoods were deeply entrenched in the fabric of the metropolitan area, principally in Denver. The nature of the neighborhoods led to de facto segregation of the city's schools, which became a major issue in Denver's civil rights movement, ultimately resulting in busing for racial balance and leading to white flight from the city in the late 1960s.<sup>487</sup>

In 1962, President Kennedy signed an Executive Order ending discrimination in federal programs relating to housing, including lending. President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, described as "the most far-reaching civil rights legislation in the nation's history," which prohibited in any program or activity receiving federal assistance discrimination based on race, color, religion, or

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<sup>480</sup> In 1974, Brown won election as the state's first elected African American lieutenant governor. *Denver Post*, 29 March 1954, 2.

<sup>481</sup> *Denver Post*, 29 March 1954, 2.

<sup>482</sup> *Denver Post*, 27 May 1954, 52.

<sup>483</sup> *Cervi's Journal*, 17 November 1955, 1.

<sup>484</sup> *Denver Post*, 6 July 1957, 3.

<sup>485</sup> Governor Bill Ritter, Jr., "Honorary Proclamation: Colorado Fair Housing Month," April 2010.

<sup>486</sup> *New York Times*, 11 April 1959.

<sup>487</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 376-381.



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national origin, and gave the federal government power to enforce desegregation.<sup>488</sup> Although African Americans gained hard-won civil rights nationwide, the number of blacks in the suburbs remained static.<sup>489</sup>

African Americans fortunate enough to move out of historically segregated neighborhoods of the metropolitan area during the early 1960s encountered some discrimination, as well as efforts to end it. Historians Leonard and Noel write that when the African American Tracy Smith family moved to Northglenn in 1962, hundreds of people drove to their house and “gaped” at them. When Sylvester Hill, a black photographer, moved into Thornton in the early 1960s with his white wife, the builder of the house tried to return their deposit and demanded that they vacate. A City Council member alleged “certain members of the police department were ‘inciting residents’ and delivering illegal eviction notices to the Hills.” In 1964, the *New York Times* reported Colorado’s Fair Housing Act prohibited developers and agents from discriminating against potential buyers when selling vacant houses, but allowed an owner occupying a house to discriminate when putting it on the market.<sup>490</sup> In Denver in 1965, the Park Hill Action Committee, composed of whites and blacks, “called for an open city—one in which blacks would be welcome to live anywhere.”

### National Events and Policies Impact Metropolitan Homebuilding in the 1960s

In the 1960s political pressures, the world situation (including the Vietnam conflict and the Cold War), new social legislation, and changes in American society impacted homebuilding. A growing awareness that the housing needs of minority and low income populations were not being addressed resulted in the creation of new federal programs. The government focused on fulfilling a goal of the 1949 Housing Act to provide a “decent home and a suitable living environment” for all citizens. Shortly after taking office in 1961, President John F. Kennedy stimulated residential construction through expansion of long-term credit and the scaling back of interest rates on government-backed loans.<sup>491</sup> With the passage of the 1962 Housing Act, the country prepared to assist in the provision of housing for moderate- and low-income families and to promote orderly development. Increased emphasis on urban renewal resulted in “one of the biggest construction booms in metropolitan history.”<sup>492</sup>

The Baby Boom continued until 1964, when the rate of new births began to decrease. At the same time, the number of marriages and divorces increased, resulting in additional demand for new houses.<sup>493</sup> The rate of people moving from rural to urban areas remained steady. Household incomes rose faster than consumer prices, also increasing the demand for new dwellings.<sup>494</sup> America’s involvement in the Vietnam War led to increased rates of inflation that combined with the expansion of domestic programs to negatively influence the rate of home construction.

### Denver Metropolitan Area Growth

In 1960, a study by the Denver Chamber of Commerce showed the area’s population increasing by 2,650 persons each month, making Denver the third fastest-growing metropolitan center in the country with a gain of 48 percent since 1950. The labor force included 345,400 persons, and the

<sup>488</sup> Rice, “Housing in the 1960s,” in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 343-344.

<sup>489</sup> Rice, “Housing in the 1960s,” in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 336-337.

<sup>490</sup> *New York Times*, 16 January 1964.

<sup>491</sup> Robert R. Rice, “Housing in the 1960s,” in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 335 and 341.

<sup>492</sup> Rice, “Housing in the 1960s,” in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 342.

<sup>493</sup> Rice, “Housing in the 1960s,” in Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 336-337.

<sup>494</sup> Elizabeth S. Wilson, “Postwar Modern Housing and a Geographic Information System Study of Scottsdale Subdivisions,” August 2002, 22.

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unemployment rate reached about 2.6 percent, indicating the economy kept pace with the growing population. The federal presence continued to serve as a major factor in metropolitan area growth following the war.

A 1960 article in the *New York Times* indicated, "A combination of events and circumstances, some national in scope and many involving the atom and the missile, is responsible [for the Denver area's growth]." The area's 250 federal agencies, commissions, and military installations represented a major component of the region's economy, with continued federal expansion scheduled. For example, the Air Force planned construction of a Titan Intercontinental Ballistic Missile launching site southeast of Denver, adding 3,500 jobs. With prospects for significant growth, home construction served as a major industry. The *Times* observed, "New subdivisions are building in all directions around Denver's perimeter, pushing building permit valuations in the five-county area to \$250,000,000." The FHA reported costs for new home construction in Denver were on par with those in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston, and Philadelphia.<sup>495</sup>

During the 20 years from 1940 to 1960, the number of Denver residents who owned their own homes nearly doubled, rising to 53.5 percent as a result of easier credit and increasing rental costs. The 1960 U.S. Census of Housing revealed 165,535 housing units in the city, as compared with 113,911 in 1940. Rental rates rose from a median of \$25.82 in 1940 to \$71 in 1960. In 1960, 1.6 percent of houses were classified as "dilapidated" (unsafe or without adequate shelter), 10.8 percent were "deteriorating" (needing major repairs), and 9.7 percent lacked "some plumbing facilities." The average number of rooms in owner-occupied homes was almost six.<sup>496</sup>

A recession in 1960 slowed construction activity in the metropolitan area, but demands for housing for the expanding population and for retail and wholesale market space continued during most of the year. A surge of construction on South Colorado Boulevard south of Evans Avenue and announced development of large shopping centers at Leetsdale and South Holly streets, East Hampden Avenue and Happy Canyon Road, and East 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Havana Street followed the direction of growth. In addition, new building in previously-developed sections of Denver caused *Cervi's Journal* to remark that the city was "expanding from the inside out." Larger projects started or completed during the year included the \$8 million Bowman Biscuit Company bakery at 48<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Osage Street, a \$1 million Jewell Valley Motel at East Jewell Avenue and South Clermont Street, a \$4 million 14-story apartment building for retired teachers designed by Eugene Sternberg, a \$5 million Boettcher Science Center at the University of Denver, the \$4.5 million Eastland Shopping Center at East 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Havana Street, and a \$3.3 million project by American National Bank to remodel the old First National Bank in downtown Denver.<sup>497</sup>

Residential construction in the Denver metropolitan area smashed all records in 1961, both in the number of housing units and in dollar value. During the first eight months of the year, the number of permits rose about 55 percent above 1960 and they represented approximately 47-percent higher value. Jefferson County continued to be the fastest-growing county in the area, with Arvada the fastest-growing community. Adams County's incorporated area achieved second place in growth, followed by Denver County and Arapahoe County. Aurora achieved status as the second fastest-growing city.<sup>498</sup> At the end of the year, a record total of 18,953 new residential units valued at more

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<sup>495</sup> *New York Times*, 11 January 1960.

<sup>496</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 July 1961, 9.

<sup>497</sup> *Cervi's Journal*, 4 January 1961, 22.

<sup>498</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 26 September 1961, 43.

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than \$186 million were built. This number included 9,728 single-family dwellings.<sup>499</sup>

Authorities planning Denver housing believed the problem of finding adequate residences for members of minority groups stemmed as much from economics as discrimination. Denver Housing Authority Director Lee F. Johnson judged the city needed about six times as many new public housing units as it was building. He observed that people of varied races lived in such housing without "undue strife," proving equality and integration in housing could work. Robert Cameron, Denver Urban Renewal Authority Director, concurred low-income families had the greatest housing need in the metropolitan area and suggested urban renewal would eliminate slums if adequate housing could be provided.<sup>500</sup>

Homebuilding in the metropolitan area declined after record levels in 1961 and 1962, reaching a similar pace to that of the late 1950s. In 1963, regional authorities issued 8,599 permits for dwelling units in the first eight months of the year, while in 1964 5,783 housing unit permits received approval. A big decline came in multi-family dwellings and apartment houses. The area saw reduced home construction in all five counties of the metropolitan area. However, the cities of Aurora, Brighton, and Cherry Hills Village reported small increases.<sup>501</sup>

### **City Formation**

Broomfield, the last town to incorporate during the 1940-65 period, organized in 1961 and included parts of Adams, Boulder, and Jefferson counties. Various abortive efforts to form cities occurred in unincorporated areas of the suburban counties during the period. One "supercity" in Adams County failed to incorporate in the early 1960s. Residents of unincorporated western Adams County attempted to organize the city of "Monterey" in 1963. The proposed municipal boundary embraced lands between the existing cities of Federal Heights and Thornton and extended south to the Denver county line. Areas within the city included: Northglenn, Sherrelwood Estates, Sherrelwood Heights, Perl-Mack, Monterey, Berkeley Gardens, Berkeley Heights, and the Utah Junction area. The estimated population of the new city would have been 55,000. Petitions were circulated for the incorporation, but the movement was unsuccessful.<sup>502</sup>

After 1965, four additional cities organized. Lakewood and Wheat Ridge, Jefferson County's two most populous cities, both incorporated in 1969. Northglenn, along Interstate 25 in Adams County, voted to incorporate in 1964 but only became a city in 1969 after several years of legal challenges. In 2001, Centennial in south central Arapahoe County became the most populous area in the nation to ever incorporate. In addition, Broomfield, split among four counties, became its own city and county in 2001.<sup>503</sup>

Municipal annexation remained a contentious issue in the early 1960s. In 1965, the state legislature passed the Colorado Municipal Annexation Act giving municipalities the freedom to annex with three prerequisites: 1) one-sixth of the perimeter of area to be annexed must be contiguous with the municipality; 2) a community of interest must exist between the municipality and the annexed area; and 3) the territory to be annexed could be integrated easily into the municipality.<sup>504</sup>

### **Shopping Centers Come of Age**

<sup>499</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 January 1962, 3D.

<sup>500</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 March 1961, 35.

<sup>501</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 20 September 1964, 57.

<sup>502</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 September 1963, 19.

<sup>503</sup> City of Centennial, Colorado, website, <http://www.centennialcolorado.com> (accessed 22 June 2010).

<sup>504</sup> VanderWerf, *High on Country*, 130.

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By the mid-1960s, postwar shopping centers served much of the Denver region's population. Based on a study by the Inter-County Regional Planning Commission (ICRPC), the number of shopping centers in the Denver region grew from one in 1950 to 53 in 1966, with 70 percent of centers located in the suburban periphery around Denver. ICRPC defined a shopping center as a retail area operating as an integrated unit, with an area of three or more acres and leasable space of at least 14,000 square feet and having a supermarket or drug store and at least five other stores. Table J12 lists all 1966 shopping centers and provides information on location, relative size, year opened, developer, and architect. The 12 shopping centers that opened in the early 1950s all located in Denver or Arapahoe counties; Woodlawn opened first in Littleton in Arapahoe County, while University Hills became the first Denver center in 1951. Sixteen shopping centers started in the late 1950s, including six in Jefferson County, five in Adams, four in Denver, and one in Arapahoe. The early 1960s witnessed the opening of 22 more shopping centers: six each in Adams and Jefferson counties; five in Arapahoe; four in Denver; and one in Broomfield. The region's shopping centers differed greatly in terms of size, number, and mix of stores, from neighborhood retail strips of varying sizes to regional centers with large department store anchors, dozens of specialty stores, and hundreds of parking spaces. By 1966, the region had four regional shopping centers: Cherry Creek and University Hills in Denver and Lakeside and Westland in Jefferson County.<sup>505</sup>

The ICRPC study revealed not many developers constructed more than one shopping center. Several firms organized solely to develop a shopping center. A few companies created more than one center. Ambrose-Williams & Company developed four shopping centers: Englewood Park 'n' Shop (1953); Broadway Estates (1960); Wheatridge Park 'n' Shop (1961); and Brentwood (1965). Bernard Bernstein created the Athmar Park (1952), Dahlia (1957), and Garland (1961) centers. Richard L. Mark developed the Merchants Park (1952) and JCRS (1957) shopping centers.<sup>506</sup> In terms of shopping center designers, a few architects drew plans for more than one of the early centers. Architect Nat Sachter designed four centers (Athmar Park, Perl Mack, Dahlia, and Fitzsimons Plaza) and collaborated with John Milan on a fifth, Northgate. Jared Morse served as architect for Merchants Park, JCRS, and Westminster Plaza, while Fisher and Davis designed the Englewood and Wheatridge Park 'n' Shops and the Happy Canyon center.<sup>507</sup>

## Summary

The quarter century between 1940 and 1965 witnessed dramatic changes in the character and scale of the five-county Denver region. Postwar subdivision development, fueled by the need to house returning war veterans and shaped and encouraged by federal lending, cold war defense spending, and transportation policies, altered the landscape of the region. While both the center city of Denver and its surrounding counties posted large increases in population, areas outside of the capital city grew more rapidly. Despite substantial annexation activity by Denver, its share of the region's population slipped from more than three-quarters of the total in 1940 to less than half by 1970. Nine new municipalities incorporated in the suburban counties during the 1940-65 period, and most of the larger cities surrounding Denver increased their area through annexations. The military and federal civilian facilities established during World War II continued to operate in the postwar period, and new

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<sup>505</sup> Opening dates were not provided for three shopping centers. Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, "Shopping Center Directory" (Denver: Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, October 1966); Denver Regional Council of Governments, "Shopping Centers Listed," *COGNotations* (October 1972).

<sup>506</sup> JCRS derived its name from the Jewish Consumptives Relief Society, a sanitarium for the treatment of people suffering from tuberculosis that originally owned the ground where the shopping center stood.

<sup>507</sup> Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, "Shopping Center Directory"; Denver Regional Council of Governments, "Shopping Centers Listed," *COGNotations*.

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technology and defense industries came to the metropolitan region. Completion of the region's principal north-south freeway (Interstate 25) and a four-lane toll road to Boulder (U.S. 36), as well as selection of the alignment and beginning of construction on the east-west freeway (Interstate 70) occurred during the period. Developers platted numerous residential subdivisions along these major transportation corridors, with accessibility to jobs in downtown Denver becoming a major selling point to homebuyers. As population spread outward, commercial and service enterprises, schools, churches, and recreational facilities followed. The preeminence of downtown Denver as the region's retail center faced challenges, as the number of shopping centers grew from one in the early 1950s to dozens by 1965. These changes set the pattern for growth in the Denver metropolitan region in subsequent years.

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## 4. House Construction and Design Trends, 1940-1965

During and after World War II, mass production techniques, new materials, and standardization influenced the speed and cost of house construction as well as the resulting architecture. Immediate postwar housing reflected the continuation of war-era shortages of labor and materials. Affordability and speed came with assembly-line construction methods. Streamlined architecture was the order of the day during and immediately after the war, as designers and builders eliminated details and features requiring extensive expertise, time, or materials from plans in the rush to provide enough housing for war workers and returning veterans. Trends in house design during this period included a preference for stripped down one-story dwellings that were simpler to construct and less expensive to purchase. The houses featured public and private zones, with living rooms and kitchens divided from bedroom areas. Residences built during the war sometimes included an exterior door on one bedroom that could be rented to a war-worker tenant. Most dwellings had minimal porches and a picture window facing the street.<sup>508</sup>

Builders worked with less expensive construction materials to keep costs down. Some materials were substituted for other more desirable ones due to continuing restrictions and shortages. Materials such as plywood, concrete, and cinder block saw wide utilization. Material shortages resulted in exclusion of garages in many wartime and postwar examples, with the anticipation that homeowners would add them later. Likewise, designers planned houses that could be expanded in future years, as families grew and incomes increased.

In 1946, *Arts + Architecture*, a Los Angeles-based magazine, started its Case Study House Program, which sought experimental solutions to the critical housing shortage by publishing the designs of young architects for good, low-cost postwar housing for middle class families. The program represented an expression of the belief that architecture could beneficially influence society's problems. The magazine editor, John Entenza, viewed the designs as prototypes that could be reproduced throughout the country. The magazine and the program enhanced the influence of Los Angeles architects and Modern design. Houses featured "used modular construction, industrial materials, rectilinear forms, glass curtain walls, open plans, and a blurring of the distinction between indoor and outdoor space." The influential program impacted the development of single-family housing for the middle class.<sup>509</sup>

### Prefabrication

To meet the critical need for new housing during and immediately after the war, builders developed a number of innovative solutions for speeding up production. Prefabrication became important during World War II, as the demand for defense worker housing grew critical. Prefabrication received much attention as a promising means of increasing housing completion at lower costs. New materials developed during the war were successfully utilized in prefabrication, including plywood wall panels, steel roof trusses, and aluminum siding. Gwendolyn Wright indicates, "Support for prefabrication research was one instance of recurring government belief in dramatic technological solutions for complex housing problems."<sup>510</sup>

Manufacturers continued to perfect mass production and prefabrication in the homebuilding industry after the conflict ended. Assembly line techniques and mass production used during war production

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<sup>508</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2004), 47.

<sup>509</sup> Historic Resources Group, "Cultural Resources of the Recent Past Historic Context Report," *City of Pasadena*, October 2007, 30.

<sup>510</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 244; Wright, *Building the Dream*, 244.

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transferred easily into manufacturing building products. In the 1940s, a number of companies across the country attempted to produce factory-made prefabricated houses, but experienced limited success or outright failure. A detailed 1946 *Denver Post* article discussed the prefabrication industry's hope the housing crisis would "lift prefabrication into the status of a vast industry." However, the local industry was stymied by building codes, material shortages, freight and handling charges, materials not suitable to the Colorado climate, and financing restrictions. Industry officials grumbled that Denver's building codes constituted their biggest deterrent to growth in sales.<sup>511</sup>

In the opinion of many metropolitan area inspectors and builders, the prefabrication industry was in the experimental stage. Wood arrived in Denver improperly dried for the climate and soon shrank and cracked. Freight charges on prefabricated products were expensive. Inexperienced crews did not know how to unload, lay out, and assemble prefabricated kit houses. To guard against improper handling, architect Clifford May followed his prefabricated homes to Harvey Park to instruct and oversee construction.

The prefabricated home industry also faced resistance from building trade unions, as some of the structures could be erected with unskilled labor. In 1946, D.C. Burns Realty sponsored a prefabricated project on a 32-acre tract of former farmland at South Federal Boulevard and West Jewell Avenue. Laborers constructed 24 precut and 22 prefabricated frame houses on the site.<sup>512</sup>

Denver area prefabricators offered conventional frame structures, along with plywood, concrete, metals, and corrugated paper panels. Fox Metal Products turned out houses consisting of metal that resembled wood frame construction. Robvon Corporation, founded in 1943, manufactured the Durabilt Home, a prefabricated aluminum house. The company produced the houses in a factory, with all parts machine-made to an exact size for easy erection at the construction site.<sup>513</sup>

Critics claimed these prefabricated dwellings represented emergency, temporary construction to meet the early postwar housing shortage and would not stand the test of time. Builders argued the real value of prefabrication was not speed of construction or use of new building materials, but the application of mass production economies in residential home building. Many foresaw the new production techniques would provide economical and well-built homes to the American masses in the future.<sup>514</sup>

Although architects proposed innovative housing designs such as steel buildings, modules, and prefabrication, these were not widely adopted. Companies successful in producing housing during the war years could not keep up with the demand for new construction. In addition, prices were too steep. For example, Lustron's lowest-cost porcelain-enamel steel house cost \$9,000, not including land and assembly costs.<sup>515</sup> Alan Hess observes that "by 1949 it was clear to many that the dreams of prefabrication spurred by the spectacularly successful war factories were not going to bring a revolution in housing." As developers, builders, and the American public turned away from prefabricated housing,

it became clear that the factory had to be taken to the field, the machine to the garden.  
 The assembly-line methods, the efficient organization and flow of materials, the skilled

<sup>511</sup> *Denver Post, Empire Magazine*, 13 October 1946, 2.

<sup>512</sup> It is not known whether any of these houses remain today.

<sup>513</sup> *Denver Post, Empire Magazine*, 13 October 1946, 2.

<sup>514</sup> *Denver Post, Empire Magazine*, 13 October 1946, 2.

<sup>515</sup> Researchers have documented only one Lustron House in Colorado, an example of the company's Winchester model in Haswell, Kiowa County, on the eastern plains.

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and unskilled labor had to be arrayed on site, supplemented by some off-site prefabrication.<sup>516</sup>

### Experimentation with New Technologies: Solar

During the early postwar period, builders experimented with a number of new technologies. In 1955, the *New York Times* reported a Denver family would test the first house with optional solar heating equipment included in a standard architectural design. Engineer George O.G. Löff planned to make his family the “guinea pigs” for a type of house scientists thought 13,000,000 families might occupy by 1975. James M. Hunter of Boulder served as the architect of the 1956 residence, collaborating with Löff for several years on the design. Previously, the men worked on a 1943 house in Boulder with solar heating equipment funded by a wartime grant from the U.S. War Production Board as an effort to study oil conservation. Löff also had prepared plans for solar-heated homes in Los Angeles, Dallas, and Denver, with the design built around the heating system rather than having the solar equipment as an option.<sup>517</sup>

Löff’s \$40,000 five-bedroom, 2,100-square-foot Ranch house, built at 6 Parkway Drive with financing by the American Window Glass Company, received heat principally from solar energy “trapped” by an innovative device on the roof and stored in ten tons of gravel packed in columns. The columns became part of the interior design and supplemented with a gas heating unit for extreme weather. Instead of “cumbersome modifications” to houses previously built for solar heat, Löff’s plan involved demountable glass panels lying flat on the roof and did not diminish the architectural design. He reported his house might not be economical, but he envisioned it as the forerunner of more affordable housing.<sup>518</sup>

Too advanced for the average homeowner, Löff’s solar innovations and other solar technologies failed to receive support from the building industry in the 1940s and 1950s. To sell his Boulder solar home realtors requested Löff remove the heating system. After the war, homebuyers evidenced more interest in labor-saving conveniences than fuel conservation. Not until oil prices escalated in the 1970s did general interest develop in the alternative energy systems Löff sought to commercialize. However, his Cherry Hills Village home served as a model for solar heating systems, and engineers from around the country and around the world studied it. Löff continued to live in the house until his death in 2009, when the *Wall Street Journal* reported, “The heat-transfer technologies he pioneered are part of many of today’s solar-heating systems.”<sup>519</sup>

### Evolving Housing Trends

During the 1950s, designers and builders took great advantage of new products, including plastics and light metals. Traditional materials such as wood and brick also remained popular. Manufacturers promoted innovative materials for use in home construction by sponsoring model homes incorporating their product or sponsoring competitions for designs that featured them. For example, the Revere Copper and Brass Company collaborated with the Housing Research Institute’s Southwest Research Institute to establish a program requesting proposals incorporating quality modern design to build ten or more affordable houses created by professional architects. To

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<sup>516</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 52 and 54; Wright, *Building the Dream*, 245.

<sup>517</sup> *New York Times*, 6 November 1955.

<sup>518</sup> *New York Times*, 6 November 1955; *Denver Post*, 25 October 2009; *Boulder Daily Camera Online*, 8 August 2008; Wall Street Journal.com (accessed 28 October 2009).

<sup>519</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 October 2009; *Boulder Daily Camera Online*, 8 August 2008; Wall Street Journal.com (accessed 28 October 2009).



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participate in the program and benefit from its publicity, Edward Hawkins hired architect Eugene Sternberg, who collaborated on the design of houses in his Arapahoe Acres subdivision.<sup>520</sup>

*House Beautiful*, *Better Homes & Gardens*, *American Home*, *Sunset*, and other national magazines and associated publications provided Americans with concepts of what houses of the postwar period could look like and how to live in them. Even *Parent's Magazine* got into the act by recommending features for families seeking new houses. These publications promoted a style of living that featured informality, do-it-yourself home improvements, enjoyment of outdoor living spaces, and hospitality.<sup>521</sup>

Stripped down and streamlined aspects of Modernist design appealed to homeowners of the era. The 1954 *Community Homebuilders Handbook* found, "Elimination of moldings, fewer dust catchers, use of washable kitchen walls, open planning and large window areas, all reduce maintenance cost and have a definite sales appeal." Trends in home design favored by the development community included the one-story "long, low look;" an emphasis on outdoor living, including features such as rear porches, terraces, and barbecue pits; increased privacy through use of high walls, fences, and landscape components; radiant heating and air conditioning; kitchens with new appliances, such as dishwashers and garbage disposals; and attached garages and carports. Designers paid more attention to areas used by children, including spaces such as the family room, where children could play in inclement weather or watch television without disturbing other occupants. Within the house, the placement of rooms sometimes shifted, including living rooms moving to the rear to escape noise from the street and provide views and a connection to the backyard.<sup>522</sup>

Postwar design trends impacted the front porch as well. Once a feature of primary importance in house design and neighborhood social life that served as "a point of arrival and a transition from one area, outside, to another, inside," the porch was reduced in size, prominence, and function in houses of the postwar period. As automobile use increased noise and pollution coming from the street, the porch lost some of its appeal. Families spent more time in the home watching television instead of talking with neighbors, and, as air conditioning grew in popularity, they had even fewer reasons to spend time in the front yard. Front porches decreased in size and received less decoration, sometimes consisting of a simple concrete stoop facing the entrance. One feature replacing the porch as a social center was the rear outdoor patio, which found favor as a site for family activities and entertaining.<sup>523</sup>

After the war, America's dependence on automobiles grew as subdivisions developed further and further from city centers. The significant role of the car in the life of suburbia impacted the layout of neighborhoods and the design of individual dwellings. Instead of the detached garages commonly found at the rear of the lot in older neighborhoods, postwar housing typically included an attached garage or a carport. Designers relocated house entrances to be near the garage or carport so the homeowner could quickly move from the vehicle into the house. Concrete driveways leading from the street to the garage became an important feature of the landscape, and for some properties the driveway also served as the main pedestrian path leading to the entrance. The driveway also represented a relatively safe place for children to enjoy outdoor recreation such as basketball and roller skating. In many postwar subdivisions, especially in the suburbs, alleys were nonexistent.

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<sup>520</sup> Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 36; Diane Wray, "Arapahoe Acres," National Register of Historic Places nomination form, 5AH.1434, 1998, 30.

<sup>521</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 56.

<sup>522</sup> Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builders Handbook 1954*, 101-04.

<sup>523</sup> Charles W. Moore, Kathryn Smith, and Peter Becker, eds., *Home Sweet Home: American Domestic Vernacular Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 23 and 28.

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## House Size and Rising Property Values

Marc A. Weiss observes,

The history of the last century in American real estate is one of increasing growth in the average scale of development and the size of the land parcel, increasing sophistication in the scope and quality of the structural improvements to land and buildings, and increasing economic coordination and integration of the phases of the development process by entrepreneurs.<sup>524</sup>

In 1940, a FHA Land Planning Division study of 2,680 subdivisions found “the trend toward more generous home sites is continuing.” However, houses built immediately after the war were smaller than those erected before or later, principally due to shortages of labor and materials, cost restrictions, and the necessity of rapid construction. In 1945, 45 percent of houses consisted of four or fewer rooms and an equal number had five or six rooms. Most new houses were one-story and did not include a basement or an attic. Builders often eliminated dining rooms, replacing them with small eating nooks off of the kitchen.<sup>525</sup>

Changes in tastes, lifestyles, and incomes during the 1950s contributed to an increasing average house size. In the 1950s, the average house size nationwide was 800 square feet, and the average dwelling included one-and-a-half bathrooms. Many houses included special function rooms, such as utility rooms housing washers and dryers and family rooms hosting children and family activities.<sup>526</sup>

The median-square-foot size of houses increased from 912 in 1948 to 1,092 in 1958, and the median number of rooms rose from 5.4 to 5.8. These increases contributed to rising median estimated property values, from \$8,721 in 1948 to \$14,207 in 1958. Typical monthly mortgage payments also rose from \$58.08 to \$96.10. Reasons for increases in property value included the growing scarcity of building sites, rising development costs, demand for larger and better-equipped houses, growing personal income, inflationary pressures, and the availability of mortgage financing. Postwar prosperity fueled new expectations regarding the number and size of rooms in suburban dwellings. By the mid-1960s, the size of the average house had increased to 1,400 square feet, including one-and-three-quarters baths.<sup>527</sup>

## The Role of Architects and Landscape Architects

The role of architects in the design of houses for the middle class diminished after the war. During the immediate postwar period, builders eliminated many of the decorative and stylistic features of domestic housing, favoring simple, functional designs due to scarcities of materials and skilled labor and the need to limit new housing costs. As construction continued, economies required by large-scale developments frequently resulted in the elimination of architects. Many of those employed to work on subdivision housing were at the beginning of their careers and could afford to work for less money. Developers paid for a few house designs which could be duplicated throughout their subdivisions. As Alan Hess points out, “The idea of architects owning and defending their intellectual property rights at the time was unusual.”<sup>528</sup> However, by the late 1950s, almost half of builders

<sup>524</sup> Weiss, *The Rise of Community Builders*, 1.

<sup>525</sup> Houses in three 1940 Denver subdivisions (Evans Park Estates, Guy Martin, and Sun Valley), averaged about 1,000 square feet in size, based on figures from the Regional Parcel Database. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 155.

<sup>526</sup> Wright, *Building the Dream*, 255.

<sup>527</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1960*, 34-35; Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 34 and 35.

<sup>528</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 70; Wilson, “Postwar Modern Housing,” 31.

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worked with a design professional or plan service, resulting in greater diversity of housing. Developers realized strong sales depended on offering homebuyers residences with attractive exterior designs and well thought-out floor plans responding to the topographic features of the site with a pleasing relationship to other nearby houses.<sup>529</sup> They depended on architects to assist with site planning, selection of building materials, exterior colors, interior decoration, and advice on merchandising. The growing appreciation of collaboration between developers and architects was evidenced in the 1960 *Community Builders Handbook*, which advised, "Successful builders find that the architect is an essential member of the development team."<sup>530</sup>

During the postwar period, Americans enthusiastically embraced Modernism in home design for the first time. Many of the architect-designed houses of the period were excellent representatives of the Modern movement. As Esther McCoy notes, many architects working in the 1930s believed architecture could alleviate social problems and hoped to find ways to answer the need for attractive, affordable housing. After the war, they participated in projects planned to spread homeownership and increase design standards. Early experimental design and construction resulted in ideas that influenced house architecture, including the use of less expensive materials, the importance of outdoor living areas and existing topography, and the elimination of formal areas such as dining rooms to economize on space.<sup>531</sup>

### TEMPLE H. BUELL (1895-1990)

Some architects also participated in subdivision development. Multi-talented architect, engineer, and developer Temple Hoyne Buell, described by the *Rocky Mountain News* as "a significant figure in American architecture," participated in both the development and design of subdivisions. Born in Chicago in 1895, Buell attended the University of Illinois and Columbia University's architectural school.<sup>532</sup> While serving in France during World War I, he was injured by a gas attack. His career in architecture began when he returned to Chicago and briefly worked for the firms of Marshall and Fox and C.W. and George Rapp, motion picture theater architects. In 1921, Buell arrived in Denver to enter the Oakes Home Sanatorium seeking relief from the effects of gas and a case of tuberculosis. He later stated, "I came to Colorado to die."<sup>533</sup> As he recovered, he continued to do some work for the Rapps, including preparing the design for Denver's Paramount Theater.<sup>534</sup> In 1923, the architect established Buell & Company and began his first job designing an addition to the University Club.<sup>535</sup> Buell worked on many notable buildings in the city, including the State Services Building, St. Joseph's Hospital Nurses' Home, and the Lincoln Park Housing Project.<sup>536</sup> At times, he served as a city planner for Arapahoe County and for Cherry Hills. By 1940, Buell's architectural firm was one of the largest in the Rocky Mountain region, employing as many as 150 people. The company designed 32 schools in Colorado and Wyoming.<sup>537</sup>

Buell stated, "I always loved land. I was always interested in how cities grow and develop."<sup>538</sup> As a

<sup>529</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1960*, 26.

<sup>530</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1960*, 26.

<sup>531</sup> McCoy, "Arts & Architecture Case Study Houses," 16.

<sup>532</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 August 1981.

<sup>533</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 August 1981, 6.

<sup>534</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 August 1980.

<sup>535</sup> Daniel T. Valdes, ed., *Who's Who in Colorado (Denver: Who's Who in Colorado, 1958)*, 76; Thomas S. Chamblin, ed., *The Historical Encyclopedia of Colorado (Denver: The Colorado Historical Association, c. 1960)*, 438; Thomas J. Noel and Barbara S. Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1987)*, 192.

<sup>536</sup> Denver Public Library, "Library Legacy," Spring 1999; *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 January 1999, 3B.

<sup>537</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 August 1981.

<sup>538</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 August 1981.

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partner in Real Estate Equities with Paul B. Lanius, he developed the large subdivisions of Cherry Hills Heights and Wellshire Hills.<sup>539</sup> Buell designed and developed the Cherry Creek Shopping Center in Denver and the Midtown Shopping Center in Pueblo. The American Institute of Architects named him to its College of Fellows. Buell died in 1990 at the age of 94, bringing an end to a career spanning seven decades.<sup>540</sup>

**EUGENE STERNBERG (1915-2005)**

Eugene Sternberg, who expressed interest in designing “socially conscious modern housing combining quality architectural design and economical construction,” also operated as an architect and a developer.<sup>541</sup> A native of Czechoslovakia, Sternberg studied architecture and planning in England, beginning his career rebuilding houses in London destroyed by bombing during World War II. Moving to the United States in 1945, he worked briefly at Cornell University before accepting a job offer from former Denver Planning Director Carl Feiss, then head of the University of Denver’s School of Architecture and Planning. Beginning in 1951, he went into private practice, working on socially conscious projects, including public housing in Denver, buildings at Arapahoe Community College and other schools, Littleton’s Bemis Library, and the Littleton Clinic, as well as work in other states.<sup>542</sup>

Developer Edward B. Hawkins hired Sternberg to assist in the creation of his Arapahoe Acres in Englewood, a development planned for families of varied size and financial ability, as part of the Revere Quality House Program. The National Register-listed subdivision incorporated a cohesive site plan with homes of individual modern designs, receiving substantial mention in national publications of the early 1950s. However, Sternberg and Hawkins ended their relationship with the completion of about 20 houses designed by the architect, when it became clear the two men disagreed over the importance of building affordable houses. Hawkins then produced his own designs, assisted by young architect Joseph J. Dion.<sup>543</sup> In 1955, Sternberg established the first architectural firm in Littleton and developed his own “Mile High Cooperative,” described as “one of the first projects to take advantage of a new federal postwar housing program to provide low cost loans for cooperative single-family housing.” Residents of the development were mostly University of Denver professors. With partners, Sternberg created a 150-acre residential area known as Orchard Hills in Arapahoe County south of Belleview between South Yosemite and South Dayton streets. Orchard Hills featured a greenbelt with walking trails adjoining each property.<sup>544</sup>

**SACO RIENK DEBOER (1883-1974)**

Dutch-born Saco Rienk DeBoer studied engineering and landscape architecture in the Netherlands and Germany before opening a landscaping firm in his hometown of Ureterp. Contracting tuberculosis in 1908, DeBoer sought a better climate in the United States, settling in New Mexico before coming to Denver. After working briefly as a draftsman for an irrigation company, DeBoer secured a position with the Denver Parks and Recreation Department in 1910. He gained the notice of Mayor Robert W. Speer after developing a plan for Sunken Gardens Park on the bank of Cherry Creek. DeBoer served as City Landscape Architect from 1910 to 1919.

<sup>539</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 January 1955, 3AA.

<sup>540</sup> Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 192-193.

<sup>541</sup> Wray, “Arapahoe Acres,” 30. In November 1998, the National Park Service listed Arapahoe Acres (5AH.1434) in the National Historic Register of Historic Places.

<sup>542</sup> *Littleton Independent*, 15 July 1955, 1; Eugene Sternberg, Telephone Interview by Thomas H. Simmons, 27 April 2007; Sternberg Collection, Denver Public Library; Wray, “Arapahoe Acres,” 30-31 and 42.

<sup>543</sup> Wray, “Arapahoe Acres,” 37 and 39.

<sup>544</sup> *Littleton Independent*, 15 July 1955, 1; *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 April 1987, 22M; Wray, “Arapahoe Acres,” 42.

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DeBoer then opened a landscape architecture design firm with Walter Pesman, while also serving as a consultant to the Denver Parks and Recreation Department. He and Pesman designed the plat for the curvilinear Glen Creighton subdivision in today's Lakewood. The partnership dissolved in 1924, and DeBoer started his own company. In addition landscape plans for individual houses, he developed subdivision plans for Bonnie Brae and Greenwood Village. According to a Denver Public Library finding aid for DeBoer's papers, the designer "included curving and diagonal streets to get away from what he considered Denver's 'monotonous block system.'"<sup>545</sup>

As a consultant to the City of Denver, a relationship which lasted until 1958, DeBoer developed planting plans in parks and along parkways, planned Alamo Placita Park and Arlington Park (now "Hungarian Freedom Park"), played an instrumental role in the adoption of the 1926 Denver zoning code, and assisted in crafting the 1929 Denver Plan. During the Depression and early 1940s, DeBoer served as a planner with the National Resources Planning Board, a New Deal agency. In the postwar years DeBoer resumed an active private consulting business, aiding many Colorado cities and undertaking projects in several nearby states. He remained active until his death in 1974.<sup>546</sup>

### OTHER DENVER-AREA ARCHITECTS

A number of developers employed other local architects to design houses in new Denver-area subdivisions. For example, Joseph G. Dion worked on two Arapahoe County projects with Edward Hawkins: Arapahoe Acres (1949) and Arapaho Hills (1955).<sup>547</sup> Among the houses he designed in Arapahoe Acres was his own home. Dion (1921-2008), a Lowell, Massachusetts, native, served in the 10<sup>th</sup> Mountain Division during World War II. In 1946, he relocated to Denver. Dion received a degree in architecture from the University of Denver in 1951 and practiced with the firm of Morse, Dion, and Champion until 1968. In that year Dion moved to Lexington, Massachusetts, where he continued working in architecture until his retirement in 1986.<sup>548</sup>

Architect K. Stanton "Stan" Lewis designed houses in the 1953 Alta Vista subdivision in Arvada for Hoskinson Brothers Company. Lewis received a B.A. in architectural engineering from the University of Colorado Boulder in 1951. After serving in the Korean War in the Marines, he returned to Colorado where he worked for two local architects before becoming the project manager for Hoskinson. Lewis started his own homebuilding firm (Maplewood Homes) in 1957 and used "his knowledge of architectural design and construction knowledge to build custom homes and apartments." In Jefferson County, he developed Maplewood, Maplewood Acres, and Maplewood Estates.<sup>549</sup>

Thomas J. Moore, Jr., provided house designs in the 1946 Windermere Homes Tract 1 subdivision in Littleton for Western Builders Incorporated. Moore, born in Akron, Ohio, in 1921, was a graduate of the Rhode Island School of Design and the Harvard Graduate School of Design (1948). The 1958 *Who's Who in Colorado* indicated that he previously worked for architectural firms in Colorado and the East.<sup>550</sup>

### CLIFFORD MAY (1908-1989)

<sup>545</sup> Denver Public Library, "S.R. DeBoer Papers Finding Aid," Western History and Genealogy Department, 2009.

<sup>546</sup> Denver Public Library, "S.R. DeBoer Papers Finding Aid;" Bonnie Hardwick, *S.R. DeBoer* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 1983).

<sup>547</sup> Two regional architects, Bruce Sutherland and John Eatwell, designed *Better Homes & Gardens* model houses in Arapahoe Hills.

<sup>548</sup> *Andover Statesman* (Dion obituary), 13 November 2008, <http://www.andovertownsmen.com> (accessed 20 July 2010).

<sup>549</sup> University of Colorado at Boulder, "Front Range Homebuilder Creates Endowed Chair Through Gift to CU-Boulder," website (accessed 19 July 2010).

<sup>550</sup> *Littleton Independent*, 8 March 1946, 1; Valdes, ed., *Who's Who in Colorado*, 1958, 396.

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Architectural firms from cities outside the region also participated in the design of residential subdivisions. Clifford May, who started his career designing and building simple, affordable homes in California in the 1930s, is credited with developing the modern Ranch house. May, a sixth generation Californian born in 1908, grew up on a ranch. His design philosophy incorporated form and function with livability, creating houses with “rooms that flow into each other and look out onto terraces and enclosed patios.” One observer noted his houses combined the “informal layout of California adobe courtyard homes with practical and affordable materials of the board-and-batten bungalow.” Among the innovative concepts May developed was moving the garage from the back of the property to the front and either creating a carport or attached garage. This allowed families to reserve the backyard for children’s play and entertaining. During World War II, the defense department hired May to design temporary barracks for the military and later to build Ranch type dwellings for defense workers.<sup>551</sup>

May’s house designs gained great popularity among veterans in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1953, he joined with architect Chris Choate to launch a new business building mass-produced Ranch houses. The partners authorized sales of their plans and patents to builders and developers, finding markets in Oregon, Utah, Colorado, Texas, and Louisiana. May and Choate developed a set of simple, versatile home designs for prefabrication to be shipped to a builder. The developer/builder was responsible for marketing, sales, and construction, although May at times flew to a location to assist with setting up the model homes, even directing the decoration of an interior of a model home.<sup>552</sup>

Barnes Construction of Denver advertised a series of “Mid-Century Modern” homes designed by Cliff May in the Harvey Park neighborhood in south Denver. May and Choate devised and patented a system to prefabricate wall panels for production homes franchised to Barnes. The company planned to build approximately 170 May and Choate homes at Iliff, Lowell, Vassar, and Osceola streets in Harvey Park. Barnes advertised eight May model plans ranging in price from \$12,750 to \$16,750.

New technology and innovation reflected in the houses included sliding glass doors, intercoms, motorized skylights, even the Moen single handle faucet. The sliding glass door or window wall allowed the outdoors to become part of the house. May’s L-shaped homes easily expanded to become U-shaped, providing potential to accommodate growing families. The modest homes reflected the same principles of outdoor and indoor space as his large, custom-built homes. The low-cost Ranch concept was popular with the public, but May preferred complete control over his designs and did not like the fact that he could not coordinate production of his homes. He quit the mass-production business and returned to building custom-designed homes.<sup>553</sup>

### **House Style and Types in Metropolitan Area Subdivisions**

Through the late 1930s and during the war, many houses erected in the Denver metropolitan area reflected traditional period revival styles, such as Tudor, Mediterranean, or Colonial Revival. Some homeowners favored the sleek lines of International-style dwellings, and simple brick or frame Minimal-Traditional type houses met the needs of others. Housing immediately following the war included the expandable Cape Cod, Minimal-Traditional, and small Ranch type dwellings. Ranch houses expanded, evolved, and quickly developed dominance in the market. Bi-, Split-, and Tri-level house types and Contemporary houses ensured architectural variety in subdivisions through the mid-1960s. The following discussion highlights the styles and types frequently built in subdivisions of the

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<sup>551</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 20 October 1989, <http://articles.latimes.com> (accessed 20 October 2010).

<sup>552</sup> Atom Stevens “Cliff May & Harvey Park,” in *Modern in Denver*, Summer 2010, 38-44.

<sup>553</sup> Atom Stevens, “Cliff May,” 38-44.

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period.<sup>554</sup>

**RANCH**

The Ranch, the most ubiquitous type of housing in American suburbs from the postwar years up to the 1970s, also represents the most widespread version of domestic architecture of the era in the Denver metropolitan area. As inhabitants of the Front Range valued the region's sense of place and position in the history of the West, it was fitting that the Ranch became its symbol of postwar growth (See Figures K26 and K29 through 32). The housing and material shortages, mass production techniques, population growth, and financing options that developed during and after the war made the Ranch type a logical choice for new construction. Architectural historian Alan Hess summarizes its significance for the nation: "The Ranch House was the dominant residence type of the American Century. Few building types ever housed as many Americans."<sup>555</sup>

During the 1930s, California architects Cliff May, H. Roy Kelley, William W. Wurster, and others adapted features from historic southwestern ranch dwellings and traditional Hispano architecture to create the modern Ranch house. May helped spread the concept to other parts of the country through books and publications such as *Sunset Magazine*. One of the factors ensuring the success of the Ranch was its great adaptability as a type that lent itself to individualization through the incorporation of a variety of styles. As Hess notes, the type featured a "moderate modernism," which combined innovative features with historical references that could be individualized by region. In mass production, Ranch houses had the simple form and minimal ornamentation that adjusted easily to prefabrication and standardization. As study of recent past resources indicates, "Sometimes the line between the Mid-century Modern house and the Ranch house is difficult to discern, and in fact many 'Modern' architects also designed houses in the Ranch style."<sup>556</sup> In 1954, the *Community Builders Handbook* noted Ranch houses were "in great demand" and pragmatically advised developers that such one-story houses could be placed closer to the street, especially if the living room moved to the rear of the dwelling. However, by 1960 the *Handbook* cautioned, "Today's home buyer wants a house that doesn't look like everyone in the block." Hess judges the Ranch "is the face of the suburb, whether beloved or reviled."<sup>557</sup>

Essential characteristics of the Ranch included a one-story height and horizontal emphasis, with a low-pitched gabled or hipped roof with deep eaves; a simple rectangular, square, or rambling plan; and an asymmetrical façade. Ranches generally featured minimal porches, including concrete stoops or inset bays under projecting eaves. Decorative elements could be traditional, rustic, or modern. The interior offered an open floor plan that provided a spacious appearance, as well as connections between interior and exterior spaces through elements such as picture windows and sliding patio doors. Kitchens, generally large, provided an informal space for family cooking and eating.<sup>558</sup>

In 1958, Cliff May observed that "one of the major qualities of good ranch design . . . is adaptability to changing conditions."<sup>559</sup> This adaptability resulted in several subtypes, including a version generally erected during or immediately after the war, when shortages of materials and manpower affected

<sup>554</sup> Limited reconnaissance survey, historic descriptions of houses built in subdivisions of the period, the Regional Parcel Database, and books, reports, and guides discussing postwar house styles and types provided focus for this discussion.

<sup>555</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 11.

<sup>556</sup> Historic Resources Group and Pasadena Heritage, "Cultural Resources of the Recent Past," prepared for the City of Pasadena, October 2007, 35.

<sup>557</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 11-12 and 30; Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 66; Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1960*, 69 and 169.

<sup>558</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 17.

<sup>559</sup> May, quoted in Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 39.

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house design and size. Called by a variety of names, including Minimal, Plain, and Transitional, these modestly-priced, often frame, houses generally displayed a simple square or rectangular plan and small size starting at about 650 square feet. Such houses had a low-pitched hipped or gabled roof and an asymmetrical facade with a picture window and a small minimal porch or no porch. In subdivisions, builders quickly erected these houses with repetitive designs that could be individualized by the owner at a later date. Interiors generally included four or five rooms, with formal dining rooms eliminated in favor of eat-in kitchens.

The Simple Ranch, the iconic house of American subdivisions during the 1950s and early 1960s, featured a broad asymmetrical façade with picture window, low pitched hipped or gabled roof, minimal porch, combination of wall materials, and attached garage or carport. A variety of other subtypes developed, including the Contemporary Ranch, displaying a low-pitched roof with wide eaves, expanses of glass with horizontal or stacked windows, irregular plans, a combination of wall materials, attached garages or carports, and components such as planters and wing walls. Traditional Ranches included some period revival details. The Spanish Ranch had stucco walls and a tile roof, while the Swiss Chalet Ranch featured gables with picturesque scalloped verge boards. Custom Ranches represent a larger, architect-designed and more elaborately detailed version of the type that includes features integrating the house with the landscape.<sup>560</sup>

#### **BI-LEVEL**

The Bi-level became popular in the early 1960s, incorporating a large amount of space while keeping construction costs affordable (See Figures K34 and K35). Early advertisements of the type in the Denver metropolitan area called them Two-level homes, Raised Ranches, Two-level Split Ranches, and Splanches. By the mid-1960s realtors and builders generally used the term Bi-level. Typically, the lower level contained a family room, laundry/utility room, bedroom, and bathroom. The main entry at ground level opened onto a mid-level landing, with a half-set of stairs down to the lower level or up to the living room, dining room, bedrooms, and bathroom. When the main entry stood adjacent to the garage, an interior door from the garage opened into the house. Exterior wall cladding might be brick, brick and frame, or frame. When brick appeared, it was on the first level, with wood, vinyl, or aluminum siding on the upper story. A large picture window identified the second level living room, with smaller windows used for bedrooms and lower level rooms. Many early examples did not have attached garages.

#### **CAPE COD**

Cape Cod dwellings rose to popularity in the 1930s, and builders erected them in great numbers in middle class subdivisions immediately after World War II (See Figures K36 and K37). The affordable and adaptable houses generally featured simple, unpretentious, rectangular or square plans, steep side-gabled roofs with minimal eaves, and symmetrical facades including a central entrance flanked by windows and two gabled dormers on the roof. The main entrance displayed a restrained emphasis, with features such as a small, projecting enclosed porch or columns and a pediment. Multi-light double-hung windows and decorative shutters were also common. Veterans appreciated the Cape Cod type, as its attic provided space to accommodate expansion of the family.<sup>561</sup>

#### **CONTEMPORARY**

Modernist architects sought to create livable, affordable houses utilizing modern materials and

<sup>560</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*.

<sup>561</sup> Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, "Cape Cod" in *Guide to Colorado's Historic Architecture and Engineering*.



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principles of organic design. Contemporary houses, built from the 1940s until about 1970, integrated the dwelling with its landscape through the inclusion of open floor plans, sliding glass doors, expanses of floor to ceiling windows, and exterior areas such as patios, terraces, and carports. Walls lacked decorative detailing and usually displayed a combination of materials, such as wood, brick, and stone (See Figures K27 and 28 and 38 and 39). Commonly one story, the Contemporary house often included a minimal porch or had none, although entrance courtyards were popular. Ribbon or stacked windows were placed adjacent to expanses of blank wall. As FHA appraisers felt Contemporary houses would find less favor with the public, they were built in smaller numbers than some other postwar subdivision styles and types and often represented custom designs.<sup>562</sup>

Virginia and Lee McAlester divide Contemporary houses into two subtypes based on roof shape. The flat roof subtype evolved from the International style, but differed from it in its integration of the house with the landscape. The McAllesters note the gabled roof subtype drew inspiration from the Craftsman and Prairie styles, featuring overhanging eaves, often with exposed beams or thick pier supports; combinations of wall materials, and an absence of detail. The Colorado Historical Society labels this subtype Usonian. Conceived and named by Frank Lloyd Wright about 1900, this style reflected the architect's answer to the quest for affordable, simply-designed, middle class housing during the Great Depression. The smaller-scale houses without basements or attics included little ornamentation and were arranged in zones, most often with three areas: living space, small bedrooms, and a kitchen-dining area. To maximize the small space, the houses featured built-in components and furniture. The outdoors and indoors merged in Usonian designs, with large windows providing a link between the two, natural materials utilized to blend the building with the site, and colors employed to harmonize the interior and exterior living spaces. Other architects, notably John Lautner in Southern California, worked in and contributed to the style.<sup>563</sup>

### **MINIMAL TRADITIONAL**

This transitional type of house appeared as the nation's homebuilding industry began to recover during the years immediately before World War II, and contractors continued to erect some in the postwar years (See Figures K40 and K41). Large tract developments included these houses, which conserved materials and displayed the form of traditional period revival houses. The one-story houses had a boxy appearance, often suggesting that of stripped down Tudor cottages, and few decorative embellishments. A side-gabled roof with closed eaves was typical, and walls often displayed asbestos shingles or wide aluminum siding, wood, brick, stone, or a mixture of claddings. A small porch or covered stoop provided access to the main entrance, which was usually flanked by windows. Some two-story versions of the type were built, although many of the two-story houses built during the period included detailing that placed them more appropriately in the Colonial Revival category.<sup>564</sup>

### **SPLIT-LEVEL**

The Split-level house, now often referred to as a Tri-level, developed in the 1930s, but gained wider popularity in the 1950s (See Figures K42 and K43). Early examples of this dwelling type are generally found on the East Coast and include Sears Honor-Bilt house kits, advertised as the "Houses that

<sup>562</sup> Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 482-483; Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 67-68.

<sup>563</sup> Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, "Usonian Style" in *Guide to Colorado's Historic Architecture and Engineering*.

<sup>564</sup> McAlester, *A Field Guide*, 478; Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, "Minimal Traditional" in *Guide*.

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Grow.” A multi-story modification of the one-story Ranch, the typical Split-level dwelling has no single floor at one level that extends throughout the entire house. The Colorado Historical Society’s publication *Selected Post-World War II Residential Architectural Styles and Building Types* indicates, “Retaining the low pitched roof, overhanging eaves and horizontal lines of the Ranch, these homes added a two-story unit connected at mid-height to a one story section creating three staggered floor levels.”<sup>565</sup>

The Split-level attempted to reorganize space to meet the modern family’s needs. A study of Split-level floor plans shows three levels, unless the house also included a basement. The lowest level, the excavated portion, generally contained the game room, rumpus room or den with the television set, and a laundry room. A garage could be integrated at this same level, with a door opening into the laundry room or game room. The main floor level, in which entry was accessed, included the living room, dining room, and kitchen. The uppermost level contained the bedrooms or quiet area. A half-flight of stairs connected each level. Split-level houses included 900-1500 square feet of space.

A Split-level is identified by the position of the living room window. If the window is on the same level as the bedrooms, the house is a Bi-level. A Split-level places the living room a half-floor below the bedroom, with a half-flight of stairs leading up or down. Generally, integrated garages reflected later periods of construction.

### **Landscape and Street Design**

Like other factors of subdivision design, most residential landscapes of the war and immediate postwar eras were limited by labor and materials shortages, cost considerations, and the desire for speedy completion. Veterans moving into newly-developed areas might encounter a complete absence of designed landscape other than a dirt lot, but were happy just to have a place of their own. In many cases, developers expected homeowners to provide the necessary landscaping in the future.

As the initial postwar housing shortage began to ease, the nature of subdivision development and housing design evolved to continue attracting homebuyers. Developing a taste for consumerism fueled by increasing wages, families were lured to new areas with larger yards and a variety of outdoor features. Yards increased in size, and things such as views, house placement, and design features reflecting the character of the subdivision became important. Street layouts quickly shifted from simple grids displayed in developments such as 1940 Sun Valley in southeast Denver and 1947 Burns Heights in northeast Denver to the FHA-favored curvilinear designs that became standard soon after the war. Transportation patterns continued to impact landscape design, and planners contended with new types of buildings and use areas included in subdivisions. Just as the residents of streetcar suburbs appreciated convenient access to downtown, up-to-date schools, and local business districts, postwar home purchasers sought accessible highways, modern schools, recreation areas, and nearby shopping, all requiring landscape design.<sup>566</sup>

The yard became a much more significant component of the residential property, with the backyard gaining new importance. When life in suburban subdivisions became synonymous with family life, places for children to play and families to entertain and interact became increasingly important. Backyards contained areas for children’s play equipment, such as swing sets, and for their games.

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<sup>565</sup>“Split Level Type Homes,” <http://www.antiquehome.org> (accessed 12 June 2010); New Jersey Historical Society, *Guide to the Carl F. Saalbach Collection*, Manuscript Group 1679, <http://www.jerseyhistory.org> (accessed 12 June 2010); Center for Historic Preservation Research, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, “Selected Post-World War II Residential Architectural Styles and Building Types,” 2006, 9.

<sup>566</sup> Hess, *The Ranch House*, 42, 45.

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The informal lifestyle of the postwar subdivision was reflected in the proliferation of exterior amenities for outdoor living, such as patios and barbecues. Landscaping became more informal, as well. At the front of the house, the growing size of the yard was emphasized by with expanses of grass, with yards having narrow sidewalks at the rolled curb, or no sidewalks at all. Most plantings occurred along the front of the house or in a flowerbed in the center of the lawn, and flowers selected by the homeowner sometimes provided an element of regional influence.

The 1954 *Community Builders Handbook* reasoned, "A well designed planting scheme will contribute to the beauty of a development and will serve a useful purpose as well." The publication noted that the planting of street trees, long a standard practice, still was desirable. In addition, trees on individual lots added value to the property. The planting of a single variety of flowering tree was judged to produce "splendid effects." Developers generally considered masses of shrubs or evergreens undesirable unless utilized for practical purposes, such as screening an unpleasant view. Planners carefully studied the placement of houses on their lots and their setback from other dwellings, the sizes and shapes of yards, and use of the existing landscape and topography. The themes and overall design of a subdivision influenced landscape features such as entrance signs, fences and gates, mailboxes, streetlights, street median and island plantings, and parks and greenbelts.<sup>567</sup>

The 1954 *Community Builders Handbook* suggested the subdivision should be bounded, but not divided, by traffic arteries and local streets within the neighborhood should serve local traffic. Denver developer Van Holt Garrett recommended subdivisions with long blocks eliminated unnecessary cross-streets, thereby producing up to a 20 percent saving in street construction and utility costs over short blocks. The 1960 *Handbook* recommended, "Cul-de-sacs are one of the best street types to use in single-family developments because of the privacy offered to houses so served."<sup>568</sup>

During the 1950s, landscaping in subdivisions ran from almost nonexistent to fully developed, generally corresponding to the price of residences. Landscape features for each house in Aurora's 1955 Morris Heights included a driveway, one tree in the public right-of-way, a three-foot chainlink fence, and a sidewalk. Homeowners dug their own wells to water lawns that they planted. Houses in 1954 Skyline Vista, erected on a former orchard, were set at an angle along paved streets. Columbine Valley Estates (1955), designed by Harman, O'Donnell and Henninger Associates, allowed only one-story houses initially. Landscape designs for the development utilized a golf course as the setting for luxury houses on large lots, with trees and shrubs screening errant balls. Centennial's 1956 Broadway Estates included large lots with ample room between houses, redwood backyard fencing for privacy, and mountain views. In contrast, at Harvey Park in southwest Denver, platted in 1954, amenities such as a grass and a patio increased a property's cost, but the view of Mount Evans was included in the purchase price.<sup>569</sup>

By the 1960s, many buyers expected to invest not only in a house, but in a new community with a completely designed landscape. Some developers planned every detail of the landscape and took advantage of every feature of topography. The Greenwood Village subdivision of Orchard Hills, whose investors included architect Eugene Sternberg, included six picturesque "villages" placed in a park-like setting, which included a lake and a string of greenbelts, as well as a central park. In 1961, developers of Bear Valley, designed by the preeminent planning firm of Harman, O'Donnell and

<sup>567</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1954*, 93-94.

<sup>568</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1960*, 53, 68, 136.

<sup>569</sup> Ross and Madonna Stensgaard, Morris Heights, Interviews by Dawn Bunyak, 16 March and 1 April 2010; *Denver Post*, 5 September 1954, 2A; "Columbine Valley," *Denver Post*, 10 June 1959, E1 and E3; Marie Stumpf, Harvey Park, Interviews by Dawn Bunyak, 31 August 2009 and 10 March 2010.

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Henninger (HOH), took advantage of the location of the newly-established Bear Creek Valley Park. Pinehurst Estates near Fort Logan Cemetery focused its 1960s development around Pinehurst Country Club, with houses overlooking fairways and enjoying views of the Rocky Mountains. The neighborhood included parkways modeled after Denver's East 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue and landscaped entryways. Another HOH project, the innovative 1962 Hampden Heights in Denver featured a central park whose grounds included a school and recreation center, pedestrian walkways bordered by trees, and a single street circling the entire subdivision.<sup>570</sup>

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<sup>570</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 June 1962, D1 and 26 May 1963, D1; Catlett, *Farmlands*, 193-195.

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## 5. Builders and Developers in the Denver Region

In 1938, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics found the average builder of single-family houses in 72 cities completed only 3.5 houses each year, and most only built one or two. Only a few residential builders erected more than ten houses per year. Small builders remained numerous in the postwar period, with most operating on a modest scale with few full-time employees. Most such builders worked on construction projects for other employers as well as hiring their own crews. Small builders generally worked under a contract with the owner of a property, rather than engaging in speculative homebuilding. In the rush to construct housing for the growing population, new technologies and methods of construction were necessary. As Alan Hess states, "The methods of the small-time developer and home builder of the 1920s and 1930s could not possibly meet demand."<sup>571</sup>

The postwar period witnessed an increase in the number and importance of large builders. Kenneth Jackson observes, "In housing, as in other areas of the economy, World War II was beneficial to large businesses." Alan Hess agrees, judging that "World War II catapulted the housing industry into the future" by encouraging large-scale housing projects and mass-production techniques. By 1949, 4 percent of all the builders and developers in the country constructed 45 percent of all the new residential units completed. The average builder erected 6.36 houses per year, and less than one percent of private builders erected more than 100 houses per year. Smaller builders played a vital role, as they responded to the local demands and adaptations of housing. Over time, small and medium-sized builders increased their share of the single-family housing market.<sup>572</sup>

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, real estate subdividers purchased tracts of undeveloped land; filed plats with the city or county government; divided their acreage into blocks and lots; and added infrastructure such as streets and sidewalks, water, electricity, and sewers. Such subdivisions were located adjacent to the city center and streetcar service was an indispensable factor in their success, as Americans sought homes further from their places of work. The developers advertised their subdivisions, highlighting beautiful mountain views, transit lines, and convenient locations, and sold lots to individuals who were expected to contract with their own architects and builders to design and construct their houses. Small investors might speculate by acquiring a lot or two and hiring an architect and a builder to finish houses that would be rented or sold. Most subdivisions tended to experience development over several decades, resulting in the construction of houses reflecting a variety of styles and eras.

During the 1920s and 1930s, some subdividers became operative builders, by also constructing houses they sold with their lots. Operative builders represented a small 2.5 percent of those involved in construction of houses by 1929. Such builders erected houses to sell on speculation, hoping to make a profit. A few small builders constructed houses in this manner, but few could afford to pursue the trade full-time. Marc Weiss reports larger operative builders were principally real estate agents and secondarily building contractors.<sup>573</sup>

By the twentieth century, some developers were described as community builders, for their all-encompassing role in the development of a large residential subdivision. This type of builder started with a large tract of undeveloped land, which they platted and followed through all the stages of development, including designing, financing, and selling houses. Weiss judges, "The community

<sup>571</sup> Fish, *The Story of Housing*, 245; statistics cited in Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 38; Hess, *The Ranch House*, 14.

<sup>572</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 233; Hess, *The Ranch House*, 46; Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 161; Mitchell, *Federal Housing Policy*, 245; Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 30-31.

<sup>573</sup> Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 38-39 and 40-41.

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builders were subdividers who changed the nature of American land development during the early decades of the twentieth century.” Community builders, through their work with engineers, landscape architects, architects and designers, developed through real life experience “many of the concepts and forms that came to be accepted as good planning,” such as uniform setbacks and housing standards. These builders utilized deed restrictions and counted on the cooperation of public agencies and utilities in completing their projects. Such developers favored planning ordinances and became early advocates of zoning to protect their creations and stabilize land uses in subdivisions and adjoining territory.<sup>574</sup>

After World War II, the term merchant builder was applied to the developer who essentially undertook comprehensive planning of a new suburban community; purchased a large tract of undeveloped land; platted one or more subdivisions; added infrastructure improvements such as streets, water and electrical lines, and sewers; designed, built, and sold houses; provided amenities such as landscaped parks, community centers, and recreational facilities; donated and/or sold land to a local school district; and set aside areas for shopping and commercial enterprises, as well as sites for churches. As David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland describe, such developers established an “almost seamless suburban landscape in the extensive territory they occupied, the manner in which large numbers of homes were rapidly mass-produced, and the dispersed pattern of settlement made possible by the construction of modern freeways.”<sup>575</sup>

Merchant builders developed long-term plans for large-scale projects requiring more substantial time periods than those of smaller builders and subdividers. In 1954, the *Community Builders Handbook* advised, “Recent years have brought about changes in the process of subdivision. The selling of lots has been merged with the building of houses. The trend today is toward creation of a package complete with house and lot integrated with paved streets and installed utilities.” The *Handbook* also suggested to developers time and money would be saved by investing in professional services for land and site planning, landscape architecture, engineering, and architecture. In addition to building houses, merchant builders often established extensive landscaping highlighting natural topography and views. They concentrated on street system design, including curving roads, cul-de-sacs, and parkways. These developers incorporated a greater amount and quality of design in their subdivisions than people pursuing smaller projects. Such developments featured special use areas set aside for components such as parks and recreation, schools, governmental offices, churches, and commercial enterprises. For large builders creating an entire community, the overall design and appearance of the neighborhood was as important as that of each model home.<sup>576</sup>

Among the most influential merchant builders on a national scale were Levitt and Sons (Abraham Levitt and sons William and Alfred), who developed Levittown in Long Island, New York, between 1947 and 1951. Known as the largest housing development ever constructed by a single builder, the project turned 4,000 acres of potato fields into a community with 17,400 homes and 82,000 residents. The developers started with one four-room Cape-Cod-type model house, featuring two bedrooms, a living room with dining area, and a kitchen. The model house demonstrated special features, such as a refrigerator, sliding windows and doors, a television set, or a picket fence, which were soon copied by other builders. In 1950, the company’s factory turned out components for one house every 16 minutes. Community amenities included swimming pools and extensive landscaping. The developer kept house prices low by utilizing nonunion labor, prefabricated elements, and mass assembly

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<sup>574</sup> Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 3, 5, 10, and 45-46.

<sup>575</sup> Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 1; Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 38.

<sup>576</sup> Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builders Handbook 1954* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1954), unpaginated and 91-10; Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 45.

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techniques. Levittown was important because the developers pioneered mass production of affordable housing and they planned and created a community that young families found to be an attractive investment.<sup>577</sup>

The Denver metropolitan area produced a significant number of merchant builders during the postwar period. Some, such as Ted Hutchinson, built a few houses before the war, served in the military, and quickly recognized the need for large-scale production of affordable houses after the conflict. Franklin L. Burns headed D.C. Burns Realty & Trust, which built almost 7,000 of its "Burns Better Built Bungalows" by 1955. Perl-Mack started building small groups of houses in the early 1950s and eventually developed entire planned communities, including Northglenn and Southglenn. Detailed information about many of the prominent developers working in the area is found at the end of this section.

## Planning

As the size and cost of developing subdivisions swelled after World War II, the importance of professional planning in such efforts also increased. Harman, O'Donnell and Henninger Associates Incorporated (HOH) became the pre-eminent planning firm working with merchant builders in the Denver metropolitan area after the war. A successor to Harman and O'Donnell, the company offered a wide range of planning services to public and private entities. The company's staff included planners, landscape architects, and other professionals offering complete services for projects such as planned communities.

Robert O'Donnell, a graduate of the University of Illinois with degrees in landscape architecture and city planning, worked as a site planner and landscape designer before founding a firm specializing in city planning, landscape architecture, and subdivision design with Tex Harman in 1946. Harman graduated from the University of Illinois with a degree in landscape architecture. After graduation, he worked as a parks, recreational, and arterial planner and with the Federal Housing Administration in Dallas, Texas. William F. Henninger, vice president and treasurer of HOH, was born in Pittsburgh, served in World War II, and worked as chief of transportation at the Port of Calcutta, India. In 1948, he became the first Director of Planning for the City of Denver, joining with Harman and O'Donnell to create HOH in 1955 (See Figure K15).

HOH was actively involved in national organizations such as the Urban Land Institute. Among the company's many projects in the United States and abroad, HOH provided land use planning and economic studies for Perl-Mack Construction Company's Northglenn and Montbello communities, established land use and design for the Denver Tech Center, and prepared a master land use plan for the Columbine Community. The company's planned communities employed standard features of the period, including curved streets and cul-de-sacs to slow traffic and ample recreational facilities and schools. In the south Denver area, the firm designed the Bear Valley subdivision for Mortgage Investment Company in 1961. HOH received a Silver Check award for outstanding community development for its work on Northglenn in 1960, an award from NAHB for land use innovation for the design of Hampden Heights in 1962, and was cited by *House and Home* as a top performer in 1963.<sup>578</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 235; Wright, *Building*, 251-253; Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 2.

<sup>578</sup> *Denver Post*, 18 February 1962, 3; Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, "Harman, O'Donnell and Henninger Associates, Inc.," Finding Aid, February 2008; *Denver Post*, 7 October 1962, 1D.

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## Advertising and Special Events

To reach large numbers of people and sell a correspondingly impressive number of houses, developers employed modern advertising techniques to ensure the success of their subdivisions. Advertisements and newspaper articles announcing the opening of new residential areas and detailing special features of the houses were ubiquitous, especially in the Saturday edition of papers. Large developers often held opening day parties for their subdivision, offering tours of the model homes. For example, in 1954, Westcraft Homes opened its Sandra Lynn subdivision in Arvada with a parade from downtown to the building site sponsored by the company and several merchants. Parade marchers included Senator Edwin Johnson, Miss Colorado 1954, local officials, Santa Claus, and the Arvada and Golden high school bands. In some cases, people waited in long lines at these special events to take a look at potential dream homes. This was the case at the grand opening of model homes in Thornton, an event that featured the presence of actress Jane Russell (See Figure K16).<sup>579</sup>

To publicize his development efforts in 1955, Marcus C. Bogue, Jr., participated in the construction of an Eichler house in association with a popular NBC television show, "Home." The weekday program, hosted by Arlene Francis and featuring correspondent Hugh Downs, drew 2 million viewers and included a regular segment known as "The House that Home Built." Sponsored by the network and the National Association of Home Builders, the feature attracted developers across the country who gained free publicity as a result of the television show. California developer Joseph Eichler hired architects Quincy Jones and Frederick Emmons to design a house suitable for any climate which could be erected by builders anywhere in the country in order to demonstrate "that an attractive, up-to-date house, embodying principles of good design, can be built at a moderate cost." The builders paid \$200 for the plans for a low-gabled, glass-walled house with two terraces, an open kitchen-living room, carport, all purpose room, and bedrooms. Each builder agreed to construct one model home open to the public. The houses received model furnishings in time for the scheduled 4 June openings. In Denver, Bogue greeted 22,000 people at the opening of the Eichler house he built. The following year, Bogue opened his Virginia Vale subdivision in southeast Denver.<sup>580</sup>

In 1962, the National Association of Home Builders sponsored a nationwide contest, awarding Hutchinson and Carey Realty Company an honorable mention for a series of advertisements for four new model homes offered in its University Hills project. Assistant General Manager Ed Northway noted the ads helped the company sell \$1,250,000 worth of houses from 29 December 1951 to 29 January 1952. The advertisements ran in the classified section of the *Denver Post* and utilized the slogan "A Home for You in '52," along with sketches of the four houses (the Columbine, Suburban, Modernaire, and Belfour designs) and other text uncommon to the classifieds. A brief description of the new features embodied in the house, such as oak floors, tile window sills, and asphalt tile baths, accompanied each sketch. The ads also mentioned amenities of the University Hills development, such as city water, utilities, fire and police protection, and a modern shopping center. Each ad ended with a second slogan, "Beautiful, spacious homes at a price you can afford."<sup>581</sup>

Some advertisements provided detailed information about housing developments (See Figures K17 through K19). Paul's Homes, owned by builder and contractor Paul B. Clemmons, advertised itself as "The Paul Revere of Homebuilding," and featured a caricature of the early patriot in its ads. In December 1962, the company placed a display ad in the *Rocky Mountain News* announcing the

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<sup>579</sup> Arvada Historical Society, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 155; Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 32.

<sup>580</sup> Arvada Historical Society, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 155; Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 32; Robert McLaughlin, "The House that HOME Built," <http://kcmodern.blogspot.com> (accessed 29 June 2010).

<sup>581</sup> *Denver Post*, 7 February 1952, 31.



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grand opening of its new subdivision, which featured “3 exciting 1963 models” known appropriately as the “Minute Man,” “Tower,” and “Concord.” Photographs of model homes in each style were printed above a listing of details, including the house price and the number and kind of rooms. Special features, such as an electric kitchen with eating space, built-in appliances, Formica countertops, and garbage disposal, were highlighted. The advertisement indicated that “everything [was] included. No extras to buy!” A map providing directions to the site and the builders’ contact information finished the advertisement.<sup>582</sup>

Developers also utilized large billboards as advertising tools. Hoskinson Brothers placed a large billboard at the entrance to its Alta Vista subdivision, boasting it featured “Colorado’s Only Really New Homes” (See Figure K20). An idealized drawing of a house with the mountains in the background graced the sign for the development, which indicated the price range for the “2-3-4- bedroom luxury brick homes” that could be obtained with VA and FHA financing. The sign also noted the developers were members of the NAHB and the Arvada Builders’ Group.<sup>583</sup>

Another subdivision marketing technique employed by the Denver Association of Homebuilders was the Annual Parade of Homes, staged each year beginning in 1953. The heavily promoted event provided a means of exposing large numbers of the home-buying public to model homes erected throughout the region. The Parade of Homes benefited builders by getting potential buyers in the door, helped educate consumers to new trends and home features, and provided a means of comparing the workmanship of various builders. In 1958, 1959, and 1962, the event used a “single-street” approach, featuring several homes constructed by various builders along a single street, thus facilitating side-by-side comparisons.<sup>584</sup>

### Model Homes and Upgrades, Individualization, and Financing

Construction of model homes open to the public was an efficient way for large numbers of people to inspect and select the houses offered by a developer. After the war, model houses displayed the variety of designs, building materials, special features, and potential interior decorations, highlighting the possibilities of life in the residential subdivision. In 1955, the Western Hills development in unincorporated Adams County featured an “Avenue of Models,” with 21 houses available for public inspection. As the housing crisis eased, fewer model homes were constructed, especially by small builders. However, some well planned larger developments still featured model homes open to the public, such as Dream House Builder’s Hampden Heights, which exhibited nine models of varying costs and features beginning in 1962.<sup>585</sup>

As Gwendolyn Wright described, “Young couples who moved out to the suburbs hoped to find the ‘dream house’ and the ‘dream life’ they had thought about so often during the war. With extensive research about the most prevalent domestic fantasies, builders tried to provide what the majority of surveyed families wanted.”<sup>586</sup> By 1960, developers found homebuyers generally wanted entry halls separated from living rooms, extra bathrooms, bigger closets, and larger kitchens. Builders tried to offer “built-in luxury features,” even in houses at the lower end of the price scale. For example, options for kitchens included wall ovens, work counters, dishwashers, and home laundries. Many builders offered upgrades in everything from finishes, to appliances, landscaping, and other features

<sup>582</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 December 1962, 100.

<sup>583</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 107.

<sup>584</sup> Center for Historic Preservation Research, *Database of the Annual Denver Area Parade of Homes, 1953-1963* (Denver: Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 2006), 1-2.

<sup>585</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 March 1955; Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 32.

<sup>586</sup> Wright, *Building*, 253.

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for additional costs.<sup>587</sup>

Denver-area homebuilders advertised standard features and potential upgrades available to buyers. Virginia Vale in east Denver lured shoppers with the provision of chainlink fences around individual yards and eligibility in the Virginia Vale Club, which included a recreation center with a swimming pool. Broadway Estates homes in Centennial included standard features such as ceramic tile baths, frosted ash kitchen cabinetry, a choice of floor coverings, and aluminum windows with screens. In Aurora's Hoffman Heights, extra options included a fireplace with Heatilator, a front porch, a wrap-around corner window, or another room instead of a garage. The Hoffman Homes in Thornton included copper plumbing, central heating, outdoor clotheslines, and large closets. Perl-Mack's slogan, "extra value at no extra cost," was reflected in the standard inclusion of features such as appliances, fireplaces, beamed ceilings, built-in bars, and oversized closets.<sup>588</sup>

Rapid construction and mass production of affordable houses often led to a monotony and repetition that was especially stark in the early years of subdivisions, before individual owners had transformed their homes and yards according to personal taste. The trend toward "do-it-yourself" projects became widely popular during the era. Although the houses in many subdivisions were produced from a limited number of basic designs in assembly line fashion, developers paid attention to offering choices for individualization of properties. Variation in features, such as siding, porch details, and doors and windows, ensured the houses did not have a cookie cutter appearance. Some developers also controlled the location of models so that the homeowner did not see an identical house next door or across the street. Broadway Estates, a 1956 development in Centennial, featured the "Dial-a-Home" concept, which enabled potential homebuyers to create a home of their own design. Developers set up a large dial in each basic model house that visitors could turn to select additional features. In their Alta Vista subdivision in Arvada, Hoskinson Brothers offered 24 variations on six basic floor plans.<sup>589</sup>

During the early postwar years, FHA and VA financing played a major role in the expansion of the housing market, with almost one-third of all new housing utilizing an FHA or VA loan. The federal government encouraged the growth of savings and loan associations by insuring the deposits of small investors. Government policy stipulated these deposits be directed into short-term loans for builders or longer-term loans for home purchasers. These procedures enabled developers and builders to borrow increasing amounts for the creation of subdivisions and encouraged the emergence of large developers building planned communities. This trend diminished to the extent that by the late 1960s, about two-thirds of all builders utilized conventional loans in more than half of their single-family subdivision construction. By that time, only about 22 percent of builders secured FHA financing and only about 12 percent obtained VA loans.<sup>590</sup>

### **Builders Working in the Denver Metropolitan Area**

Newspaper accounts and examination of countless subdivision plats permitted identification of many developers, builders, planners, and architects active in the creation of residential subdivisions in the 1940-65 period. While some companies or individuals only undertook one or a few developments, several names regularly appeared, often associated with subdivisions in different jurisdictions of the region and covering a wide range of years. These subdivisions were often some of the larger developments under construction and, thus, were more likely to receive newspaper coverage. While

<sup>587</sup> Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook 1960*, 169-170.

<sup>588</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 January 1962, 3D.

<sup>589</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 240; *Denver Post*, 10 June 1959, 1E and 3E and 4 February 1954, 34.

<sup>590</sup> Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing*, 32.

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most of those included could fairly be characterized as some of the major players of the period, the following list should not be viewed as exhaustive.

**BERGER & BERGER CONSTRUCTION COMPANY**

Berger & Berger Construction Company, whose track record included building and selling more than 700 new houses in Cheyenne, Wyoming, entered the homebuilding business in the Denver metropolitan area in 1961, with a \$25 million subdivision known as "Parkway Estates" at West 76<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Wadsworth Boulevard in Arvada. Berger & Berger planned to erect 1,700 dwellings of various designs ranging in price from \$13,950 to \$22,500 on 625 acres. To introduce the company's products, eight "Symphony Homes" with furnishings and landscaping opened to the public. The firm of Harman, O'Donnell & Henninger Associates, which worked on Northglenn, handled the planning of Parkway Estates, including the color coordination and landscape architecture. The three- and four-bedroom houses of the subdivision included Bi-level and Tri-level designs with "maintenance free" brick and aluminum exteriors. A Parkway Estates Club was planned, and the convenience of nearby schools, shopping centers, churches, and a bus service was touted.<sup>591</sup>

**S.M. BOBRICK & BOBRICK CONSTRUCTION COMPANY**

For many years, S.M. Bobrick worked with his father in the tailoring and fur business. In 1950, he took a risk and started a home construction venture. Bobrick began building one house at a time until 1955, when he increased production to 30 houses a year. Bobrick realized a need for low and middle-income family homes in Denver. His Aurora firm set out to market a medium-priced home by standardizing one popular home design and acquiring a number of home sites in Morris Heights.<sup>592</sup>

Bobrick Construction Company built 220 identical homes in the Morris Heights subdivision in Aurora. When that filing sold out, the firm acquired an additional 61 acres for 180 more houses. The Bobrick homes were simple Ranches priced at \$13,350. The company handled its own financing on a conventional loan requiring only \$145 down for qualified buyers. While the homes were identical in design and construction, Bobrick Construction offered homebuyers several choices for individualization, such as brick color, interior paint colors, kitchen and bath tiles, and linoleum. Each home included a combination living and dining room, eating space in the kitchen, three bedrooms and one bath, and a full basement. A number of interior features included oak floors, mahogany doors, birch kitchen cabinets, garbage disposals, and copper plumbing. In 1961, Bobrick's Venus Construction Company began building the Bobrick home in Arvada's Lamar Heights at West 65<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Depew Street on a smaller scale than Morris Heights.<sup>593</sup>

**MARCUS C. BOGUE, JR.**

As discussed above, developer Marcus C. Bogue, Jr., participated in the construction of an Eichler house in association with a popular NBC television show, "Home" in 1955. The following year Bogue opened his Virginia Vale subdivision in southeast Denver. He also developed Virginia Village and Virginia Park. By 1960, Bogue had built some 3,000 houses in the Denver area. Bogue also headed Bogue Homes, Inc., cited as the largest manufacturer of fabricated, "component parts" homes in the region. In 1960, the company entered the "second home" market to produce packaged modernistic houses for mountain and lakeside lots. The houses were offered as do-it-yourself units or the company would assemble them on the owner's lot. The architectural firm of Berne, Muchow, Baume & Polivnick designed the two models offered. One was an A-frame, and the other had a boxy

<sup>591</sup> *Denver Post*, 22 October 1961, 1D.

<sup>592</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 February 1961, 3E.

<sup>593</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 February 1961, 3E.

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appearance with wide expanses of glass between columns supporting a flat roof. Bogue offered customers the option of no down payment and ten years to pay. Models of the homes were displayed at the Cherry Creek Shopping Center.<sup>594</sup>

**MYRON T. BUNGER**

Myron T. Bunger envisioned "country-style living with a western flair" west of Denver. In 1933, he bought an 80-acre apple orchard on Olivet Road, now West 32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue, to build a home for his family and plant an orchard. Bunger worked for the U.S. Bureau of the Budget until 1953 when he chose to retire rather than accept relocation to Washington, D.C. He asked his brothers Mills and Howard, both engineers for the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, to work with him to develop a luxury home subdivision. They established the Applewood Mesa Realty Company. They obtained water rights and formed Applewood Utilities to provide water in the valley. By 1956, construction began in Applewood Mesa. As popularity grew for the Applewood area, the brothers created new subdivisions, including Applewood Heights, Grove, Glen, and View. The subdivisions were popular with young professionals.<sup>595</sup>

**FRANKLIN L. BURNS/D.C. BURNS REALTY & TRUST Co.**

Described in a 1955 *Denver Post* article as the "40-year-old 'boss' of Denver's busiest homebuilding firm," Franklin L. Burns built almost 7,000 "Burns Better Built Bungalows" in the metropolitan area by that date. Burns did not believe in custom-built houses, but sought to supply "low cost homes to fit the working man's needs." The company based its success on volume rather than large individual profits. Most of the Better Built Bungalows were erected in Denver. However, large building sites in the city became rare by 1955, causing Burns to look elsewhere. He fought Denver's "blue line," a boundary set by the city and Water Board officials to determine which areas would receive city water. Burns judged,

That 'blue line' is affecting building operations today. It isn't something of the future. It's right now. There's a lot of land inside the city that is tied up in court, or the owner doesn't want to sell, or the price is impractical. Outside that line, though, is land that can be used for homebuilding if it could get city water.<sup>596</sup>

Burns believed Denver's economic and physical growth was only limited by the availability of water. He also believed Denver and its surrounding counties should cooperate, which would result in "a metropolitan community unmatched anywhere." Burns asserted four major problems should be handled on a metropolitan basis by Adams, Arapahoe, Jefferson, and Denver counties: water, schools, sewers, and zoning. Among the larger subdivisions in the metropolitan area developed by Burns were: Burns Heights (1947), Burns Montview (1947), Cherry Hills Vista (1951-54), Gunnison Heights (1952), and Sheridan Manor (1953-54).<sup>597</sup>

Born in Denver in 1914, Burns was the son of an obstetrician and planned to become a doctor. After three years of pre-med studies, he quit school and leased a service station, later becoming a car salesman and working in auto finance. In 1938, he got a job as a salesman for the Daniel C. Burns

<sup>594</sup> Robert McLaughlin, "The House that HOME Built," <http://kcmodern.blogspot.com> (accessed 29 June 2010); *Denver Post*, 19 June 1960, 3E.

<sup>595</sup> Patricia K. Wilcox, ed., *Lakewood, Colorado: An Illustrated Biography*, (Lakewood: 25<sup>th</sup> Birthday Commission, 1994) 265; *Denver Post*, 18 November 1962, 1D; Jefferson County, Colorado, "Applewood," <http://www.co.jefferson.co.us/placenames> (accessed 7 July 2010).

<sup>596</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 January 1955, 3AA.

<sup>597</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 January 1955, 3AA.

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Realty & Trust Co. founded by his uncle, Daniel C. Burns, in 1899. When his uncle died in 1939, Burns became the vice president and active manager of the firm. Upon his father's death three years later, he became the company's president. In addition to the real estate company, he served as president of Guardian Savings and Loan Association, the Burns Construction Company, Burns Enterprises, and Burns Investment Company. Burns held important offices in national, state, and local organizations. He served as president of the Denver Association of Home Builders, treasurer of the National Association of Home Builders, a member of the National Home Builders, director of the Denver Board of Realtors, part of the Executive Group of the Community Builders Council of the Urban Land Institute for many years, and a director of the Denver US National Bank. He was inducted into the NAHB Hall of fame in 1970 and the Colorado Business Hall of Fame in 2001.<sup>598</sup>

### **KENTON ENSOR**

Kenton Ensor (1907-1976) began work in the construction business at an early age. Along with his father, Ensor established K.C. Ensor Construction Company in 1932. During World War II, Ensor built war-related projects in Colorado and Canada. After the war, Ensor returned to Denver to concentrate on building homes meeting FHA and VA funding specifications for Denver metropolitan area homebuyers, as well as building resort properties in Estes Park, Colorado.

K.C. Ensor Construction projects included complete subdivisions, as well as collaborating with other builders in larger subdivisions. In 1950, he directed construction of 200 homes in Mar-Lee Manor in Denver. Ensor joined with Franklin Burns and Ted Hutchinson in 1954 to build homes in Harvey Park in southwest Denver. In 1955, he teamed with Denver businessmen C.A. Norgren, Bud Knight, Balmore Swalm, and John Sullivan to purchase the old Zang Ranch northwest of Westminster to build his most ambitious project Broomfield Heights. A planned community of affordably priced homes, Broomfield Heights included shopping centers, a fire department, parks, churches, and schools, plus its own water system. To landscape Broomfield Heights, Ensor needed a considerable amount of sod for lawns. The only sod available at the time came from the Midwest. Ensor approached Rusty Wilkins to plant sod on his Littleton, Colorado, farm. Subsequently all Ensor's homes came with a great lawn and the sod farm became Green Valley Turf Company, which is still in business on South Santa Fe southwest of Littleton. K.C. Ensor Construction Company not only built tract residential housing, it also erected shopping centers and custom homes. Subdivision development the company participated in included Harvey Park Bear Valley, Broomfield Heights, Ponderosa Hills, Leawood, and Dillon Valley and Dillon Valley East in the mountains.<sup>599</sup>

### **VAN HOLT GARRETT**

Van Holt Garrett, who served as president of the National Association of Realtors in 1945, was described as having "led his industry to a peacetime economy." Garrett, head of the organization as it confronted the critical postwar housing shortage, believed that the only way to solve the problem was to return to "normal home building." Towards this effort, he pushed for an end to wartime restrictions on ordinary construction. He also started the National Real Estate Foundation in order to "marshal economic resources to preserve the institution of property ownership." Born in Georgia in 1889, Garrett attended the Georgia Institute of Technology and served with the Signal Corps during World

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<sup>598</sup> *Denver Post*, 23 January 1955, 3AA; Daniel T. Valdes, ed. *Who's Who in Colorado, 1958* (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Co., 1958); Thomas S. Chamblin, *The Historical Encyclopedia of Colorado* (n.p.: Colorado Historical Association, c. 1960), 441; Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, "Colorado Builders Biographical Sketch: Burns Realty and Trust."

<sup>599</sup> All information for the Ensor biography drawn from Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, "Builders of Colorado Biographical Sketch," <http://www.coloradohistory-oahp.org> (accessed 25 June 2010).

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War I. In 1924 he moved to Denver and began working in real estate on the staff of L.F. Eppich, president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards.

In 1930, Garrett became co-founder of Garrett-Bromfield & Company. The enterprise developed two major subdivisions in Denver during the postwar period: Belcaro Park (including filings in 1931, 1948, and 1949) and Crestmoor Park (1936 and 1946). During his career, Garrett held various influential offices, including president of the Denver Real Estate Exchange and the Colorado Association of Real Estate Boards, chairman of Denver's Zoning Board of Adjustment. He served as a member of the executive committee of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and on the board of trustees of the Urban Land Institute and was a founder of the downtown Denver Improvement Association.<sup>600</sup>

**EDWARD B. HAWKINS**

Some developers and builders who served in the military or worked in defense plants in the Denver area during the war chose to remain and establish families and businesses. Edward B. Hawkins was born in Denver, worked in construction in Chicago, and returned to work at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in 1942. After the war he worked as a small scale designer and builder of modern new homes, such as those in his Arapahoe Acres and Arapaho Hills subdivisions in Englewood.<sup>601</sup>

**SAMUEL HOFFMAN/F & S CONSTRUCTION COMPANY**

Russian immigrant and homebuilder Samuel Hoffman immigrated to the United States in the 1920s. Early in his career he worked as a plasterer in Detroit, Michigan. After the failure of a 1930s trucking business Hoffman moved to Phoenix, Arizona. There, he turned to real estate as a buyer and seller of homes. In 1947, he started the F & S Construction Company with his son Jack; the company name was an acronym for father and son. Together the men developed a business based on assembly-line construction methods and produced a product appealing to the middle-income market. Hoffman's profit margin was low, and his houses sold quickly. F&S Construction expanded beyond Arizona, selling homes in New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and Colorado. In December 1950, Hoffman broke ground for Hoffman Town (now Hoffman Heights) south of Aurora. He also developed the planned community of Thornton, Colorado. Samuel Hoffman died in Phoenix, Arizona, in the fall of 1959, and his son-in-law, Sol Dichter, finished the Hoffman projects in the Denver metropolitan area.<sup>602</sup>

**CHESTER L. "CHET" HOSKINSON**

Chet Hoskinson (1905-1996) was born in Kansas, and after his graduation from high school the Hoskinson family moved to Colorado Springs. There he worked for the F.W. Woolworth Company, eventually managing stores in Nebraska and Colorado. During World War II, he worked at Lowry Field, the Denver Ordnance Plant, and Buckley Field. After the war, he purchased lots and built individual homes after founding the Hoskinson Development Company. Believing the "time was ripe for him to build on a larger scale," Hoskinson became one of the first contractors in the Arvada area to secure FHA financing for postwar residential construction. The *Arvada Enterprise* reported Chet Hoskinson built 425 new houses on the west side of Arvada between 1946 and 1952. Veterans returning from the war quickly purchased the dwellings and, as one newspaper article indicated, "People who bought these homes were ready to settle down and raise their families. They will tell you

<sup>600</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 February 1959, 44; *Denver Post*, 12 February 1959, 2; National Association of Realtors, "Archives: Presidents of the National Association of Realtors, 1945, Van Holt Garrett," [http://204.146.162.1/library/virtual\\_library](http://204.146.162.1/library/virtual_library) (accessed 29 June 2010); City and County of Denver, Subdivision Plats.

<sup>601</sup> Wray, "Arapahoe Acres."

<sup>602</sup> Hoehn Architects, "Hoffman Heights, Aurora, Colorado, Reconnaissance Survey" (Denver: Hoehn Architects, 2010), 17-23.

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today that they could buy better housing and more space in Arvada than in most of Denver's suburbs during the period."<sup>603</sup> Hoskinson developed the Vetting Subdivision, one of the first postwar additions in Arvada, in 1951. That year, the Arvada Chamber of Commerce selected the developer as its first Man of the Year. Hoskinson also developed the Clarabelle (1952) and Gyda George (1952) subdivisions in Arvada. Local historian Marcetta Lutz reported that by 1952 Hoskinson had erected nearly 97 percent of the postwar homes in the city. In civic affairs, Hoskinson served on the Arvada Town Board (1948-49), on the Jefferson County Commission (1960-71), and as a member of the State Industrial Commission. Hoskinson also promoted the development of the Jefferson County Airport.<sup>604</sup>

**TED HUTCHINSON/HUTCHINSON HOMES**

Ted Hutchinson reported he had "gone broke" at least three times before becoming Denver's largest home builder. Born into a farm family living in what is today part of Broomfield, the developer attended North High School in Denver and entered college at Fort Collins, leaving before acquiring a degree. Seeking a career, he tried his hand in a number of fields, including tungsten mining in Boulder, a grain elevator business, a grocery store, and a Detroit used car firm. He opened his own Dodge-Plymouth agency in Denver, which operated during 1929-32. In 1935, he built his first house, leaving construction to enter war industry work manufacturing bomb and ammunition crates and grain storage bins during World War II. Following the conflict, Hutchinson realized the metropolitan area's rapidly increasing population needed affordable housing. He erected apartment buildings beginning in 1946, and soon completed small housing projects in areas such as Aurora, Brentwood, and east Denver that provided excellent experience for his future enterprises.<sup>605</sup>

In 1949, Hutchinson, working with a partner as Hutchinson & Carey, began the development of 540-acre University Hills, building 2,200 houses for families by 1953. In that year, he founded Hutchinson Homes and started other projects, such as Sharon Park, Sunny Acres, and Mar-Lee Manor. Within two years Hutchinson, with 3,500 houses completed and 2,000 being developed, was regarded as Denver's largest homebuilder, with a 350-man construction team.<sup>606</sup>

In 1955, Hutchinson reported that he could see no end to Denver's housing boom. He proceeded to develop Harvey Park in southwest Denver with K.C. Ensor and Franklin Burns. Hutchinson constructed a 500-house \$7.5 million development in Arvada in 1957-58 which marked the firm's completion of more than \$75 million in new homes during the 1948-58 period. In 1960-61, he developed Applewood in Wheat Ridge. In southeast Denver, the developer created the first filing of Hutchinson Hills in 1962, regarded as one of his most significant projects. He reportedly erected more than 8,000 homes during his 30-year career. Hutchinson utilized his homebuilding experience to play a role in the civic life of Denver, serving on the planning commission and as a member of the Urban Land Institute, as well as president of the Denver Home Builders Association.<sup>607</sup>

<sup>603</sup> *Arvada Enterprise*, Arvada Harvest Festival Section, 9 September 1976.

<sup>604</sup> *Arvada Enterprise*, Arvada Harvest Festival Section, 9 September 1976; Marcetta Lutz, "Man Who Made a Difference [Chester Hoskinson]," *The Arvada Historian* (August 1996): 6-7; Arvada Historical Society, *Arvada Comes of Age*, 84; "Vetting Subdivision Plat," Approved 9 January 1951, Filed 10 February 1951, Book 10, Page 1; Jefferson County Clerk and Recorder, General Records; Jefferson County Archives and Records Management, "Former County Commissioners," website, <http://www.jefferson.co.gov> (accessed 21 June 2004).

<sup>605</sup> *Denver Post*, 18 September 1955, 8E.

<sup>606</sup> *Denver Post*, 18 September 1955, 8E.

<sup>607</sup> *Denver Post*, 18 September 1955, 8E; *Rocky Mountain News*, 23 February 1958, 63 and 25 August 1965, 74; Paul Malkoski, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, "Ted Hutchinson," Builders of Colorado Biographical Sketch.

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**KIRCHHOF CONSTRUCTION COMPANY**

One of Frank J. Kirchhof's many business enterprises was the Kirchhof Construction Company. In 1883, Kirchhof arrived in Denver after immigrating to the United States the year before. In addition to the construction company, Kirchhof was president of the American National Bank and the American Fixture Company. Before World War I, Frank's son Francis J. Kirchhof worked for Kirchhof Construction. When war broke out in 1917, Francis J. Kirchhof enlisted and served in the construction division of the quartermasters' corps of the U.S. Army in France. After the war, upon Francis's return to Denver, he became president of the construction company, taking over day-to-day operations of the company from his father. In February 1925, Francis J. Kirchhof married New York socialite Catherine E. Ifft. Their son Francis N. Kirchhof (1926-2005) joined the construction company. Its headquarters was at Seventh and Lawrence Streets in Denver. Later Francis N. Kirchhof assumed management of the company. The Kirchhofs were members of the Denver Club, Denver Athletic Club, and the Cherry Hills Country Club. Buildings associated with Kirchhof Construction Company include the Denver Catholic Register's plant and St. John the Evangelist's Church.<sup>608</sup>

**LAND DEVELOPMENT SERVICE, INC.**

In July 1959, Thomas J. Carlile and Jack Hull of the newly formed Land Development Service Incorporated announced the creation of Greenwood Hills, a subdivision of one-acre sites south of Holly Street. The firm advertised its proximity to Interstate 25 and downtown Denver. Each home site sold for \$6,500 in the first filing. Plans for a shopping center, a school (Greenwood Elementary), a recreation area, and a country club were in the offing the next year. Land Development Service teamed with licensed real estate brokers to engage area builders "for speculative construction, handling all insurance, resales, and financing." Carlile & Hull offered one-year financing to interested builders.<sup>609</sup>

**MIKE LEPRINO AND MUHRL L. LINQUIST/ MIDWAY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION**

Mike Leprino started Ridgewood Realty Incorporated in 1958, with offices on West Colfax Avenue to market and sell homes built by his Midway Development Corporation, as well as custom homes erected by builders he teamed with in neighborhood subdivisions. In the first three years of his realty business, Leprino's company sold nearly \$10 million worth of new homes. His two firms developed neighborhood communities, such as Applewood Knolls and Applewood Grove both in the Applewood Mesa area in northern Jefferson County. Leprino built a custom-designed home for himself in Applewood Grove. His business partner Muhrl L. Linqvist bought a home in Applewood Knolls. Both men were members of the Home Builders Association, Jefferson County Board of Realtors, and Denver Realty Board. Leprino also built the million dollar Applewood Grove shopping center next to the Applewood neighborhoods. In Lakewood's Green Mountain Estates, Leprino built a 300-home neighborhood subdivision that was featured in the 1962 Parade of Homes Show.<sup>610</sup>

**MELODY HOMES**

In the early 1960s, a new generation of building and construction firms rose to the top in the Denver area. In March 1961, William H. Francis (1923-2008) and L. Ashby Williams bought High Country Homes from uncles George and Everett Williams. The Williams brothers founded the business as the Williams Construction Company. The new owners changed the name of the company to Melody

<sup>608</sup> *Denver Catholic Register*, 11 November 1954, n.p.

<sup>609</sup> *Denver Post*, 5 July 1959, Sec. 1E.

<sup>610</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 April 1961, 3D; Center for Historic Preservation Research, "Database of the Annual Denver Area Parade of Homes."



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Homes. George and Everett Williams continued to finance the building business through its Centennial Mortgage Company. Francis worked with the Williams brothers for several years before buying the business. William Francis, a World War II veteran, lived for many years in the Broomfield and Westminster area. Ashby Williams worked as a project manager for the Williams brothers in Aurora and Broomfield. New employees of Melody Homes included William Collins as Comptroller, and Robert Fowler and Lewis Bruce as construction supervisors. Melody Homes finished several of the High Country Homes subdivisions, such as the William Martin homestead in Boulder and Aurora's Chambers Heights.<sup>611</sup>

### **MORRIS GENERAL CONTRACTORS INCORPORATED**

Several generations of the Morris family worked in the Denver area home construction industry. The parent company formed in 1949 when brothers Harold and Stanley partnered with their father Simon to enter the building industry as Morris Construction Company. The brothers changed the name of the company to Morris Brothers Construction Company when their father retired. Previously Harold and his father, Simon Morris, had been in the night club business. Simon Morris emigrated from Russia in 1906. By 1917, he and his wife Lillie lived in Denver where Harold and Stanley were born. The brothers learned the construction business through hands-on experience working next to each other and their employees. "We knew very little about building at that time," Harold recalled: "My brother and I decided that the best way to learn was to do the work ourselves."<sup>612</sup>

The Morris family realized in order to grow the business they had to offer not only a quality product, but one that met the needs and desires of its customers. Harold Morris studied national homebuyer surveys conducted by the Association of Home Builders and the Federal Housing Authority to determine what the new homebuyer wanted in a home. By the early 1960s, home buyers wanted a fourth bedroom, den or family room, at least a carport, preferably a garage, and even air conditioning. By this time, the housing market slowed down, and changed to a buyer's market. By offering homebuyers what they wanted, Morris General Contractors grew its business.<sup>613</sup>

Between 1949 and 1963, the company turned out 2,000 homes. In a 17 September 1963 *Denver Post* article, the thriving family firm announced a third generation had joined the company. At the same time, Morris General Contractors publicized its development west of the interstate in Nor-Mor in the Northglenn area.<sup>614</sup>

Morris Brothers Construction may be best known for its Morris Heights subdivision in Aurora. The first phase of Morris Heights began in 1955 with 74 homes located between Baranmor Parkway and East 31<sup>st</sup> Avenue with its entrance off North Peoria Street. In subsequent phases of development in Morris Heights, Morris Brothers set aside land in a park-like setting for a school (Park Lane Elementary), a pool, and a church. In 1958 the First Evangelical United Brethren Church of Denver acquired first rights to build at 3250 Tucson Street. A year later the church welcomed parishioners to its new building. By 1965, Morris Heights expanded to become an 880-acre tract containing over 1,400 houses.<sup>615</sup>

Later, in 1971, the firm built the first Douglas County subdivision, Acres Green, south of County Line Road. The former pasture eventually filled with six filings of homes completed 12 years later. An

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<sup>611</sup> *US Federal Census*, 1930; *Denver Post*, 8 March 1961, 39; World War II Army Enlistment Records and Social Security Death Index, [www.Ancestry.com](http://www.Ancestry.com) (accessed 2 July 2010).

<sup>612</sup> *US Federal Census*, 1920-1930; *Denver Post*, 17 July 1963, 53.

<sup>613</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 July 1963, 53.

<sup>614</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 July 1963, 53.

<sup>615</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 October 1958, 8.

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economic boom spurred by the energy and technology industries prompted Morris Construction to build in Douglas County. Other commercial and residential development did not reach the subdivision until the 1990s. Eventually Acres Green became part of the new city of Lone Tree in 1995.<sup>616</sup>

**AKSEL NIELSEN**

Aksel Nielsen, president of Title Guaranty Company, participated in several major real estate developments in the 1950s. Nielsen also headed the B&B Corporation, which purchased the 150-acre Bansbach Farm bounded by Dahlia and Holly streets, Hampden Avenue, and Mansfield Road in 1954. At that time Nielsen and his associates were described as being “among the largest owners of choice suburban acreage in the Denver metropolitan district.” In the same year, Nielsen formed B-A-K Investment Company with Bal Swan, president of Empire Savings & Loan and Kenton Ensor, a prominent Denver contractor. The firm proposed to build a 500-house \$6 million project on 320 acres south of East Jewell Avenue and east of South Sheridan Boulevard.<sup>617</sup>

**PERL-MACK**

One of the five largest home builders in the country by the early 1960s, Perl-Mack constructed nearly 5,000 houses in the metropolitan area in its first decade and planned to construct even more in the next. Jordon Perlmutter, a native of Denver, founded the firm in 1952 along with his cousin, Sam Primack, a carpenter from New York; a third partner, William J. Morrison, also a Denver native, soon joined them. The company began with one employee and a project to erect a single house in the 3400 block of Vallejo Street in Denver on land donated by Perlmutter’s father, Abe, who operated a construction business; they completed a total of three custom houses in the first year. The following year, the partners decided to shift to volume building, erecting 44 houses in Aurora. In 1954, they erected 59 houses at Lakewood Terrace at West 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue and Sheridan Boulevard, all of which sold on Easter Sunday, marking a record in Denver building history.<sup>618</sup> The company then moved to Athmar Park, where they built 149 new houses near West Mississippi and South Zuni Street that sold out in four weeks in 1955.<sup>619</sup>

Realizing the demand for brick houses was not being satisfied, in 1955 work began on Perl-Mack Manor, in Adams County just north of Denver’s city limits, where they eventually built and sold 2,100 houses in a “self-sufficient community” which included a shopping center, recreational facilities, churches, and schools. Constructing the water and sewer treatment plants for the development cost \$1 million. In that location, “there were no other subdivisions around and we had plenty of space to keep going.”<sup>620</sup> About two houses per day were finished, along streets representing the developers’ names.<sup>621</sup>

In 1959, Perl-Mack opened Northglenn, a 2,500-acre community at 104<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Interstate 25, envisioned for 6,000 houses in the \$11,000 to \$30,000 price range. Figure K31 illustrates the typical Ranch house found in the Northglenn subdivision. The planning firm of HOH laid out Northglenn, which *Life Magazine* and the NAHB awarded the title “Most Perfectly Planned Community in America”

<sup>616</sup> *Denver Post*, September 1963.

<sup>617</sup> *Cervi’s Journal*, 24 June 1954, 1.

<sup>618</sup> *Denver Post*, 24 July 1957, 29.

<sup>619</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 November 1958, 6E and 28 January 1962, 30; *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 February 1962, 52.

<sup>620</sup> *Denver Post*, 24 July 1957, 29.

<sup>621</sup> *Denver Business World*, 1 August 1983, 1; *Rocky Mountain Business Journal*, 3 February 1985, 15; *Denver Post*, 9 November 1958, 6E; “Perl-Mack Enterprises Inc.,” Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, Builders of Colorado Biographical Sketch.

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in 1961.<sup>622</sup> In the same year, the company started another development, known as "Southglenn," also designed by HOH and described by Perl-Mack as "Denver's first community offering the advanced concept of environmental planning." With 1,600 houses priced from \$18,250 to \$30,000, Southglenn included a country club, schools, churches, and a shopping center, the \$40 million Southglenn Mall that opened in 1974. In 1961, *American Home* magazine chose a Perl-Mack house as the "Best Home for the Money in Southwestern United States," and the company's houses were "Certified for Better Living Features" by the Congress of Better Living, sponsored by *McCall's* magazine. *Good Housekeeping* magazine awarded both Northglenn and Southglenn the "Good Housekeeping Citation." *Practical Builder* magazine bestowed the company with an award for excellence in merchandizing, and it received an award from *Look* magazine for home marketing.<sup>623</sup>

Perl-Mack's home sales rose 60 percent in 1961. The company partners indicated some of the reasons for their success, including: "Cadillac-like values at Chevy prices;" better home designs, planned communities laid out by professionals; and knowing how to sell the properties. Winning awards for their communities also helped attract customers. The firm believed in aiming for the broadest possible market by building 15 separate models of differing size and style "not only to make our communities more attractive by having variety but to meet a variety of needs and tastes." They provided "extra value at no extra cost" by including many appliances and special features like fireplaces, beamed ceilings, built-in bars, and oversize closets. Perl-Mack landscaped the backyards of its model homes to provide inspiration for what buyers could do with theirs. Promising and quickly constructing community recreational facilities also became an important factor in the company's success.<sup>624</sup>

In 1962, Perl-Mack first introduced central air conditioning as part of the purchase price of a new home. During 1977-78, the company opened residential projects such as the Farms in Westminster, Park Village in Northglenn, and Ravenshead in Westminster, as well as expanding Northglenn Shopping Center. It developed one of Denver's largest apartment complexes, Regent Towers, at Interstate 225 and Parker Road in 1979. In 1980 Perl-Mack began planning the \$175 million Southwest Plaza mall as a joint venture with Mike Cooper. By 1983, when the partners dissolved Perl-Mack Enterprises, the firm either built or developed more than 20,000 residential units, as well as apartment houses, office complexes, industrial parks, and shopping centers.<sup>625</sup>

#### **PERLMUTTER CONSTRUCTION COMPANY**

Abe Perlmutter, whose son Jordon was one of the leaders of Perl-Mack, founded Abe Perlmutter Construction Company, which served as the general contractor for Northglenn, Southglenn, and Montbello. Perlmutter came to Denver in 1907 at the age of 17 as a penniless Polish immigrant and became a major builder in the Rocky Mountain region. Arriving as the Public Service Company building in downtown Denver was under construction, he volunteered to lay bricks without pay if he didn't complete more than anyone else on the job. From that start, he eventually established his own company and became a pioneer in constructing supermarkets and a leader in building shopping centers. Perlmutter's company erected Safeway supermarkets, shopping centers, the BMH Synagogue, Meadow Hills Country Club, and what was described as "Denver's first post-World War II luxury apartment complex," Camellia House at 1235 Grant Street.<sup>626</sup>

<sup>622</sup> *Denver Post*, 22 October 1961, 1D.

<sup>623</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 February 1962, 52.

<sup>624</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 January 1962, 3D.

<sup>625</sup> *Denver Business World*, 1 August 1983, 1.

<sup>626</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 August 1974, 4E; *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 January 1985, 30.

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**JOHN AND GERDA SCOTT**

In the late 1940s, John and Gerda Scott arrived in Denver with the dream of launching a construction company specializing in custom-built homes. The couple worked and saved until they incorporated in 1956. In 1959, the Colorado company built six custom homes in Cherry Hills Village, Bow Mar, and Lakewood. The new homes ranged in cost from \$80,000 to more than \$200,000. In addition, Scott remodeled the Shell Oil Company offices and the Denver U.S. Bank Center Tower. By 1960, the company grew to 60 employees. Scott recalled that early in his career he was told that Denver's market was moving away from big, expensive homes, but he actually found the community eager to buy the "finer things in life."<sup>627</sup>

**WESTCRAFT HOMES, INC.**

Westcraft Homes of Lakewood built smaller projects in Lakewood Terrace, Green Mountain Village, and Harvey Park before beginning a \$12.5 million development of 1,000 homes in Arvada in 1954. Three model homes were erected on Ridge Road at Johnston Street, and the builders planned to complete one house each day. The first houses in the subdivision ranged in price from \$10,000 to \$12,000 and had two or three bedrooms, carports, and basements. Financing was mostly with VA loans requiring no down payment and 30-year mortgages. President of the company Olle S. Forsberg reported, "Eastern investors are contacting us regularly seeking loans in Denver. They are anxious to make investments here."<sup>628</sup>

**GEORGE S. WRITER/WRITER CONSTRUCTION COMPANY**

In 1965, George S. Writer (1911-1989) started Writer Construction Company, a firm specializing in luxury, custom home building. Writer garnered his building and development experience after many years working in the construction industry with his uncles, Russell Writer Sr. and Herbert A. Writer, and realtor and developer L.C. Fulenwider. The elder Writer brothers have a long history in the construction industry with their firm Writer Brothers Incorporated. Some of their homes can be seen in Hilltop, Cherry Hills, Writers' Manor, Writers' Manor East, Sunnysvale (Aurora), and modern office construction on South Colorado Boulevard. Writer Brothers became a member of the Denver Association of Home Builders. George S. Writer is the son of Lewis and Belle Writer and was born in Denver.<sup>629</sup>

George S. Writer told the *Denver Post* in 1965 his new firm would use a new construction theory known as the "critical path method," which insures no wasted time or effort at any stage of the building effort. Writer Construction Company built custom homes in Wellshire East and Cherry Knolls Estates priced between \$25,000 and \$37,500. The luxury Wellshire East subdivision skirted the northern boundary of the Wellshire Country Club. In 1965, Writer's models sold as the Lake Charles, Balboa, and Westchester II. At Cherry Knolls Estates in unincorporated Arapahoe County, Writer homes were also priced between \$25,000 and \$37,500. The company built four show homes to highlight their new models and new technology in home building.<sup>630</sup>

<sup>627</sup> *Denver Post*, 31 January 1960, 1E.

<sup>628</sup> *Denver Post*, 3 November 1954, 2.

<sup>629</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 October 1965, 7; Plat of Sunnysvale, Aurora government website (accessed 2 July 2010); and "Database of the Annual Denver Area Parade of Homes, 1953-1963," prepared by the Center for Historic Preservation Research, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, 2006; "Denver National Home Show, 1947" souvenir issue and official program, Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, Builder Files; US Bureau of the Census, manuscript returns, 1930.

<sup>630</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 October 1965, 7.

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## 6. Patterns of Subdivision Development, 1940-65

Residential subdivisions are integral to the land development process, yet they have not received attention commensurate with their importance. The act of subdividing land creates street patterns, sets parcel shapes and sizes, controls the location and magnitude of new housing, and determines development densities. Covenants attached to subdivision plats shape the character of neighborhoods by specifying minimum house sizes or values, setbacks from the street, and (in the past) even the allowable race of inhabitants. Manifestly, the subdivision process has enormous implications for the nature of cities, counties, and metropolitan regions, in terms of urban form, transportation systems, land absorption (including loss of prime agricultural land), and quality of life. Patrick Sullivan, et al, of New South Associates characterized the subdivision as “a shaping force in America’s post World War II suburban landscape.”<sup>631</sup>

Some governmental controls existed during the 1940-65 period over the subdivision creation process, most notably local governments’ power to zone land for specific uses. Some localities also specified minimum street frontages or minimum lot sizes. However, to a great extent, the era’s subdivision platting process was driven by the private sector, with investors and developers determining if, when, and where to create a subdivision. Considering the thousands of developments undertaken during the period, platting activity appears to have received relatively little coverage in the area’s major daily newspapers, with only large subdivisions by prominent developers likely to gain much notice. *Cervi’s Journal*, the region’s small-circulation business weekly, placed greater emphasis on the land development industry. Considering the cumulative impacts of subdivision creation, the process appears to have operated during the period with little controversy or critical analysis of the sort of metropolitan area that it was producing.

### Subdivision Layout

Most of the Denver region’s historic development followed a rectilinear grid pattern. The streets within the earliest towns of Auraria, Denver, and Highland employed this form, although rotated about 45 degrees from true north to follow the courses of Cherry Creek and the South Platte River. As Denver grew, subsequent growth almost exclusively resorted to a north-south, east-west alignment following the public land survey system’s township, range, and sections. Highland Park (1882), a National Register-listed subdivision in northwest Denver, became an early exception to the grid, with curving streets on both sides of today’s Federal Boulevard.<sup>632</sup>

A few early twentieth century examples of subdivisions eschewing the gridiron plan are present in the region, including Glen Creighton (southwest of West 20<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Estes Street) in Jefferson County and Bonnie Brae (southeast of East Exposition Avenue and South University Boulevard) in Denver. Cyrus Creighton platted Glen Creighton in 1923 following a plan developed by landscape architects DeBoer and Pesman. Saco R. DeBoer worked extensively in planning Denver city parks and emerged as the region’s preeminent landscape architect and planner of the early twentieth century. In east Denver, prominent mortician George W. Olinger laid out Bonnie Brae in a series of plats filed in 1923 and 1925.

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<sup>631</sup> Patrick Sullivan, Mary Beth Reed, and Tracey Fedor, *The Ranch House in Georgia: Guidelines for Evaluation* (Stone Mountain, Georgia: New South Associates, 2010), 75.

<sup>632</sup> The extant portion of Highland Park was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1985. The Colorado Historical Society’s description of the district notes that it “is one of only three known examples of 19<sup>th</sup> century picturesque community planning in the Front Range (the other two are Corona Park in South Pueblo and Colorado Springs’ Fifth Addition),” which were also created by Bell and Palmer. Highland Park/Scottish Village Historic District, Denver County listings, <http://www.coloradohistory-oahp.org> (accessed 16 August 2010).

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Architect and urban designer Peter G. Rowe asserts that by the 1930s utilizing a simple grid began to be problematic for developers:

First, in many well-developed areas of emerging metropolitan regions, regularly shaped parcels of flat land were becoming scarcer, often forcing subdevelopment into the more difficult terrain of surrounding hillsides. Second, a simple rectilinear street layout encouraged through traffic within a residential subdivision, diminishing public safety and providing a costly excess of street capacity at low residential densities. Finally, subdivisions that remained large and undifferentiated in appearance often became regarded as overly uniform and monotonous.<sup>633</sup>

To address such challenges, community planners and landscape architects began developing subdivision plans that included a hierarchy of roadways (with subdivision streets leading to collectors that led to arterials) and featuring curvilinear streets, loop roads, and short cul-de-sacs. Figures K21 through K23 show various examples of the curvilinear street design. After its creation in 1934, the Federal Housing Administration's Land Planning Division embraced the emerging concepts and developed guidelines featuring curvilinear street plans, streets aligned with natural features and topography, "Y" and "T" intersections, long blocks, and minimum street widths and lot sizes. Developers could submit subdivision plans to FHA for review and comment. In 1939, 2,615 subdivision plans were reviewed by FHA that contained 283,000 lots.<sup>634</sup> East Denver's 1936 Crestmoor development, lying southeast of East 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue Parkway and Holly Street, is a regional example of the period using a curvilinear plan. The Crestmoor Realty Company, headed by Van Holt Garrett, platted the area. Garrett, a prominent real estate agent and developer, later served as president of the National Association of Realtors and a member of the board of trustees of the Urban Land Institute.<sup>635</sup>

Developers had honed their approaches toward subdivision layout by the late 1940s, when subdivision platting and home construction for returning veterans began in earnest. Realtor Stanley L. McMichael in his 1949 *Real Estate Subdivisions* advised that "curved streets enhance the beauty of the terrain and lend charm to a developed neighborhood" but acknowledged that "straight streets in some sections have their place and should not be entirely barred. A reasonable combination of the two, based on topographical necessity, will in all probability provide the most advantageous design." Many subdivisions within the Denver region display this type of melding.<sup>636</sup> Figures K21 through K24 illustrate various types of subdivision layouts as shown on oblique aerial photographs, plat maps, and an advertising brochure.

Long blocks found favor as a means of reducing intersections and developer costs. Whereas in a streetcar-dependent subdivision long blocks might result in lengthy walks for commuters, reliance on the automobile removed that as an issue. McMichael explained the rationale for long blocks within a development:

Length of blocks in a subdivision is always a problem. In former years, they were frequently frontages of 300 or 400 feet with cross streets of the same length intersecting. Today, blocks of 1,000, 1,200, 1,500, or even 2,000 feet are favored, relieved by the use of crosswalks in block centers. Not only does this practice save land that would otherwise be used in cross streets, but the problem of "butt" lots is solved by

<sup>633</sup> Peter G. Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991), 198-99.

<sup>634</sup> Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape*, 204-05.

<sup>635</sup> Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape*, 200-03; Crestmoor, plat, Denver County Clerk and Recorder.

<sup>636</sup> Stanley L. McMichael, *Real Estate Subdivisions* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1949), 231-35.

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facing all lots on the through streets with none facing the cross thoroughfares. Likewise a minimum of street improvements is required.<sup>637</sup>

Long blocks also reduced the number of intersections within a subdivision that planners favored due to safety concerns. "Y" or "T" intersections were seen as safer than four-way intersections.<sup>638</sup>

In terms of lot sizes, McMichael noted that lots should not be "too deep and narrow, for much space is often wasted in such an arrangement" and that most cities required a minimum frontage along the street of 50 feet. While streets may curve, the side and rear lot lines should be straight to enhance the build ability and usability of lots. Lot sizes should be harmonious with one another: "A cottage should not be placed beside a mansion."<sup>639</sup>

McMichael observed that developers generally favored the concrete rolled curb and gutter by the late 1940s. The structure could be built using simple wood or metal forms and was poured as a unit, reducing construction cost and time. In addition, "this type of curb permits construction of a driveway at any point without the necessity of breaking through the curb."<sup>640</sup> While large, formal gateways were formerly used for subdivisions, McMichael indicated "many developers are getting away from this practice and using modest entrance ways instead... Money formerly spent on massive gateways may possibly be more appropriately used in general beautification of a subdivision."<sup>641</sup>

Urban designer Peter G. Rowe concludes that the basis for FHA subdivision standards lay in such public health concerns as "protection against hazardous accidents, provision of adequate daylight, sunshine, and ventilation, protection against atmospheric pollution, and provision of the possibility for reasonable aesthetic satisfaction." He points to the 50-foot minimum lot width as a means of providing "adequate daylight, sunshine, and ventilation" by ensuring a sunny area in the backyard and "sufficient width to allow light into windows along the side of the house."<sup>642</sup>

## **Subdivision Platting**

Information on the years in which subdivisions were platted and their areas is readily available in computerized form only for Arapahoe and Denver counties (See Table J13). The number of subdivisions platted between 1940 and 1965 steadily increased in Arapahoe County, rising from just 17 in the 1940-45 period to more than 200 in both the late 1950s and early 1960s. Denver platted the greatest number of subdivisions (157) in the early 1950s. Arapahoe County saw 699 subdivisions created that covered 18.7 square miles; in Denver, 439 developments were platted embracing 17.5 square miles. The average subdivision size was 20.4 acres.

A broader view of platting activity is provided by a 1965 study on regional population trends conducted by the Inter-County Regional Planning Commission (ICRPC). The ICRPC took note of subdivision platting in the area since 1955: "A multiplicity of subdivisions have sprung up in the suburban counties in the last decade. . . . Filings for subdivisions tapered off in 1964 with the platting of a few, small, widely-scattered subdivisions."<sup>643</sup> A map accompanying the report depicted subdivisions created in two periods: 1955-59 and 1960-64 (See Figure K25). The map revealed that

<sup>637</sup> McMichael, *Real Estate Subdivisions*, 231.

<sup>638</sup> Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape*, 202.

<sup>639</sup> McMichael, *Real Estate Subdivisions*, 235.

<sup>640</sup> McMichael, *Real Estate Subdivisions*, 240.

<sup>641</sup> McMichael, *Real Estate Subdivisions*, 240-41.

<sup>642</sup> Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape*, 203-04.

<sup>643</sup> Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, "Population: Denver Metro Area," Denver: Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, June 1965.

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most subdivision platting concentrated in suburban counties between 1955 and 1964, with activity forming a ring around Denver. Principal concentrations of subdivisions located along recently-developed transportation corridors, including: north Interstate 25, in the Northglenn and Thornton area of Adams County; U.S. 36, in Westminster and unincorporated areas in Adams County; south Interstate 25, in southeast Denver and Cherry Hills Village and Greenwood Village in Arapahoe County; east Interstate 70 (projected route), in the Adams County part of Aurora; and west Interstate 70 (projected route) in the western parts of today's Wheat Ridge and Lakewood. Other sections of intense platting activity included areas west and north of Arvada, east and south of Littleton, southern Lakewood, and southwest Denver. The northeast quadrant, with the presence of Stapleton International Airport, the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, and industrial uses in the Commerce City area, saw a lower level of platting.

### **Selected Subdivisions by County and Municipality**

The remainder of this section contains an overview of development activity by county and municipality. Selected subdivisions are discussed chronologically within jurisdictions, providing a sense of the type, form, period of construction, and developers involved in residential development for the 1940-65 period. The chosen subdivisions do not comprise an exhaustive listing of the region's most significant subdivisions but instead constitute subdivisions identified through the Regional Parcel Database, the literature review, or in discussions with municipal planners. The historic physical integrity of these subdivisions is not known. The Regional Parcel Database and associated GIS mapping helped identify parcel development patterns and subdivisions with cohesive construction dates. Table J14 provides a listing of the 350 subdivisions containing at least 100 dwellings erected between 1940-65 of which at least 75 percent were built between 1940-65, or, more simply, relatively large subdivisions with a significant percentage built within the study period. The geographic assignment of subdivisions to counties and cities reflects the current (2007-08) jurisdictional boundaries.<sup>644</sup>

Some county and municipal planners and other staff provided input on 1940-65 subdivisions they believed to be significant and that possess integrity. Other important sources of information on subdivisions included plat maps (accessed through county clerk offices and other sources), newspaper accounts (especially *Cervi's Journal*), and listings showing plat dates for subdivisions. The Title Guaranty Company of Colorado's *Legal Titles of Subdivisions in Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver, Jefferson Counties* (1963) proved indispensable and was supplemented by a spreadsheet on selected subdivision plat dates and locations maintained by the Colorado Department of Transportation Region 6.

### **Adams County**

#### **AURORA**

Aurora was split between Adams and Arapahoe counties during the historic period. Additional Aurora subdivisions appear under Arapahoe County. A fuller discussion of Aurora appears under Arapahoe County later in this narrative.

*Morris Heights* (1955). In September 1955, Harold Morris, president of Morris Brothers Construction Company, and H. Alfred Krogh, owner of a tract of land in Adams County, teamed to plan Morris Heights, a 1,200 home community.<sup>645</sup> The first phase of Morris Heights began with 74 homes located

<sup>644</sup> In the case of a few pre-1940 subdivisions that developed during the 1940-65 period, the subdivision is placed in the listing by when it developed.

<sup>645</sup> Morris Heights Plat filed September 1955, Adams County, Colorado, Aurora City government websites (accessed 21



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between Baranmor Parkway and 31<sup>st</sup> Avenue with its entrance off North Peoria Street. In subsequent phases, Morris Brothers set aside land in a park-like setting for a school (Park Lane Elementary), a pool, and a church. In 1958, the First Evangelical United Brethren Church of Denver acquired first rights to build at 3250 Tucson Street. A year later the church welcomed its parishioners to its new building.<sup>646</sup>

Sales at Morris Heights got off to a slow start but accelerated between 1958 and 1961, with expansion to the east. At that time, the company advertised three architectural types, a brick or brick-and-frame Ranch, a Bi-level, and a Split-level. Figure K43 illustrates the Morris Split-level constructed during this period. The Bi-level and Split-level types accounted for less than 25 percent of construction in Morris Heights. Initially Morris Brothers offered an economical two-bedroom, one-bath Ranch with or without a carport or a three-bedroom, one-bath Ranch with a one-car garage. The larger Ranch included a separate dining room. Models ranged in size from 919 square feet to 1,241 square feet, costing between \$13,000 and \$16,000.<sup>647</sup> All models offered an unfinished basement. Driveways were either gravel or paved; eventually all were paved when a city ordinance required each homeowner to have a concrete drive.<sup>648</sup> Lots in the development measured 60' x 120' and were landscaped with one tree within the city's seven foot right-of-way, a three-foot chainlink fence, and a sidewalk. At the back of each lot, the builder installed an incinerator. Early homeowners dug wells on their lots to water the lawn, but used city water for the house. The city cancelled permits for wells when the supply from the local water table dropped.<sup>649</sup>

Homeowners Ross and Madonna Stensgaard purchased a two-bedroom house with a carport in Morris Heights, finishing the basement to provide bedrooms for their family of eight. Mrs. Stensgaard recalled that many of their neighbors were service members or, like Ross, employed by the airlines at Stapleton Airport. In 1960, the median family income was \$7,268. "Many of our neighbors were like us, raising five or six children on one income and with one family car," said Mrs. Stensgaard. "We shopped on Colfax Avenue and later the Montview and Dayton area, attended churches in the area, and were involved in the PTA at the children's school."<sup>650</sup> By 1965, Morris Heights expanded to become an 880-acre tract containing over 1,400 houses.

## **BRIGHTON**

Brighton posted a small increase in population during the 1940s. While most of Brighton includes older housing stock built on a traditional grid, several subdivisions were added to the town in the 1950s, resulting in a 63 percent rise in population during the decade. By 1960, the city's population stood at 7,055. In 1960, Brighton added 55 acres east of the city limits, an act described as the first major annexation to the town in three years.<sup>651</sup> In that year, construction began on a new \$350,000 Adams County Hall of Justice. The circular building housed courtrooms and the chambers of Second Judicial District judges.<sup>652</sup> The city also dedicated a new \$500,000 Community Hospital and Nursing Home, which did not utilize any federal money in its construction. Les Sayre, president of the Brighton Chamber of Commerce, stated, "This is one of the most important steps that Brighton has ever taken;

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January 2010).

<sup>646</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 October 1958, 8.

<sup>647</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 October 1958, 8.

<sup>648</sup> Interview Ross and Madonna Stensgaard by Dawn Bunyak, 16 March and 1 April 2010.

<sup>649</sup> Interview Ross and Madonna Stensgaard by Dawn Bunyak, 16 March and 1 April 2010.

<sup>650</sup> Interview Ross and Madonna Stensgaard by Dawn Bunyak, 16 March and 1 April 2010.

<sup>651</sup> *Denver Post*, 14 September 1960, 21.

<sup>652</sup> *Denver Post*, 19 October 1960, 25.

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today Brighton has matured.”<sup>653</sup> Four years later, the city dedicated a new \$650,000 Adams County Jail built of reinforced concrete and steel.<sup>654</sup>

*Sunset View* (1952). Brighton Associates Incorporated platted the Sunset View subdivision in 1952. Charles A. Taylor served as the firm’s president and Roscoe P. Johnson as secretary. The development was situated in south-central Brighton, between Skeel Street and Southern Drive. North-south streets included Sunset Drive, Central Avenue, and Eastern Avenue. The layout followed a grid pattern and most lots were 75’ x 100’.

*Sanders Addition* (1954). The 1954 Sanders Addition followed a rectangular layout, with most lots measuring 60’ X ‘120’. The area is in southwest Brighton and extends from Jessup Street on the north to Cherry Place on the south and from Fulton Street on the west to South 2<sup>nd</sup> Avenue on the east. A number of individuals platted the subdivision, including John W. and Cora Faye Marshall, M.W. Bennett, Lydia H. and Helen P. Sanders, and others. The area developed in the late 1950s.

*Sheraton Park Amended* (1955). The Sheraton Park Amended subdivision featured two nested U-shaped streets and mostly 68’ x 107’ rectangular lots. Located southeast of East Bridge Street and South 13<sup>th</sup> Avenue in central Brighton, the western part of the area developed in the late 1950s and the eastern part in the early 1960s. Jacob J. and Adeline K. Gabel and Marcellus W. and Charles E. Bennett platted the subdivision.

*Brighton Manor Number 2* (1957). The Brighton Manor Company platted the subdivision of the same name in 1957, but the area did not develop until the early 1960s. Zelig Berenbaum served as the company’s president and Lola Baum as its secretary. Located in the northeast part of town, northeast of North 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Myrtle Street, the area featured both rectilinear and curving streets, with most lots 60’ x 120’.

### COMMERCE CITY

Much of the eastern part of Commerce City developed in very small subdivisions displaying mixed years of construction. The city appears to have pursued selective annexation practices that brought portions of some subdivisions into the city and left the remainder in unincorporated Adams County. Most postwar residential construction in the town consisted of working class homes that typically were one-story and about 800 square feet, with a one-car garage.<sup>655</sup>

“Commerce Town,” as Commerce City was known until 1961, formed when the Rose Hill and Adams City neighborhoods incorporated in November 1952.<sup>656</sup> World War II stimulated increased residential development in the area in response to the development of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal and the expansion of Stapleton Airport.<sup>657</sup> The town was founded, according to the *Denver Post*, “to escape the pending South Adams County sanitation district, a project which the area’s large property owners feared would levy heavy additional tax burdens.”<sup>658</sup> As first mayor and hog rancher Alfred Krogh told the *Post*, “Now that we have a town, we can withdraw from the district, which we didn’t need.”<sup>659</sup> According to the mayor, the only new expenses facing the town at the time were the salary for a full-

<sup>653</sup> *Brighton Blade*, 6 April 1959 and 31 March 1960; *Rocky Mountain News*, 8 May 1960, 25.

<sup>654</sup> *Westminster Journal*, 12 November 1964, 1.

<sup>655</sup> Personal Interview with Steve Timms, Commerce City Planner.

<sup>656</sup> *Denver Post*, 6 January 1971.

<sup>657</sup> “Comprehensive Plan.” City of Commerce City, 4 January 2010.

<sup>658</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, May 4, 1959, 29.

<sup>659</sup> *Denver Post*, 12 April 1953.

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time clerk and police, with the school and fire districts operating as they had previously.<sup>660</sup>

At the time of incorporation, Commerce Town encompassed about three square miles and had 1,200 residents.<sup>661</sup> The area quickly became known for its “close-in location for large Denver firms seeking warehouse and factory sites with low taxation.”<sup>662</sup> In September 1953, the town encompassed 50 businesses, including oil refineries, machine shops, and warehouses. Among the companies in the area at that time were the Mile High Kennel Club (a greyhound race track), McCoy caterpillar tractors, and Minneapolis Moline. The town expected a post office, and its most pressing needs were “better maintenance as well as police protection.”<sup>663</sup> Hog ranching remained a significant activity, with 90 percent of Denver’s garbage fed to hogs in Commerce Town in 1953.<sup>664</sup> Most companies in the area were “violently opposed to offers of annexation made by Denver.”<sup>665</sup> In 1962, the Adams County Board of Commissioners sought to double the size of Commerce City by acquiring “a four-square-mile area extending west to Pecos Street along the Denver city limits” in an effort to “protect Adams County against Denver annexing this area.”<sup>666</sup>

By 1958 Commerce Town represented “the fastest-growing industrial region in the Denver area.” Area features attractive to industry included three main-line railroads, four major highways, large amounts of undeveloped land, a skilled resident population, and “water, ample power and equitable tax rates.” Development included additions to four oil refineries, increased grain milling facilities, expanding feed lots, and flower businesses. Farming was still important, with the area producing large amounts of sugar beets, vegetables and feed grains.<sup>667</sup>

A 1959 *Rocky Mountain News* article commented on the importance of Commerce Town, calling it “the Mile High City’s workshop.” Growth in industry received priority over growth of population and residential areas in order to avoid the costs of building schools and providing other public services, resulting in a “4.5 mill levy, probably the lowest in the state.” Most of the vacant land in the area was zoned for agricultural uses and as an article noted, “About the only zoning change the town board will consider is from agricultural to industrial.” The town still did not have a single school and included only one church.<sup>668</sup>

Commerce Town officially became Commerce City in 1961, when officials decided that “the community is big enough and rich enough to carry the title of city.”<sup>669</sup> The municipality emerged from township status to that of a second-class city. Between 1961 and 1962, the population of Commerce City grew 33 percent, from 9,000 to 12,000. Two factors influenced the growth: annexation of a residential part of unincorporated Derby and the beginning of building in Stapleton Industrial Park.<sup>670</sup> Growth might have been even greater except for “lack of water and sanitation facilities;” sewer improvements came that year.<sup>671</sup> Despite the increased growth and wealth in the area, Commerce City included only two churches and four schools in 1961, “probably because land costs from \$10,000

<sup>660</sup> *Denver Post*, 12 April 1953.

<sup>661</sup> *Denver Post*, 6 January 1971.

<sup>662</sup> *Cervi’s Journal*, 24 September 1953.

<sup>663</sup> *Cervi’s Journal*, 24 September 1953.

<sup>664</sup> *Denver Post*, 12 April 1953.

<sup>665</sup> *Cervi’s Journal*, 24 September 1953.

<sup>666</sup> *Denver Post*, 5 July 1962, 1.

<sup>667</sup> *Denver Post*, 7 April 1958, 14.

<sup>668</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 May 1959, 29.

<sup>669</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 June 1961, 8.

<sup>670</sup> *Denver Post*, 24 January 1962, 3.

<sup>671</sup> *Denver Post*, 24 January 1962, 3.

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to \$12,000 an acre.”<sup>672</sup> The population reached 14,000 by 1963.<sup>673</sup>

Commerce City obtained first-class postal status when its post office opened in 1963.<sup>674</sup> The city built a new 12,000-square-foot city hall designed by J. Roger Musick in 1965. The building encompassed municipal offices, a police department, and a branch of the Adams County Library.<sup>675</sup> In 1965, water problems plagued the city of 18,000.<sup>676</sup> During a period of three months, health officials repeatedly found harmful bacteria in two of the town’s eight water wells and recommended they be shut down.<sup>677</sup> Commerce City residents at the time relied on South Adams Water and Sanitation for water services.<sup>678</sup> Some local citizens wanted Denver to annex Commerce City in 1968, complaining city water often tasted bad and “city taxes were high but city services were poor.”<sup>679</sup>

*Town and Country* (1947). The Town and Country subdivision developed in the late 1940s and early 1950s (the average year built was 1950) and contains slightly more than 100 houses. The curvilinear development was situated northwest of Holly Street and East 60<sup>th</sup> Avenue.

*Garden Heights* (1950). Located northwest of East 74<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Quebec Street, the eastern edge of Garden Heights abutted the Rocky Mountain Arsenal to the east. The rectangular plat included a broad, U-shaped street. The development built-out in the early 1950s.

*Tichy* (1954). Sam Tichy platted the Tichy subdivision, located northeast of Holly Street and East 66<sup>th</sup> Avenue.<sup>680</sup> Tichy Number 1 and Number 2 were platted in 1955 and 1956, respectively. The development had the area’s first brick homes and paved streets. The tract employed long, rectangular blocks with most houses erected in the late 1950s.<sup>681</sup>

*Adams Heights* (1954). The 1954 Adams Heights subdivision contains close to 300 houses with an average year built of 1955. The curvilinear subdivision includes some cul-de-sacs. Adams Heights is south of Adams City High School, lying southwest of East 68<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Brighton Road.

*Calahan* (1954). The three filings comprising the Calahan Subdivision were all filed in 1954. The subdivision was bounded by East 78<sup>th</sup> and East 80<sup>th</sup> avenues and Monaco and Olive streets and employed a rectangular layout with long north-south blocks. The roughly 200 houses in the development were constructed mostly in 1954 and 1955.

*Pattie Lea* (1955). A plat for Pattie Lea (southwest of East 76<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Colorado Highway 2) was filed in 1955, followed by a second filing in 1956. The subdivision contained more than 200 houses, with about 85 in Commerce City and 129 in unincorporated Adams County. The average year built was 1956.

*Holly Heights* (1956). Holly Heights was platted in 1956, followed by Holly Heights Number 2 in 1958. The development lay between East 68<sup>th</sup> and East 70<sup>th</sup> avenues east of Colorado Highway 2. The rectangular layout held about 137 houses with an average year built of 1959.

## FEDERAL HEIGHTS

<sup>672</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 June 1961, 8.

<sup>673</sup> *Denver Post*, 14 May 1979, 21.

<sup>674</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 20 January 1963, 75.

<sup>675</sup> *Denver Post*, 6 January 1971; *Denver Post*, 6 January 1965, 3.

<sup>676</sup> *Denver Post*, 19 September 1965, 27.

<sup>677</sup> *Denver Post*, 19 September 1965, 27.

<sup>678</sup> *Denver Post*, 19 September 1965, 27.

<sup>679</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 21 March 1968.

<sup>680</sup> Personal Interview with Steve Timms, Commerce City Planner.

<sup>681</sup> Personal Interview with Steve Timms, Commerce City Planner.

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By 1964, the population of Federal Heights expanded to about 1,000 persons.<sup>682</sup> The *Denver Post* attributed the population growth to "...an influx of adults which form a community all their own. That community is a posh mobile home resort, Holiday Hills, at 2000 W. 92<sup>nd</sup> Ave...." Built by Holiday Mobile Home Resorts of Phoenix, the mobile home development opened in January 1964, with 486 mobile homes on 60 acres making it "...the largest mobile home park in the country in terms of acres...." The new community limited occupancy to adults without school-age children and offered amenities such as "recreation, landscaping, a \$250,000 club house, swimming pool, a mimeographed newspaper and planned activities from bridge clubs to square dancing." The *Denver Post* commented: "For persons with a yen for mobile home life, Holiday Hills appears to be the ultimate." No large subdivisions of houses appeared in Federal Heights through 1965.<sup>683</sup>

**NORTHGLENN**

The Perl-Mack Construction Company, with partners Jordon Perlmutter, Sam Primack, and William Morrison, started planning Northglenn in 1958. The site centered on Interstate 25 and 104<sup>th</sup> Avenue, with development anticipated on both sides of the interstate. Before construction began, the land served dryland farming and livestock grazing activities. Downtown Denver stood 20 minutes away by freeway. Reflecting back on the process in 1967, Adams County Commissioners Jerry Yost and Del J. Cimiyott recalled the Commission did not want to be burdened with "unplanned Denver bedroom housing developments, occupied by people who earn and spend their money in Denver and only sleep out here while we who live and work here pay the bill for the municipal services they require." The Adams County Commission determined home construction north of 104<sup>th</sup> Avenue must be a complete community with services and jobs provided.<sup>684</sup>

Perl-Mack engaged the nationally-prominent city planning firm of Harman, O'Donnell and Henninger of Denver to develop a master plan for the community so that it would not just "grow like Topsy."<sup>685</sup> William F. Henninger and Robert M. O'Donnell participated in the project. The plan covered more than 2,500 acres and aimed to provide for "all the community features essential to the cultural and economic health of the area," including water, streets, sewage, and zoning. The community contained five neighborhoods connected by loop roads.<sup>686</sup> The northwest corner of Interstate 25 and West 104<sup>th</sup> Avenue was planned as the site of a major shopping center, while each of the neighborhoods would have shopettes. The developer set aside lands for a community club, recreation grounds, schools (six elementary and one high school), churches, and civic buildings, in case the community decided to incorporate as a city. Perl-Mack spent \$500,000 installing water and sewer lines. More than 4,000 houses were planned, with total costs for the development estimated at \$130 million.<sup>687</sup>

The developers offered three basic lot sizes (7,000, 9,000, and 13,500 square feet), with homes ranging from \$11,700 to \$30,000. Warren Flickinger and Associates of Denver served as the architectural firm. Five model homes (the Eureka, Summit, Chieftain, Matchless, and Alpine), built just northeast of Interstate 25 and 104<sup>th</sup> Avenue, opened for public inspection in June 1959 and ranged from two bedrooms with two baths to three bedrooms with two baths and a full finished basement. Figure K31 illustrates a Ranch model found in Northglenn. Perl-Mack conducted an extensive advertising campaign, and during the first six days homebuyers spent \$1.375 million on properties.<sup>688</sup>

<sup>682</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 July 1964, 53.

<sup>683</sup> *Denver Post*, 14 October 1963, 23.

<sup>684</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 July 1967, 25.

<sup>685</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 October 1962, 3D.

<sup>686</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 October 1962, 3D.

<sup>687</sup> *Denver Post*, 21 June 1959, E; *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 July 1969, 50.

<sup>688</sup> *Denver Post*, 28 June 1959, 3E.

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A contemporary newspaper article described the process: "The first home buyers in the new community will be able to stake out their sites in the fashion of the Old West. Each purchaser will be provided with a sign and invited to establish and proclaim the site as his property."<sup>689</sup> Most of the houses sold under VA or FHA financing, with the estimated annual income of residents in the \$6,000 to \$9,000 range. In September 1959, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Mazumich and their three children became the first family to move into the community at 10474 Logan Street.<sup>690</sup>

Two additional home models, the Lark and the Columbine, became available in April 1960. Mrs. America of 1960 (Margaret Priebe of Des Moines, Iowa) presided over the opening festivities. The *Denver Post* provided details on both new models:

The Lark sells at \$13,750. Of brick construction, it has two bedrooms on the ground floor and a fully finished basement with a 34-foot recreation room and a finished room as large as the bedrooms. It has an attached garage and a built-in kitchen.

The Columbine is the first non-basement house in Northglenn. It boasts other Perl-Mack "firsts"--a brick fireplace, sliding glass doors leading to a patio, and additional half bath off the master bedroom, and an automatic washer and built in kitchen included in the \$15,359. The Columbine has three bedrooms.<sup>691</sup>

In August, Perl-Mack introduced three new models constructed in a country club setting around a golf course. The Northwood (\$18,500) featured three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a breakfast bar, and a wood paneled family room with fireplace. The Elmwood (\$19,450) had three bedrooms, three baths, two fireplaces, and a full basement with room for two additional bedrooms. The Parkwood (\$20,500) boasted 1,740 square feet with four bedrooms, two baths, and a family room opening onto a patio. *American Home* magazine named the Parkwood as "the best home for the money" in Colorado in 1960 and in the Southwest in 1961. All three models included wood shake roofs. By October 1962, homebuyers could choose from 17 home models.<sup>692</sup>

Northglenn received an award for "Most Perfectly Planned Community in America" from the NAHB and *Life* magazine in January 1961. Martin Bartling, president of the NAHB, explained the selection resulted from the fact that Northglenn "was laid out as a complete city with balanced areas for homes, schools, churches, parks, shopping centers and light industry." Perl-Mack also received a first place award from Practical Builder in 1960 for home merchandising in the community development group. The Congress for Better Living, sponsored by *McCall's* magazine, cited some Perl-Mack models as "Certified for Better Living Features." By the fall of 1962, the community held 3,000 houses and 10,000 residents. The development's slogan was "live and play in Northglenn."<sup>693</sup>

As Northglenn's residential areas developed, the construction of other community facilities kept pace. More than 200 acres were set aside for school, recreational, and civic uses. The Garland Shopping Center, a strip center at East 106<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Washington Street, opened in mid-1961. The initial

<sup>689</sup> Unsourced newspaper clipping, June 1959, in the clipping files of the Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department.

<sup>690</sup> The site for the model homes appeared to be in keeping with contemporary suggestions that they be built in the least desirable location within a development. *Denver Post*, 3 April 1960, 3E; Perl-Mack Construction Company, "The Facts Behind Northglenn," undated brochure (c. early 1960s), in the files of the Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department.

<sup>691</sup> *Denver Post*, 3 April 1960, 3E.

<sup>692</sup> *Denver Post*, 21 August 1960 and 30 January 1961, 36; *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 October 1962, 3D.

<sup>693</sup> *Denver Post*, 3 April 1960, 29C, 30 January 1961, 36, and 12 July 1961, 58; *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 October 1962, 3D.

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phase of the larger North Glenn Center, at the northwest corner of West 104<sup>th</sup> and Interstate 25, opened its doors in the early 1960s. The Perl-Mack partnership, along with Abe Perlmutter, Albert Radofsky, and Bernard Bernstein, developed the shopping center. In late 1965 North Glenn Center announced it would add three full-line department stores to the shopping center, including Denver Dry Goods, Sears, Roebuck and Company, and J.C. Penney.<sup>694</sup>

Four elementary schools, two junior high schools, and one high school served the community. A recreation district built playgrounds, a swimming pool, a nine-hole golf course, and a tree nursery. A number of churches addressed the religious needs of the community. The Crossroads Baptist Church, designed by Orrie Holman, broke ground in January 1962, with construction including a 200-seat sanctuary and part of the education complex. One of the most architecturally notable, the 1964 St. Stephens Lutheran Church designed by Boulder architect Charles Haertling, consisted of a circular, 5,000-square-foot building featuring a complex roof with "precast concrete beams in the shape of huge elephant tusks."<sup>695</sup>

An election to incorporate Northglenn took place in October 1964, with 60 percent of voters approving the proposition. Some supporters apparently feared annexation by the City of Thornton. Opponents of incorporation challenged the election outcome, and four years of litigation ensued. District Judge Oyer Leary found the incorporation election valid, and the new city proceeded with an election to choose city officeholders. In November 1965, the *Denver Post* assessed Northglenn's progress, concluding Perl-Mack Construction Company had "in five years turned North Glenn from a five-show-home area surrounded by 2,000 acres of empty farmland into a city of 22,000 persons living in more than 4,800 brick homes, with more under construction and 12 new models on display." The city's 1970 population included 27,748 persons.<sup>696</sup>

*Deza Estates* (1956). The small Deza Estates subdivision in the southwest corner of Northglenn consisted of three filings, Filing 1 in 1956 and Filings 2 and 3 in 1962. Filing 1 is located south of W. 99<sup>th</sup> Avenue west of Huron Street. The area is situated on the brow of a hill with topography sloping southward and providing excellent views of downtown Denver and the Front Range. Filing 1 developed in the late 1950s. Art Swanson developed the subdivision, where contemporary homes in the \$20,000 to \$35,000 range were built.<sup>697</sup>

*North Glenn* (1959). North Glenn (later Northglenn) was platted in 19 filings between 1959 and 1962. Filings by year included: 1959, 1<sup>st</sup> through 3<sup>rd</sup>; 1960, 4<sup>th</sup> through 7<sup>th</sup>; 1961, 8<sup>th</sup> through 15<sup>th</sup>; and 1962, 16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup>. The oldest portion of Northglenn is the area between Interstate 25 and Washington Street immediately north of 104<sup>th</sup> Avenue.

## THORNTON

Plans for a 5,000-home development 4.5 miles north of Denver in Adams County were announced in December 1952 by the F&S Construction Company of Denver and Phoenix, Arizona. The 640-acre site lay on the east side of Interstate 25 northeast of the intersection of Washington Street and East 84<sup>th</sup> Avenue on agricultural land owned by Art and Dorothy Eppinger. Sarajane Anderson, an early

<sup>694</sup> *Denver Post*, 21 August 1960 and 30 January 1961, 36; *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 October 1962, 3D.

<sup>694</sup> *Denver Post*, 3 April 1960, 29C, 30 January 1961, 36, and 12 July 1961, 58; *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 October 1962, 3D.

<sup>695</sup> *Denver Post*, 27 January 1962, 5, 11 January 1964, 53, 22 January 1964, 45, 30 January 1965, 7, and 7 November 1965, 1.

<sup>696</sup> The city formally changed its name from North Glenn to Northglenn in 1970. *Denver Post*, 14 October 1964, 78 and 31 January 1969, 26, 7 November 1965, 1; *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 February 1969, 6.

<sup>697</sup> *Forgotten Past of Adams County* (Northglenn, Colorado: Adams County School District 12, 1975-81), 92.

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resident of the development, recalled her father's comment that "prairie dogs don't even live in that area." F&S stood for "Father and Sons" and included developer Sam Hoffman, his sons, and sons-in-law. Hoffman named the new community for then Colorado Governor Dan Thornton "because Dan deserves the honor in view of his part in building the State of Colorado and his interest in adequate housing for its citizens."<sup>698</sup> Hoffman's firm erected housing developments in such western cities as Phoenix, Albuquerque, Salt Lake City, and Aurora and Pueblo, Colorado. Hoffman envisioned Thornton as a planned, total community with shopping, parks, churches, and schools as well as housing.<sup>699</sup>

The project broke ground in early April 1953, and on 19 April a grand opening displaying model homes took place, featuring Governor Thornton and film star Jane Russell (for whom Thornton's "symbolically curvaceous" Russell Boulevard is named). Catherine Wilson composed a dedication song heralding Thornton as "the Miracle City." Thousands came to tour the three models:

The Arden model was a two-bedroom one-bath home totaling 850 square feet for \$8,350. The Ashley model was 1,150 square feet, with three bedrooms and one-and-a-half baths for \$9,850. A third model, called the Carlton, had three bedrooms, one-and-a-half bathrooms, a dining room, and 1,170 square feet for \$10,250.<sup>700</sup>

All of the Hoffman homes were brick, with copper plumbing, central heating, an outdoor clothesline, and large closets. In the summer of 1954, Hoffman Homes introduced a new home model, the Cleveport. At a cost of \$11,000 the brick home contained three bedrooms, an attached carport, and one-and-three-quarters baths. In September 1958 Hoffman Homes advertised three other models: the Imperial, 1,134 square feet on the main floor, all-brick construction, \$11,700 without basement and \$12,500 with basement; the Monarch, more than 1,000 square feet on the main floor, with a full basement, \$10,500; and the Fleetwood, a 1,460-square-foot "luxury home," \$13,250 without basement and \$14,250 with basement.<sup>701</sup>

Controversy erupted in December 1954 when F&S Construction announced plans to build 350 frame houses in the southeast corner of the development. Current residents believed Thornton would be an all-brick community and felt that frame construction would lower property values. Clad with asbestos siding, the Bonnie model had 988 square feet, two bedrooms, and a multi-purpose room. According to F&S, demand for brick homes dropped and frame houses were needed to stimulate sales. A public relations representative of the firm told an angry crowd of residents "if it hadn't been for Sam Hoffman you'd still be living in tenements."<sup>702</sup>

Homes in Thornton sold mostly to World War II veterans. With a \$532.30 down payment, former GIs could move into the middle range Ashley model with monthly payments of just \$65 a month (including principal, interest, taxes, and insurance (known as PITI) and no closing costs. For non-GIs, a \$1,250 down payment and closing costs were required, with monthly payments of \$67 (PITI).

Residents were mostly Anglo, although Debra L. Neiswonger's study of the community identified a

<sup>698</sup> *Denver Post*, 19 February 1953, 1.

<sup>699</sup> *Denver Post*, 24 December 1952, 1 and 8 and 19 February 1953, 1; Debra L. Neiswonger, "Remembering Thornton: An Oral and Social History of the City and Community of Thornton," M.A. thesis, University of Colorado at Denver, Denver, Colorado, 18-19; Tonja Dillon Casteneda, *Thornton*, Images of America series (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 41.

<sup>700</sup> Casteneda, *Thornton*, 41.

<sup>701</sup> Unsources newspaper clipping, summer 1954, in the files of the Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department; *Denver Catholic Register*, 11 September 1958, sec. 2; *Denver Post*, 17 May 1996, 2B.

<sup>702</sup> Neiswonger, "Remembering Thornton," 70; *Denver Post*, 24 December 1954, 2 and 27 December 1954, 7.



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number of Hispanos as early residents of Thornton. African Americans received a mixed reception. During the dispute over the construction of frame homes, F&S Construction's attorney denied the lower cost houses would bring in "riff-raff," adding "we've had every kind of person—all colors and shades—trying to get into Thornton. But those are things you can't talk about."<sup>703</sup> When Sylvester Hill, a black photographer, moved into 9101 Beechwood Drive with his white wife, the builder of the house, Charles Weinberg, tried to return their deposit and demanded they vacate. City Councilman John Kane, Jr., asserted "certain members of the police department were 'inciting residents' and delivering illegal eviction notices to the Hills."<sup>704</sup> He argued the city should take a positive stand against discrimination. District Attorney Marvin Dansky admonished the Thornton police chief to give maximum protection to the Hills. The family filed a complaint against Weinberg with the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission.<sup>705</sup>

The development initially lacked paved streets, streetlights, parks, and other services and facilities associated with city living. As resident Velma Eddleman recalled in 1995: "When we first moved here it was nothing. We just had clay."<sup>706</sup> Landscaping was not included with the houses, and the alkali and clay soil made putting in yards difficult. The developer brought in a large Quonset hut to house the volunteer fire brigade. Thornton soon gained other amenities. Bus service to Denver began in July 1954. Parents started a co-operative kindergarten at the Thornton Lutheran Church in early 1956. The Thornton Women's Club sold telephone directories to raise money for an ambulance, library, swimming pool, playground equipment, and a recreation center building. A community swimming pool, built by F&S Construction, opened in August 1957.<sup>707</sup>

Construction of a number of churches filled the religious needs of the community. The Mountain View Lutheran Church broke ground in August 1955 at Russell Way and Fir Drive. The Thornton Methodist Church began services in 1956 at 8970 Hoyt Drive. Archbishop Urban J. Vehr dedicated the Holy Cross Catholic Church and School in September 1958. The \$135,000 complex at 9400 Wigham Street offered six classrooms and sat 650 persons in the sanctuary. In late 1958, the congregation dedicated the Thornton Church of Christ at East 88<sup>th</sup> Avenue and McElwain Boulevard. Denver architect C.E. Haviland designed the 400-seat Calvary Baptist Church in 1960.<sup>708</sup>

Voters rebuffed an attempt to incorporate Thornton as a city in 1955. The following year the Thornton Community Association, headed by Oyer G. Leary, led a second campaign for incorporation. The group argued incorporation was imperative to provide adequate police and fire protection and stop relying on voluntary contributions and ad hoc fundraising to meet community financial needs. Eighty-nine percent of voters approved the creation of the city in May 1956, and in August Leary won election as the city's first mayor. In 1958, Leary remarked: "No one who hasn't been through it can imagine the headaches involved in the transition from just another housing development to a city."<sup>709</sup>

Some residents soon found the clay soil more than just an annoyance to landscaping. By 1957 a small number of house walls were cracking, floors started sinking, and streets began eroding due to

<sup>703</sup> *Denver Post*, 27 December 1954, 7.

<sup>704</sup> *Denver Post*, 27 August 1961, 22A.

<sup>705</sup> Casteneda, *Thornton*, 43; Neiswonger, "Remembering Thornton," various; *Denver Post*, 27 December 1954, 7 and 27 August 1961, 22A.

<sup>706</sup> *Denver Post*, 3 June 1995, 2B.

<sup>707</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 July 1954, 12 August 1957, 3 June 1995, 2B, and 3 June 1995, 2B; *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 January 1956.

<sup>708</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 August 1955, 26 January 1957, 7 May 1966, 73; *Denver Post*, 30 November 1958, 27C and 20 February 1960; *Denver Catholic Register*, 11 September 1958, sec. 2.

<sup>709</sup> Casteneda, *Thornton*, 91 and 95; *Denver Post*, 27 May 1956; *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 January 1958, 14.

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the expansive action of the clay. City officials charged that the main drainage ditch for the community was collapsing; Mayor Leary argued proper engineering would result in a better designed drainage system. In July 1957, F&S Construction repurchased equity in some Thornton homes "damaged by unforeseen soil conditions."<sup>710</sup>

First held in individual homes, city council meetings then moved to the Quonset hut on Dorothy Boulevard used as a temporary city hall and fire department. In 1958, the city erected permanent offices at that location. Due to a shortage of funds residents volunteered to finish the building's interior and to install landscaping. More than 11,000 inhabitants called Thornton home in 1960. The city adopted a council-manager form of government in 1961, and in 1963 approved a \$7.8 million bond issue to purchase its water and sewer systems from Northwest Utilities Company. The 1970 Census showed Thornton with 13,326 residents.<sup>711</sup>

*Thornton* (1953). Thornton was laid out by blocks in a series of 43 plats ranging in date from 1953 to 1961. The original portion of the community extended from Washington on the west to the Union Pacific Railroad tracks on the east and from East 84<sup>th</sup> Avenue on the south to Thornton Parkway on the north. Hoffman Way and Eppinger and Poze boulevards were the principal circulatory streets. The development generally employed a curvilinear layout with some cul-de-sacs. Most lots appeared to be rectangular. A fuller discussion of Thornton appears elsewhere in this narrative.

*Thornton Valley East* (1959). Located in southeastern Thornton, Thornton Valley East is roughly bounded by East 88<sup>th</sup> and East 92<sup>nd</sup> avenues and Steele Street and Colorado Boulevard. In 1959 W&W Builders Incorporated acquired the land, a 135-acre farm owned by F.H. Sanstead, and platted the development the same year. Weinberg and Weinberg Construction Company, who had built many houses in Thornton, planned a 600-dwelling development on the property. Three additional filings were platted: Second, 1960; Third, 1961; and Fourth, 1962. The southwest portion of the subdivision developed in the late 1950s, while the remainder built out in the early 1960s.<sup>712</sup>

## **WESTMINSTER**

In the 1940s, Westminster existed as a community of horse properties and farms surrounding a small downtown area. Its government staff consisted of one municipal employee, Ed Gnos, and a part-time town clerk, Francis M. Day. The city's first full-time office opened in 1948 in the 73<sup>rd</sup> Avenue fire station. Carl Hawkinson became the town's first treasurer. The only building code was for foundations of houses to be 12 inches wide, on a 6-inch-thick platform, and 18 inches below ground. In an effort to urbanize, Westminster renumbered and renamed streets where streets extended to Denver.<sup>713</sup> In 1946, the town approved building permits valued at \$55,800. Between 1946 and 1950, residential permits were valued at \$250,000.<sup>714</sup>

The population of Westminster increased to 1,686 in 1950 and the city covered 2.5 square miles. By 1953, building permits in Westminster totaled \$2 million.<sup>715</sup> The city was growing, but not at quite the same pace as other areas around Denver. Development occurred on farm land to the east and north of the city boundaries. With construction of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike, land near the toll road in the Westminster vicinity became popular with developers. New homeowners worked at the Rocky Flats

<sup>710</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 July 1957 and 10 July 1957; *Denver Post*, 30 June 1957.

<sup>711</sup> *Denver Post*, 6 June 1958, 23; *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 July 1963, 22.

<sup>712</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 May 1959.

<sup>713</sup> Marion Smith, *Westminster: Then and Now* (Westminster, CO: North Suburban Printing & Publishing, Inc., 1976), 37, 58, 51, 53.

<sup>714</sup> Margaret Coel, *A New Westminster, 1977-1986* (Westminster, CO: City of Westminster, 1987) 51-53.

<sup>715</sup> Coel, *A New Westminster*, 63.

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plant, Western Electric, and Sundstrand Aviation, all located outside the city limits. Mayor Francis M. Day fought for and won a turnpike underpass at Lowell Boulevard, arguing that his community would be cut in two without it.<sup>716</sup> Even with this connection, the Turnpike sliced through the city and disrupted linkages between the northern and southern parts.<sup>717</sup>

Voters elected Westminster's first City Council in 1954. By 1957, voters adopted a Home Rule charter providing for a council-manager system to address annexation, long-range planning, and water issues. Phil Roan served as Westminster's first city manager. Westminster posted a 1960 population of 13,850, reflecting its rapid growth during the decade. The city's growth spurt ended around 1960 due to a tightening money market and wide availability of less expensive homes in the metropolitan area.<sup>718</sup> City Manager Ned Phye (1963-73) is credited with the modern development of the city's water system, which allowed for expansion of the city limits in the 1970s.<sup>719</sup>

*First Addition to Westminster* (1946). Advanced Homes built the first subdivision within Westminster at West 73<sup>rd</sup> Avenue and Westminster Place between Lowell Boulevard and Irving Street on land annexed to the city in 1946--the first addition to the original town plat. The tract exhibited a rectilinear layout with rectangular lots.<sup>720</sup>

*Westminster Hills* (1953). J.C. and Donna R. Wyse platted Westminster Hills Addition to Westminster in 1953; three other filings followed in 1954 and 1955, including Filing 1 (1954) created by the Westminster Hills Company (William K. Barr, president). The subdivision was located in the triangular area formed by Sheridan Boulevard, West 80<sup>th</sup> Avenue, and the Denver-Boulder Turnpike. The development employed a curvilinear street layout with most lots measuring 60' x 110'. Homes in the subdivision of Westminster Hills sold for approximately \$20,000 to \$40,000, with a target market of middle- to upper-middle-class professionals. Housing types included Ranch, Bi-level, Split-level, and two-story models. A large majority of the homes are Ranch types. Featured design elements include decorative shutters, covered front porches, cross-hatched window panes, and brick veneer. Most of the houses have basements and at least one-car garages. Crawford Construction Company entered a Ranch model on 8255 Turnpike Drive into the 1960 Parade of Homes with a list price of \$20,750.<sup>721</sup>

*Skyline Vista* (1954). Skyline Vista, begun during the housing boom of 1954, consisted of four plats lying southeast of the Federal Boulevard-Denver-Boulder Turnpike interchange, with Filing 1 created by Joe and Rose LaConte in June 1954. Located between Federal Boulevard and Zuni Street, from West 72<sup>nd</sup> Street north to the Denver-Boulder Turnpike, the 200-acre tract included slightly curving streets and rectangular, 65' x 100' lots. Plans for a \$6 million development of the property were announced by C.A. Bresnahan, head of the Western Realty Company, in 1954, with the Skyline Vista Development Company created to manage the project. Several Denver builders were involved in the construction, planned to include 500 homes of three or four bedrooms costing \$10,000 to \$12,000. The development of primarily Ranch type homes was built on former orchard lands, with most houses erected between 1954 and 1964. The frame houses featured asbestos sheathing, tile baths and showers, and Youngstown kitchens. The dwellings were set at an angle along paved streets, and utilities were in place. Plans called for a 40-acre shopping center, and five acres were set aside for a

<sup>716</sup> Marion Smith, *Westminster: Then and Now*, 37.

<sup>717</sup> Mehls, Drake, and Fell, *Aurora* 131.

<sup>718</sup> Coel, *A New Westminster*, 83.

<sup>719</sup> *Colorado Yearbook 1962-1964*, and, Coel, *A New Westminster*, 22.

<sup>720</sup> Margaret Coel, *A New Westminster*, 58-62.

<sup>721</sup> Center for Historic Preservation Research, "Database of the Annual Denver Area Parade of Homes.

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school.<sup>722</sup>

*Apple Blossom Lane* (1955). The picturesquely-named Apple Blossom Lane subdivision was platted on a former apple orchard by the prosaically-named Western Realty Construction and Finance Corporation (C.A. Bresnahan, president) and three individuals in 1955. Located southeast of Lowell Boulevard and West 80<sup>th</sup> Avenue, the tract's southern boundary abutted the Denver-Boulder Turnpike. Figures K29 and K38 illustrate two examples of homes found in the subdivision: Ranches and Contemporary Ranches. Apple Blossom Lane and West 79<sup>th</sup> Avenue curved through the development on east-west alignments, with a number of north-south connecting streets. Lots generally measured 60' x 137'. Most houses in the subdivision were erected in the late 1960s, with some early 1960s infill. Each lot retained one of the orchards trees and some are still extant.

*Francis Park Terrace* (1958). In the spring of 1958, Francis Home's president W.P. Francis and vice-president P.W. Behrents announced their newest subdivision, Francis Park Terrace, in the Westminster area. The development projected 300 Ranch type homes and a small playground. Park Terrace lies near the Skyline Vista development and Interstate 25. The three models ranged in price from \$15,000 to \$16,000, with many variations to provide individuality. All homes had three bedrooms, full basements, and garages. The peak year of construction was 1958.

**UNINCORPORATED ADAMS COUNTY**

Considerable subdivision platting occurred in unincorporated Adams County during the 1940-65 period in areas that remain outside of cities today. Principal areas of activity included the U.S. 36 corridor, south of Thornton along both sides of Interstate 25, and along Colorado Highway 2 near Commerce City.

*Shaw Heights* (1953). Most of Shaw Heights, which includes seven filings between 1953 and 1961, is located in Unincorporated Adams County, with a smaller portion within Westminster. The subdivision extends from the Denver-Boulder Turnpike north to about West 92<sup>nd</sup> Avenue and from Federal Boulevard west to the county line. In 1953, the S&H Investment Company announced construction of a planned development of 1,200 homes north of Westminster on the old Lucky Day Ranch.<sup>723</sup> Bouton & Company, led by president Charles Bouton, served as sales agents for the subdivision. Sites for a new school and ten-acre shopping center were included in the development. The modest homes ranged in price from \$11,650 to \$13,000 for the three-bedroom, brick homes. Homebuyers could add a basement or a carport for extra cost.<sup>724</sup> Figure K30 is representative of the Ranch type found in the subdivision. Construction began in 1958 and continued through 1970. Four different models were built in the subdivision. The majority of homes are Ranch types with a few Bi-level homes. The Shaw Heights Homeowners Association approached Westminster in 1966 to annex their development, but the city declined due to water concerns. As a result, Shaw Heights formed its own water district, with ten year immunity from annexation by Westminster. It remains in unincorporated Adams County.<sup>725</sup>

*Norwood Park* (1954). The Norwood Park subdivision is in the Commerce City vicinity but lies outside the city boundary, extending from East 77<sup>th</sup> to East 80<sup>th</sup> avenues and from Hollywood to Larkwood streets. In August 1954, Franklin L. Burns, of the Burns Realty & Trust Company which platted the subdivision, unveiled plans for the \$4.5 million residential, industrial, and commercial development. The plat showed a slightly curvilinear street plan with most lots measuring 60' x 108' to 60' x 114'.

<sup>722</sup> *Denver Post*, 5 September 1954, 2A.

<sup>723</sup> Coel, *A New Westminster*, 62-63.

<sup>724</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 May 1953, n.p.

<sup>725</sup> Coel, *A New Westminster*, 102.

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The project included 400 homes in the \$7,000 to \$9,000 range on 100 acres; a \$500,000 shopping center on 20 acres; and a "high class" industrial development along the Union Pacific Railroad track on ten acres to the east. The plat for the Norwood Park subdivision, filed in November 1954, featured curvilinear streets and long blocks (some rectangular and some irregular). The western two-thirds built out in the late 1950s, while the eastern part developed in the early 1960s.<sup>726</sup>

*Western Hills* (1954). In 1954, Westward Homes, Inc. (C.B. Shewmake, president), filed a plat for the Western Hills subdivision, lying immediately northwest of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike and Interstate 25. Lots along the curving roadways of the development were mostly rectangular, measuring 62' x 110' or 66' x 110'. A number of companies actively worked on the development, including: William K. Barr, president of Barr Lumber Company; Floyd Prouty, president of Pike Realty Company; and Algernon Blair Incorporated Builders. The *Denver Post* reported in April 1955 that the developers planned a 6,000-home development, with 60 acres set aside for schools and parks, 55 acres for a shopping center, and 14 acres for apartments. The community contained 1,218 acres. At the same time, the developers told the *Rocky Mountain News* that an "Avenue of Models" with 21 houses was available for homebuyer tours. The developers claimed there were approximately 51 design variations available with basic plans for two- and three-bedroom houses. The 1,000 to 1,250-square-foot homes sold for under \$12,000. Construction began in November 1954 and continued through 1960. The peak year of construction in the development came in 1955.<sup>727</sup>

*Perl-Mack Manor* (1955). Perl-Mack Manor, one of the largest developments undertaken by Jordon Perlmutter, Samuel Primack, and William J. Morrison's Perl-Mack Construction Company, lies in Unincorporated Adams County, south of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike between Broadway Boulevard and Zuni Street. The plat showed curving streets with most lots rectangular (60' x 100' or 60' x 125'). In the beginning, the firm only offered two models in the subdivision, but as the community expanded, more and more models were developed. Homes ranged in price from \$11,600 for a two-bedroom, one-bath house to a three-bedroom, two-bath home for \$15,250. The majority of the models were Ranch type with only limited numbers of Split-level and two-story houses. Most of the brick houses were built with full basements and no or one-car garages. Most of the houses were built between 1955 and 1961. Perl-Mack was noted for offering the highest value home at the lowest cost in a professionally planned community. Located adjacent to the new Denver-Boulder Turnpike, the subdivision offered an easy commute to Boulder or downtown Denver.<sup>728</sup>

*City View Heights* (1956). City View Heights abutted the south boundary of Thornton in the area between Washington and Franklin streets and East 84<sup>th</sup> and East 88<sup>th</sup> avenues. The Real Estate Corporation of America, the developer, was headed by J.G. Head of Los Angeles. Initial plans announced in mid-1954 called for a 576-home project. The First Filing was platted in 1956 and the second in 1958. The initial plat showed a curved and angled street pattern with many lots 64' x 125'; a good many lots were odd shapes due to the street layout. The eastern portion of the 160-acre subdivision developed in the late 1950s and the western part in the early 1960s. McElwain Elementary School was located near the center of the subdivision.<sup>729</sup>

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<sup>726</sup> *Denver Post*, 5 August 1954, 1.

<sup>727</sup> *Denver Post*, 13 April 1955; *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 March 1955.

<sup>728</sup> Dianna Litvak, "US36 EIS," 6E, 46.

<sup>729</sup> *Denver Post*, 25 June 1954, 3.

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## Arapahoe County

### AURORA

Aurora, as a federal defense hub with its proximity to the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, Lowry Field and Bombing Range, Fitzsimons Hospital, and Lowry Field II (Buckley Field), faced a critical housing shortage during the war. Trailer parks sprang up, and pre-fabricated homes were produced and advertised for sale in local papers. The FHA stymied sales of prefabricated homes by denying loans for this type of construction. Small mom-pop motels on busy traffic corridors catered to weekly and monthly renters who sought more permanent housing or waited for a house to be built.

Following the war, the continued presence of Fitzsimons Army Hospital, Lowry Air Base, Buckley Field, and the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, Aurora transitioned from a small agricultural community to a bustling military center. For years, Aurora was considered a bedroom community to Denver. Each morning numbers of residents rode the bus or drove into downtown Denver to jobs or to shop in department stores. With the proliferation of postwar military or civil service jobs around Aurora, government workers and employees of nearby Stapleton Airport filled many of its neighborhoods. Much of Aurora along the East Colfax Avenue corridor developed in very small subdivisions of less than 20 homes.

In response to the housing shortage of the 1940s, many small builders bought lots in Aurora's Boston Heights Second Filing subdivision, platted by Allan M. Culver in August 1888. Ranch homes, mainly of frame construction, quickly rose in this and other existing subdivisions (See Figure K26). The Aurora building department indicated 801 new houses were built in 1949, with anticipated increases based on the first three months of 1950 that saw 350 new houses under construction.<sup>730</sup>

Aurora's retail structure began to change in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Its commercial district shifted from East Colfax Avenue to Havana Street as developers filled the mile of open land between them. Several factors led to this change, but by far the greatest impact resulted from the declining use of public transportation in favor of personal automobiles. In the 1940s, East Colfax Avenue shops assumed most customers would come by streetcar, offering only limited parking spaces for automobile owners. The last trolley ran down Colfax Avenue on 3 June 1950. In 1956, the City Council approved rezoning along Havana from residential to commercial. Shoppers drove to the newly opened strip centers instead of older Colfax stores.<sup>731</sup> Postwar bus line expansion created competition, but by 1958, Robert Ostrom and his Aurora Bus Lines could not compete with Denver Tramway Company buses and shut down. A 1953 study found Aurora's retail districts consisted of neighborhood-oriented businesses, such as groceries, hardware stores, and service establishments. In the early 1950s, 53 auto or tourist courts served motorists traveling through Aurora. The courts were located at the east end of East Colfax, between Hanover Street and the city limits, with a minor extension along Peoria Street opposite Fitzsimons Hospital. Several trailer courts were interspersed in this area, too. In the off-season, tourist courts provided rentals to military personnel and visiting patients at Fitzsimons. Industry and manufacturing was practically nonexistent, except for a small fishing rod manufacturing plant that employed 30 people, and a few wholesale building supply companies. Aurora in 1953 was a residential town, not an employment center. Aurora's workers drove to work in Denver or at nearby military installations.<sup>732</sup>

Aurora initiated a vigorous annexation effort in the 1950s, pulling unincorporated areas to the east,

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<sup>730</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 March 1950, 55.

<sup>731</sup> Mehls, Drake, and Fell, *Aurora*, 109-110.

<sup>732</sup> Robert Collins, "Aurora, Colorado: Geographical Analysis, 1953, 32, 34, 42.

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north, and southeast into the city. Included in this campaign were Hoffman Heights (to the south) and Morris Heights (to the north in Adams County). City officials and planners worked to reclaim flood plains by creating banks and a raised roadway to form a retaining wall. New businesses and shops clustered at Del Mar and East Colfax to create a "well-integrated" residential and shopping area.<sup>733</sup> Changes to the structure of city government also occupied officials. As early as 1946, Aurora city officials introduced ballot measures to create charters to apply for Home Rule, but the city could not raise enough voter support and each measure failed. In 1951, the council hired Earl Sandquist as the first city manager to assist with the day-to-day needs of running the city government. When the council feared the manager's power might outstrip their authority, they approved a council-manager form of government.<sup>734</sup> The city began a 1952 campaign, called the "City of Hospitality," to woo corporations, builders, and residents to the community. One result of this campaign was that small builders constructed new homes in older residential districts thereby deterring decline and decay in these areas.<sup>735</sup> Resistant to raising taxes, Mayor C.E. Tupp and the city's administration eventually raised taxes to develop the city's infrastructure as construction boomed in response to the hospitality campaign. In an attempt to improve the city's roads and streets in the late 1940s and early 1950s, contractors of new developments were required to construct streets, curbs, and gutters. In other areas, improvement districts were created to maintain streets. However, this piecemeal effort to maintain streets hampered Aurora's growth making it unattractive to residential developers. Growth, mobility, and suburbanization shaped an identity for the city.<sup>736</sup>

Aurora's population increased from 11,421 citizens in 1950 to 48,543 in 1960. In 1961, the city adopted a home-rule charter. At the same time, the city's water department initiated a campaign to secure Last Chance Ditch water from the South Platte River and it entered a joint agreement with Colorado Springs to meet the needs of its projected growth. Aurora thrived as an urban suburb with a modern administrative government and an economy heavily reliant upon its military installations.<sup>737</sup>

Aurora was split between Adams and Arapahoe counties during the historic period. Additional Aurora subdivisions appear under Adams County.

*Gateway Park Addition* (1946). One of the largest 1940s subdivisions to be built within the Aurora city limits is Gateway Park Addition developed by Sam G. Sclavenitis, F.P. Loulakakis, and Forest Ross. The 274 parcel subdivision features small, frame Ranch homes on lots averaging 50' x 127'. The majority of the subdivision was constructed in 1947. A second filing for 23 homes was platted by Charles Gore in August 1948. This filing built out in 1949. The small, frame Ranches featured two bedrooms, a living room and kitchen, and one bathroom. The development is south of Montview Boulevard.

*Sclavenitis* (1949). Greek immigrant Sam Sclavenitis purchased several lots in the Boston Heights subdivision (1888) to develop smaller scale subdivisions in comparison to Gateway Park, another development he invested. The Sclavenitis subdivision developed in two phases, although Sclavenitis platted both in 1949. The first filing of 69 Ranches, located at East 17<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Lima Street, is four blocks of frame and frame and brick houses. All lots are 50' x 127' in size. The second phase of construction took place south of East 17<sup>th</sup> Avenue. The Ranch houses are also of frame and frame

<sup>733</sup> Robert Collins, "Aurora, Colorado: Geographical Analysis, 1953, 32.

<sup>734</sup> Mehls, Drake, and Fell, *Aurora*, 100-103; Collins, "Aurora, Colorado," 51; Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 355.

<sup>735</sup> Robert Collins, "Aurora, Colorado: Geographical Analysis," 1953, 32.

<sup>736</sup> Robert Collins, "Aurora, Colorado: Geographical Analysis," 1953, 51 and 58.

<sup>737</sup> Colorado State Planning Division, *Colorado Year Book, 1962-1964* (Denver: Colorado State Planning Division, c. 1964).

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and brick construction with the majority built between 1953 and 1954. The Ranches were designed to have two bedrooms and one bath with some featuring a separate dining room or third bedroom.

*Virginia Heights* (1949). Harold and Simon Morris with W. R. Robinson platted Virginia Heights in June 1949. The new subdivision at Jamaica Street and East 16<sup>th</sup> Avenue consisted of 26 lots (50' x 127'). Morris Construction built small Ranch houses that averaged five rooms.

*Strait's Resub* (1948). S.O. Strait purchased three lots of the old Boston Heights subdivision platted in 1888 by Allan M. Culver. Strait planned a development of single and duplex residents in the vicinity of East 17<sup>th</sup> and Paris streets. Lots varied in size, but all the houses built were of frame construction.

*Morris Heights* (1955). Morris Heights is located in both Adams and Arapahoe counties. See narrative under Adams County for Morris Heights.

*Hoffman Town (Hoffman Heights)* (1950). Around 1948, Albert and Alice Johnson planned a subdivision development of their property, Cottonwood Farm, and organized the Cottonwood Development Company with Edward J. Dempsey and T.W. Anderson. They hired regional builder Samuel Hoffman to construct the central Aurora subdivision, located northeast of Peoria Street and East 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue. Hoffman controlled the design, construction, and price of the houses. Hoffman's assembly-line construction methods allowed him to make and sell economical homes quickly. His laborers built 12 houses per day. Hoffman refined his building techniques in creating "Hoffman Towns" from Ohio to Nevada, including subdivisions in Thornton and Pueblo. His target market was the middle class. Census statistics show that the annual median family income of residents in Hoffman Town was \$8,726 in 1960. The developer planned 1,700 homes in Hoffman Town in today's Aurora.<sup>738</sup>

Because Hoffman encountered resistance from the City of Aurora in annexing and building Hoffman Town, he organized and created a number of service districts for his new community, including the Cottonwood Water and Sanitation District, with water and sewage provided by the City of Denver. Control of the district was transferred to Hoffman Town's residents in 1952, the same year Hoffman formed the Hoffman Heights Fire Protection District. The residents created a civic association that year and chose to change the name of Hoffman Town to Hoffman Heights. Hoffman donated subdivision land for a school, a park, and a church at East 11<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Newark Street. He donated additional funds for playground equipment. At the southwest corner of the development, Hoffman's son-in-law, Sol Dichter, developed the Hoffman Heights Shopping Center that opened January 1954. Later that fall, the city council of Aurora approved the subdivision's annexation.

Hoffman only offered three models in Hoffman Heights: the Deluxe Brick, Economy Frame and Shingle, and Cosmopolitan Brick. However, a number of extras for elevations and interiors allowed individualism and variety in the neighborhood. The three-bedroom, two bath Deluxe Brick was the only model with an attached garage and cost \$11,295 without extras. The Economy Frame and Shingle had three bedrooms with one-and-a-half bathrooms and no garage for \$9,250. The \$10,050 three-bedroom Cosmopolitan Brick did not have a garage. Extras offered in Hoffman homes included a fireplace with Heatilator for \$700, a front porch, a wrap-around corner window, or another room instead of a garage. Models had gabled or hipped roofs, and homebuyers were offered a choice of brick color (red or blonde), unless the house was a Deluxe Brick. The development attracted young professionals and federal and military employees. FHA loans required larger down payments, while

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<sup>738</sup> The section on Hoffman Heights has been derived from a 2010 reconnaissance survey prepared by Hoehn Architects. Hoehn Architects P.C., "Hoffman Heights: Aurora, Colorado Reconnaissance Survey," prepared for City of Aurora, June 2010, 19-23.



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veterans or military only needed a down payment of \$1,250 for the Deluxe Brick and \$550 for the other two models.

**BOW MAR**

Bow Mar traces its origins to 1946, when Lloyd King, owner of the King Soopers grocery chain, joined forces with Denver realtor J.W. Day to create Kinay Corporation. Kinay planned to develop a luxury 575-acre subdivision located in both Jefferson and Arapahoe counties. The name Bow Mar came from nearby Bowles and Marston reservoirs. King explained to the *Rocky Mountain News* that after the village was populated it would incorporate to govern its affairs.<sup>739</sup> Despite the early fanfare, Kinay Corporation sold to industrialist and land developer Carl A. Norgren and Denver businessman Aksel Nielsen in 1949, two years after the first house was built.<sup>740</sup> The Norgrens owned a ranch near the Bow Mar site. The new development included plans for 250 home sites, a shopping center, schools, boat houses, community stables, a bathing beach, and bridle paths. All residents automatically became members of the Bow Mar Property Association and the Bow Mar Yacht Club utilized Bowles Lake.<sup>741</sup>

*Bow Mar* (1947). The Arapahoe County portion of Bow Mar included four filings: 1947, 1949, 1954, and 1961, while the Jefferson County part included only one (1947) filing. The earliest development in Bow Mar is south of Bow Mar Drive and Progress Drive, just east of Bow Mar Lake. The curvilinear layout features curving streets with loops, while others follow the shoreline of Marston and Bowles reservoirs. Dates of construction range between 1947 and 1965 with most dating to the 1950s. A fuller discussion of the development is contained elsewhere in this narrative.

**CENTENNIAL**

Considerable subdivision development occurred within the current boundaries of Centennial in the 1950s and early 1960s. Located south of Greenwood village and east of Littleton, the Centennial area remained largely agricultural through the 1940s. As the area developed, the residents worked and shopped in neighboring cities until commercial areas sprang up along major thoroughfares such as University Boulevard, Arapahoe Road, and Colorado Boulevard. Many citizens identified with the town of Littleton where they shopped. To further confuse the issue of a community identity, postal delivery was divided among offices in Englewood, Littleton, and Aurora. When threatened with a tax increase and annexation by Greenwood Village, citizens organized and voted to incorporate as Centennial on 12 September 2000. The new city of nearly 100,000 residents, encompassed portions of unincorporated Arapahoe County, including the Castlewood and Southglenn areas.

*Broadway Estates* (1956). Construction on Broadway Estates at South Broadway Boulevard and East Panama Drive began in 1955 on a tract of former farmland owned by W.H. Bashor. DOM Incorporated, a Colorado corporation, worked with Benjamin Perlmutter to develop the subdivision. DOM's president was Louis Cook. Marketers for the development targeted young professionals, who worked in industry and defense technology in the south metropolitan area. The planned community of 820 homes also included a site for a \$5 million dollar shopping center (Broadway Estates Shopping Center), two schools (Highland and Franklin Elementary Schools), a park (Milliken), a recreation center, and a pool (Ben Franklin Pool and Waterslide). To build the shopping center, Perlmutter teamed with Ambrose-Williams & Company to design and develop the facility. Construction began on

<sup>739</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 8 February 1946.

<sup>740</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 August 1949.

<sup>741</sup> "Bow Mar," in the *Colorado Year Book, 1959-1960*, 808; *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 August 1958, and 15 December 1958, 5.

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model homes on South Clarkson and South Washington streets near the center of the subdivision.<sup>742</sup> In the first year, approximately 420 brick Ranch type homes were built. The peak construction period came in 1958-59.<sup>743</sup>

The first filing included smaller, brick homes close to South Broadway Boulevard. Homebuyers chose whether or not they wanted a garage or a carport. In 1958, Perlmutter announced that new models included large, modern Ranches, Bi-levels, Tri-levels, and two-story houses ranging in price from \$19,000 to \$25,000. All of these models included attached garages. Even with the variety offered, the majority of the homes in the development are Ranch types. The size of the Perlmutter homes varied between 1,271 and 1,700 square feet, with the two-bedroom, one-bath Ranch being the smallest available.

In 1958 Perlmutter offered a "luxury-type design" in the range of \$30,000 on the east end of the development towards University Boulevard.<sup>744</sup> Standard features included ceramic tile baths, frosted ash kitchen cabinetry, choice of floor coverings, and aluminum windows with screens. Large lots allowed 20' between neighboring houses. Natural redwood fencing surrounded back yards, allowing owners privacy on their rear patios. The magical words "mountain views" found their way into advertisements. In the same year Perlmutter developed the "Dial-a-Home" concept (discussed earlier) that permitted homebuyers to select options individualizing their homes.<sup>745</sup>

*Cherry Knolls* (1958). In November 1958, developer L.C. Fulenwider announced the construction of Cherry Knolls, a new, luxury subdivision southeast of Denver in Arapahoe County. The 55-acre development featured 200 home sites valued at \$5 million. Later the development expanded to encompass 640 acres between Nobles and Orchard roads and South Colorado and South University boulevards. In its second filing, seven show homes opened showcasing custom home builders, including Largo Construction, Lexington Construction, Crest Construction, Patio Homes, Premier Construction, Freilinger Construction, Del E. Webb Construction Company, and Winkelman Construction. Fulenwider reported that infrastructure was in place for a shopping center planned at a corner of the development.

The 1,483 to 2,171-square-foot homes, in the \$20,000 to \$33,000 range, sat on large lots on curving streets "on the rolling hills above the town of Littleton."<sup>746</sup> Lots vary from 80' x 110' to as large as 111' x 125'. Writer Construction Company built four new show homes in 1964 and 1965, with models ranging in price from \$26,500 to \$29,950. In the late 1960s, Writer began building custom homes ranging in price from \$25,000 to \$37,500.<sup>747</sup> When the subdivision was completed, the majority of houses built were either Ranch or two-story; a smaller number were Bi- and Tri-level homes. The majority of construction took place between 1960 and 1965 with 1960 the peak year. At the heart of the community was built a butterfly-roof clubhouse, Cherry Knolls Sun and Swim Club. Lush lawns and trees surrounded the complex, giving it a park-like setting. In the mid-1960s, Nobles Road, which later became part of East Arapahoe Road, was widened to provide quick access to Interstate 25.

*Vista Verde Estates* (1958). Vista Verde Estates lies south of the Broadway Estates subdivision. John D. Crumpacker and Joseph H. Baumgartner filed a plat for Vista Verde in the fall of 1958. Restrictions

<sup>742</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 June 1959, Sec. E1 and 3.

<sup>743</sup> Broadway Estates plat, Arapahoe County online database in Clerk and Recorder Office (accessed 30 June 2010).

<sup>744</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 June 1959, Sec. E1 and 3.

<sup>745</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 June 1959, Sec. E1 and 3.

<sup>746</sup> *Denver Post* news article in file, Land Subdivisions, Western History, "Cherry Knolls Opens 2<sup>nd</sup> Filing Area," no date, 38.

<sup>747</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 October 1965, 7.

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on the plat required that the minimum house size be no smaller than 1,100 square feet. Home sites varied from 75' x 130' to 100' x 145'. Construction in the custom-built neighborhood flourished between 1961 and 1962 when 77 of the 144 homes were built. House sizes average 1,342 square feet and are primarily Ranch construction. Other types include Tri-level and two-story homes with a few Cape Cod one-and-a-half story dwellings. Figure K37 is representative of the Cape-Cod style constructed in the subdivision. On Grant Street, a number of Ranches line both sides of the street. Briarwood Estates Shopping Center is north of the neighborhood, and Grace Presbyterian Church is located in the community at East Sterne Boulevard and Briarwood Drive.

*Southwood Village* (1959). On East Orchard Road, west of South University Boulevard, the Southwood Village luxury subdivision featured 11 custom builders, including Howell Casey, Harold Lull Developers, BH Johnson, and Hal Jones. Other builders in the new neighborhood were Paul Farr, Floyd Miller, A&W Construction, Chalet Homes, F&D Construction, and LeRoy Hoffschneider. Land owners Mary K. Harkins and John J. and Else S. Phayer filed the plat for Southwood Village. The plat set the minimum house size at 1,200 square feet, with lot sizes ranging from 96' x 140' to 111' x 128'. Realtor Walter A. Koelbel advertised 68 custom-built homes in the \$24,000 to \$36,000 range. The \$2 million project began in the spring of 1959, with the majority of homes built between 1960 and 1961, although building continued into 1964. Styles offered in this neighborhood included Traditional, Contemporary, Ranch, and "Early American" architecture.<sup>748</sup>

*Southglenn* (1961). In the winter of 1961, brothers Sol and Samuel Primack announced plans for a 1,590-home subdivision on 650 acres in Arapahoe County. As soon as the weather allowed, construction crews started building on a tract of farmland extending from Euclid Avenue to Ramo-Woolridge Road and Penrose Court to University Boulevard. The first filing in Perl-Mack's Southglenn featured a rotation of Ranch, Split-level, and two-story houses to alleviate homogeneity commonly criticized at the time. The housing plans resulted in large Ranches, Tri-levels, and two-story houses equally distributed throughout the neighborhood. Seventeen Bi-level homes found their way into the mix. Plans for the community included a space on the east side closest to South University Boulevard for mixed-use construction. Later, a modern ice arena, apartments, offices, and commercial businesses filled the site. The majority of Southglenn homes, almost 295, were built in 1963. Stipulations on the 1961 plat required that the minimum house size be 1,200 square feet, with at least a one-car garage.<sup>749</sup>

Homes ranged in size from 1,585 to 1,756 square feet on lots varying from 85' x 120' to 100' x 100'. A succession of filings included an ever-changing series of models. Most houses included three to four bedrooms with two or two-and-a-half bathrooms. Home prices ranged from \$30,950 to \$35,500, with FHA financing. Extras and amenities included double garages, air-conditioning, fireplaces, wall-to-wall carpeting, and Hotpoint appliances. By the time the subdivision achieved build-out, approximately 1,590 homes existed. In 1970, Southglenn residents automatically received membership in the Southglenn Country Club, with its nine-hole golf course and Olympic-size swimming pool.<sup>750</sup>

*Ridgeview Hills* (1961). In 1955, T.W. Anderson and Tom O. and Gladys C. Bradbury platted a tract of land from South Gallup to South Elati streets south of Ridge Road. The development featured

<sup>748</sup> News clipping from the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection clippings files under Real Estate Development. No newspaper citation or date provided.

<sup>749</sup> Southglenn plat, Arapahoe County Clerk and Recorder Office, Littleton, Colorado; *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 August 1970, 38; *Denver Post*, 27 February 1961, 16; *Denver Post*, 8 April 1973, 13E.

<sup>750</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 August 1970, 38; *Denver Post*, 27 February 1961, 16, and 8 April 1973, 13E.

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curvilinear streets and one cul-de-sac with 150' x 150' lots and irregularly shaped tracts. Medema Homes built a number of Tri-level, Bi-level, and Ranch houses. The Split-level opened onto a main level entry staircase that led to the living room or family room levels. For whatever reason, perhaps due to an extraordinary number of new housing starts, housing construction in the Medema neighborhood did not really take off until 1964 and 1965, when a majority of the Ridgeview Hills homes were built. C.J. Medema served as president of the company at the time.<sup>751</sup>

*Walnut Hills* (1961). In 1961, Zeebar Corporation, a Delaware corporation, and Arapahoe Building Company joined forces to plat and develop Walnut Hills, located at Interstate 25 and Arapahoe Road. The firms received permission from Arapahoe County to build on 11 November 1961. Zeebar's president, Benjamin Elenbogen, and Arapahoe Building Company President Harry J. Kelly, Jr., planned and designed 204 homes in the first filing of the subdivision. The marketing agents for the development targeted young professionals working in technology and industry. Walnut Hills offered fine residential housing in a growing area of Denver. Completed in 1965, the development included nine filings. Most of the building took place in 1963, with 211 houses constructed. The majority of houses in Walnut Hills are large, Ranches, with fewer two-story, Bi-level, and Tri-level houses in the mix. Figure K34 is representative of a Bi-level type, while Figure K39 is a Contemporary style found in the subdivision. In October 1962, Dream House Acres, a Delaware corporation run by Benjamin Elenbogen, became the principal builder.

### **CHERRY HILLS VILLAGE**

During the early 1940s, residents of the Cherry Hills area, a golf-playing, horse-riding community, considered their options to incorporate as a town. Cherry Hills attracted Denver socialites eager for a second home with a country life, expansive estates, mountain views, and privacy. Neighbors organized to form a special district when threatened by Denver's plans to build an airport near their quiet, country village. Attorney J. Churchill Owen, a Cherry Hills resident, drafted zoning legislation in 1939 to protect unincorporated areas by: 1) allowing counties to zone property designed for the county's best future land use and 2) permitting unincorporated areas to organize to create fire protection and improvement districts without incorporating. This allowed Cherry Hills to create both a fire protection district and a district improvement association to protect its interests temporarily without incorporating or annexing.<sup>752</sup> This legislation allowed future developers to form districts to get water and fire districts established in order to build in the metropolitan area. In 1945, threatened by the possibility of an airport proposed by Denver officials, the Cherry Hills residents voted to incorporate as a village and pick candidates for a mayor and a board of trustees.<sup>753</sup> The residents elected Joseph Little as Cherry Hills Village's first mayor. The incorporated city filed an injunction against Denver to prohibit an airport site more than five miles outside its limits. Another course of action available to the village was zoning. With incorporation Cherry Hills Village could institute ordinances that would limit how low planes could fly overhead, effectively thwarting construction of an airport in the vicinity. Through incorporation, the city was able to create and enforce more stringent building codes on an expected boom in home construction. The area that prided itself on a small village lifestyle experienced an unprecedented building boom in the early 1950s leading them to proclaim in 1953 the little suburb was a full-fledged city.<sup>754</sup>

<sup>751</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "Historic Context," 52.

<sup>752</sup> Klasina VanderWerf, *High on Country: A Narrative of Cherry Hills Village, From the Early Beginnings to 1975* (Cherry Hills Land Preserve, 2007) 41-42.

<sup>753</sup> *Denver Post*, 29 January 1945, 5 and 21 February 1945, 3; and *Rocky Mountain News*, 21 May 1945.

<sup>754</sup> *Denver Post*, 2 August 1953, 19a.

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*Cherry Vale Acres* (1931/40). R.L. Marsh of Sterling Lumber Investment platted the Cherry Vale Acres subdivision in the fall of 1931. Construction began slowly in the 1940s, but stalled during the war years. It was not until the 1950s that that numbers of homes began to appear in the small development. The subdivision is made up of Ranch and two-story houses.

*Cherry Hills Village Acres* (1946). James Nicholson and Austin and Frances Dunham platted the small subdivision south of Layton Avenue and South Lafayette Court in the fall of 1946. The 21-lot development was amended in the summer of 1947. Construction of the architecturally-designed homes in the development languished until the early 1950s. The subdivision is largely made up of Ranches.

*Cherry Hills Rancho* (1948). Leonard and Eleanor Delue platted the Cherry Hills Rancho subdivision in April 1948. The curvilinear development resulted in a number of irregular-shaped lots along Martin Lane. Located northeast of Clarkson Street and Oxford Avenue, the architecturally-designed, Ranch houses are large with four bedrooms and three bathrooms. Despite its platting in 1948, construction began in earnest in 1951.

*Cherry Hills Heights* (1940). Real Estate Equities Incorporated sold the land for Cherry Hills Heights subdivision to the Cherry Hills Heights Company in 1940. The company with B.J. and Blanche Bussing amended the original plat in the spring of 1941. Designed along curved streets, northeast of Hampden Avenue and South University Boulevard, the Ranch houses sit on irregular lots. In the first two years only two houses were built. Architects and builders constructed the majority of the three bedroom and two bath Ranch houses between 1952 and 1961.

### **COLUMBINE VALLEY**

In 1955, members from the Columbine Country Club traveled to Thunderbird Country Club in Palm Springs, California, for a golf tournament. The Thunderbird Country Club incorporated homes around the fairway—reportedly the first golf course to place housing in such a manner—creating an attractive golfing community. When the Columbine Country Club members returned to Colorado, they formed the Middlefield Development Company. In 1955, the company's president Henry C. Hausehaad platted the Columbine Valley Estates subdivision.<sup>755</sup> The community officially incorporated in August 1959, with a mayor and city council form of government.<sup>756</sup> More about the Columbine Valley Estates development can be found in the section on subdivisions.

*Columbine Valley Estates* (1955). In 1955, the Middlefield Development Company (Henry C. Hausehaad, president) filed a plat for Columbine Valley Estates. Middlefield hired Van Schaack & Company to develop the residential area with the Denver firm of Harman, O'Donnell & Henninger Associates (HOH) as planners and landscape designers.<sup>757</sup> The project entailed designing a residential subdivision around the existing Columbine Country Club golf course, west of Littleton. Designs for the new residential development used the golf course as an open space backdrop for high quality homes on large lots. The plan included as many houses as possible along the fairways and greens, placing each house at a safe distance from the course. Trees and shrubs would act as buffers for errant shots, yet allow spacious views of the open space from the back of the houses. Included in the landscape design of the community were Nevada Ditch, with a series of flood plains, and Columbine Lake in the southwest corner of the development. Areas were provided for an elementary school (Laura Ingalls Wilder Elementary) and such recreational facilities as tennis courts

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<sup>755</sup> "Columbine Valley Estates History," <http://www.columbinevalleyhoa.org> (accessed 29 June 2010).

<sup>756</sup> "Columbine Valley," [http://columbinevalleyhoa.org/CVHOA\\_Neighborhood.html](http://columbinevalleyhoa.org/CVHOA_Neighborhood.html) (accessed 4 July 2010).

<sup>757</sup> Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builders Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1960), 184.

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and a swimming pool. HOH planned two entrances into the subdivision off South Platte Canyon Road.

Middlefield prepared an architectural design guide, "Use and Building Restrictions of Columbine Valley," which is still followed today. The architectural guidelines set standards for residential construction, which only allowed one-story houses with a maximum height of 20'.<sup>758</sup> Early in the design stage and development of the covenants, the members planned a residential community only. Restrictions clearly stated that no stores, offices, businesses, hospitals, sanitariums, theaters, saloons, places of entertainment, or even churches were allowed.<sup>759</sup>

Construction allowed a single-family house with a three-car garage and a separate guesthouse or servant quarters on each lot. Average lot size was approximately 140' x 130'. No house could be less than 1,600 square feet, with the garage entrance accessed from the side lot line. A 30' setback from streets was mandated, as well as a 40-foot setback from the golf course. Many architect-designed homes featured walls of windows facing the fairway and the open space to allow homeowners vistas of the course.<sup>760</sup>

When the community grew to 17 homeowners, they organized the Columbine Valley Homeowners Association. That area of the development is now known as Old Town. Columbine Valley began construction on its first house in 1956 with 83 completed by 1965.<sup>761</sup> The development officially incorporated as a town on 15 August 1959, with a mayor and city council form of government.<sup>762</sup> Later the city government built a town hall on Middlefield Road.

## **ENGLEWOOD**

After the war, residential construction in Englewood flourished. The city banked on its established railroad, bus, and truck lines serving Denver. The Denver Tramway Company and a privately-owned Englewood-Littleton-Fort Logan bus line served the area. The population almost doubled between 1940 and 1950 from 9,680 to 16,869.<sup>763</sup> The downtown area of Englewood bustled with activity, with a number of retail businesses and restaurants serving the public. The city bragged about its quality of life, which was enhanced by its new high school, free public library, new city administrative complex, and new employers, including light industry, carnation growers, greenhouses, and machine shops. The city created its own water department in 1948, drawing a supply from a South Platte River reservoir system. Swedish Medical Center, a former sanitarium, served the medical needs of the community.<sup>764</sup>

*Arapahoe Acres* (1949; listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1998, 5AH.1434). Developer and designer Edward B. Hawkins and his business partner Clyde Mannon developed the

<sup>758</sup> The guide was amended in 1996 to increase the maximum height to 25 feet and allow split-level style homes only with approval of the architectural control committee. "Use and Building Restrictions of Columbine Valley," available online on the HOA website.

<sup>759</sup> "Use and Building Restrictions of Columbine Valley," available online on the HOA website.

<sup>760</sup> The ideas used in creating Columbine Valley follow later recommendations found in the 1960 "Golf Course Subdivisions," in *the Community Builders Handbook* prepared by the Community Builders' Council (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute), 176-177, which featured an aerial photograph and drawing of Columbine Valley. Whether the development company was aware of these guidelines is unclear. Golf communities are also discussed in an article, "Call It Home: The Home that Private Enterprise Built," <http://www.gsapp.org/Research/Call-it-home> (accessed 28 June 2010).

<sup>761</sup> "Columbine Valley."

<sup>762</sup> "Columbine Valley."

<sup>763</sup> *Colorado Yearbook, 1960-1962*.

<sup>764</sup> Hicks, *Englewood from the Beginning*, 43; Harold Stitt, Englewood Community Development, interview by Dawn Bunyak on 21 July 2009.

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Arapahoe Acres subdivision in Englewood. Hawkins bought a tract of land from M. Olive Hensley in the fall of 1949.<sup>765</sup> Shortly afterward, Hawkins filed a plat with Arapahoe County for a 30-acre development located between Bates Avenue to Dartmouth Avenue and Franklin Street to Marion Street. The residential community was divided into 124 parcels. Hawkins hired architect Eugene Sternberg to plan and design the initial group of homes constructed in the development. Sternberg retained the grade and used an asymmetrical alignment for placement of his International style homes on the home sites. Hawkins wanted to offer quality, modern construction to the consumer. To that end, he associated the development with the Revere Copper and Brass Company, Southwest Research Institute, and the Housing Research Institute. The groups joined to create a national program to advance better architect-builder relations and encourage quality, modern homes.<sup>766</sup>

Beginning in 1950, Hawkins and architect-planner Joseph G. Dion designed larger and more luxurious modern homes than the original Sternberg designs on large, sweeping lawns.<sup>767</sup> The uniquely designed subdivision features curved streets with only one, Cornell Avenue, bisecting the neighborhood. The curves slowed and decreased through-traffic to create a safer, quieter neighborhood. Lot sizes range from 66' x 100' up to 80' x 150'. No two houses are alike in the entire subdivision. Architectural historian Diane Wray documented International and Usonian style houses in the neighborhood. Wray cites the significance of the three men associated with the subdivision: Edward Hawkins, a pioneer in modern residential development and construction; Eugene Sternberg, a regional master of mid-twentieth century modern architecture; and Joseph Dion, a prominent local modernist architect.<sup>768</sup>

By 1960, Englewood's population rose to 33,398. In 1964, the *Colorado Year Book* cited Englewood as the largest city in Arapahoe County.<sup>769</sup> Nearly 40 new manufacturing companies opened after 1960, including Sealtest Foods Incorporated, Williams Company, Canada Dry, and Thermodynamics. Carnation production, which began in Englewood in 1880, continued to be a multi-million dollar industry. Several major growers and wholesalers raised over 80 million blooms a year. Residential construction of small subdivisions flourished in the city. Englewood owned its own municipal water system with a new reservoir located south of the city. A new supplementary filtration plant opened in 1961. Englewood's Swedish Hospital expanded with a new \$3,250,000 wing in 1963, almost doubling the size of the hospital.<sup>770</sup> In 1965, the city sold its park to a developer who erected the Cinderella City Shopping Center (1968), which became the nation's largest shopping center under one roof.<sup>771</sup>

*Wollenwebbers Broadway Heights* (1927/1941). Louis and Louis C. Wollenwebber of Wollenwebbers Investment Company had high hopes for building in Englewood in 1927 when they platted Broadway Heights. The subdivision, located southwest of Broadway and West Quincy Avenue, developed in a piece meal fashion until it was amended in 1941. Between 1941 and 1963, less than ten houses a year were constructed, except for the year 1951 when 20 houses were built. The majority of the homes constructed were Ranches.

*Bellewood* (1950). The Bellewood subdivision in Englewood was platted in December 1950. The street system in the neighborhood followed a grid pattern parallel to South Broadway Boulevard and

<sup>765</sup> Wray, "Arapahoe Acres," 30. After her marriage, Ms. Wray uses Wray Tomasso as her professional name.

<sup>766</sup> Wray, "Arapahoe Acres," 30.

<sup>767</sup> Wray, "Arapahoe Acres," 1-3

<sup>768</sup> Wray, "Arapahoe Acres," 27.

<sup>769</sup> *Colorado Year Book, 1962-1964*, 890.

<sup>770</sup> *Colorado Year Book, 1962-1964*, 891.

<sup>771</sup> Hicks, *Englewood from the Beginning*, 43; Harold Stitt, Englewood Community Development, interview by Dawn Bunyak, 21 July 2009.

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Belleview Avenue. Edward Thomas Young, Maude B. Denton, and Margaret S. Lobb filed a plat for the Bellewood First Filing in 1954. The Laurence J. Woodman Investment Company platted the Second Filing in 1955. Builders constructed 167 economically-designed Ranch type houses within the development. The simple Ranch homes featured casement windows, no detailing, and asbestos shingle siding.<sup>772</sup> The two most common plans found in the neighborhood are the L-plan Ranch and a Minimal Ranch with hip roof or side-gable roof, with no porch or only a small entry. The average house size was 1,061 square feet. Most models contained two bedrooms and one bath, with an average five rooms in the house. Originally, the homes only had carports, but some residents built detached garages located at the end of the drive and at the back of the lot.

*Brookridge Heights* (1951). In late October 1951, the firm Belco Incorporated, a Colorado corporation, filed a plat for a fan-shaped subdivision called Brookridge Heights. Two additional plats followed in 1954. When Madison Homes Incorporated and Vestal Welshire Hills, both owned by Don E. and Maxine Vestal, began construction in Filing 2 of Brookridge Heights the size and architectural quality of the Ranch homes improved. Another developer, Belleview Incorporated finished the houses in Filing 3 between Belleview Avenue, South Broadway, and Centennial Avenue.

At the corner of South Broadway and Belleview Avenue, Brookridge Shopping Center with its many small businesses served Brookridge Heights' residents and adjacent areas. East Centennial Avenue formed the main east-west thoroughfare in Brookridge Heights, while the major north-south thoroughfare was South Washington Street. Brookridge is predominantly a Ranch house development of approximately 270 dwellings with a few Split-level homes. The Ranch size averages 1,110 square feet. The earliest houses include minimal Ranches with hipped roofs and carports. Contemporary Ranches with an integrated carport and low-pitched roof were also built. Later Ranches were larger, brick construction with one-car garages. Split-level houses constructed of all brick or brick and frame had an almost flat roof. The Brookridge Heights lots are 60' x 120' or 70' x 120'.

## GLENDALE

Denver's continued efforts to annex the enclave of Glendale galvanized the local population to fight against such attempts. In 1952, businessmen Edward Young, Edward Hillmeyer, Alvin Adler, L.A. Stookesberry, and Fred Repp formed a committee to persuade Glendale residents to incorporate. Election Day results on 25 March 1952 saw an overwhelming vote for incorporation by a margin of 93-6.<sup>773</sup> The new municipal government included an all volunteer board. City officials continued to fight annexation efforts into the early 1960s. Each time Glendale officials approached Denver for services, the battle over annexation was renewed. In 1955, the town applied to Denver for utilities, but when the Denver Planning Department analyzed existing conditions within Glendale, it declined. Glendale had no organized water works, safety department (fire and police), public works, or traffic engineering department.<sup>774</sup> Two years later, the city formed the Glendale Water and Sanitation District. In the early 1960s, city trustees organized a volunteer fire department and appointed a town marshal. At times, Glendale residents, fearing rising taxes, organized from within to rally for annexation to Denver. Each time the initiative failed. When a building boom eventually arrived in Glendale, it consisted mainly of commercial enterprises along Colorado Boulevard and Leetsdale

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<sup>772</sup> It appears that over the years residents replaced the siding. There are only a few examples of the original siding extant.

<sup>773</sup> Jack E. Fletcher and Patricia A. Fletcher, *The History of Glendale* (Glendale, Colorado: City of Glendale, 1983), 102-108; John W. Anderson, "Glendale, Colorado: The Growth and Development of a Metropolitan Enclave," M.A. Thesis, University of Colorado, 1978, 17.

<sup>774</sup> Fletcher and Fletcher, *The History of Glendale*, 111-114; Anderson, "Glendale," 27-30.



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Drive. Today, the city contains approximately 400 acres with the majority utilized for commercial purposes, along with mostly multi-family units and a few single-family houses.

**GREENWOOD VILLAGE**

In order to avoid annexation by Englewood in 1950, Charles "Rollie" Enos led a successful drive to create "Greenwood Village," named after the vicinity's historic Greenwood Ranch. The new municipality, located south of Cherry Hills Village, was three miles long and one mile wide and included the former Castlewood area. The town, with 138 residents led by Enos as mayor, faced almost immediate opposition from within. Opponents filed proceedings in district court against the new mayor and his councilmen questioning signatures on the original incorporation petition.<sup>775</sup> Farmers voted against incorporation feeling threatened by potential zoning and development restrictions, while others favored annexation by Cherry Hills Village. However, opposition soon died.

Greenwood Village, as a residential and rural community, collected only a modest property tax income in the early years following its 1950 incorporation. By the mid-1960s, the town grappled with tight budgets, annexation issues, and growth. Greenwood Village Mayor John Wood worked with Denver businessman George Wallace to annex the Denver Technological Center adjacent to Interstate 25. There were no industries in the city.<sup>776</sup> In the late 1960s, with a tax base and growing municipal coffers, Greenwood Village and its volunteer-run government developed a master plan and sought home rule status.<sup>777</sup>

*Greenwood Hills* (1959). In July 1959, Thomas J. Carlile and Jack Hull of the newly-formed Land Development Service Incorporated announced the creation of Greenwood Hills, a subdivision of one-acre sites east of South Holly Street and north of East Orchard Road. The firm advertised the development's proximity to Interstate 25 and downtown Denver. Each building site, with water, gas and electricity, and paved streets, sold for \$6,500 in the 1st filing. The large lots ranged in size from 176' x 176' to 205' x 210'. The company required that no home be less than 1,400 square feet. Plans for a shopping center, Greenwood Elementary School, a recreation area, and a country club were in the offing by 1960. Land Development Service teamed with licensed real estate brokers to engage area builders "for speculative construction, handling all insurance, resale, and financing."<sup>778</sup> Carlile also worked with Koelbel in the development of Cherryridge, Charlou Park, and Cherry Vale. In the 1960s, another Carlile company was Colorado Real Estate and Developers.

*Orchard Hills* (1962). Six Denver-area business men formed Orchard Hills Incorporated to develop the land around their new custom-built homes east of Interstate 25. Included in the enterprise were architect Eugene D. Sternberg, insurance executive Dean Stone, Greeley Gas Company president Lee E. Schlessman, advertising executive James S. Holme, and doctors Thomas J. Kennedy and Gardner Middlebrook. The community, located south of Belleview Avenue, included a 160-acre site planned as "six tiny villages" of 150 custom-designed homes in a park-like setting with a lake and a string of greenbelts. Six planned entrances led into a cul-de-sac grouped around a central park area. Eugene D. Sternberg & Associates designed several homes in the development. Covenants required a minimum 1,400-square-foot house size within the development. In 1963, Sternberg told a reporter, "Orchard Hills will be for people who care for architectural character in their surroundings." Realtors

<sup>775</sup> *Denver Post*, 18 October 1950; *Cervi's Journal*, 31 August 1950, 1.

<sup>776</sup> Colorado State Planning Division, *The Colorado Yearbook, 1959-1960* (Denver: State Planning Division, c. 1961), 813.

<sup>777</sup> "Our Village, Our History," <http://www.greenwoodvillage.com> (accessed 27 June 2010); VanderWerf, *High on Country*, 130-132; *Denver Post*, 18 October 1950.

<sup>778</sup> *Denver Post*, 5 July 1959, Sec. 1E.

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Bishop-Perry & Company opened a sales office at Orchard Hills for potential homebuyers.<sup>779</sup>

**LITTLETON**

In 1945, Littleton's population stood at just over 3,000.<sup>780</sup> The *Littleton Independent* editor looked back on the decade of the 1930s as an era of modernization.<sup>781</sup> By 1945, a number of military manufacturing firms opened in the quiet community. Heckethorn Manufacturing and Supply Company employed 275 employees during the war operating 24 hours a day.<sup>782</sup> The firm manufactured anti-aircraft projectiles and mortars for the armed forces. Red Comet manufacturing of fire extinguishers for businesses and residences now focused on supplying the military.<sup>783</sup>

Between 1940 and 1945, there were plans for nine subdivisions in the city of Littleton and an additional three in 1946. "Littleton's first suburb" was a planned subdivision on 17-acres of land, formerly the George Weaver farm, which was called Windermere Homes Tract Number 1, west of Windermere and north of Ridge Road.<sup>784</sup> Other planned Littleton subdivisions were: Weber's (a replat by Clifford A. and Dorothea E. Weber of Block 12 of Windermere Gallup Suburban Home Subdivision, located southwest of West Maplewood Avenue and South Spotswood Street); White City (one block northeast of Littleton Boulevard and South Huron Street); Duker Subdivision (1949); Herman's Subdivision (1949); and Nevada Heights (1948).<sup>785</sup>

In the early 1950s, Littleton experienced a building boom, with 98 new subdivisions quadrupling the population of the city. For the first time in its history since incorporation, Littleton annexed surrounding territory to increase its size from 767 acres to 2,362 acres.<sup>786</sup> In response to Littleton's unprecedented growth, voters approved a number of school bonds in the 1950s to build a succession of new schools in District 6. In 1950, voters approved a \$265,000 bond for West Elementary School. South School opened its doors in 1953.<sup>787</sup> Two bond issues raised funds in 1954 and 1955 to build East Elementary School and Littleton High School (1955-56), constructed east of South Broadway on Littleton Boulevard. Centennial Elementary opened in February 1958 for the children on the west side of Santa Fe Drive. The "new style school" featured classrooms built around offices and a multipurpose room.<sup>788</sup>

After the war, manufacturing firms, such as C.A. Norgren, Electron, Johns Manville, Regal Plastics, and OK Tire (later Big-O) continued to prosper in the Littleton area. Space technology and research and oil manufacturing firms, including Glenn L. Martin, Ohio Oil Company Research Center, and TRW, employed large numbers of young professionals who bought homes in the Littleton area. In the early 1950s, Woodlawn Shopping Center opened on Littleton Boulevard, with negative impacts on the city's downtown. Miles Lantz and Associates designed the shopping center at West Littleton Boulevard and Windermere Street, which featured a Safeway supermarket, a Republic Drug Store, a Woolworth's, and a modern movie theater.<sup>789</sup> Robert Van Bebber opened Van B's Dads and Lads Store in Woodlawn in December 1955 operating his men's specialty store until 1989. Van Bebber, like

<sup>779</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 May 1963, Sec 1D.

<sup>780</sup> Diane Wray, "Live in the Suburbs: Historic Context of Littleton, Colorado, 1949-1967," 6.

<sup>781</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Historic Building Survey, 2000-2001," 41-42.

<sup>782</sup> *Littleton Independent* Sixtieth Anniversary Edition, 1888-1948 (Littleton: Littleton Independent, 1948), advertisement.

<sup>783</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Historic Building Survey, 2000-2001," 42.

<sup>784</sup> Plat of Windermere Homes Tract, Arapahoe County Clerk & Records, Littleton, CO.

<sup>785</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Historic Building Survey, 2000-2001," 44.

<sup>786</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Historic Building Survey, 2000-2001," 44.

<sup>787</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Historic Building Survey, 2000-2001," 50 and Hicks, 35.

<sup>788</sup> Hicks, *Littleton*, 35-36.

<sup>789</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Historic Building Survey, 2000-2001," 46 and 47.

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many Woodlawn business owners, relocated their families to Littleton and purchased homes in the city's growing subdivisions.<sup>790</sup> The two-story Courthouse office building rose in downtown Littleton in 1959, designed by architect Eugene Sternberg to house professional offices and constructed by Weaver Construction Company.<sup>791</sup>

During the 1960s, Littleton changed from an agricultural community to a modern municipality. By 1960, Littleton covered 2,362 acres and more than 30 percent of its citizens worked for the Martin Company.<sup>792</sup> City Manager Tom Moore and the City Council changed the city's street names and numbering to correspond to Denver's street system under Ordinance Number 26. In 1963, the *Littleton Independent* reported that inflation caused by the Vietnam War would add extra costs to construction in the area.<sup>793</sup> In 1965, the city hired architect Eugene Sternberg to design two public buildings, the Edwin A. Bemis Public Library and Arapahoe Community College. Littleton went to court to protest Englewood's annexation of 112 acres in the Brookridge area on South Broadway in that year. Belleview Avenue had long been considered the dividing line between the communities, and the area is still a part of Englewood. A boom in subdivision platting occurred in Littleton, with 1960s corporate-sponsored subdivisions including curvilinear streets with large lots, often irregular in shape, and Split-level and two-story homes replacing Ranches.

*Windermere Homes* (1946). Between 1940 and 1945, developers planned nine subdivisions within Littleton. Platted on 17 acres of the former George Weaver farm, Windermere Homes Tract Number 1, the city's first new subdivision, was located west of Windermere and north of Ridge Road. Developer Western Builders Incorporated planned affordable houses on lots approximately 80' x 135'. The average dwelling cost \$6,000, and veterans had priority for purchase. Architect Theodore Moore designed the one-story frame houses, which featured oak floors and two bedrooms. Each house also included a dinette, living room, kitchen, bathroom, and utility room. Windermere Homes expanded to include a second addition in 1948.<sup>794</sup>

*Broadmoor* (1952). In 1952, Crestview Company, with Jane E. Burton as president and Robert U. Shockley as secretary, filed a plat for a subdivision located between Littleton Boulevard and Shepperd Avenue, east of Hickory Street. As the popularity of the neighborhood grew, an additional five filings were added. Approximately 527 houses were built on irregular lots ranging in size from 65' x 110' or 85' x 110'. House plans in the first filing reflected simple designs, including Ranches with frame and later brick veneer exteriors. The peak construction year came in 1954. On Lakeview Street, all but five of the houses are of frame construction, with casement windows and no porch or a small entry. In the initial construction period, most Ranches had no or only one-car garages. As time passed, larger Ranch homes with more square footage and sophisticated designs included attached garages. Most of the houses were built between 1954 and 1958. A new model, a two-story, was introduced at the end of the construction period in the development.<sup>795</sup>

*Lining* (1953). South of West Belleview Avenue and Progress Park in Littleton, developers built the Lining Subdivision in two phases, with the first push occurring between 1954 and 1956, when 75 houses were constructed. Three individuals, Mary L. Crary, C.L. Schillinger, and William F. Larrick, filed the plat. A second phase of construction occurred between 1958 and 1960, with approximately

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<sup>790</sup> Interview Florence and Robert Van Bebber, by Dawn Bunyak, 31 August 2009.

<sup>791</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Historic Building Survey, 2000-2001," 48.

<sup>792</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Building Survey, 2000-2001" pages 55-56; Hicks, *Littleton from the Beginning*, pages 35-36, 43-46.

<sup>793</sup> Wray, "Live in the Suburbs," 114.

<sup>794</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Historic Building Survey, 2000-2001, 44.

<sup>795</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "City of Littleton Historic Building Survey, 2000-2001," 52.

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69 houses erected. Subsequent filings list Lininger family members on plat documents.

The subdivision, situated on softly rolling hills, allowed construction of larger Ranch houses with walkout basements. The initial phase of development included L-shaped Ranches with hipped roofs located on one side of the street, and contemporary Ranches with carports on the other side. This suggests that small builders built on a specific number of lots. The contemporary Ranches were one-story, geometric in form, with a low or flat roof, no ornamentation, and straight lines accented with different paint colors. The rectilinear design had cantilevered carports and entry ways. Prominent windows on the façade featured large four-panel picture windows with clerestory panes.

*Arapaho Hills* (1955). In 1954, Edward B. Hawkins purchased 160 acres in unincorporated Arapahoe County to build a subdivision called Arapaho Hills. Hawkins filed for a plat in the spring of 1955, with plans to develop 360 modern homes on the site. However, only 37 of the 160 acres were used for the subdivision of approximately 83 lots. Architect and planner Joseph G. Dion assisted Hawkins with design and layout of the planned development. The subdivision is bounded by Arrowhead Road, Lowell Boulevard, Berry Road, and Camargo Road. There were no planned parks, schools, or commercial areas in this residential community. Builders installed water and sewer lines, streets, curbs, and sidewalks. Clyde Mannon and his firm, Mannon Associates, took over control of marketing, sales, and construction in Arapaho Hills. Six homes in the development, one per year, were designed by national firms for *Better Homes & Gardens* magazine as idea homes in 1956 through 1961. Two regional architects involved with the *Better Homes & Gardens* models were Bruce Sutherland and John Eatwell. In the early 1960s, a slump slowed construction, resulting in Mannon and Hawkins selling the remaining sites. Architectural historian Dianne Wray Tomasso identified the architectural styles within Arapaho Hills as International and Usonian.<sup>796</sup>

*Meadowbrook Valley* (1955). Off Caley Street and South Broadway Boulevard, the Valley Land Company developed Meadowbrook Valley on former farm land. The large subdivision, built between 1955 and 1965, grew to include 298 houses. Valley Land president, Lyman W. Bader, and vice president, Russell Wohlgenuth, designed a development of Ranch style homes on lots averaging 75' x 120'. No house was to be smaller than 1,100 square feet. At the entrance to the development, a small park called Bessette Arboretum welcomed residents. The first wave of construction consisted of medium size Ranch homes of approximately 1,226 square feet. The second wave resulted in larger, three-bedroom and two-bath Ranches of approximately 1,353 to 1,582 square feet. Children walked to Walt Whitman Elementary School (closed in 2009) at the south end of the development.

*Aberdeen Village* (1956). Aberdeen Land Company and Havana Builders teamed to build Aberdeen Village in 1956. The planned development of 105 custom homes was located south of Littleton Boulevard and west of South Broadway. Aberdeen Land Co and Eugene F. and Fannie R. Pilz platted the land formerly owned by Dr. H.R. Dietmeier. The homes in Aberdeen Village ranged in price from \$25,000 to \$50,000. Robert Hayutin, president of both Havana Builders Incorporated and Aberdeen Land Company, developed Aberdeen Village, as well as Village East in Aurora, Cherry Hills Crest on South University Boulevard, and Columbine Manor, south of the Columbine Country Club on South Platte Canyon Road.<sup>797</sup> Curvilinear streets east of Kendrick Lake featured one-half acre lots for large, custom-designed homes. The average house size was 1,859 square feet. A large number of the homes are Ranch type, although a number of two-story houses were also built. A total of 87 houses resulted, with the peak year of construction in 1958. Houses featured individual styling,

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<sup>796</sup> Diane Wray Tomasso, "Arapaho Hills Reconnaissance Survey," prepared for the Office of Community Development Littleton, Colorado, 15 April 2009, 1-3.

<sup>797</sup> *Cervi's Journal*, 7 March 1962, 1.

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including a Swiss-Chalet option featuring a navy fascia board and shingles and a Dutch-Colonial with a gambrel roof.

*Ridgewood* (1960) Ambrose-Williams Company, the Wilson Investment Company, and W. Charles and Margaret M. Kettle platted Ridgewood Subdivision southeast of Ridge and South Hill Street in 1960. The subdivision featured a curvilinear street pattern with large lots. Advertisements described the local terrain, planned parochial school, and custom-built homes.

*Ridgewood Park* (1960) Located between South Prince Street and the railroad tracks and between Briarwood Avenue and Rowland, Ridgewood Park also was developed by Ambrose-Williams and the Wilson Investment Company in conjunction with John and Marilyn Davis. Noble Homes, operated by Darrell and Lyle Shields, offered a number of home plans in the subdivision, ranging from a two-story Colonial-style house to large three- and four-bedroom Ranches. Models varied in price from \$20,000 to \$35,000.<sup>798</sup> Lyle Shields introduced the first model home on South Prince Street directly south of downtown Littleton, stating that it represented the largest available in the area for under \$31,000, with nearly 3,000 square feet of living space, plus a full basement and large garage.<sup>799</sup>

*Bel-Vue Heights* (1961) Developer John C. Chesnick, president of Tri-County Corporation platted Bel-Vue Heights and as president of Area Development Corporation, platted Bel-Vue Heights West. The subdivisions lay between Broadway and South Elati streets north of Dry Creek. The lots averaged 84' x 125' or 84' x 135' and lined curvilinear streets and cul de sacs.

*Ridgeview Hills* (1962) Partners Jim Alsum and Neil Medema, owners of Medal Building Corporation, offered homes on quarter-acre sites at their Ridgeview Hills subdivision in Littleton. Alsum's family engaged in building homes and commercial property in Denver for many years. Medema came to Denver from Illinois, where he had been in the construction business. He and his brothers developed a 1600-plus home subdivision in Oak Forest, Illinois. Platted in 1962, the Ridgeview Hills subdivision, located just east of Colorado Boulevard, featured homes with ceramic tile baths, sunken living rooms, and paneled "recreation" rooms.<sup>800</sup>

## **SHERIDAN**

In 1940, Sheridan's population stood at 712. After the war, residential construction increased the population to 1,715 in 1950 and it more than doubled by 1960, rising to 3,559.<sup>801</sup> Some of the earliest postwar subdivisions in Sheridan included Sheridan Hills, Knollwood, and Rose Gardens. The city grew beyond its ability to support its population. Denver and Englewood annexations encircled Sheridan. As the residential areas grew with young families classrooms became overcrowded, and the city built a new high school in 1959. That same year the town became a statutory city. When the federal government decommissioned Fort Logan, the State of Colorado bought the core of the facility to create the Fort Logan Mental Health Center. In 1965, the South Platte River flooded after an unusually wet spring. The waters raged down the Platte, washing away much of the low-lying city and destroying the town hall and nearly all of its records. City employees set up a temporary office in a small grocery store until the city bought a building at 4400 South Federal Boulevard.<sup>802</sup>

*Sheridan Hills* (1954). Northwest of South Federal Boulevard and West Oxford Avenue, J.J. Carey's Glencoe Builders Incorporated re-subdivided part of the former Williams and Greene Subdivision in

<sup>798</sup> Simmons and Simmons, "Littleton Historic Context," 58.

<sup>799</sup> *Denver Post*, 6 June 1961, 28.

<sup>800</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 July 1962, 59.

<sup>801</sup> Colorado State Planning Division, *Colorado Year Book, 1962-1964*.

<sup>802</sup> Bonita Hutcheson, former Sheridan City Clerk, interview by Dawn Bunyak, 21 July 2009.

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south Sheridan to create the Sheridan Hills subdivision. Between 1954 and 1957, Glencoe Builders filed five plats/additions for the development. Glencoe built over 250 dwellings between 1954 and 1965. The majority of the houses are Ranches, with a smaller number of two-story homes. The two-bedroom, one-bath Ranches were either frame or frame and brick construction.

*Knollwood* (1960). Julia Dolezal, William and Alene Davy, and Nathan Schwartz platted Knollwood in the fall of 1960. Lots in the development ranged from 60' x 125' to 60' x 180' on streets with a grid pattern. The majority of the 104 homes, built in 1962, consisted of three-bedroom, two-bath Ranches. The Sheridan School District built Alice Terry Elementary School west of the development.

*Rose Gardens* (1962). Victor G. Garden and Jack H. Friedman platted the Rose Gardens subdivision, south of West Oxford Avenue and east of South Federal Boulevard, in 1962. In this small development, built between 1963 and 1965, plans included Ranch, Tri-level, Bi-level, and two-story homes. Most included three bedrooms and one bath, with an average of five rooms.

**UNINCORPORATED ARAPAHOE COUNTY**

Many large subdivisions developed between 1940 and 1965 in what was then unincorporated Arapahoe County. Much of this area became part of the new City of Centennial when it organized in 2001. Subdivisions created within its present boundaries are discussed under its entry above. Some Arapahoe County subdivisions are located in unincorporated enclaves within southeast Denver.<sup>803</sup>

*Holly Hills* (1953). Holly Hills, in an unincorporated enclave within southeast Denver, was platted in 1953 and developed mostly in the late 1950s. The curvilinear plan subdivision lies northeast of Interstate 25 and East Yale Avenue. The area included about 160 houses, most with two bedrooms and two baths and an average area of 1,700 square feet. A large number of individual owners were platters of the subdivision.

*Gaiser Holly Hills* (1954). Gaiser Holly Hills consisted of three filings, two in 1954 and a third in 1955. The 300-house subdivision is located southeast of Interstate 25 and East Yale Avenue in an unincorporated Arapahoe County enclave within southeast Denver. The development used a curvilinear layout. Most houses included two bedrooms and two baths and averaged 1,200 square feet in size. Holly Hills Elementary School, part of the Cherry Creek School District, lay within the development. Robert H. and Robert F. Gaiser platted the subdivision.

*Gaiser Holly Ridge* (1960). Located southwest of East Cornell Avenue and South Monaco Parkway, the Gaiser Holly Ridge subdivision lay in an unincorporated Arapahoe County enclave within southeast Denver. The subdivision featured a curvilinear layout and contained about 160 houses, most dating to the early 1960s and having two bedrooms and two baths. Holly Ridge Elementary School stood to the south. Robert H. and Robert F. Gaiser platted the subdivision.

**City and County of Broomfield**

Large-scale residential development in the Broomfield area coincided with construction of the Denver-Boulder Turnpike in 1952. In 1955, the Turnpike Land Company bought several parcels of land for a master-planned subdivision called Broomfield Heights.<sup>804</sup> Five prominent area businessmen formed the company: Bal F. Swan, president of Empire Savings; K.C. Ensor, president of the K.C. Ensor

<sup>803</sup> Unincorporated enclaves (sometimes referred to as doughnut holes) within the Denver region's cities occur when annexations leave a piece of unincorporated property completely surrounded by property located within a municipality. In the case of the City and County of Denver this resulted in a few discontinuous pieces of Arapahoe County located within Denver, including the City of Glendale and the Holly Hills area in southeast Denver.

<sup>804</sup> Jason Marmor, "Historic Preservation Feasibility Study: Broomfield Heights First Filing and Original Broomfield," 2001.

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Construction Co.; Aksel Nielsen, president of the Title Guaranty Co.; Roger D. Knight, president of the Denver-U.S. National Bank; and John J. Sullivan of Bosworth & Sullivan.<sup>805</sup> A 1955 newspaper article described the \$110 million, 2,200 acre development as one which would, "...become the fulfillment of a dream every contractor dreams – that of building a whole city, from the first brick up."<sup>806</sup>

The location was thought to be superior to that of many other new suburbs. With its purchase of the Great Western Reservoir, the town possessed enough water to serve 25,000 citizens a day, rather than having to obtain water rights from Denver. Other highlights of the development included easy access to downtown Denver, streets designed to minimize traffic, and a planned \$10 million business development nearby to provide services to the new residents.<sup>807</sup> Before even a single foundation was dug, the subdivision streets "...were all laid out to take advantage of the terrain to assure each residence a mountain view."<sup>808</sup> Evelyn MacCormack, an early resident, was enticed to live in the new development because of a corner window above the kitchen sink, which allowed her to look "clear to Ward Ranch."<sup>809</sup>

Plans for Broomfield Heights envisioned it eventually reaching 6,800 homes.<sup>810</sup> The developers proposed to erect brick Ranch style houses that would cost between \$12,000 and \$25,000.<sup>811</sup> The subdivision's first homes formally opened on 21 August 1955, with the first streets oiled on October 28th and the first street lights turned on November of that same year.<sup>812</sup> Broomfield's first milkman, Gip Wilson, recalling the early days of the subdivision, mentioned one of his strongest memories as "the sight of muddy, unpaved streets and sinking water lines."<sup>813</sup> As the population grew, schools were needed to serve the children of the area. At first, classes were held in "cottage schools," residential homes that were used until formal school buildings could be constructed.<sup>814</sup> The population of Broomfield Heights reached 2,700 by spring 1957, at which time the *Rocky Mountain News* applauded the developers for "...having helped hundreds of fellow humans escape the asphalt and brick desert of city life."<sup>815</sup> Even with a tightening market and dwindling home building, 183 new homes were started in Broomfield Heights between January and April. Lower lot prices allowed builders to offer "...about \$2,000 to \$2,500 more value in a home here than in Denver."<sup>816</sup> In 1958, Emerald School was built.<sup>817</sup> By 1963, 2,200 students were enrolled in Broomfield's three schools.<sup>818</sup>

Broomfield's population rose to 6,000 by 1961, the year the community voted 783 to 760 to incorporate and become the City of Broomfield.<sup>819</sup> Don DesCombes, the first mayor, at first opposed incorporation, until, "...I realized by not incorporating, the area was just delaying finding answers to

<sup>805</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 July 1966.

<sup>806</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 June 1955, 34C.

<sup>807</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 June 1955, 34C.

<sup>808</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 July 1966.

<sup>809</sup> *Broomfield Enterprise*, 15 September 1983.

<sup>810</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 June 1955, 34C.

<sup>811</sup> *Denver Post*, 1 January 1955.

<sup>812</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 July 1966.

<sup>813</sup> *Broomfield Enterprise*, 15 September 1983.

<sup>814</sup> *Broomfield Enterprise*, 15 September 1983.

<sup>815</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 April 1957, 12.

<sup>816</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 April 1957, 12.

<sup>817</sup> *Broomfield Enterprise*, 15 September 1983.

<sup>818</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 April 1963, 20.

<sup>819</sup> City and County of Broomfield, <http://www.broomfield.org/community> (accessed 19 March 2007); *Broomfield Star-Builder*, 8 June 1961.

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problems that would be even more difficult to solve in the future.”<sup>820</sup> The suburb, described as a “boom city,” featured six independent contractors building new homes ranging in price from \$13,500 to \$40,000 in 1961. Fred Spallone, a major builder in the area, announced plans to develop a 1,000-home subdivision east of the recently completed Broomfield Country Club. The Broomfield Heights Shopping Center underwent a \$150,000 expansion, organized by the Broomfield Company.<sup>821</sup> Broomfield Manor, a \$250,000 complex with a restaurant and cocktail lounge, swimming pool, shops and an air-conditioned motel, also opened.<sup>822</sup>

In 1963, Broomfield completed the Mamie Doud Eisenhower Library, whose planning began among a group of preschool mothers four years earlier.<sup>823</sup> Former first lady Mamie Eisenhower spoke at the dedication of the \$37,000 public library designed by architect Donald E. Ransom and paid for by popular subscription.<sup>824</sup> Residents voted against proposed bond issues for public park improvements and a new swimming pool in November 1963.<sup>825</sup> Broomfield purchased the water and sewer utility from the Broomfield Heights Mutual Service Association in 1963. Construction of additional water treatment facilities began the following year, with a projected cost of \$500,000, in order to “...permit growth of Broomfield to continue unhampered.”<sup>826</sup> In 1964 the Turnpike Land Company, by then a subsidiary of Transamerica Development Co., released a six-year plan to attract residents and industry to Broomfield by spending \$14 million on “home construction, residential facilities and parks...” with at least \$1 million spent on an expansion of the Broomfield Shopping Center and a major focus on industrial development, including construction of the Atlas Park industrial area which would offer “choice locations for new industry.”<sup>827</sup> Transamerica purchased “265 acres of undeveloped residential area and 429 acres of partially developed industrial property north of the Jefferson County Airport.”<sup>828</sup>

As Mayor DesCombes commented in January 1964, “It was apparent several years ago that the future of Broomfield was to grow not merely as a suburb but as a completely independent city with our own commerce and industry supplying a livelihood for an ever-increasing number of new residents...it looks like 1964 will be a banner year.”<sup>829</sup> By 1965, the Broomfield Chamber of Commerce described the city as “...Colorado’s most perfectly planned suburban community,” with “...neat well-kept homes, beautiful new churches, modern schools and playgrounds.”<sup>830</sup> The city boasted fourteen churches, a weekly newspaper, its own police and fire departments, a post office, two elementary schools and a junior and senior high school, a public library, public parks, and men’s, women’s and children’s social and civic organizations.<sup>831</sup>

*Broomfield Heights* (1955). Broomfield Heights constituted the principal plat for the development of the Broomfield area in the 1950s. Records indicate two 1955 filings: Filing 1, the area south of Midway Boulevard, which developed mostly in the late 1950s and Filing 2, the area lying north of

<sup>820</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 July 1966, 4B.

<sup>821</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 May 1961, 1D.

<sup>822</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 May 1961, 1D.

<sup>823</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 June 1964, 17.

<sup>824</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 July 1963, 3; *Broomfield Star-Builder*, 21 June 1962.

<sup>825</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 16 November 1963, 10.

<sup>826</sup> *Broomfield Star-Builder*, 5 November 1964, 1.

<sup>827</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 January 1964, 2D.

<sup>828</sup> *Denver Post*, 15 January 1964, 47.

<sup>829</sup> *Denver Post*, 15 January 1964, 47.

<sup>830</sup> Broomfield Chamber of Commerce, “Broomfield Welcomes You,” 1965, on file at Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department.

<sup>831</sup> Broomfield Chamber of Commerce, “Broomfield Welcomes You.”



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Midway Boulevard, with most houses constructed in early 1960s. The subdivision contained just over 1,400 dwellings. The subdivision featured a curvilinear layout, with a narrow park cutting east-west through the development and a shopping center in the southwest corner. Kohl Elementary School was constructed in the northern part of development and Emerald Elementary School in the southern part. A fuller discussion of the Broomfield development appears elsewhere in this narrative.

*Sunnyslope Estates* (1957). Located along both sides of West 136<sup>th</sup> Avenue west of Lowell Boulevard, Sunnyslope Estates consisted of two filings. James M. Laird platted Filing 1 in 1957. Filing 2 in 1960 included Laird and the Sunnyslope Construction and Investment Corporation (W.N. Slaton, vice president and H.L. Richison, secretary). The southern part of the subdivision was mostly rectilinear and developed in late 1950s, while the northern part was curvilinear, with houses mostly built in the early 1960s. The development featured quite large lots (for example, 183' x 412', 162' x 200', and 232' x 407').

*Northmoor Estates* (1961). Tina Marie Homes Incorporated platted Northmoor Estates in two 1961 filings. Fred L. Spallone was president of the corporation and John DiCino served as its secretary/treasurer. The development, southwest of Dexter Street and East 12<sup>th</sup> Avenue, featured long, generally rectangular blocks and mostly rectangular lots (many of which were 66' x 108'). The Equity Ditch passed through the subdivision, and the developers reserved a site for a school. Two filings held about 100 houses built in the early 1960s.

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Most of the region's subdivision platting and development activity during the 1940-65 period occurred within Denver. Even in the capital, platting was relatively subdued, with only 36 subdivisions covering 1,088.1 acres created during this period. Twenty-three of the plats embraced less than ten acres. These numbers actually overstate the level of activity, as reported plat years reflect when the subdivisions were annexed into Denver and not the actual year platted. Mountain View Park (southeast of South Federal Boulevard and West Alameda Avenue), for example, has a 1943 "plat year" (the year it was brought into Denver) but it was actually created in 1927. Early plats of the period generally followed the traditional grid pattern of development, while later plats embraced curvilinear models.

*Evans Park Estates* (1940). One of the largest plats filed during the early 1940s was that for Evans Park Estates, southeast of South Federal Boulevard and West Jewell Avenue, developed by the Overland Heights Land Company (C.A. Johnson, president). The filing covered 196 acres and presented a conventional configuration of square blocks with rectangular lots.

*Guy Martin* (1940). Guy Martin, a Denver lumberman, platted a small subdivision in south Denver that bears his name in 1940. The area developed during World War II, with most of the houses in the subdivision erected in 1941. The development, northwest of East Yale Avenue and South Clarkson Street, contains both straight and curving streets and lots of varying shapes and sizes.

*Sun Valley* (1940). In southeast Denver, southeast of East Mississippi Avenue and South Kearney Street, Georgia P. and Kenneth E. Richards created 34.7-acre Sun Valley, consisting of seven rectangular blocks with alleys and rectangular lots. The subdivision plat set a \$1,000 minimum value of houses to be constructed and mandated that properties "shall be sold only to members of the white race and used or occupied by members of the white race only."<sup>832</sup>

*Mayfair Park, Second Filing* (1942). In east Denver, Mayfair Park presented a combination of curving,

<sup>832</sup> Sun Valley plat map, City and County of Denver, Clerk and Recorder, 1940.

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U-shaped, and straight street alignments, featured limited access points from its perimeter, and contained blocks and lots with varying shapes and sizes. The Sixth Street Investment Company, W.M. Downing, president, developed the 72-acre subdivision southeast of East 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue and South Monaco Parkway. The area of the subdivision next to Lowry Field and the southwestern part developed during the early to late 1940s, while the remainder was built in the 1950s.

*Mont View Park Addition* (1939). Platted in 1939, the Mont View Park Addition in northeast Denver developed during World War II; the average year built is 1943. C.S. Glascoe and B.F. Swan of Denver were the platters. The subdivision displays a rectilinear, grid layout and is situated between East 23<sup>rd</sup> and East 26<sup>th</sup> avenues and Kearney Street and Monaco Parkway.

*Garden Park* (1943). Nels T. Johnson of Arapahoe County platted Garden Park in 1943 northwest of West Jewell Avenue and South Zuni Street in southwest Denver. The development featured large lots limited by the following covenants and restrictions: not more than one single-family dwelling on a tract; restricted placement on lot; no animal housing or corrals on lot; no noxious or offensive trade or activity; and no trailer, wagon, basement, tent, mobile structure of any kind could be used as residence, only a permanent building. The area became part of Denver as part of the Davis Ranch annexation.

*Chaffee Park* (1945). In North Denver, north of West 44<sup>th</sup> Avenue between Tejon and Pecos streets, Chaffee Park featured a layout limiting access, eliminating through traffic, and containing some gently curving streets. The plat included a public park in the southwest corner of the development. The Chaffee Park Building Corporation, John N. Lantz, president, created the 30.8-acre subdivision. Although platted in 1945, the subdivision developed mostly in the late 1940s and contained small frame Ranch and Cape Cod dwellings clad with asbestos shingles. Representative examples of the Cape-Cod and Minimal-Traditional styles are found in Figures K36 and K40.

*Kensington* (1887, developed during World War II). Thomas S. Hayden, Charles E. Dickenson, and Walter B. von Richtofen filed a plat for Kensington in May 1887, little anticipating that it would not develop for over half a century. The L-shaped subdivision lay in the vicinity of East Colfax Avenue and Syracuse Street and featured rectangular blocks with 36 lots, each measuring about 25' x 130'. Attracting few houses until the construction of Lowry Field and the onset of World War II, most of Kensington's parcels developed during the war era.

*Higgins-Kassler* (1945). Located southeast of West 1<sup>st</sup> Avenue and Clay Street in southwest Denver, the Higgins-Kassler subdivision developed in two stages: Filing 1, 1945 and Filing 2, 1946. Morningside Homes, Inc. (H.F. Higgins, president and A.E. Markland, secretary-treasurer) platted Filing 2. Many of the houses here were completed in the late 1940s.

*Crestmoor Park* (1936, 1946). The Crestmoor development in east Denver extends from East 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue Parkway south to East Cedar Avenue and from Holly Street east to Monaco Parkway. The Crestmoor Realty Company, headed by Van Holt Garrett, president, and Walter E. Schwed, secretary, platted the 1936 filing. The original area embraces the northwest corner of the development and includes several houses built in the early 1940s. The Second Filing, made by Garrett and the Colorado National Bank came in 1946 but developed somewhat later. The central portion dates mostly to the early 1950s; the southern part to the late 1950s; and the northeast corner to the early 1960s. The development contains curving streets, and the southeast corner holds Crestmoor Park. Photographs of the development were published in the Urban Land Institute's 1947 *Community Builders Handbook*; Van Holt Garrett served on the ULI board.

*Burns Heights* (1947). The D.C. Burns Realty & Trust Company filed a plat for Burns Heights in

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northeast Denver in 1947. The subdivision displayed a rectilinear layout with very long rectangular blocks and was bounded by East 26<sup>th</sup> and East 29<sup>th</sup> avenues and Oneida and Quebec streets.

*Burns-Montview Addition* (1947). Another northeast Denver subdivision developed by the D.C. Burns Realty & Trust Company was the 1947 Burns-Montview addition situated northeast of Montview Boulevard and Quebec Street. The development included a partly curvilinear and partly rectilinear layout, as well as some cul-de-sacs. The eastern part developed in the late 1940s while the western area built-out in the 1950s.

*Southern Hills* (1948). L.C. Fulenwider and James T. and Ann F. Pyle platted the first of five filings for Southern Hills in southeast Denver in 1948. Consolidated Homes (headed by Sam G. Russell) and Paramount Homes (led by A.H. Weiss) platted the 2<sup>nd</sup> through 5<sup>th</sup> filings (between 1955 and 1956). Filing Number 2 included an area reserved for a school. The development is located southeast of South University Boulevard and East Yale Avenue. The roughly 400 houses in the subdivision mostly date to the late 1950s.

*Belcaro Park* (1931, 1948). The first component of Belcaro Park, located between South Harrison and South Steele streets and East Exposition and East Tennessee avenues in southeast Denver, was platted in 1931 by the Belcaro Realty & Investment Company headed by Van Holt Garrett, president. The firm platted Filing Number 2 in 1948 and Filing Number 3 in 1949. The layout is generally curvilinear and features large lots. About 110 of the properties in the development date to the early 1950s. The Phipps family previously owned the land, and their mansion and tennis house are landmarks in the area. Resident Susan Livingston describes the development as it appears today:

The Belcaro neighborhood has an organic feel that connects the home to the landscape. Large lots create a park-like setting with large front yards on curvilinear streets. The Belcaro Park ranch house style is distinguished by single story houses that are wider than they are deep, and hipped roofs pitched at a moderate slope. The homes are brick with minimal wood trim, contrasting stone or brick around the front doors, and attached garages. . . . These homes fit into the lifestyle favored by families in the 1950s—the large front and back yards for children’s play and the curving streets attractive to growing children to ride their bikes in safety.

Livingston reports that architects who designed houses in Belcaro Park included Walter Simon, J. Roger Musick, and William C. Muchow, while “contractor-architects” included James Adams. Jane Silverstein Ries and S.R. DeBoer were among the noted landscape architects who worked in the subdivision.<sup>833</sup>

*Wellshire Heights* (1949). Wellshire Heights in southeast Denver is comprised of two 1949 filings. The first filing was platted by Etta B. Watson, Emma G. Schneider, Florence K. Petsch, D.V. Meredith, Sara H. Meredith, Frances E. Lehr, Anna G. Lehr, Charles F. Petsch, and Victory Housing Corporation of Colorado (William K. Barr, president). Etta B. Watson alone platted Filing Number 2. The subdivision, located southwest of South Colorado Boulevard and East Yale Avenue, features curving roadways. Most of the nearly 300 dwellings were erected in the early 1950s.

*Athmar Park* (1949). The large Athmar Park subdivision is situated in southwest Denver near Huston Lake (northwest of West Mississippi Avenue and South Lipan Street). Brothers Thomas and John R. McCusker planned a subdivision in 1946, and “Athmar” represented the combined names of their wives, Athena and Mary. The Athmar Investment Co. (Raymond C. Erb, president and Charles M.

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<sup>833</sup> *Historic Denver News*, Spring 2009, 6.

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Armstrong, secretary) and the State Board of Land Commissioners (Harold F. Collins, pres.) platted Athmar Park Unit 1 in 1949, followed by Unit 2 (1949) and Unit 3 (1950). Unit 1 employed a rectangular layout, while later filings shifted to a curvilinear plan. The area developed in the early 1950s and included roughly 900 houses.

*Boulevard Gardens* (1926/1936). In 1925, Samuel G. Ziegler platted Boulevard Gardens on the northwest corner of Dartmouth Avenue and South Federal Boulevard. The lots in the subdivision were unusually large at 67' x 302'. Between 1940 and 1965, houses appeared at the rate of one or two a year. In 1936, the Colorado Seminary Company platted an Annex to Boulevard Gardens with lots sizes averaging 70' x 275'. Construction in the Annex varied from one to five a year between 1940 and 1965.

*Oakland* (1889, developed mostly in early 1950s). Wilbur F. Stone platted the large Oakland subdivision in northeast Denver in 1889, but the area did not substantially develop until the early 1950s. The average year built for the 641 houses was 1954. The subdivision extended from East 28<sup>th</sup> Avenue to Martin Luther King Boulevard and from Holly Street to Monaco Parkway. Streets laid out in a standard grid had blocks with rectangular lots. An example of a Minimal Traditional house in the subdivision is shown in Figure K41.

*Elmwood Place* (1890, developed mostly in early 1950s). In 1890, Franklin Morey, Frederick A. Johnson, and Elmer E. Summers platted Elmwood Place in northeast Denver. The platters reserved the right to build railways through the development and to plant trees. The area did not develop until the early 1950s; the average year built was 1953. The subdivision incorporated a rectilinear layout bounded by Martin Luther King Boulevard, Quebec Street, East 25<sup>th</sup> Avenue, and Monaco Parkway.

*Belcaro Park* (1931, 1948). Belcaro Realty & Investment Company, headed by Van Holt Garrett as president, platted the first component of Belcaro Park in 1931. Located southwest of South Colorado Boulevard and East Exposition Avenue in southeast Denver, the subdivision's generally curvilinear layout featured large lots. The same firm platted Filing Number 2 in 1948 and Filing Number 3 in 1949. About 110 of the properties in the development were constructed in the early 1950s.

*University Hills* (1949). The large University Hills subdivision in southeast Denver, platted in nine filings between 1949 and 1952, included most of the area from South Colorado Boulevard to Interstate 25 and from East Yale Avenue to Hampden Avenue (excluding the southwest corner). Until the late 1940s the part of Denver beyond East Evans Avenue contained little development other than "a turkey farm, Wellshire Golf Course, and wheat fields." Denver historian Phil Goodstein notes that the area that would become the University Hills Shopping Center once was referred to as "Prairie Dog Town."<sup>834</sup>

In 1949, the firm of Ted Hutchinson and Lou Carey filed the first plat of the University Hills development. The neighborhood, built in nine segments, encompassed about 1,300 houses and eventually included Eisenhower Park, the University Hills Mall, and Bradley and University Hills schools. The development included houses with two or three bedrooms with one or one-and-a-half bathrooms, dishwashers, disposals, attached garages, and picture windows and about 1,100 square feet of space. Two-bedroom houses in the original filing cost \$10,200, while three-bedroom dwellings were only \$200 more. Ambrose-Williams Realty developed the shopping center at the northwest corner of the tract, with the first stores opening in August 1951. The opening of a free-standing May Company department store in 1956 marked completion of the complex. Easy access to the Valley Highway via Colorado Boulevard "cut commuting time into Denver proper." The *Rocky Mountain*

<sup>834</sup> Phil Goodstein, *South Denver Saga* (Denver: New Social Publications, 1991), 169.

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News judged, "When completed, this development will rank with the largest and best equipped in the United States...."<sup>835</sup>

In 1950, the National Association of Home Builders awarded Hutchinson and Carey's University Hills second place in its contest for the construction of economy home developments over 50 units.<sup>836</sup> In 1951, the *Christian Science Monitor* discussed the creation of University Hills with the headline "Denver Spreads Out into Suburbs." An aerial view of the subdivision and photographs of two models of houses were included. A later magazine article by journalist and Denver native Gene Amole described life in University Hills in 1950:

There was no Valley Highway then. South Colorado Boulevard was the main thoroughfare to and from downtown Denver. Everybody worked in town. The young men in charcoal-grey suits formed car pools to get downtown and their wives stayed at home and waited for babies to come.... It was a quiet neighborhood where you could hear the meadowlarks in the morning.<sup>837</sup>

*Mar-Lee Manor* (1950). Mar-Lee Manor is situated in southwest Denver in an area bounded by West Jewell and West Louisiana avenues and South Lowell and South Sheridan boulevards. The subdivision contained four plats: Number 1, 1950; Number 2, 1952; Number 3, 1953; and Number 4, 1955. The Guaranty Corporation, a Colorado firm platted Filing Number 1; Aksel Nielsen served as its president and J. Tate Duncan its secretary. Other individuals and companies undertook the later plats: Number 2, Thomas W. Nevin, Margaret H. Coffey, Victor Lee Coffey, Sr.; Number 3, Nevin Construction Corp., Thomas W. Nevin, president; and Number 4, Coffey Investments, Victor Lee Coffey, Sr., president and Victor Lee Coffey, Jr., secretary. Sanderson Gulch passes east-west through the area, which is served by Force Elementary and Denison Montessori schools. Most of the 700 or so houses in the subdivision date to the middle- to late-1950s.

*Wellshire Hills* (1950). Wellshire Hills, located southeast of East Yale Avenue and South St. Paul Street in southeast Denver, comprised five plats filed between 1950 and 1952. Real Estate Equities platted all of the filings. Architect-developer Temple H. Buell and Paul B. Lanius, principals of the company, erected roughly 300 houses in the subdivision dating to the early 1950s. The layout includes curving streets and irregular blocks.

*Virginia Village* (1950). Virginia Village in east Denver consisted of two 1950 filings. Levi R. and Winnifred S. Roop platted Filing Number 1, which required a minimum size of 750 square feet for houses. M.C. Bogue and Co., Marcus C. Bogue, Jr., and Darlene A. Bogue were the platters of Filing Number 2. The development encompassed both sides of South Holly Street between East Mississippi and East Florida avenues. Bogue, Jr., who also developed Virginia Park and Virginia Vale, named the subdivision for his wife, Virginia. The two filings contained about 450 houses principally built in the early 1950s.<sup>838</sup>

*Honeymoon Manor* (1950). In 1950, Honeymoon Manor in northeast Denver was platted by Honeymoon Manor, Inc. led by President Gene Shaw and Secretary Arthur B. Hayutin. The development contained 14-and-a-half rectangular north-south oriented blocks with alleys; each block had 20 60' x 125' lots. Honeymoon Manor stretched from Monaco Parkway to Quebec Street and from East 35<sup>th</sup> to East 38<sup>th</sup> avenues.

<sup>835</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 March 1951, 79.

<sup>836</sup> *New York Times*, 1 February 1950.

<sup>837</sup> Gene Amole, "Swinging South Colorado Boulevard," *Denver Magazine* 5(October 1975): 11-14.

<sup>838</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 August 1956, 16.

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*Monaco Gardens* (1950). MCT Construction Company platted Monaco Gardens in southeast Denver in 1950; Keith Talley was the firm's president. The area annexed to Denver in 1951. The subdivision displayed a rectilinear layout, lying west of South Monaco Parkway between East Alameda and East Virginia avenues.

*Gunnison Heights* (1950). Gunnison Heights in southwest Denver is located northeast of West Jewell Avenue and South Zuni Street. The development incorporated five plats filed between 1950 and 1952. Max I. Lowdermilk, Amy R. Lowdermilk, and Sallie Mae Weaver filed the first plat. Prominent developer Franklin L. Burns platted filings 2 through 5. Streets in the development included both rectilinear and curving alignments. The area grew to more than 500 houses, most of which dated to the early 1950s.

*Cherry Hills Vista* (1951). D.C. Burns Realty & Trust created the three filings comprising Cherry Hills Vista in southeast Denver between 1951 and 1954. Noted developer Franklin Burns led the company. The subdivision lay between South Franklin Street and South University Boulevard and East Dartmouth and East Amherst avenues. The layout included some rectilinear and some slightly curving streets as well as a few cul-de-sacs. Most of the more than 400 houses date to the mid-1950s.

*Christian Noe (Krisana Park)* (1953). Hiram B. Wolff platted the Christian Noe subdivision in 1953 in what was then Arapahoe County. Residents now refer to the area as Krisana Park. The plat contained 177 parcels on curvilinear streets. H.B. Wolff and Company offered seven home designs of "3-D Contemporaries" in the development, each with 1,200 square feet of living space and priced at \$15,950. A company brochure stated that the homes "represented a dramatic way of living featuring glass walls, beamed ceilings, redwood siding, openness of design and an orientation of the home to take full advantage of the sun and weather."<sup>839</sup>

*Harvey Park* (1954). Texas oilman and rancher Arthur "Tex" Harvey sold 318 acres of his Arapahoe County property, the former Whiteman's Black and White Ranch, to join Aksel Nielsen of Mortgage Investments Company in developing a planned community of 1,662 homes in southwest Denver called Harvey Park. The Harvey Park development took its name from the former owner of the land. Located on former farmland, the subdivision extended from South Federal to South Sheridan Boulevards and from West Hampden Avenue to West Yale Avenue. The tract filled quickly with new homes popular with young couples and professionals. Figures K28 and K33 show examples of homes in the subdivision, while Figure K44 provides a streetscape view.<sup>840</sup>

After Denver annexed the neighborhood in March 1954, one of the first building contractors, Lou Carey, built 200 Contemporary style homes. The first model homes were built at 1905 South Utica Street. The two- and three-bedroom Ranch houses cost \$12,000 to \$15,000 and ranged in size from 848 to 1,926 square feet. The first show homes featured in the 1954 Parade of Homes were Carey's Ranches on South Utica Street.<sup>841</sup>

Several other construction companies built homes in Harvey Park, including K.C. Ensor Construction, Hutchinson Homes, and Frederics Brothers Construction. Ensor Construction, who developed the Mar-Lee Manor subdivision to the north, built two- to four-bedroom homes in Harvey Park priced from \$12,900 to \$16,750, including a Raised Ranch to fit the rolling hills within the subdivision. Ensor

<sup>839</sup> Quoted on the Krisana Park forum website, <http://www.krisanapark.org> (accessed 19 October 2010).

<sup>840</sup> Sharon R. Catlett, *Farmlands, Forts, and Country Life: The Story of Southwest Denver* (Boulder, Colorado: Big Earth Publishing, 2007), 157.

<sup>841</sup> Center for Historic Preservation Research, "Database of the Annual Denver Area Parade of Homes, 1953-1963."

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entered a Harvey Park Tri-level in the 1954 Parade of Homes.<sup>842</sup> Frederics Brothers Construction built homes on South Raleigh and Harvard streets, providing homebuyers with a choice of a basement or a garage. Many buyers chose the basement and added garages later.<sup>843</sup> The majority of homes in Harvey Park were brick Ranches and a smaller number of brick Tri-levels with or without basements.

In the 2400 to 2600 blocks of South Lowell, Meade, Newton, and Osceola, Barnes Construction Company of Denver advertised a series of "Mid-Century Modern" homes designed by Cliff May, "Father of the California Ranch House."<sup>844</sup> Building contractor Thomas Hutchinson's company built the majority of the homes in Harvey Park and Harvey Park South between 1954 and 1958.<sup>845</sup> By mid-October 1954, the first families moved into their new Hutchinson homes. Streets were not paved, and no bus service reached the new development. There was not even telephone service yet. Homebuyers Bob and Marie Stumpf put down \$1,000 on their three-bedroom home on West Girard Avenue in 1954. As a veteran, Bob Stumpf was eligible for a VA loan at 4 ½ percent interest. Marie Stumpf chose the Century Model Number 1255 that featured three bedrooms, a full, unfinished basement, and a two-car garage, because the young family had three young sons.<sup>846</sup> The Ranch homes were offered in three basic plans: the two-bedroom, one-car garage Century 970; the three-bedroom, one-car garage Century 1142; and the three-bedroom, two-car garage Century 1255. Many of the Harvey Park residents were veterans, college graduates, and in their thirties with young children. The predominantly white, professional neighborhood had a median family yearly income of \$8,232-\$8,364 in 1960.<sup>847</sup>

*Winston Downs* (1955). The Mayfair Land Company (W. Braxton Ross, president, and E.E. Hiatt, secretary) platted Filing Number 1 of Winston Downs in 1955. Three additional filings came in 1955, 1957, and 1962. The subdivision, located west of Fairmount Cemetery and southwest of Lowry Air Force Base in east Denver, was described as a \$5 million, 250-home development. Houses, "country-type architecture selling for about \$20,000," were characterized as "moderate, suburban homes in a park-type neighborhood." The Mayfair Company previously developed Mayfair Park and Stokes Park.<sup>848</sup>

*Lynwood* (1955). The Lynwood subdivision in east Denver included nine filings. The two oldest plats (Number 1, 1955 and Number 2, 1956), executed by the B&H Investment Company (H.B. Wolff, president), lay southwest of East Mexico Avenue and South Monaco Parkway. They contained houses mostly dating to the late 1950s. Filing Number 7, lying northeast on the other side of Cherry Creek, developed in the early 1960s.

*Virginia Vale* (1956). The Virginia Development Corporation, Marcus C. Bogue, Jr., president, and Donald E. Peel, secretary, platted Filing Number 1 of Virginia Vale in east Denver in 1956. Two other filings came in 1958 and 1959. Bogue, Jr., also developed the Virginia Park and Virginia Village subdivisions, which (like Virginia Vale) were named for his wife. In 1956, Marcus C. Bogue, Jr.,

<sup>842</sup> Center for Historic Preservation Research, "Database of the Annual Denver Area Parade of Homes, 1953-1963."

<sup>843</sup> "Memories from Long-time Residents," *Harvey Park News* (homeowners association newsletter), February 2009, 7.

<sup>844</sup> May-designed ranches in Harvey Park are registered on the Cliff May Registry, <http://www.cliffmayregistry.com/results.php> (accessed 26 June 2010).

<sup>845</sup> Catlett, *Farmlands*, 162.

<sup>846</sup> Marie Stumpf interview by Dawn Bunyak, 31 August 2009 and 10 March 2010.

<sup>847</sup> 1960 Census demographic data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: Census Tracts: Denver, Colorado, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961); "Harvey Park News," neighborhood newsletter, June 2010, 4.

<sup>848</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 August 1954, 1.

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announced a new \$3 million, 550-house subdivision in southeast Denver that boasted plans for a \$500,000 shopping center, a new elementary school, a community-operated recreation center with swimming pool, and a city park. The 1.4-acre recreation area was notable as the first development in the area that included such an amenity at the start of a project. It included a 50' x 82' swimming pool, bathhouses, and an office-club building. Virginia Vale Subdivision covered a 180-acre site stretching from Cherry Creek to South Forest, South Kearney, and Leetsdale Drive. Bogue, who headed the firm that built Virginia Village and Virginia Park further south, indicated that four floor plans would be available in the all brick houses offered in the price range between \$15,500 and \$15,900. All houses featured full basements, garages, and 1 ½ baths. Optional features included shower stalls, fireplaces, and built-in ranges and ovens. Chainlink fences around yards were included in the basic cost of the houses. People buying houses in the subdivision were eligible to become members of the Virginia Vale Club. When Bogue's investment in the recreation center had been recovered, it would be turned over to an organization operated by the residents.<sup>849</sup>

*Belmont Heights* (1956). Three late 1950s filings comprised the Belmont Heights subdivision in the Happy Canyon area of southeast Denver. The development lay on either side of Happy Canyon Road, which diagonally bisected the area. B.B. "Bill" Hamilton participated in all three filings. Hamilton served as president of B&B Incorporated which joined with the Hutchinson Investment Company to create the first filing in 1956. Later that year the Central Bank & Trust Company teamed with the first two firms to plat Filing Number 2, which featured a large tract for a school in its northwest corner. The third filing in 1957 was platted by Alpine Builders Incorporated Colony Homes, and Hillside View Incorporated all of which included B.B. Hamilton as a corporate officer. Houses in all filings date to the late 1950s, although Filing Number 2 (to the southwest) has a scattering of early 1960s homes. The Happy Canyon Shopping Center is located near the northwest corner of the development.

*Bear Valley* (1961). Denver annexed the 460-acre Bear Valley area in 1960. Zoned for single-family homes, Aksel Nielsen and Mortgage Investment Company lobbied for Bear Valley's annexation, as he did for the Harvey Park area. The award-winning planning firm of Harman, O'Donnell, and Henninger designed the new community with its homes, shopping center, medical building, and churches on former farm land. Twenty-six acres of land in the center of the subdivision included space for parks and schools. West Bear Creek Drive bordered Bear Creek Valley Park, one of Denver's newest parks, south of the development. Twenty-two custom builders from the Denver area erected homes ranging in price from \$16,000 to \$30,000, with most over \$20,000.<sup>850</sup> Of the custom builders, K.C. Ensor planned to build on 162 sites. H.B. Bolas Enterprises planned 250 dwellings that it advertised as the "Happy Homes Model."<sup>851</sup> The first house built in the new subdivision opened in July 1961. All builders advertised furnished models available for tours to potential buyers. Young professional families quickly lobbied the Denver School District to build more schools for their children originally bused to University Park Elementary School and Kunsmiller Junior High. A large number of residents formed the Bear Valley Improvement Association to work on acquiring more schools and amenities for the new development. The school district constructed the John F. Kennedy Junior-Senior High School at West Dartmouth and South Lamar Streets in 1964. The planned \$4 million school featured a four-story classroom wing, 1,500 capacity auditorium, two libraries, and a physical education wing for its predicted 2,130 students. That same year, Cyrus G. Delano

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<sup>849</sup> *Denver Post*, 10 August 1956, 19.

<sup>850</sup> *Denver Post*, 18 February 1962, 3; Catlett, *Farmlands*, 202.

<sup>851</sup> *Denver Post*, 18 February 1962, 3.



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Construction built a multi-story, painted concrete block professional and medical building designed by W.C. Muchow Associates off Sheridan Boulevard.<sup>852</sup>

*Pinehurst Estates* (1962). Near Fort Logan Cemetery, off South Sheridan Boulevard and West Mansfield Avenue, the exclusive Pinehurst Estates curved around Pinehurst Country Club. The development overlooked the fairways of the golf club, with views of the Rocky Mountains in the distance. Designed in 1960 as a quiet neighborhood with broad, 150-foot parkways patterned after Denver's East Sixth Avenue, the subdivision's curvilinear streets wrapped around a centrally-located planned school site and park area. Custom builders bought individual sites to build houses following strict architectural guidelines established by the developers. Features of Pinehurst Estates included underground utilities, landscaped entryways, and restrictive covenants. Homes cost \$30,000 and above, comfortable but not as expensive as Cherry Creek developments. The bulk of construction occurred after 1965.<sup>853</sup>

Grading of 289 home sites began in 1960. The parcel represented a surplus part of the Fort Logan military reservation acquired by Denver realtor Walter A. Koelbel and his father-in-law, Denver industrialist Carl A. Norgren. For many years, Norgren and his family ranched in the southwest area. After their children grew and left the family home, Norgren and his wife, Juliet, planned to develop and sell their land. The country club offered an opportunity to preserve the old growth trees and offer a recreational area for the community. The Norgren House is still located in the center of Pinehurst Estates. Koelbel managed the development and opened a sales office near Pinehurst Country Club. He also managed development in other Denver subdivisions, including Cherry Hills Village, Cherry Ridge, Cherry Vale, and Greenwood Manor.<sup>854</sup>

The \$3.4 million Pinehurst Country Club, established by Denver industrialist C.A. Norgren, welcomed new members. Low dues allowed middle-class families to join. After a \$300 membership fee, the dues cost \$12 per month. Members came from all over, not just the Pinehurst Development. The country club at 6225 West Quincy Avenue featured an 18-hole and a 9-hole golf course, as well as a modern clubhouse, swimming pool, and tennis courts. Landscape architect J. Press Maxwell designed both golf courses. By 1960, the country club almost reached its planned capacity of 2,000 members.<sup>855</sup> Denver realtor Walter Koelbel, guiding the development of Pinehurst, disclosed that developers acquired a tract of land near the clubhouse for luxury-type apartments.

*Hutchinson Hills* (1962). The Hutchinson Hills development in southeast Denver consisted of several discontinuous filings, with some lying northeast of East Mansfield Avenue and South Tamarac Drive and others northeast of South Monaco Parkway and East Yale Avenue. Plats dated to the 1960s, as did most of the houses erected. The Monaco Investment Company created the development, with R.W. Fisher serving as the firm's president.

*Hampden Heights* (1962). Hampden Heights, at East Hampden Avenue and Havana Street, illustrates Denver's innovative subdivision development in the early 1960s. Described as a two-minute drive from the Cherry Creek Reservoir and just across the highway from a Denver municipal golf course, the development was laid out by the planning firm of HOH. The planners called it "a subdivision for the automobile age" and boasted it would set a national pattern for subdivisions. They described it as a "super-block," featuring a single street that circled the entire 346-acre area. Streets leading into the community were all dead-end, with turnarounds. Each street served only the homes

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<sup>852</sup> Catlett, *Farmlands*, 202; *Denver Post*, 13 February 1964, 3; *Denver Post*, 22 April 1964, 53.

<sup>853</sup> Catlett, *Farmlands*, 192.

<sup>854</sup> Catlett, *Farmlands*, 193 and 195.

<sup>855</sup> *Denver Post*, 8 July 1960, 10; Interview with Barbara Norgren by Dawn Bunyak on 24 June 2010.

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facing it. All streets radiated into a central park, which also contained school facilities and a recreation center. For pedestrians, a walkway lined with trees cut across the subdivision. Children walked to school and play areas without encountering cars. One of the planners noted: "The automobile, the disturber and dangerous intruder in all communities where children walk and play, will be no threat in Hampden Heights. The key here is child safety and family recreation."<sup>856</sup>

Ben Elenbogen and Alan Schoen of Dream House Builders of Denver, who also created Cherry Hills Manor and Knob Hill in southeast Denver, developed Hampden Heights. Nine model homes, priced from \$18,995 to \$24,995, displayed the subdivision to the public. The lowest-priced Windsor model included three bedrooms, and such amenities as a finished basement with a paneled recreation room and built-in bar, cedar-lined closets, a large den, and one and three-quarters baths. Other models offered included: the Colonial style three-bedroom Buckingham, which included features such as a dining area in the kitchen as well as a large dining room, a covered patio, and a double garage; the four-bedroom Colonial style Cambridge, with a sunken living room; the Riviera, a three-bedroom Ranch house; the tri-level Oxford; and the contemporary Balmoral. Thirty-nine acres of the development were set aside for parks, a community club, and a school. Average lot size for the 681 lots was 80' x 120'. As an incentive for buying, the developers offered trade-ins for owners of existing homes.<sup>857</sup>

In 1962, Dream House Builders received the national "Innovation Award" from the *National Association of Home Builder's Journal*. HOH also received an award for its work on Hampden Heights for "new concepts in land planning and land development." A scale model of the firm's "super-block" design received attention at the NAHB's national convention. An official of the group called Hampden Heights "the country's most exciting innovation in the field [of land planning and development]." This was the second national award for the planning firm, which was cited with Perl-Mack Homes for the development of Northglenn three years earlier.<sup>858</sup>

## **Jefferson County**

### **ARVADA**

The Secretary of State found Arvada's population growth merited a change in its status to a "second-class city" in 1951. This designation meant it could adopt a city manager form of government, instead of operating with a mayor and board of trustees, and could change its name to the "City of Arvada." The local newspaper editor, Lloyd Gorrell, strongly supported the move in the *Arvada Enterprise*, and voters approved the changes, which took effect in 1956.<sup>859</sup>

Arvada, one of the fastest growing cities in the area, celebrated its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1954, with Mayor H.M. Shulenburg proclaiming, "We've got a wonderful future because of our proximity to Denver, the federal center, Rocky Flats atomic plant and the beautiful mountains." He foresaw that the new Valley Highway and the proposed widening of Wadsworth Boulevard would contribute to the city's easy access, and concluded, "The zooming and booming in our new subdivisions assures us that there will be a greater Arvada that will be well worth celebrating on many birthdays to come."<sup>860</sup>

During the postwar period, Arvada realized its growth would result in increased needs for parks and recreation. Arvada adopted a policy of requiring land subdividers and developers to donate 8 percent

<sup>856</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 June 1962, 1D.

<sup>857</sup> *Denver Post*, 17 June 1962, 1D.

<sup>858</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 December 1962, 4D.

<sup>859</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 116.

<sup>860</sup> *Denver Post*, 7 November 1954.

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of areas annexed to the city for public use purposes. For example, the Allendale Subdivision provided 15 acres to be used by the school district and ten adjoining acres were given to the recreation district for use as a park. School and recreation districts also purchased additional lands in new housing areas.<sup>861</sup> In 1956, a special district, the North Jeffco Parks and Recreation District, was created to expand opportunities for citizens. The district utilized bond issues to build new facilities, such as a swimming pool and recreation center at Ralston Road and Garrison Street. In 1959, North Jeffco took over operation of the city's parks.<sup>862</sup>

Described as "Arvada's progressive mayor," veterinarian Gail H. "Doc" Gilbert served during an important period of the city's development, from 1957 to 1963.<sup>863</sup> Gilbert encouraged the University of Denver's departments of planning, architecture, and geography to examine Arvada, report on its growth, and recommend ways to continue and improve its status as a "city of homes." After failing to win a bid for the governorship, Gilbert successfully led the movement to adopt home rule and a city charter in 1963.<sup>864</sup> He received credit for negotiating the Moffat Tunnel water contract between Arvada and Denver, providing his city with a much-needed reliable source of water. In correlation with this effort, the mayor suggested that the state create a Department of Urban Affairs. Despite receiving little help from the state and county, Arvada prepared its own comprehensive plan in 1964.<sup>865</sup>

In 1959, Arvada's City Council created an urban renewal district to access federal funds to make improvements in its downtown area and older neighborhoods. The city found depreciating property values in the downtown area resulted in homeowners in residential areas paying 92 percent of the city's property taxes. In 1963, the city's plans for the district, which included demolishing 159 buildings in 90.2 downtown acres and creation of "a modern civic center complex" including offices for the city and police department and a new library, created bitter disagreement in the community between business owners and homeowners. As local historian Lois Lindstrom wrote, "Never has an issue so sharply divided Arvada's citizens."<sup>866</sup> In November 1963, voters defeated a bond issue to create a civic center, passed a bond issue to make downtown improvements, and abolished its urban renewal authority, bringing political upheaval.<sup>867</sup>

Arvada annexed 600 acres at West 57<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Independence Street including the site of the proposed Arvada Plaza Shopping Center in 1961. Located across from the earlier Arvada Square Shopping Center, the 1965 facility continued the movement of commercial businesses from the historic downtown into newer areas of development.<sup>868</sup> Growth slowed in Arvada in the mid-1960s, with applications for building permits decreasing 23 percent from the number in 1963. Residential permits declined more than commercial ones, which historian Judy Morley judges marked "an end to the exponential population growth that became Arvada's postwar hallmark."<sup>869</sup> In 1964, landscape architect and planner S.R. DeBoer prepared a master plan for Arvada designed to improve the city, create a magnificent city center, and turn Wadsworth Boulevard and Kipling Street into "wide, tree

<sup>861</sup> *Denver Post*, 30 March 1960, 17.

<sup>862</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 120.

<sup>863</sup> Arvada City Clerk, "Mayors," undated manuscript in the files of Front Range Research Associates, Denver; Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 309.

<sup>864</sup> *Arvada Enterprise*, Arvada Harvest Festival Section, 9 September 1976, 6A; *Rocky Mountain News*, 20 January 1963, 40.

<sup>865</sup> *Denver Post*, 22 March 2009, 14A; Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 309.

<sup>866</sup> Lois Cunniff Lindstrom, *Shrine of St. Anne: A History, 1920-1995 (Arvada, Colorado: The Shrine, c. 1995)*, 75.

<sup>867</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 September 1963, 101 and 11 September 1963, 16; Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 128-129; Lindstrom, *Shrine of St. Anne*, 75.

<sup>868</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 16 January 1965, 43; Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 126.

<sup>869</sup> Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 127.

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and grass-planted parkways.” Although Denver allowed the planned Interstate 70 to slice through its historic parks, DeBoer envisioned new park areas along the highway, which would pass planned motel, shopping, and dining areas. In addition, the plan called for mandatory landscaping and tree planting in Arvada, as well as strict sign limitations.<sup>870</sup>

*Vetting* (1951). Chester L. “Chet” Hoskinson platted the Vetting Subdivision in 1951. He also developed the Clara Belle (1952) and Gyda George (1952) subdivisions in Arvada. Vetting’s layout included L-shaped and rectangular blocks that limited access to the interior; lots were mostly rectangular (50’ x 100’). The houses in Vetting sold quickly, with prices ranging from \$7,000 to \$7,500, attracting middle and working class families headed by teachers, secretaries, technicians, and skilled laborers. The typical house consisted of frame construction and reflected the Minimal Traditional style popular during the early postwar era. The one-story houses included hipped or gabled roofs of intermediate pitch and off-center slightly projecting front-gabled or hipped entrance bays, 1/1-light windows, and small, often inset, unornamented porches. A few entrances of the houses received elaboration with fluted pilasters flanking the door.

*Clara Belle* (1952). The Grand View Builders partnership platted the Clara Belle Subdivision in 1952. Members of the partnership included Chester L. Hoskinson; Hoskinson family members James W. Hoskinson, Leonard V. “Bus” Hoskinson, Joy Hoskinson; Herman C. Combs, and Jesse Oldham. The subdivision became one of several small developments between Grandview Avenue on the north and Ridge Drive to the south built in the 1950s. Clara Belle extended from Carr Street on the east to slightly beyond Dudley Court on the west and featured curving streets and a cul-de-sac. Lots varied in shape and size with most at least 60’ x 110’. Figure K31 is representative of the Ranch type found in the Clara Belle subdivision.

*Alta Vista* (1953). Platted in 1953 by George L. and Robert P. Swadley, the Alta Vista subdivision extended from Carr Street on the east to Estes Street on the west and from the mainline railroad tracks on the north to Hoskinson Park (the Ralston Creek drainage) on the south. The long blocks in the development were generally rectangular, with the streets on the north and south angled or curving to follow barriers in those locations. Most lots were rectangular, measuring about 67’ wide by 106’ deep. The smaller eastern section along Carr Street developed in the early 1950s, while the area to the west built out in the late 1950s. Figure K27 shows one of the homes in the subdivision.

Hoskinson Brothers Company, operated by Leonard “Bus” and Coleman “Jay” Hoskinson, undertook development of the subdivision. The company intended to build a \$4 million development on 70 acres of land containing 274 contemporary brick houses with two to four bedrooms, ranging in price from \$13,000 to \$15,000. Architect Stan Lewis designed the houses for the development firm.<sup>871</sup> The project location was two blocks from the newly-constructed Arvada Junior High School. Officials indicated that the houses would represent the “new look” in home building of that year and feature mountain views, carports, and patios. The company incorporated maximum use of built-in conveniences in the new dwellings and offered 24 variations on six basic floor plans.<sup>872</sup> *Cervi’s Journal* commented that “the builders have doubled the size of Arvada during the last three years with such subdivisions as Grandview Park, the Combs addition, the Tim subdivision, and the Gyda George subdivision.”<sup>873</sup> Mrs. William G. Howell, a 1954 resident of Alta Vista, stated that “job, climate

<sup>870</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 September 1964, 53.

<sup>871</sup> *Cervi’s Journal*, 4 February 1954, 13.

<sup>872</sup> *Denver Post*, 4 February 1954, 34.

<sup>873</sup> *Cervi’s Journal*, 4 February 1954, 13.

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and mountains” brought her family back to Colorado to live.<sup>874</sup>

*Columbine Acres* (1954). Although not particularly large in overall area, Columbine Acres developed in four filings between 1954 and 1957. The subdivision lay north of West 52<sup>nd</sup> Avenue and west of Marshall Street, with Columbine Park to the southeast. Charles A. and Jennie Britton and a number of other couples platted the first filing. The older parts of the neighborhood to the northeast included rectangular blocks and lots and developed in the late 1950s, while the southwestern section (which built out in the early 1960s) employed slightly curving streets and irregular blocks.

*Koldeway* (1955). The Koldeway subdivision, located between Garrison Street on the east and Independence Street on the west, extended from Brooks Drive on the south to about West 62<sup>nd</sup> Avenue on the north. Flanking it, to the east and west, were the Alta Vista and Arvada West subdivisions. Koldeway, platted by Henry J. and Eva Koldeway, consisted of three filings: the initial one in 1955, a Second Filing in 1957, and the Third Filing in 1959. The development employed long, rectangular blocks divided into rectangular lots about 68' x 106'.

*Arvada West* (1956). The Arvada West subdivision, one of the largest in the city of the 1940-65 period, consisted of eight filings created between 1956 and 1960. Hutchinson Realty Company, a Colorado corporation, executed the First filing; E.L. Northway served as vice president of the company and B.B. Hamilton was secretary. Northway continued to be involved in later filings. Roughly located between Ralston Road and the mainline railroad tracks, the subdivision extended from Independence Street on the east northwesterly to Oak Street. The street layout employed slightly curving streets and long blocks. Many of the lots were 74' x 100' with some large, irregularly-shaped lots as well. The southeastern portion of Arvada West developed in the late 1950s, while the northwestern section dates to the early 1960s.

*Lamar Heights* (1957). Lamar Heights, located north and south of West 64<sup>th</sup> Avenue and east of Lamar Street, included seven filings between 1957 and 1962. The Lamar Land Company and Lakewood Terrace Incorporated, and several individual landowners platted Filing 1. Ollie S. Forsberg served as president and Erma O. Forsberg acted as assistant secretary of both companies. Filings south of West 64<sup>th</sup> Avenue used long, rectangular blocks and rectangular parcels and developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Northern filings developed in the early 1960s with curving streets, irregularly-shaped blocks, and rectangular lots.

*Allendale* (1958). Franklin Homes Company, a limited partnership, platted the Allendale subdivision. The Van Bibber Company was the general partner, with Leonard V. Hoskinson president and Margaret M. Hamilton secretary. The large Allendale subdivision represented eight filings created between 1958 and 1962. The development extended from approximately Miller Street on the east to Ward Road on the west and from West 58<sup>th</sup> Avenue north to about West 62<sup>nd</sup> Avenue. The area embraced Allendale and Bridgeside parks and two elementary schools. The layout included long, rectangular blocks and some irregular blocks. Allendale Drive curved along the northern edge of the development. Some variation in lot size and shape existed, but many were 50' x 105'. Jack C. Hoerner, a builder in the subdivision, included fallout shelters under garages in some houses.

*Far Horizons* (1960). The Far Horizons Subdivision, in north Arvada southwest of Sheridan Boulevard and the mainline railroad tracks, had filings in 1960 and 1962. Situated close to the Denver-Boulder Turnpike, Filing 1 represented the plans of two Colorado corporations: the Security Company (Paul G. Hauptmann, president, and Robert L. Proctor, secretary) and the Skyline Development Company (Kenneth H. Gantenbein, president and Marvin W. Gantenbein, secretary). The Gantenbeins also

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<sup>874</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 September 1954, 3.

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participated in subdivision development in Wheat Ridge. Streets in Filing 1 followed gently curving arcs, with most lots rectangular and measuring 71' to 72' wide and about 115' deep. Most of the houses in the subdivision date to the early 1960s.

*Ralston Park* (1960) and *Ralston Hills* (1962). Midco Construction Corporation, founded in 1950 by builders Jack Grazi and Jerome Gordon, developed Ralston Park, a 90-home subdivision in Arvada lying northeast of Quail Street and West 62<sup>nd</sup> Avenue. The subdivision contained "Formula Homes" ranging in price from \$16,500 to 18,750 in 1961. The company originated the "Formula Home" concept in 1957 "to insure buyers receive just what they want in the way of housing and to make changes during construction of a house to meet the individual tastes and needs of each family." In 1962, the company created an \$11 million subdivision on rolling land with mountain views adjoining Ralston Park on the south known as "Ralston Hills." The subdivision lay northwest of West 58<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Oak Street. Midco offered three popular Ralston Park Models in the new subdivision: the Stratford, Trent, and Nassau. The company described the Nassau as a "splanch"-a design combining features of a *split* level and a *ranch*. A showhouse at West 62<sup>nd</sup> Avenue and Quail Street featured the Suffolk model, a house with four above-grade levels offered at \$19,950 and described as "new to the Denver area." The first floor of the Splanch included, at ground level, a garage, a patio, and a recreation room with a shower. Five steps up from the foyer were the living, dining, and kitchen areas, followed by five more steps accessing three bedrooms with walk-in closets and a large bathroom. A utility room, furnace room, and bedroom or hobby room were accessed by stairs down from the foyer.<sup>875</sup> Figure K35 is representative of the Bi-level found in the Ralston Hills subdivision.

### BOW MAR

The Town of Bow Mar incorporated in 1958, with Lloyd King elected as its first mayor. In the fall of 1958, two subdivisions opened near the newly incorporated town, both planning for eventual annexation by Bow Mar. Michael T. Frederics, president of Frederics Brothers Construction Company, teamed with Fort Logan Development to buy a 132-acre parcel of federal land north of Bow Mar and south of Fort Logan for their Bow Mar Heights development. Fort Logan Development members were a who's who of Denver businessmen, including Mayor King. Bow Mar Heights featured luxury homes on large lots similar to Bow Mar's development. Frederics explained to the *Rocky Mountain News* in 1958 the plan was to enlarge Bow Mar.<sup>876</sup> Bow Mar South, the second subdivision of 160 homes, was south east of Bow Mar and east of Pinehurst Country Club. Denver Realty Associates announced that the luxury homes would range in price from \$27,500 to \$60,000 with a minimum of 1,500 square feet of living space on half-acre to one-and-a-half acre tracts. The average home price in the metropolitan area in 1958 was \$11,079. Builders laid electrical, telephone, and gas lines in the development with additional plans for developing a five-acre community recreation area including a swimming beach between two man-made lakes. Bow Mar annexed Bow Mar South, while Bow Mar Heights became part of Denver in December 1958. By 1960, the town had a population of 748.<sup>877</sup>

### EDGEWATER

Edgewater added 1,474 dwellings between 1940 and 1965 with most (522 or 35.4 percent) erected in the early 1950s. The city's average year built was 1952. The houses constructed during the period covered 122 acres for a density of 12.1 dwellings per acre, perhaps reflecting the division of most of the city into quite narrow lots. The average parcel size was just 1,474 square feet. Most of eastern

<sup>875</sup> *Denver Post*, 19 August 1962, 1D.

<sup>876</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 December 1958, 5.

<sup>877</sup> Catlett, *Farmlands*, 193.

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Edgewater contained much older housing stock. An area in the north-central part of the city, south of West 26<sup>th</sup> Avenue, developed during the early 1940s. Most of southern Edgewater showed a mixed development pattern, with dwelling dates extending from the late 1940s to the early 1960s.

*Rose Acres* (1953). Charles Clifford Ford and Eunice Eileen Ford platted the Rose Acres subdivision in the northwest corner of Edgewater in 1953. The plat featured long, rectangular blocks, limited access to the interior and mostly rectangular lots (typically 60' wide and 100' deep). Most of the lots received dwellings in the early 1950s; the northern section, adjacent to West 26<sup>th</sup> Avenue, developed in the late 1950s.

**GOLDEN**

Coors Porcelain Company and Adolph Coors Company, brewer of beer and malted milk, provided the overwhelming majority of jobs for Golden citizens and also employed sizable numbers of people from other parts of the western metropolitan area. Golden's clay pits were large producers, supplying a variety of manufacturers, including the Denver Fire Brick and Clay Company, an important employer. The city's position as the Jefferson County seat ensured it attracted a large workforce conducting county business, as well as ancillary service firms. The Colorado School of Mines trained many of the world's leading mining and metallurgical engineers and provided jobs for teachers and supporting staff, and the State Industrial School for Boys also employed instructors and other personnel. About 1941, the Chamber of Commerce printed a booster pamphlet touting Golden as "the Gateway to the Rockies," and a "city of modern homes." Golden's "ideal residential section and many beautiful sites for buildings" were noted, as well as its many amenities, including a new \$85,000 post office.<sup>878</sup> As City Manager Arthur Lowther later observed, "Like other surrounding territories, we started growing during World War II and haven't stopped."<sup>879</sup>

The Golden Chamber of Commerce unveiled a 30-point improvement plan for the town in 1949, including: completing several highway projects, constructing a new courthouse and new schools, obtaining additional water sources, and setting a population goal of 20,000 by 1960. Golden hoped for a population of 100,000 through extension of the city limits eastward toward Denver. In January 1949, the Chamber's housing committee chairman announced "home builders were making a start toward the population goal by immediate construction of 60 new homes." Chamber President Lu Holland announced westward expansion by Denver would not be tolerated: "If Denver wants to grow, let it go east – all the way to the Kansas line if it wants to, but we won't let it grow westward." One of the recommended improvements finished that year was construction of downtown's iconic metal welcome arch, reading: "Howdy Folks! Welcome to Golden, Where the West Remains."<sup>880</sup>

Golden's development in 1953 included construction of a \$200,000 Coors sewage treatment plant; completion of a new water treatment plant with a capacity of 2 million gallons a day; installation of "7,845 feet of curb and gutter and 13 blocks of asphaltic pavement"; creation of a new city park along Clear Creek; and establishment of a volunteer fire department.<sup>881</sup> Between 1940 and 1954, Golden's population doubled to over 6,000 and more than 300 new homes were built. As the population grew, the city needed to add more school buildings. In 1946, the Golden Board of Education called a special bond election to permit purchase of a site for a new high school.<sup>882</sup> Plans for erection of Earle

<sup>878</sup> Golden Chamber of Commerce, "Golden in Cool, Colorful Colorado," c. 1941, Golden Clipping File, Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department.

<sup>879</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 July 1948; *Denver Post*, 15 August 1954.

<sup>880</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 January 1949.

<sup>881</sup> *Denver Post*, 15 August 1954.

<sup>882</sup> *Jefferson County Republican*, 13 March 1946.

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A. Johnson Elementary School resulted in one of the “most modern schools in the area,” with “three separate buildings connected by enclosed bridges up to three feet off the ground.”<sup>883</sup> The unusual design responded to the sloping site and poor soil conditions of the area, according to the architect, Stanley E. Morse.<sup>884</sup> In 1954 Mayor Dave C. Johnston described Golden as “a sleepy town that has grown in spite of itself.”<sup>885</sup>

*Bunzel Addition* (1950). The Bunzel Addition represented a somewhat linear development that followed the contours along the western foot of South Table Mountain, with curving Lookoutview Drive its principal street. Lying southeast of 24<sup>th</sup> and East streets, the subdivision featured irregularly-shaped blocks and lots and two cul-de-sacs. Year-built data shows home construction in both the early and late 1950s. Everett C. and Mary M. Bunzel platted the subdivision with protective covenants that specified houses had to have a minimum of 850 square feet.

*Dennis Second Resubdivision* (1953). The small Dennis Second Resubdivision, off Ford Street in north Golden, displays one of the more unusual subdivision layouts in the region, featuring lots laid out along curving Goldco Circle that terminates in a turnaround loop containing a small park. Lots are of varying shapes and sizes, with some presenting a very angular appearance. Platted by O.L. and Ada Dennis, the subdivision developed in the early and late 1950s.

*Ramstetter* (1955). The Ramstetter subdivision is located in southwest Golden, west of 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue and 19<sup>th</sup> Street, on both sides of the Lookout Mountain Road. The subdivision mostly developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s, but appears to have a significant amount of later infill. The configuration is mainly curvilinear; lots are fairly large, with many 100' wide and from 140' to 160' deep. Earnest A. and Gladys E. Ramstetter platted the development.

*Rolling Knolls* (1961). Terra Firma Enterprises, Ltd. platted the Rolling Knolls subdivision in 1961. Elise Vogelsang served as the company's president, while William J. Caskins, Jr. became its secretary. Rolling Knolls is a trapezoidal-shaped subdivision in north Golden on the east side of Washington Avenue. Houses in the development date to the early 1960s.

## LAKESIDE

The Town of Lakeside, known principally for the Lakeside Amusement Park, has only a handful of residences along Sheridan Boulevard. There are no 1940-65 subdivisions within the jurisdiction. The Lakeside Shopping Center (no longer extant), a major regional shopping center opened in 1954, was the major event in the town's postwar history. A discussion of the shopping center's development appears elsewhere in this narrative.

## LAKESIDE

During the war, some 20,000 war workers toiled at the Denver Ordnance Depot in Lakewood. To move employees and supplies to and from plant, the Department of Highways widened and extended Kipling Street and Alameda Boulevard. At the same time, highway engineers redesigned West 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue, reconstructed as Colorado's first four-lane “freeway.” Little housing for war workers existed in the vicinity, since the Lakewood area remained largely agricultural and sparsely populated. Buses carried laborers back and forth on West 6<sup>th</sup> Avenue to their lodgings in Denver.

A number of small, residential areas developed in the central Lakewood area during the 1940s, with a considerable number with 20 or less parcels. Small construction companies built most of them. Two

<sup>883</sup> *Denver Post*, 21 August 1959, 15.

<sup>884</sup> *Denver Post*, 21 August 1959, 15.

<sup>885</sup> *Denver Post*, 15 August 1954.



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examples of these subdivisions are Pike View Acres (1946) and Summers Resubdivision (1949). The lot sizes in these two subdivisions were larger than many urban lots. A number of 1940s Lakewood area subdivision plats included strict covenants on construction. Larger scale developments appeared in the late 1950s into the 1960s. At the end of the war, the federal government redeveloped the Denver Ordnance Plant site into the Denver Federal Center, one of the largest concentrations of federal agencies in the west. With the influx of federal employees, the population in central Jefferson County swelled. In 1947, the Lakewood-Mountair Fire Department became a fire protection district.<sup>886</sup> It was an all-volunteer force until 1951. In the southern part of Lakewood, an area often referred to as South Lakewood, another fire district organized in 1947; it was called the Bancroft Fire Protection District.<sup>887</sup> A string of tourist cabins and courts and filling stations lined West Colfax Avenue. During the war, many employees of the Remington Arms Plant lived in the cabins. A commercial strip at West Colfax Avenue and Wadsworth Boulevard flourished after World War II. Stores included Safeway, Rockley Music, Lindquist Men's Store, Grimes 5 and 10, and Peterson's Creamery.<sup>888</sup>

In the 1950s, the presence of the Denver Federal Center and good access to Denver and the mountains stimulated population growth in eastern Jefferson County and transformed the Lakewood area from a highly scattered group of subdivisions into an urbanized community. From the late 1940s into the 1950s, small subdivisions spread along the length of West Colfax Avenue, Kipling Street, and Wadsworth Boulevard. In the Lakewood area alone, some 735 developments sprang up between 1940 and 1965. Sales marketers advertised the area's location, its country feel, and its access to transportation. Sudden growth created stresses on county services, including law enforcement, water, planning and zoning, parks, and even building inspections. In 1954, as its battle against tuberculosis ended, the Jewish Consumptive Relief Society renamed itself the American Medical Center and concentrated on cancer research. The JCRS Shopping Center, located at West Colfax Avenue and Pierce Street, opened in 1957<sup>889</sup>.

In 1955, Lakewood residents Warren Jackson, Dr. Robert Weaver, Ray Ross, Fred Hendrickson, and Jimmy White campaigned to establish a park and recreation district. Their efforts resulted in the 1959 creation of the five-acre Alameda Park, located at 680 South Harlan Street, with its landmark log cabin.<sup>890</sup> After *Denver Post* heiress May Bonfils Stanton died in 1959, her 750-acre estate with its million dollar mansion, located in the vicinity of present-day Belmar Park on South Wadsworth Boulevard, was demolished to make way for development of houses, apartments, condominiums, and an office park. Later her husband, Charles Stanton, gave \$10,000 to the City of Lakewood to plan a museum and park to provide a cultural center.<sup>891</sup>

During the late 1940s through the late 1960s, some Lakewood citizens struggled for incorporation, but faced opponents who feared exchange of a country lifestyle for an urban one. At one point, Lakewood area residents considered merging with Wheat Ridge to form Ridgewood, but stiff opposition caused the measure to fail. Finally, in June 1969, voters approved creation of Jefferson City. The name changed to Lakewood in September. The new city, led by Mayor James J. Richey,

<sup>886</sup> Patricia Wilcox, ed., *Lakewood-Colorado: An Illustrated Biography* (Lakewood, Colorado: Birthday Commission, 1994), 50.

<sup>887</sup> Wilcox, *Lakewood-Colorado: An Illustrated Biography*, 51.

<sup>888</sup> *Lakewood-Colorado: An Illustrated Biography*, ed., Patricia Wilcox (Lakewood, Colorado: Birthday Commission, 1994), 156.

<sup>889</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 302; Lakewood 25<sup>th</sup> Birthday Commission, *Lakewood, CO: An Illustrated Biography*, Patricia K. Wilcox, ed. (Lakewood: Birthday Commission, 1994) 130.

<sup>890</sup> Lakewood 25<sup>th</sup> Birthday Commission, *Lakewood, CO: An Illustrated Biography*, Patricia K. Wilcox, ed. (Lakewood: Birthday Commission, 1994) 106-107.

<sup>891</sup> Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 302.

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encompassed 31 square miles, with a population of 97,743.<sup>892</sup>

*Lakewood Heights* (1938).<sup>893</sup> Edward M. Olmstead and Kenneth A. Macomber platted the Lakewood Heights subdivision in 1938. Covenants for residential construction in the subdivision included language for a "homogeneous community," as were common during the era. The homogeneous community covenant was later struck down by anti-discrimination laws. The small subdivision features a circular drive with ample frontage and setbacks for houses on the irregular lots. Individual builders built the large homes found in the development. An early builder in the development was the Newt Olson Lumber Company. The majority of houses in the subdivision are Ranch type, built between 1940 and 1944. After the war, construction in the neighborhood continued until 1961. Included in the subdivision is the Lakewood Heights Mutual Water Company Reservoir, a distinctive landmark on Kipling Street. The residents use water from the reservoir and irrigation system for their lawns.

*Daniels Gardens Tract 1* (1939). Leonard S. Zall began subdividing his property in April 1939 into May of 1940. Approximately 192 houses were constructed in the development between the years 1940 and 1956. A rush of construction between 1940 and 1942 erected 69 houses before war broke out. It was not until 1945 that construction resumed in Daniels Gardens. The major push for construction was between 1945 and 1956. Lots within the subdivision average 25' x 127'. The majority of the 192 homes are Ranch houses constructed by small builders. The subdivision is located on the southwest corner of Simms Street and West Colfax Avenue.

*Hillcrest Acres* (1939). Hazel B. Drew and Vernon D. Weaver filed a subdivision plat for Hillcrest Acres in the winter of 1939. Located near West 23<sup>rd</sup> Avenue and Hillcrest Drive, the primarily Ranch house subdivision features large lots ranging in size from 106' x 140' to 100' x 300'. A brief period of construction in 1940-41 was interrupted by the war to resume in 1945. Over the next decade, a total of 43 homes were built, mostly between 1945 and 1956. Because the original subdivision could not be connected to public sewer lines, residents were allowed to install septic tanks. Strict covenants restricted building to residential only with no animal husbandry allowed. Residents could not build garages fewer than 100 feet from the front property line.

*Powells* (1946). Located northeast of Carr Street and West Sixth Avenue is the Powells subdivision platted by George S. Powell. The small subdivision contains a variety of lot sizes ranging from 100' x 160' and 100' x 300'. The plat contains strict covenants limiting the subdivision for residential development with no animal husbandry allowed and specific building guidelines requiring a minimum square footage of 750 for one-story houses. It is an all-Ranch subdivision. No basement houses were allowed. As with many early subdivisions in the Lakewood area during this era, race restrictions were instituted. The majority of the houses in Powells Subdivision were built between 1946 and 1950.

*Linda Vista* (1946). Linda Vista lies west of Denver's Moffat Water Treatment Plant on the north side of West 20<sup>th</sup> Avenue. Brothers Harold P. and E. Leonard Grout filed the initial plat of Linda Vista in 1946, with two additional filings the following year. Both Grouts attended the Colorado School of Mines. Harold (1910-94) worked as an engineer with the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation; he served as a colonel in the Army Corps of Engineers during World War II. Linda Vista Drive winds through the subdivision that contains large, irregularly-shaped parcels, with many backing onto the Agricultural

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<sup>892</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 January 1947, 24, 10 December 1958, 5, 8 September 1961, 10, and 25 June 1969, 5; *Denver Post*, 26 November 1958, 13, 8 December 1958, 19, and 15 September 1969, 15; Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp*, 304-305.

<sup>893</sup> The Colorado State Historic Preservation officer declared this subdivision eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. However, a nomination has not been submitted officially.

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Ditch. Restrictions on the Linda Vista plat limited occupancy to members of the Caucasian races, specified setbacks, and prohibited commercial buildings, duplexes, and apartments.<sup>894</sup>

*Glennon Heights* (1947). In 1947, 94 federal employees organized as Glennon Heights, Inc., to build a 200-unit veteran cooperative housing project near the Federal Center south of West Alameda Avenue and west of Kipling Street. The employees worked at the Bureau of Reclamation at the Denver Federal Center in Jefferson County. The project qualified for federal funding under Section 213 of the FHA Act (Mortgage Insurance for Cooperative Housing) because a majority of the employees were veterans, and the organization planned to develop a cooperative housing project of more than eight-family units.<sup>895</sup> The group pooled resources to buy 160 acres of land for \$15,000. The group, represented by E.L. Barrett, presented plans to convert a wheat field into one-half acre lots with gas, light, and water lines. The planned community included three park areas, one block for a public school, and strict covenants on what could be built on the parcels.<sup>896</sup>

*Cedar Crest* (1952). In May 1952, Western Homes Inc. (N. S. Waggener, president) filed a plat for the small-scale Cedar Crest subdivision in what is now Lakewood. The residential development is located west of Kipling Street and north of West Sixth Avenue. Western Homes and Cedar Crest Development Company began construction in 1952 and completed the entire neighborhood of 139 houses in a year. Despite the quick construction, housing was not prefabricated. Models included a three bedroom, one bath house with attached garage and a smaller two bedroom, one bath house with a carport that sold for \$10,500, both without basements. All but six of the houses in the neighborhood are Ranch houses. The rest include two-story examples and one Split-level. Protective covenants required that no home be less than 800 square feet for a single-story home or 600 square feet on the first level of a multiple-story structure.<sup>897</sup>

Curving streets wind through the development, creating a quiet and safe neighborhood for families. There are no parks, schools, or commercial areas; it is strictly residential. At the time of construction, it was open country to the west where Sarcasean Ranch's pastures provided a country feel for the residents. To the south, there was a drive-in theater. Access to Cedar Crest is off Kipling Street, which was eventually paved in 1953.

Former resident Josephine Waterman recalled homebuyers worked with the developer to choose a lot, an exterior style, flooring, and extras: "Our neighbors were former veterans and the majority worked as federal employees," Mrs. Waterman said. "It was less expensive than other developments, so there were a lot of families with young children. We shopped in Denver or Golden and worked nearby at the Federal Center, county offices, or in the local schools."<sup>898</sup> Like the Watermans, many of the new homebuyers qualified for VA or FHA loans. The families enjoyed the country setting where their children could roam and play. Because the neighborhood was built out almost immediately, all the neighbors landscaped their yards at the same time and helped each other with the work.

<sup>894</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 3 June 1994.

<sup>895</sup> "Mortgage Insurance for Cooperative Housing: Section 213," <http://www.hud.gov/offices/hsg/mfh/progdesc/coop213.cfm> (accessed 9 June 2010).

<sup>896</sup> A similar planned cooperative community of single-family homes was built in Littleton. A group of Glenn L. Martin Company employees, the majority veterans, formed the Forest Estates Corporation to build at Ridge Road and South Hickory Avenue. Interview Sandra Killian, resident Lakewood, by Dawn Bunyak, 22 April 2009; *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 February 1947, 20; Interview James Halderman, resident Glennon Heights, by Dawn Bunyak, 15 July 2009; *Lakewood: An Illustrated Biography*, Patricia Wilcox, ed. (Lakewood, Colorado: Birthday Commission, 1994), 76-77; Diane Wray Tomasso, "Historic Context of Littleton, Colorado, 1949-1967," (Littleton, Colorado: Office of Community Development, July 2008), 7.

<sup>897</sup> Cedar Crest, plat, Jefferson County

<sup>898</sup> Josephine Waterman, Lakewood resident, interview by Dawn Bunyak, 16 April 2009.

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*Virginia Dale* (1953). In the spring of 1953, Edwin C. Blasier platted Virginia Dale just south of the Denver Federal Center. The boundaries of the four-block grid development were West Alameda Avenue, South Kipling Street, West Virginia Avenue, and South Miller Street. Construction of homes in the small subdivision took place between 1954 and 1959, with peaks in 1954-55 and 1957-59. Ranch houses in the development ranged from 936 square feet with two bedrooms and one bath to 1,152 square feet with three bedrooms and one bath. Protective covenants described in the plat, included plans being approved by committee, no offensive trade or activity on a home site, no dwelling less than 800 square feet for a single-story house or 650 square feet for the first story of a multi-story structure. The 1953 covenants were binding until 1973, at which time a majority vote of homeowners could renew the restrictions for another ten years. Generally, Virginia Dale houses included a one-car garage. Commercial buildings and gas stations of the 1950s were located along West Alameda Avenue. Due to its proximity to the Federal Center, the developers probably emphasized the subdivision as a convenient location for employees of the center.<sup>899</sup>

*Meadowlark Hills* (1953). Another development platted in 1953 in the Lakewood area was Meadowlark Hills, southeast of West Sixth Avenue and Garrison Street. The development featured curvilinear streets and boasted a shopping center at one corner and a school at the other. The long, L-shaped Meadowlark Hills Shopping Center, built in the late 1950s, was altered over the years. Local children attend South Lakewood Elementary. Builder Hillcrest Homes Company, led by Dan Kellog, constructed the large development of approximately 450 homes between 1950 and 1959, with the majority of homes built in 1954. Models included Ranch houses of varying sizes and a Split-level. The larger Ranch included four bedrooms and two baths with an average square footage of 1,459, while the smaller Ranch had two bedrooms and one bath. Several of the larger Ranch houses have corner wrap-around windows and cantilevered wing walls by the front door. Two of the Meadowlark Hills Ranches were featured in the 1956 Parade of Homes, with the one located at 155 Carr Street having an asking price of \$27,500. Many of houses along Meadowlark Drive are placed at angles on their lots. All of the homes in the subdivision are brick and many use two colors. In a recent survey, the State Historic Preservation Officer declared this subdivision eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

*Green Mountain Village* (1954). Twelve plats for the Green Mountain Village subdivision were filed between 1954 and 1963 and two others in later years. The subdivision grew to 92 blocks with an average lot measuring 60' x '110'. In the early 1950s, Green Mountain Incorporated (K.L. Smith, president) acted on the behalf of land owners Harry, Albert, and Teddy Peterson, and Ollie S. Forsberg to develop the area. The company persuaded several Denver area construction companies, including Hutchinson Homes, Alpine Builders Incorporated and Cosmopolitan Homes Incorporated to erect houses in the vicinity of the newly established Denver Federal Center.

Between 1960 and 1965, approximately 1,300 homes were built, but there is evidence that construction continued into the late 1960s. The neighborhood street system is both grid and curvilinear, conforming to the curving route of West Alameda Parkway, which forms both the north and west boundaries of the neighborhood. On the west side of the subdivision, a number of shopping plazas front onto West Alameda Parkway. The subdivision also included a park and a school. Models in Green Mountain Village ranged from small to large Ranches, Bi-levels, Split-levels, and two-story houses. A small Ranch with two-bedrooms and one bath contained 875 square feet, while the large three-bedroom, one bath Ranch encompassed 1,084 square feet. The majority of homes in the neighborhood were Ranch type. Census statistics from 1960 state home buyers in the subdivision

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<sup>899</sup> Plat of Virginia Dale Subdivision, Jefferson County online database (accessed 6 July 2010).

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included young professionals with families with a median family income of \$7,508 per year.

*Applewood Valley* (1956). Myron T. Bunger envisioned “country-style living with a western flair” west of Denver in an area east of South Table Mountain.<sup>900</sup> In 1933, he bought an 80-acre apple orchard on Olivet Road, now West 32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue, to build a home for his family and plant an orchard. Bunger worked for the U.S. Bureau of the Budget until 1953 when he chose to retire instead of accepting relocation to Washington, D.C. Bunger asked his brothers, Mills and Howard, both engineers for the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, to work with him to develop a luxury home subdivision. They founded the Applewood Mesa Realty Company<sup>901</sup> and obtained water rights, forming Applewood Utilities to provide water in the valley. By 1956, construction began on Applewood Mesa for 600 one-half acre home sites. Homes ranged in price from \$25,000 to \$85,000, uncommonly expensive, considering the average home price in 1956 was \$10,391. As popularity grew for the Applewood area, the brothers created new subdivisions.<sup>902</sup> They included Applewood Heights, Grove, Glen, and View, all with Applewood in the name. The subdivisions were popular with young professionals. The annual median family income for families in Applewood Valley in 1960 was approximately \$8,836 per year. In the 1960s and 1970s, Michael Leprino’s real estate and construction companies added Applewood Knolls.<sup>903</sup>

In addition to the residential development, developer Conrad R. Becker began construction of a new shopping village on a 38-acre site adjacent to the Applewood area and the new Interstate 70 project through Jefferson County. Becker stated the shopping village would serve residents not only in Applewood, but in Table Mountain and the Golden vicinity. Grocery store magnate Lloyd J. King and Ted Eaker, owner of Eaker Department Stores, signed leases to be among the first to build in the shopping center, which expected to have 40 to 50 stores. Both businessmen claimed that the new stores would be the largest in their chains to date.<sup>904</sup>

*Briarwood Park* (1959). Carey Construction Company began building in the Briarwood Park subdivision in 1960. After the death of land owner Henry McLoren, the executors of the estate worked with J.J. Carey to develop the land. Briarwood Park is located just south of the Denver Federal Center and West Alameda Parkway. Carey Realty Company marketed several models ranging from a small 670-square-foot Ranch to a larger Ranch with 1,872 square feet. A smaller number of Split-levels were constructed in Briarwood Park. Figure K42 is representative of this style found in the subdivision. Ornamentation in the neighborhood included exterior walls of brick and wood siding and steep gabled hoods over windows and entries with scalloped fascia boards. A 1,123-square-foot Ranch model sold for between \$10,000 and \$15,000 depending on the extras a homebuyer chose. Home sites averaged 65' x 135', but varied in size and shape due to the curvilinear streets.<sup>905</sup> By 1960, approximately 89 houses were built.

*Green Mountain Estates* (1961). Ridgewood Realty Incorporated President Mike Leprino announced to the *Denver Post* in 1961 the company planned to develop a 300-home luxury subdivision in Green Mountain Estates west of South Union Boulevard. Ridgewood joined with Midway Development Corporation, also headed by Leprino, to build some homes in the new subdivision. Homes prices ranged from \$18,500 to \$50,000. Leprino said the more expensive homes would face Green

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<sup>900</sup> *Denver Post*, 18 November 1962, 1D, and Lakewood 25<sup>th</sup> Birthday Commission, *Lakewood, CO: An Illustrated Biography*, Patricia K. Wilcox, ed. (Lakewood: Birthday Commission, 1994), 265.

<sup>901</sup> “Applewood,” <http://www.co.jefferson.co.us/placenames> (accessed 7 July 2010).

<sup>902</sup> *Denver Post*, 18 November 1962, 1D.

<sup>903</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 April 1961, 3D.

<sup>904</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 16 April 1963, 21.

<sup>905</sup> Plat of Briarwood Park Subdivision, Jefferson County online database, accessed 6 July 2010.

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Mountain. Leprino regularly collaborated with 15 custom home builders. Ridgewood also handled listings and sales for older homes throughout Jefferson County, “with trade-ins as a specialty.”<sup>906</sup> Leprino’s companies developed Applewood Knolls and Applewood Grove subdivisions and the million dollar Applewood Grove Shopping Center in northern Jefferson County in the 1960s.

The 1962 Parade of Homes featured models and builders in Green Mountain Estates. All 14 houses stood on a single street, South Cole Drive, for easy viewing by the public. Fourteen custom builders received the opportunity to showcase their companies and construction skills. A Ray C. Parker-designed Ranch house was also a HBA Materials Showcase home. Cirbo Construction Company utilized brick in a variety of patterns to advertise their Ranch model as a “Brick Idea Home.” Crawford Construction built a Ranch model called the “Chalet de Mont Vert,” with a selling price of \$29,500. Ridgewood Realty’s Ranch, the “Italian Provincial,” sold for \$37,500. The 14 models included a Bi-level, a Split-level, and 12 Ranches. The cheapest model cost \$26,500. Most models ranged from 1499 square feet to 1940 square feet. All houses included fireplaces, covered porches, and an attached garage. By 1965, custom builders erected 121 of the 300 homes in the neighborhood, and construction continued into 1970.<sup>907</sup>

### **MORRISON**

The small, foothill town of Morrison steadily increased its population during the period, growing from 216 in 1940, to 306 in 1950, and 426 in 1960—nearly doubling in 20 years. About 37 percent of the town’s dwellings date to before 1940, with an equal proportion erected between 1940-65. No residential subdivisions within the jurisdiction were platted during the period.

### **MOUNTAIN VIEW**

Mountain View, the region’s smallest municipality in terms of area, includes a number of dwellings dating to the 1940-65 period, interspersed among older housing stock of the Berkeley in Jefferson Subdivision. There are no 1940-65 subdivisions within the jurisdiction.

### **WHEAT RIDGE**

In Wheat Ridge, the estate of Denver businessman William S. Barth purchased the west wing of Lutheran Sanitarium in 1941 to be utilized as a hospital providing care for aged and indigent people of German descent. The facility later became Lutheran Medical Center, the city’s largest employer.<sup>908</sup> The unincorporated community continued efforts to address needed services without having a municipal government framework in place. In 1941, local citizens started a drive to create a fire district, purchase a new fire truck and erect a building.<sup>909</sup> The community studied plans for a sanitary sewage system costing \$400,000 in 1945.<sup>910</sup>

After the war, “the vacant lots and the excellent mountain view around Wheat Ridge became prized real estate sites. Homes grew in place of crops, and water and drainage problems grew with them.”<sup>911</sup> A very large number of small subdivisions developed the lands in the southeastern portion of Wheat Ridge, lying between Sheridan and Wadsworth boulevards and West 26<sup>th</sup> and West 38<sup>th</sup> avenues. Building dates are mixed therein with few areas displaying cohesive construction eras. The northeastern part of the city (between Sheridan and Wadsworth boulevards and 38<sup>th</sup> Avenue and

<sup>906</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 April 1961, 3D.

<sup>907</sup> Center for Historic Preservation Research, “Database of the Annual Denver Area Parade of Homes.”

<sup>908</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 November 1941 and 16 July 1989, 24.

<sup>909</sup> *Denver Post*, 4 December 1941.

<sup>910</sup> *Jefferson Sentinel*, 27 September 1945.

<sup>911</sup> Wheat Ridge clippings file at Denver Public Library. Undated and unattributed.

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Clear Creek) mostly developed in the 1950s. Central Wheat Ridge, between Wadsworth Boulevard and Kipling Street and West 26<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Clear Creek, displays a number of medium-sized subdivisions dating from the late 1940s through the late 1950s, including Hillcrest Heights and Clearvale to the north and Melrose Manor and Bel Aire further south. That portion of Wheat Ridge lying west of Kipling Street is more likely to exhibit construction dates from the late 1950s and early 1960s, as well as a considerable amount of post-1965 housing. Notable subdivisions in this area include Paramount Heights and Wheat Ridge Manor.

The late 1950s saw additions to the community's educational, religious, and recreational life. Wheat Ridge High School at 9505 West 32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue was built for \$1.6 million and dedicated in September 1958.<sup>912</sup> In 1959, the Fruitdale Baptist church planned a new \$100,000 sanctuary at 10555 West 44<sup>th</sup> Avenue.<sup>913</sup> Johnson Park, containing a wilderness area and history museum, opened in 1959.<sup>914</sup> Residents wanted a golf course and began working to create one in 1955. The effort struggled due to lack of funds, until 1968 when the golf club reached an agreement with the Coors Brewing Company to give up the land they had purchased in exchange for the beer company constructing a course, clubhouse, and swimming pool on a new site.<sup>915</sup> An attempt to incorporate the Lakewood-Wheat Ridge area into the city of "Ridgewood" failed in 1959. If successful, Ridgewood would have been the fourth largest city in the state with a population of 67,000.<sup>916</sup>

The Wheat Ridge area retained its strong agrarian heritage throughout the years, although increasing amounts of open land made way for residential or commercial developments over time. In 1963, James Gibson Jr. sold his 20-acre Arvada Gibson Dairy farm, which the *Denver Post* called "a rural landmark for four decades," soon to be "leveled to make way for a housing development." By the time Gibson sold the acreage, houses already surrounded the farmland. Gibson's father remarked, "Times have changed in the past 40 years. More cars pass the dairy in 15 minutes than we'd see in a day in 1922."<sup>917</sup>

Commercial development accompanied the increase in residential growth. Construction began on the 33,700-square-foot Wheat Ridge Park N' Shop retail center at West 38<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Wadsworth Boulevard in 1961. Created by Ambrose-Williams for Industrial Lands, Inc., the development included plans for a modern supermarket; a sporting goods, hardware and household supplies store; several service shops; and a space for the Republic Drug Company.<sup>918</sup> Conrad Becker and Stewart Smith began the multi-year development of the Applewood Shopping Center at Youngfield Street and West 32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue in the late 1950s.<sup>919</sup>

The Lutheran Sanitarium freely treated people with tuberculosis for more than 50 years after its founding in 1905.<sup>920</sup> In 1960, the institution formulated plans proposed for conversion of the sanitarium into a 220-bed general hospital known as Lutheran Hospital and Medical Center.<sup>921</sup> The facility, which opened in 1962, became the first general hospital in Jefferson County.<sup>922</sup> Wheat Ridge

<sup>912</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 September 1958, 13.

<sup>913</sup> *Denver Post*, 5 December 1959, 4.

<sup>914</sup> *Denver Post*, 26 October 1959, 21.

<sup>915</sup> Felsburg, Holt & Ullevig, "Interstate 70/32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue Interchange," *Rocky Mountain News*, 1981.

<sup>916</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 December 1958, 5.

<sup>917</sup> *Denver Post*, 1 May 1963, 14.

<sup>918</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 April 1961, 2D.

<sup>919</sup> Felsburg, Holt & Ulevig, "Interstate 70/32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue Interchange."

<sup>920</sup> *Wheat Ridge Advocate*, 11 July 1957, 13.

<sup>921</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 June 1960, 35.

<sup>922</sup> *Denver Post*, 9 June 1960, 35 and 4 May 1964, 2.

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finally incorporated as a city in 1969, and the 1970 Census recorded a population of 29,778.

*Hillcrest Heights* (1946). Ignatz J. Bacher and several other landowners platted Hillcrest Heights in 1946 on land between Clear Creek and West 44<sup>th</sup> Avenue. The development displayed long blocks, a few slightly curving streets, and rectangular lots, typically 75' wide and 135' to 140' deep. Most of the parcels received houses in the late 1940s to early 1950s.

*Bel Aire* (1947). The Bel Aire subdivision (See Figure K45) took advantage of its somewhat hilly topography and sited homes along curving West Field Drive. Platted by Lee W. Doud in 1947, the subdivision included irregularly-shaped lots that were at least 100' wide and 115' to 265' deep. Protective covenants applicable to the nearby Lee Doud subdivision applied to this development as well: approval of building plans by the subdivider; a minimum house size of 900 square feet for single-story structures and 750 square feet for multi-story ones; and a requirement that "only persons of the Caucasian race shall use or occupy any building or any lot." Domestic servants were exempted from the last stipulation. Most of the lots were developed in the late 1940s or early 1950s.

*Paramount Heights* (1951). Lee W. Doud platted the Paramount Heights subdivision in 1951; he also developed the Bel Aire and Lee Doud subdivisions in Wheat Ridge and lived in the latter at 3840 Field Drive. Doud also created the Paramount Heights Shopping Center, southeast of the residential area. Lee Wessell Doud, born in 1893, served in World War I as a lieutenant in the infantry and died in Mesa, Arizona, in 1988. Paramount Heights, southwest of West 32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue and Kipling Street, had a relatively flat eastern portion, but the sloping topography on the west provided excellent views of the foothills and Front Range. The subdivision developed in five "parts" (or filings) between 1951 and 1959. Curving streets with no sidewalks took advantage of the topography; lots were at least 100' wide and varied from 130' to 217' deep. A 1958 display advertisement described a house in the subdivision "built and offered by Lee Doud" for a buyer "desiring the ultimate in luxurious living." The house featured four bedrooms, two-and-a-half baths, a one-third acre lot, a two-car garage, nearly 3,800 square feet of living space, and an "unobstructed view of beautiful Clear Creek Valley and mountain range." The \$59,500 asking price was more than five times the average value of houses erected that year (See Table J11).<sup>923</sup>

*Melrose Manor* (1955). Located between Lutheran Hospital and Wilmore-Davis Elementary School, Melrose Manor included blocks of varying shapes, slightly curving and angled streets, and varied lots that were at least 75' wide and 116' deep. Protective covenants required a minimum house size of 1,000 square feet, approval of building plans, and 30-foot setbacks from the street. The Belco Development Corporation, a Colorado firm, filed the plat; Robert O. Beck served as its president and Esther F. Bellamy its secretary.

*Wheat Ridge Manor* (1955). Empire Development Company platted the Wheat Ridge Manor subdivision in 1955, with additional later filings. James H. Rogers served as the Colorado firm's president, while Grace T. Larkin was the secretary. The development (on the north side of West 44<sup>th</sup> Avenue a few blocks west of Kipling) included long rectangular blocks and two cul-de-sacs, with most lots 57' wide and 115' deep. Nearly all the houses therein were erected in the late 1950s.

*Clearvale* (1955). The Clearvale subdivision, on the north side of Clear Creek between Wadsworth Boulevard and Kipling Street, featured long rectangular blocks with angled southern ends that followed the alignment of the creek. Most lots were rectangular (60' x 109') and protective covenants provided for a minimum house size of 680 square feet, a 35' setback from the street, and approval of building plans by the subdivider. Skyline Development Company platted the subdivision; Kenneth H.

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<sup>923</sup> *Cervi's Journal*, 5 March 1958, 27.



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Gantenbein served as its president and Marvin W. Gantenbein as its secretary. The Gantenbeins also developed a subdivision in Arvada.

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*Applewood Mesa Ranchettes* (1955). Applewood Incorporated (Myron T. Bunger, president, and Mansur Tinsley, secretary) and several individuals platted the first filing of Applewood Mesa Ranchettes in 1955. The development lay southwest of the proposed route of Interstate 70 and West 32<sup>nd</sup> Avenue. A second filing came in 1956, followed by three additions between 1957 and 1959. It developed mostly in the late 1950s, although some early 1960s houses are present. Blocks are of varying sizes and shapes, defined by angled or slightly curving streets. The Rocky Mountain and Lee ditches flow west to east through the subdivision.

*Applewood West* (1958). Applewood West is situated on both sides of Interstate 70, extending from Youngfield Street on the east to Eldridge Street on the west and from West 20<sup>th</sup> Avenue on the south to West 26<sup>th</sup> Avenue on the north. The development is composed of six filings submitted between 1958 and 1961. Three corporations, Standard Investments Incorporated, the Dependable Investment Co., and Landell Incorporated platted the subdivision; G.M. Mullin, Jr., and E.L. Northway served as officers for all three firms. The oldest part of the subdivision, constructed in the late 1950s, is on the east side of Interstate 70. The remainder of the subdivision developed in the early 1960s. The owners probably sited the development anticipating the enhanced access that the completion of the highway would bring.

*Normandy Estates* (1958). Three couples incorporated circa 1958 Normandy Estates Limited to develop land in southern Jefferson County and western Arapahoe County, southwest of South Platte Canyon Drive and West Coal Mine Avenue.<sup>924</sup> Principals in Normandy Estates Limited were Raymond and Suzanne Duboc, A.F. and Edna Good, and James and Dora Gibson, with Raymond Duboc acting as chairman of the board. Duboc established the Platte Canyon Water District to lay a water line for the planned, 175-acre development off South Platte Canyon Road (S.H. 75).

In 1959, Duboc and his partners in Normandy Estates chose 20 custom homebuilders to construct houses in the subdivision. The designed community for 340 residences also included a 9-acre recreation area with an Olympic size swimming pool, a club house, wading pool, playground, picnic area, tennis and badminton courts, and a large parking lot. A riding stable was built just west of the recreation area, with a bridle path encircling the community. The recreation site became part of the Normandy Estates Recreation District with membership governed by the residents of the development.<sup>925</sup> In 1961, several homes in the development were featured as Parade of Homes models.

Approximately 109 homes were built between 1959 and 1965 with the peak year of construction in 1960. The majority were brick Ranches with a few split-level and bi-levels. In addition, there were a smaller number of one-and-a-half and two-story residences. Housing prices ranged from \$25,000 to \$40,000. Architect Rene Chouzenoux designed a home on West Rowland Avenue built by contractor Douglas Schauer and featured in the 1961 Parade of Homes. The 2,000-square-foot home had three bedrooms, two baths, and a two-car garage with a "full electric kitchen of the most modern design." Other builders featured in the Parade of Homes included K.M.S. Construction Company and Paul

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<sup>924</sup> While most of Normandy Estates is located in Jefferson County, a portion of the development lies to the east in Arapahoe County.

<sup>925</sup> *Denver Post*, 11 October 1959, 2E.

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Menaul.<sup>926</sup> Lots in the development varied due to its curvilinear street system. Construction in Normandy Estates continued into the late 1960s and early 1970s.

*Columbine Hills* (1959). Eugene Sanders, founder of Four Corners Oil and Minerals Company, platted Columbine Hills as an entirely “new city” in south Jefferson County. Sanders organized Columbine Hills Incorporated to develop the subdivision. In the winter of 1959, Sanders advertised his development in the *Denver Post*, noting its proximity to the Thompson Ramo Woolridge electronics plant and the Glenn L. Martin intercontinental ballistic missile plant. Sanders extolled the views of the Rockies from the new community. The entrance to the subdivision was conveniently off South Platte Canyon Road which led to either plant. Sanders announced plans for extending and widening South Wadsworth Boulevard through the area, insuring easy access to many metropolitan locations. Like many of the south Jefferson County builders, Sanders marketed his homes to young professionals moving to Colorado to work with new technology firms.

Planners dedicated land for parks and schools and planned for a shopping center in the subdivision. Residential construction included 2,000 homes in the price range of \$16,800 to \$27,500 in the 1,023-acre site. Almost 430 homes were built between 1959 and 1965. Models included Bi-level, Split-level, two-story, and Ranch houses, ranging in size from 1,200 square feet to 2,000 square feet. Builders for each homesite installed a minimum of two trees on the front lawn. Several custom builders constructed five show homes to allow buyers an opportunity to see the new subdivision. New to the Denver area was Strauss Brothers, Inc., A Nebraska firm who advertised their new Trend Homes in Columbine Hills. Trend Homes featured garden entry-ways, patios, three bedrooms, finished basements, two-way fireplaces, and large garages. They also offered new technology, wiring each house with a built-in radio system with speakers in all rooms and at the front door.<sup>927</sup> A Columbine Hills Trend Home Split-level house was on display at the 1963 Parade of Homes.<sup>928</sup> That same year, Columbine Hills Elementary School opened for K-6 grades. Although Eugene Sanders had high hopes to build a city in south Jefferson County, his development Columbine Hills never grew to city status; instead it remained a luxury residential development.

*Leawood* (1962). K.C. Ensor Construction Company opened 14 Leawood show homes to the public in the fall of 1962. As with many subdivisions in southern Jefferson County, 1960s developers advertised their location in proximity to the “exclusive Columbine Valley area,” and local technology centers and plants. Ensor extolled the 342 “lightly wooded acres” with some of the best views of the Rockies. Nearby recreational facilities included Columbine and Pinehurst country clubs, Centennial Race Track, and Johnson Lake, a favorite water-skiing spot. The developer set aside a 6 1/2-acre parcel for a Community Club for residents. Future shopping areas were planned off Bowles Avenue and the soon-to-be widened and extended South Wadsworth Boulevard.<sup>929</sup>

Four builders planned to construct 850 homes in the \$17,500 to \$28,000 price range. They included Ensor homes, Banner Homes, Ace Construction Company, and Research Homes. Ensor announced a number of custom homes in the \$40,000 “class” would be available, too. Financing for Leawood homes was available for FHA, conventional, and VA loans. Types and styles available included Ranch, Colonial, Contemporary, Split-level, and multi-level houses. The first models included a “luxurious tri-level with all floors above ground,” an all brick Ranch, a two-story Colonial with oversize

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<sup>926</sup> Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *Denver Parade of Homes*, and *Denver Post*, 15 September 1961.

<sup>927</sup> *Denver Post*, 22 November 1959, E1.

<sup>928</sup> Center for Historic Preservation Research, “Database of the Annual Denver Area Parade of Homes, 1953-1963.”

<sup>929</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 September 1962, 4.

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garage and porch, and the “Ensor 33, a single-level home.”<sup>930</sup> Ensor told reporters many of his new homes also featured air conditioning. Both the air-conditioning and the Tri-level highlighted new marketing strategies. The Tri-level represented more square footage and a fourth level.

*Lakehurst* (1963). As Ensor’s Leawood took shape in 1962, only a few miles west, 12 landowners represented by Vic Champlin, a Littleton real estate broker, planned a “satellite city” called Lakehurst. A 16 September 1962 *Denver Post* news article reported that a 7,000-acre site south of West Quincy Avenue and west of South Wadsworth Boulevard projected a 1975 population of 60,000. Landowners involved in the project included E.H. Grant, Perlmutter interests, Terre Grande Incorporated, Four Corners Oil & Minerals (Sanders, who developed Leawood), the Rio Grande Railroad, and Mountain View Land Company. HOH designed the master plan for the satellite city. HOH planners presented a community concept, with areas set aside for residential, commercial, industrial, and public uses. Residential development utilized the cluster or village concept. Major arteries accommodating higher volumes of traffic took cars off residential streets. The elementary school stood at the center or heart of the subdivision, with clusters circling the common area. No child crossed a major street to walk to school. Harriman Lake lies to the west of the development.

Unlike many of the subdivisions built in the 1950s to early 1960s, Lakehurst offered more Split-level and two-story houses than Ranches. There is a clear indication builders favored more square footage on a narrower lot than in the large lots of the 1950s. The average square footage in Lakehurst houses built between 1962 and 1965 was 1,750.<sup>931</sup> Construction in Lakehurst took place during 1962-75. Although Champlin and investors envisioned a city, Lakehurst never reached that status. Developers forecast a population for Lakehurst at 60,000 by 1975; in actuality, they came closer to predicting the entire population of south Jefferson County.<sup>932</sup>

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<sup>930</sup> *Denver Post*, 16 September 1962, 4.

<sup>931</sup> *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 June 1962, 38.

<sup>932</sup> “South Jefferson County Demographics,” <http://www.co.jefferson.co.us/jeffco/planning> (accessed 12 July 2010).

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## F. Associated Property Types

### 1. Name of Property Type

Property Type: World War II and Postwar Metropolitan Denver Residential Subdivisions, 1940-65

Subtypes: Existing Subdivision

Domestic Subdivision

Multiple Filing Subdivision

Planned Suburban Community

Specialty Subdivision

Historic Context: Metropolitan Denver Residential Subdivision Development, 1940-1965

### 2. Description

Between 1940 and 1965, builders erected more than 160,000 new single-family dwellings within the CDOT Region 6 boundary in Adams, Arapahoe, Broomfield, Denver, and Jefferson counties. Formally platted subdivisions held most of the residences built during the period. This document evaluates Denver metropolitan area subdivisions of the period 1940-65 through subtypes based on the kinds of development they represent.

Subdivisions created during 1940-65 evolved from the traditional rectilinear grid to curvilinear designs employing street patterns intended to limit through traffic, eliminate sharp corners, and reduce the number of dangerous intersections. The absence of alleys and the elimination of unnecessary streets through use of long blocks reduced infrastructure costs, as did rolled curbs and narrow abutting sidewalks. Parcels increasingly became wider and larger than those typically found in the pre-World War II period, resulting in lower subdivision densities. As families and their expectations expanded, house size and the average number of rooms also increased. House construction materials and methods changed during the period, as did the ways in which homeowners utilized their houses and yards. Subdivision landscaping in the metropolitan area also varied, ranging from a minimal number of designed elements to carefully planned and extensive rosters of features incorporating an overall theme.

By a wide margin, Ranch houses represented the predominant dwelling type in metropolitan area subdivisions developed during the period. Significantly smaller numbers of houses, reflecting Bi-Level, Cape Cod, Contemporary (including International and Usonian), Minimal Traditional, and Split-level houses were completed, as well as some dwellings representing period revival styles. A subdivision composed wholly of one of these less-built housing styles/types was unusual, whereas a subdivision composed of Ranch houses was common.<sup>933</sup>

Subdivisions of the era ranged in size from small tracts containing a few houses to planned communities encompassing hundreds of acres and thousands of dwellings. The kinds of resources varied within subdivisions; some developments encompassed only houses, while others included a full range of dwellings, schools, churches, community buildings, individual businesses and shopping centers, parks, and recreational facilities. Today, some houses are located in subdivisions containing large numbers of older or newer dwellings that do not possess the qualities necessary to constitute a

<sup>933</sup> A district full of commonly-found resources might still be significant. For a full discussion of this topic see the National Register of Historic Places White Paper by Barbara Wyatt, "Evaluating Common Resources for National Register of Historic Places Eligibility," 9 April 2009 and the discussion of significance in Section 3 below.

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district representing the era covered by this MPDF. However, large numbers of subdivisions contain cohesive, contiguous areas where 1940-65 houses predominate. This study identified more than 300 residential subdivisions with 100 houses or more where 1940-65 construction represented at least 75 percent of the total; hundreds of smaller subdivisions with a majority of buildings built during the period also exist. If a subdivision or part of a subdivision represents a unified entity and a majority of its buildings date to 1940-65, it may be evaluated under this MPDF. Discussion of the character-defining features of the subtypes within this property type follows.

### **Subtype: Existing Subdivision**

Platted before 1940 (often in the 1880s or 1890s) and usually within the boundary of an existing city, this type of subdivision remained largely undeveloped until the 1940-65 period. Proximity to the city center and associated jobs and amenities, availability of municipal services, and the convenience of utilizing existing platting made these subdivisions attractive to later builders. Some, such as Kensington in east Denver, apparently developed due to their proximity to World War II military installations. Housing styles and types found in other 1940-65 subdivisions were built in these areas. Developers utilized the existing street layout, blocks, and lots, typically representing a rectangular grid. Examples of this type of subdivision are found in northeast and east Denver, Englewood, and Aurora.

*Listed Resources:* No properties in the metropolitan Denver region representing this subtype are listed in the National Register.

### **Subtype: Domestic Subdivision**

Some subdivisions developed exclusively as sites for houses and associated buildings of domestic function. Homeowners in these subdivisions expected to travel outside of the development for work, school, shopping, and other activities not conducted in the home.<sup>934</sup> Such subdivisions consisted of only one or a few filings; the smallest examples covered a block or less in area. These subdivisions appeared in large numbers throughout the region during the period, especially during the war and the immediate postwar period. Examples of this subtype include Cedar Crest in central Jefferson County and Arapahoe Acres in Arapahoe County.

*Listed Resources:* Only one property in the metropolitan Denver region representing this subtype is listed in the National Register. One example of this property type has been determined officially eligible: Adams Heights, Commerce City, Adams, County, 5AM.2749.

Arapahoe Acres, E. Bates and Dartmouth avenues and Franklin and Marion streets, Englewood, Arapahoe County, 5AH1434, listed 1998.

### **Subtype: Multiple Filing Subdivision**

This type of subdivision occupied an intermediate position between large-scale planned communities and small-scale purely residential ones. The subdivision typically consisted of several filings by the same developer, had an overall development or master plan, and included some amenities, such as a shopping area and one or more schools, churches, and parks. Such subdivisions were typically contained within a larger municipal jurisdiction, and local residents often viewed them as constituting neighborhoods. Numerous examples of this type of subdivision exist, including: Harvey Park in southwest Denver, Hoffman Heights in Aurora, Applewood Knolls in Lakewood, Arvada West in Arvada, and University Hills in south-central Denver.

*Listed Resources:* No properties in the metropolitan Denver region representing this subtype are

<sup>934</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 161-62; Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 2.

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listed in the National Register. Two examples of this property type have been determined officially eligible: Meadowlark Hills, Lakewood, Jefferson County, 5JF.4684 and Green Acres, Lakewood, Jefferson County, 5JF.4685.

### **Subtype: *Planned Suburban Community***

The planned suburban community represented a fully-planned, free-standing community on the scale of a small- to medium-sized town. A master planning process integrated components of the neighborhood, including dwellings, circulation networks, and parks, schools, churches, shopping, and other land uses. Features such as recreational facilities, community centers, and buildings associated with local government and provision of services existed within these subdivisions. Often a single developer, whose team included planning, architecture, landscape architecture, and engineering professionals as well as one or more builders, completed such subdivisions. These subdivisions typically emphasized their location adjacent to major transportation corridors and the self-sufficient nature of the planned community. Northglenn and Thornton in Adams County and Broomfield Heights in Broomfield are examples of such subdivisions that developed during the 1940-65 period. There are relatively few examples of this property type in the region given the significant level of effort and capital needed to acquire a large tract of land, develop a master plan, and construct and market houses.

*Listed Resources:* No properties in the metropolitan Denver region representing this subtype are listed in the National Register.

### **Subtype: *Specialty Subdivision***

The specialty subdivision featured a selected theme, geographic setting, or essential amenity that also served as its principal marketing feature. For example, in the case of Columbine Valley in Arapahoe County, houses surrounded a curving golf course. In Bow Mar, the presence of a lake provided a yachting theme. Responding to Cold War fears of atomic devastation, a number of subdivisions offered fallout shelters as an option for buyers, including Allendale in Arvada and Inspiration Point Estates in northwest Denver. A late 1960s example of this type of development is Van Aire (near Brighton in Adams County) where parcels clustered around a 4,000' landing strip as a "fly-in" community. Such subdivisions may be free standing, incorporated communities or part of a larger jurisdiction.

*Listed Resources:* No properties in the metropolitan Denver region representing this subtype are listed in the National Register.

## **3. Significance**

Evaluations of the significance of residential subdivisions should begin with examination of the essential National Register of Historic Places publication, *Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* (September 2002).

### **Criterion A**

Residential subdivisions may be significant under Criterion A for their association with events that have made an important contribution to the broad patterns of the Denver metropolitan region's history. Subdivisions important under Criterion A may relate to the following areas of significance: ethnic heritage (for association with a particular ethnic or racial group), government (for reflecting the impact of government financing, adoption of government standards, or impact of government regulations), industry (for its service as housing for defense workers or other industrial activity), transportation (for association with important advances or innovations in transportation), social history

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(for introducing an innovative housing type or planning principle, or for its representation of the expansion of housing and home ownership), and various fields of endeavor (medicine, education, etc., if a group of subdivision residents was associated with a locally important facility in the field). Subdivisions significant under Criterion A often have a period of significance "spanning many years to correspond with important events in community life."<sup>935</sup>

The subdivisions of the 1940-65 period reflect, as Ames and McClelland write in *Historic Residential Suburbs*, "the outward spread of metropolitan areas and the growth and development of communities."<sup>936</sup> Subdivisions that played an essential role in meeting the nation's pent-up housing demand following the Great Depression and World War II represent the growth and development of the metropolitan area. Subdivisions that reflect the expansion of housing necessary to providing adequate dwellings for war workers and military personnel and represent the sacrifices endured during World War II are associated with an important time in the nation's history. The scarcity of labor and materials during the war limited the development of new subdivisions, adding importance to those from that era that remain.

During the years following the war, a huge demand for housing, suppressed during the Great Depression and World War II, stimulated construction of new subdivisions. Families of returning veterans and others purchased houses in the new developments, and most Baby Boomers spent their childhoods and attended school in such areas. The period and the housing stock of such subdivisions have been chronicled in literature and popular entertainment and occupy an important place in the nation's consciousness. Due to the great growth of subdivisions on the periphery of cities in the postwar era, "suburbs have overwhelmed the centers of cities, creating metropolitan regions largely formed of suburban parts."<sup>937</sup>

Subdivisions may also be important for their association with specific national, state, or local movements and events. For example, some may be associated with the struggle to achieve civil rights in housing, an issue of immense importance during the period. This topic includes legal challenges or controversies over restrictive housing covenants in subdivision plats, such as those limiting domicile to "members of the Caucasian race." Some subdivisions may be associated with the response of Americans to events such as the Cold War, which resulted in the design of home fallout shelters for protection in the event of nuclear war. Some subdivisions may be associated with expansion of recreational facilities, such as golf course subdivisions.

Subdivisions may be significant for their introduction or expansion of principles of community planning important to the history of the region's residential development, including zoning, master planning, deed restrictions, and subdivision regulations. A suburb associated with a particular group of persons important to the history and development of a locale or the region may also have significance.<sup>938</sup>

In addition, subdivisions may be significant in reflecting the importance of the automobile age and the presence of limited access highways in influencing the location and timing of residential developments. Promotional brochures for many subdivisions, such as Northglenn, Broomfield, Thornton, and University Hills, emphasized their proximity to freeways and easy accessibility to downtown Denver and other parts of the region. Clear patterns of residential single-family construction in subdivisions clustered along U.S. 36 (the Denver-Boulder Turnpike), northern and southern segments of Interstate 25, and U.S. 6 in Lakewood occurred during the 1940-65 period.

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<sup>935</sup> Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 99.

<sup>936</sup> Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 95.

<sup>937</sup> Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 11.

<sup>938</sup> Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 93.

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### **Criterion B**

Some subdivisions may be eligible under Criterion B, for their direct association with the life and career of a person who made important contributions to the history of a locality or the region. Areas of significance under this criterion may reflect the influence of a resident important in one of a variety of fields of endeavor (medicine, education, government, etc.) or that of a developer associated with creation of the subdivision. The period of significance for such a subdivision corresponds to the years a person resided in or was actively involved in it and gained recognition in their field of endeavor.

Criterion B encompasses persons who lived within the subdivision and who “exerted important influences on the neighborhood’s sense of community or historic identity and ... gained considerable recognition beyond the neighborhood.”<sup>939</sup> For a subdivision to be eligible under this criterion, the influential person must have lived in and been closely involved with the community for a substantial period of time. Criterion B requires that the association be with the “person’s productive life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance.”<sup>940</sup>

Prominent developers who engaged in activities such as the planning, platting, construction, and selling of a subdivision and who served as leaders of regional and national professional organizations also may meet this criterion. This is particularly applicable to persons who strongly shaped the overall residential development of a locale or region. As such persons may have been active in several subdivisions, it may be appropriate to identify the most significant subdivision reflecting the developer’s work. As Ames and McClelland note, Criterion B “applies to neighborhoods that are associated with important developers and best represent their contributions to significant local or metropolitan patterns of suburbanization.”<sup>941</sup>

### **Criterion C**

Residential subdivisions may have significance as collections of buildings embodying “the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, style, or method of construction,” or for their representation of the work of one or more notable architects, builders, or landscape architects. A residential subdivision may possess significance under Criterion C in the areas of architecture (for reflection of a design, style, or method of construction), community planning and development (for representation of patterns of development and land division or use), or landscape architecture (for overall design or plan and artistic design of landscape features). The period of significance for such a subdivision “generally corresponds to the actual years when the design was executed and construction took place.”<sup>942</sup>

Residential subdivisions include important examples or collections of representative architectural styles and building types typically found in housing developments of the period. Others may represent well-preserved examples of the period’s construction techniques and materials, such as standardization and prefabrication, without displaying a particular architectural style. Some subdivisions may include wartime or early postwar construction reflecting simple streamlined designs. A neighborhood displaying innovative construction techniques of the era may be significant.

Some subdivisions may satisfy the requirements of Criterion C as significant examples of the work of a recognized architect or master builder. A suburb may display principles of design significant in the legacy of community planning and landscape architecture, or represent the work of a prominent

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<sup>939</sup> Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 95.

<sup>940</sup> National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1997), 15.

<sup>941</sup> Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 95.

<sup>942</sup> Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 99.



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landscape architect or planner. Subdivisions may also embody high artistic values understood through examination of their overall plan. In this case, the subdivision as a whole is the essential unit of analysis, as Ames and McClelland elaborate:

Qualifying physical characteristics, under Criterion C, may be present in the overall plan, the architectural design of dwellings and other buildings, and the landscape design of the overall subdivisions or of significant homes, parks, or parkways. Significance under Criterion C requires that the features that mark distinction in planning, architecture, and landscape design remain intact and recognizable.<sup>943</sup>

Such characteristics include the layout of subdivision streets and how they relate to natural topography and features such as bodies of water. Setbacks and orientation of houses to the street, lot size and shape, scale of houses, materials, and architectural style and types are additional considerations. Landscape features, including distinctive street signage, entry gates or piers, trees and other plantings, driveway and garage placement, and sidewalks (or their absence), also are important. Common decorative treatments, such as shutters, mortar techniques, material combinations, use of windows, and distinctive porch ornamentation, also should be assessed. A subdivision may constitute an eligible district if it “represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.”

### Level of Significance

Most postwar subdivision districts eligible for listing in the National Register will possess a local level of significance for representing important aspects of community growth and development” and broad patterns of subdivision creation in the nation. Subdivisions innovative or influential within the metropolitan area or a larger region may have a state level of significance. Subdivisions exhibiting “outstanding characteristics of community design, landscape architecture, or architecture within the context of design statewide,” or those representing the work of a master who received professional recognition within the state for planning, landscape architecture, or architecture may have a state level of importance. Subdivisions with a national level of importance represent innovative plans, architecture, or landscape design that influenced national design. Subdivisions with national significance may possess “outstanding artistic distinction” or represent important work of nationally-recognized master designers who contributed to the design of residential subdivisions.<sup>944</sup>

### District Boundaries

Identification of appropriate district boundaries for property types included in this MPDF begins with the extent of the recorded subdivision plat (including one or more filings). As with older historic districts, the boundary should include the widest cohesive area encompassing the largest number of contributing properties. Although some districts will be exclusively residential in character, others will include a full range of commercial, educational, civic, and other resources associated with the development of the subdivision. Although the boundaries of some districts may be readily identified by the existence of markers such as walls, gates, and geographic features or may be discerned by the repetitive presence of designed landscape features such as distinctive street signs and plantings, other potentially eligible districts may not display any of these unifying elements.

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<sup>943</sup> Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 95-6.

<sup>944</sup> Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 100.

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### 4. Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing as a residential subdivision property type under this MPDF a district must: a) be located within the geographic area defined in section G; b) have developed substantially between 1940 and 1965, inclusive; c) possess historical associations related to the residential subdivision development of the region; and d) retain sufficient historic physical integrity to convey its significance.

For a subdivision platted before 1940 to be eligible under this MPDF it must have developed substantially during the 1940-65 period, with dwellings from earlier eras forming a relatively small proportion of those present. Houses from 1940-65 must clearly dominate the subdivision and must retain integrity from that era of development.

As with older historic residential districts, to be considered eligible a preponderance of individual resources in a subdivision must be associated with the entity's development during the period 1940-65 and must possess sufficient historic integrity to convey a sense of the original urban fabric and residential nature of the area. The subdivision should retain "the spatial organization, physical components, aspects of design, and historic associations that it acquired during its period of significance." The seven qualities of integrity (location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association) should receive the same consideration in a subdivision of the 1940-65 period as in an older subdivision.<sup>945</sup>

Common alterations to properties in postwar subdivisions include changes to features of the porch, replacement of doors and windows within the original openings, replacement of roofing tiles, covering of original siding, rear additions, and addition or alteration of landscape features. These types of alterations generally do not diminish the historic physical integrity of the resource. Alterations that change the height, setback, or massing are more significant, as are the removal of character defining features, changes to the roofline, or additions incompatible in scale to the original construction. The combined impact of several less dramatic alterations after the period of significance may also negatively impact integrity.

Replacing or enclosure of a carport to gain a garage or its conversion into living space would not render the dwelling noncontributing if executed in a compatible manner. Examples of incompatible changes include lateral expansion of the number of bays in the carport or extension of the carport from the house toward the street. For enclosures, the use of incompatible wall materials, windows at odds with the type and scale used elsewhere on the house, or the addition of a doorway in the former garage door opening represent changes that might impact integrity. By the same reasoning, the conversion of a garage into living space would not necessarily render a house noncontributing. However, expansion of a garage laterally or toward the street would negatively impact the historic physical integrity of a dwelling.<sup>946</sup>

Subdivisions whose houses feature distinctive designs and materials exhibiting the participation of an architect should be "considered finished products when they were built."<sup>947</sup> The impact of post-completion changes should be evaluated in determining whether they maintain historic physical integrity.

Special consideration should be given to subdivisions consisting of small, basic, affordable houses

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<sup>945</sup> Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 101.

<sup>946</sup> For a discussion of the carport issue see: Jason Fox and R. Brooks Jeffery, Preservation Studies, University of Arizona, "Carport Integrity Policy," Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, adopted by the Arizona Historic Sites Review Committee, October 2005.

<sup>947</sup> Larson, "An Overview," III-19.

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intended for veterans and built during and immediately after the war. This issue is explicated by preservation planner Neil Larson in a paper addressing the evaluation of common properties of recent significance:

Like the vernacular architecture of the lower classes in previous centuries (the vast majority of which has disappeared), these veterans' houses were rudimentary, standardized dwellings built by one class for another. The significance of vernacular houses relates as much to how they evolved to meet the changing needs and tastes of the people who resided in them as it does to their original form and design. So too with the identical and impersonal Slab Ranches and Capes into which veterans moved with their young families. The condition of the finished house that the veteran bought . . . was only the beginning stage in an on-going process of adjustment, elaboration and individualization.

In a sense, the veterans were buying somebody else's house, and they quickly adapted and elaborated them to make them their own. Thus the integrity of houses in planned developments . . . cannot be determined solely by the conditions that the merchant builders created; rather, integrity must include the conditions created by the new owners once they took possession and individualized them. Still a limit needs to be established, or perhaps better, a period of significance that encompasses the variables set by the first generation of residents.<sup>948</sup>

The identification of early postwar subdivisions where veteran owners predominated will require intensive research due to lack of readily available data. While the U.S. Census collected data on veteran status, it did not publish such information at the census tract level. Identifying veteran-occupied subdivisions will require extensive research, including oral history interviews, collection of biographical information relating to subdivision residents and their military service, and thorough examination of subdivision advertising targeting veterans.

Assessment of the impact of alterations on such subdivisions is also a complex task. In evaluating the contributing or noncontributing status of buildings within a district, it will be necessary to determine whether such changes took place during the tenure of the veteran owner within the period of significance. The extent of alterations and their impact upon the seven aspects of integrity will also play a role in the evaluation. Certain alterations to the small, basic houses erected for veterans were anticipated, including adding a porch, attaching a garage or carport, and creating additional living space in attic areas or with a rear addition. Landscaping, including building a driveway or a patio, was often left to the homebuyer. Other common alterations found in these neighborhoods include covering original siding and replacement of original doors and windows. These alterations reflect aspects of individualization popular during the postwar period. However, alterations that make it impossible to discern the original character of the house diminish its historic physical integrity. Dramatic changes to the height and mass of the building, alteration of the roofline, changes to the pattern of door and window placement, or extensive alterations after the period of significance result in loss of integrity.

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<sup>948</sup> Neil Larson, "An Overview of Post-World War II Housing and its Significance in Newton, Massachusetts," The Demolition Delay Ordinance and Post-World War II Housing in Newton, Massachusetts, 2001, III-19.

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## G. Geographical Data

This MPDF covers that portion of the five-county Denver region (Adams, Broomfield, Arapahoe, and Jefferson counties and the City and County of Denver) lying within the Colorado Department of Transportation Region 6 boundary (indicated by the thick gray line on the map below). The boundary captures nearly all of the region's 1940-65 subdivision growth.

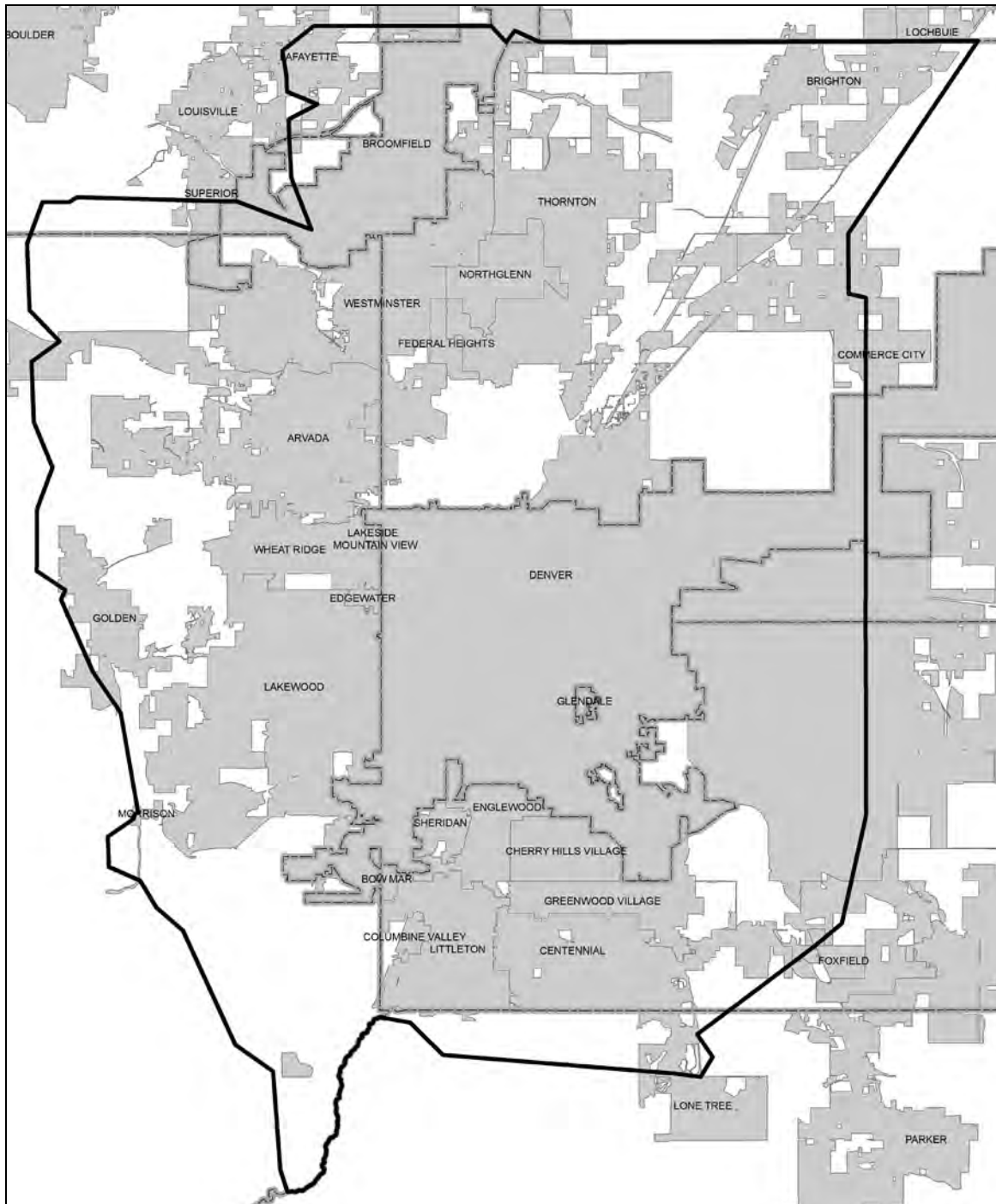


Figure G1. The geographic coverage of the MPDF corresponds to the boundary of CDOT Region 6. SOURCE: CDOT geographic information system data formatted by Front Range Research Associates, Inc.

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## **H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods**

### **Scope and Funding**

This project called for preparation of a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) covering residential subdivision growth in the five-county Denver metropolitan area between 1940 and 1965. Residential subdivisions represented the building blocks for the region's rapid development during the period, producing substantial growth within Denver and resulting in suburbanization of the surrounding counties. The associated historic context describes the region on the eve of World War II, discusses changes occurring during the conflict, and traces the first two decades of subdivision development in the postwar period. The 1940-65 era captures residential subdivision growth associated with World War II and the expansion in the area's military presence, as well as the postwar boom which saw large multi-filing developments and planned communities. The selected time period is comparable to those used by jurisdictions around the country in other recent, similar studies, which typically chose a 20 to 30 year range between 1940 and 1975. The completed document provides a framework to evaluate the historical and architectural significance of residential subdivisions. The MPDF can be used by historians and cultural resource surveyors undertaking research and surveys to assist in eligibility evaluations of 1940-65 residential subdivisions throughout Region 6.

Funding for the project was provided by the Colorado Department of Transportation (CDOT), Research Branch of the Division of Transportation Development (DTD) and a grant from the Colorado State Historical Fund (SHF) (grant number 2009-01-025). Dianna Litvak, Senior Historian of the Colorado Department of Transportation Region 6 Environmental Programs Branch managed the project for CDOT. Vanessa Henderson, CDOT Environmental Research Manager, represented DTD. Astrid M.B. Liverman, National and State Register Coordinator for the Colorado Historical Society, and Elizabeth Blackwell, Survey and Education Specialist for Colorado State Historical Fund (SHF), participated in project progress meetings. The MPDF was reviewed by Ms. Litvak, Dr. Liverman, and the following CDOT staff: Lisa Schoch, Senior Staff Historian; Jennifer Wahlers, Assistant Staff Historian; and Robert Autobee, Historian (Region 4). Suzanne Doggett, former National and State Register Historian at the Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, served as peer reviewer. Liz B. Simmons of Front Range contributed to sections of the narrative and proofread the document. Chris Geddes, former National and State Register Historian with the Colorado Historical Society, also proofread the document.

CDOT contracted with Wilson & Company, Inc., in early 2009 to manage the project, with Bunyak Research Associates (BR Associates), Littleton, Colorado, and Front Range Research Associates, Inc. (FRRA), Denver, Colorado, executing the actual scope of work. Douglas Eberhart of Wilson & Company served as project manager. Historians Dawn Bunyak (BR Associates) and R. Laurie Simmons (FRRA) and Historian/GIS Analyst Thomas H. Simmons (FRRA) prepared the MPDF between February 2009 and October 2010.

### **Comparable Studies**

David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland's *Historic Residential Suburbs in the United States: National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Submission and Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* (2002) provided guidance on areas of significance and registration requirements. The historians consulted similar documents prepared for a number of western cities for guidance on methodological approaches:

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- Albuquerque, New Mexico: David Kammer, "Twentieth Century Suburban Growth in Albuquerque, New Mexico," Multiple Property Documentation Form, 2000;
- Boulder, Colorado: Jennifer Bryant and Carrie Schomig, "Historic Context and Survey of Post-World War II Residential Architecture, Boulder, Colorado" (Golden, Colorado: TEC, Inc., April 2010).
- Georgia: Patrick Sullivan, Mary Beth Reed, and Tracey Fedor, *The Ranch House in Georgia: Guidelines for Evaluation* (Stone Mountain, Georgia: New South Associates, May 2010).
- Los Angeles, California: "Survey LA: Los Angeles Historic Resources Survey, Draft Historic Context Statement," 12 June 2008.
- Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, Maryland: KCI Technologies, Inc., "Suburbanization Historic Context and Survey Methodology, I-495/I-95 Beltway Corridor Transportation Study, Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, Maryland," vol. I (Hunt Valley, Maryland: KCI Technologies, Inc., November 1999).
- Pasadena, California: Historic Resources Group and Pasadena Heritage, Cultural Resources of the Recent Past Historic Context Report (Pasadena, California: City of Pasadena, 2007);
- Scottsdale, Arizona: Elizabeth S. Wilson, *Postwar Modern Housing and a Geographic Information System Study of Scottsdale Subdivisions 1946-1973* (Scottsdale, Arizona: Historic Preservation Commission, 2002);
- Tempe, Arizona: Scott Solliday, *Post World War II Subdivisions, Tempe, Arizona: 1945-1960* (Tempe, Arizona: Tempe Historic Preservation Commission, 2001); and
- Tucson, Arizona: Akros, Inc., Wilson Preservation, Coffman Studios, LLC, and HDR, *Tucson Post World War II Residential Subdivision Development, 1945-1973* (Tucson, Arizona: City of Tucson, Urban Planning and Design Department, Historic and Cultural Resources, 2007).

### Regional Parcel Database

The project developed a Regional Parcel Database of selected county Assessor information to analyze and map parcel-level data for all parcels within the Region 6 boundary. Staff of the Denver Regional Council of Governments undertook data collection from county Assessors, as well as initial standardization. Additional data collection, clean-up, and standardization was performed by Matt Tomaszewski of CDOT and Thomas H. Simmons of FRRRA. Mr. Simmons performed data aggregation, analysis, and summarization and produced the tables, figures, and maps contained in the MPDF. The database comprised a unique tool (never assembled previously for the region) that provided hard data on the historical magnitude, location, and chronological shifts in sub-regional housing development. The data analysis effort required in the current project was considerably greater in terms of scale and scope than those conducted for the studies previously listed. This project contained more than 739,000 parcels drawn from five different counties. The task of standardizing data maintained by Assessors using different formats, databases, and terminology was more challenging than a study of a much smaller city wholly contained within one county.

Given differences in how various Assessors collect data and due to variations in terminology, cross-county comparisons were impossible for some data items (particularly such property characteristics as building materials and rooms). Some data was missing entirely for some counties. Mr. Simmons calculated parcel areas using the geographic information system and produced municipal summaries overlaying current (2008) city boundaries over parcels and assigning a municipal code to each parcel.

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While the Regional Parcel Database had limitations, it was sufficiently robust to permit aggregation, summarization, description, and analysis of key trends in residential growth and development by county, municipality, and subdivisions for the 1940-65 period. The database also assisted in identifying which subdivisions merited extended research and examination in the field. Maps produced showed parcel level year-built data by sub-periods (1940-45, 1946-49, 1950-54, 1955-59, and 1960-64) overlaid by subdivision boundaries. Listings from the database indicated numbers of dwellings by year and the percentage falling within the 1940-65 period. Large subdivisions (at least 100 parcels) with a high proportion (75 percent or greater) of resources built between 1940 and 1965 were identified. These maps and listings aided the consultants in targeting subdivisions possessing the "look and feel" of the era.

### Historical Research

In conducting historical research for the project, historians searched primary and secondary sources in the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library, Littleton Historical Research Center in Littleton, Jefferson County Public Library system, Arapahoe County Public Library system, and online databases and files at the Colorado Historical Society. Historians conducted interviews with city planners, city managers (current and retired), city historic preservation officers, and residents of suburban developments. City planning documents, suburban development studies, transportation studies and histories, and social history studies for cities within the study area were obtained from local, regional, state, and university libraries. Historians searched the internet, online databases, and electronic sources relevant to suburban development and to provide statistical information (census, maps, plats, etc.) and examined books, journals, magazines, and newspapers relevant to the Denver metropolitan area and suburban development at public libraries and in area archival collections. Historians accessed county Assessor and Clerk and Recorder records online and at county offices.

Given the magnitude of the project, research on municipalities and their constituent subdivisions was divided geographically, with cities primarily assigned based on the historian's prior work and familiarity with localities. BR Associates covered the following cities: Aurora, Bow Mar, Centennial, Cherry Hills Village, Columbine Valley, Englewood, Glendale, Greenwood Village, Lakewood, Sheridan, Westminster, and selected subdivisions in southwest Denver. FRRR researched Denver (except as previously noted), Arvada, Brighton, Broomfield, Commerce City, Edgewater, Federal Heights, Golden, Lakeside, Morrison, Mountain View, Northglenn, Thornton, and Wheat Ridge. The historians also divided the research into individual developers, planners, and architects. Based on experience and interests, work on historical themes was also split; for example, BR Associates wrote the section on the regional transportation system.

### Field Work

The limited field work included in the project involved driving a sampling of subdivisions identified through: 1) analyses from the Regional Parcel Database and maps produced from the project GIS and/or 2) historical research identifying potentially significant subdivisions in terms of historical associations, trends in regional development, or as examples of the work of prominent developers, planners, or architects. Selected dwellings within subdivisions were photographed to illustrate house types typically found in residential subdivisions of the 1940-65 period. No survey forms resulted from this study.

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**Table J1  
CHANGE IN POPULATION, 1940-70  
BY COUNTY AND FIVE-COUNTY REGION**

Jurisdiction	1940	1950	1960	1966	1970	Change, 1940-70	
						Absolute	Percent
Adams	22,481	40,234	120,296	159,000	185,789	163,308	726.4
Arapahoe	32,150	52,125	113,426	140,000	162,142	129,992	404.3
Broomfield	193	176	4,677	6,400	7,261	7,068	3,662.2
Denver	322,412	415,786	493,887	509,000	514,678	192,266	59.6
Jefferson	30,725	55,687	127,520	188,000	233,031	202,306	658.4
Five-County	407,961	564,008	859,806	1,002,400	1,102,901	694,940	170.3

**SOURCE: April 1940-60 and 1970 (April 1<sup>st</sup>), U.S. Census Bureau; 1966 (January 1<sup>st</sup>), Inter-County Regional Planning Commission estimates. Front Range produced estimates for Broomfield for 1940-60 using Census minor civil division data and census tract data.**

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**Table J2**  
**TOTAL MUNICIPAL POPULATION BY CENSUS YEAR AND CHANGE, 1940-70**

Municipality	County	Census Population				Change, 1940-70	
		1940	1950	1960	1970	Number	Percent
Arvada	Adams/Jefferson	1,482	2,359	19,242	49,844	48,362	3,263.3
Aurora	Adams/Arapahoe	3,437	11,421	48,548	74,974	71,537	2,081.4
Bow Mar	Arapahoe/ Jefferson	0	0	748	945	945	N/A
Brighton	Adams/Weld	4,029	4,336	7,055	8,309	4,280	106.2
Broomfield	Adams/Boulder/ Jefferson	0	0	0	7,261	7,261	N/A
Centennial	Arapahoe	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
Cherry Hills Village	Arapahoe	0	750	1,931	4,605	4,605	N/A
Columbine Valley	Arapahoe	0	0	0	481	481	N/A
Commerce City	Adams	0	0	8,970	17,407	17,407	N/A
Denver	Denver	322,412	415,786	493,887	514,678	192,266	59.6
Edgewater	Jefferson	1,648	2580	4,314	4,910	3,262	197.9
Englewood	Arapahoe	9,680	16,869	33,398	33,695	24,015	248.1
Federal Heights	Adams	0	173	391	1,502	1,502	N/A
Glendale	Arapahoe	0	0	468	765	765	N/A
Golden	Jefferson	3,175	5,238	7,118	9,817	6,642	209.2
Greenwood Village	Arapahoe	0	0	572	3,095	3,095	N/A
Lakeside	Jefferson	39	46	28	17	-22	-56.4
Lakewood	Jefferson	0	0	0	92,743	92,743	N/A
Littleton	Arapahoe/ Douglas	2,244	3,378	13,670	26,466	24,222	1,079.4
Morrison	Jefferson	216	306	426	439	223	103.2
Mountain View	Jefferson	711	878	826	706	-5	-0.7
Northglenn	Adams	0	0	0	27,748	27,748	N/A
Sheridan	Arapahoe	712	1,715	3,559	4,787	4,075	572.3
Thornton	Adams	0	0	11,353	13,326	13,326	N/A
Westminster	Adams/Jefferson	534	1,686	13,850	19,512	18,978	3,553.9
Wheat Ridge	Jefferson	0	0	0	29,778	29,778	N/A
Total of All Cities and Towns		350,319	467,521	670,354	947,810	597,491	170.6%
Total of Suburban Cities and Towns (excludes Denver)		27,907	51,735	176,467	433,132	405,225	1452.1%

**SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1940-70. Columbine Valley incorporated in 1959 but a 1960 population figure was not reported. A negative number indicates a population loss for the 1940-70 period.**

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Table J3  
MUNICIPAL INCORPORATION YEARS  
FOR REGION 6 CITIES AND TOWNS

Place	County	Incorporation Year
Arvada	Adams/Jefferson	1904
Aurora (Fletcher)	Arapahoe/Adams/Douglas	1903
<b><i>Bow Mar</i></b>	<b><i>Arapahoe/Jefferson</i></b>	<b><i>1958</i></b>
Brighton	Adams/Weld	1887
<b><i>Broomfield</i></b>	<b><i>Broomfield (city and county created in 2001; previously part of Adams/Boulder/Jefferson/ Weld)</i></b>	<b><i>1961</i></b>
Centennial	Arapahoe	2001
<b><i>Cherry Hills Village</i></b>	<b><i>Arapahoe</i></b>	<b><i>1945</i></b>
<b><i>Columbine Valley</i></b>	<b><i>Arapahoe</i></b>	<b><i>1959</i></b>
<b><i>Commerce Town/City</i></b>	<b><i>Adams</i></b>	<b><i>1952</i></b>
Denver	Denver	1861
Edgewater	Jefferson	1904
Englewood	Arapahoe	1903
<b><i>Federal Heights</i></b>	<b><i>Adams</i></b>	<b><i>1940</i></b>
<b><i>Glendale</i></b>	<b><i>Arapahoe</i></b>	<b><i>1952</i></b>
Golden	Jefferson	1886
<b><i>Greenwood Village</i></b>	<b><i>Arapahoe</i></b>	<b><i>1950</i></b>
Lakeside	Jefferson	1907
Lakewood	Jefferson	1969
Littleton	Arapahoe	1890
Morrison	Jefferson	1906
Mountain View	Jefferson	1904
Northglenn	Adams	1969
Sheridan	Arapahoe	1890
<b><i>Thornton</i></b>	<b><i>Adams</i></b>	<b><i>1956</i></b>
Westminster	Adams	1911
Wheat Ridge	Jefferson	1969

SOURCE/NOTES: Colorado State Archives compilation. Bold italics identify municipalities that incorporated during the 1940-65 period.

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**Table J4  
POPULATION IN ANNEXED AREAS BY MUNICIPALITY  
1960 AND 1970**

Municipality	County	Population in Annexed Areas Over Previous Ten Years	
		1960	1970
Arvada	Adams/Jefferson	N/A	14,783
Aurora	Adams/Arapahoe	21,841	15,436
Bow Mar	Arapahoe/ Jefferson	N/A	N/A
Brighton	Adams/Weld	1,981	470
Broomfield	Adams/Boulder/ Jefferson	N/A	N/A
Centennial	Arapahoe	N/A	N/A
Cherry Hills Village	Arapahoe	N/A	750
Columbine Valley	Arapahoe	N/A	N/A
Commerce City	Adams	N/A	8,617
Denver	Denver	38,283	56,872
Edgewater	Jefferson	327	874
Englewood	Arapahoe	11,024	2,250
Federal Heights	Adams	N/A	N/A
Glendale	Arapahoe	N/A	N/A
Golden	Jefferson	365	1,953
Greenwood Village	Arapahoe	N/A	N/A
Lakeside	Jefferson	N/A	N/A
Lakewood	Jefferson	N/A	N/A
Littleton	Arapahoe/ Douglas	7,989	8,632
Morrison	Jefferson	N/A	N/A
Mountain View	Jefferson	N/A	N/A
Northglenn	Adams	N/A	N/A
Sheridan	Arapahoe	N/A	1,173
Thornton	Adams	N/A	7,560
Westminster	Adams/Jefferson	N/A	688
Wheat Ridge	Jefferson	N/A	N/A
<b>Total of All Cities and Towns</b>		<b>81,810</b>	<b>120,058</b>
<b>Total of Suburban Cities and Towns (excludes Denver)</b>		<b>43,527</b>	<b>63,186</b>

SOURCE/NOTES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population 1960: Colorado*, Part 7, vol. I (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 7-14 and *1970 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population: Colorado*, Part 7, vol. I (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1973), 7-14. An "N/A" indicates that the municipality did not exist at the time of the tabulation or that data was not collected due to the small size of the jurisdiction. The Census Bureau included municipalities of 2,500 or more in 1950 and of 2,000 or more in 1960.



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**Table J5  
DWELLINGS BY YEAR BUILT BY COUNTY AND MUNICIPALITY, 1940-65**

Jurisdiction	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	Grand Total	
<b>Adams</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>658</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>656</b>	<b>765</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>850</b>	<b>789</b>	<b>1,677</b>	<b>4,700</b>	<b>2,104</b>	<b>1,743</b>	<b>2,685</b>	<b>2,689</b>	<b>1,861</b>	<b>2,006</b>	<b>1,903</b>	<b>1,546</b>	<b>2,923</b>	<b>802</b>	<b>32,097</b>	
Adams Unincorporated	49	30	56	29	33	44	67	105	86	110	86	133	138	156	216	1,587	801	760	1,411	1,518	581	551	728	491	538	235	10,539	
Arvada	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	25	84	154	45	0	348	
Aurora	32	41	21	6	2	35	49	401	58	285	455	156	459	227	177	206	73	142	369	251	105	310	17	236	172	21	4,306	
Brighton	14	10	20	12	13	11	10	33	31	38	31	58	58	35	15	144	149	68	58	81	75	43	41	86	8	21	1,163	
Commerce City	26	28	63	15	23	24	37	48	60	154	136	188	141	179	390	824	170	252	232	194	50	49	74	58	64	45	3,524	
Federal Heights	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	2	2	6	5	0	3	4	1	3	3	2	3	3	4	48	
Northglenn	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	22	3	6	348	796	810	873	310	1,815	251	5,235	
Thornton	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	5	1	1	4	1	0	7	516	1,458	355	54	116	80	51	108	24	67	119	17	2,988	
Westminster	4	2	7	7	3	7	20	65	35	65	52	73	50	182	357	476	534	461	489	215	167	107	60	141	159	208	3,946	
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>133</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>391</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>374</b>	<b>919</b>	<b>1,179</b>	<b>1,363</b>	<b>1,561</b>	<b>1,591</b>	<b>1,393</b>	<b>1,258</b>	<b>1,191</b>	<b>1,191</b>	<b>1,644</b>	<b>1,929</b>	<b>1,677</b>	<b>2,020</b>	<b>2,448</b>	<b>1,399</b>	<b>1,239</b>	<b>26,304</b>	
Arapahoe Unincorporated	3	2	2	0	4	4	4	8	4	10	15	31	20	83	104	257	110	104	104	104	95	63	98	102	61	77	1,469	
Aurora	15	22	9	3	7	7	8	33	120	102	435	619	845	973	814	391	228	164	166	317	396	330	480	697	492	531	8,204	
Bow Mar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	3	7	5	5	4	3	16	18	9	12	9	3	5	4	10	10	128	
Centennial	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	4	4	2	5	3	3	2	1	1	38	230	385	635	642	785	1,096	453	386	4,679	
Cherry Hills Village	2	4	2	4	3	3	2	1	1	1	8	8	20	12	13	12	21	41	24	23	30	30	40	34	32	37	408	
Columbine Valley	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	13	17	10	9	9	3	11	6	6	91	
Englewood	148	168	119	63	53	103	110	286	339	210	395	380	332	368	381	444	389	304	266	449	237	114	91	69	82	42	5,942	
Glendale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	9	2	1	1	21	
Greenwood Village	1	1		1	1	3	2	3	2	1	4	3	3	1	5	2	5	2	11	14	64	55	77	70	40	19	390	
Littleton	12	15	8	5	5	6	17	47	43	30	43	110	112	106	261	196	390	484	287	289	437	420	332	312	184	100	4,251	
Sheridan	9	11	7	4	4	7	6	10	16	14	14	16	23	8	7	86	97	23	77	41	17	5	100	51	38	30	721	
<b>Broomfield</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>283</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>1,648</b>	
<b>Denver</b>	<b>1,435</b>	<b>2,028</b>	<b>2,081</b>	<b>456</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>475</b>	<b>1,579</b>	<b>2,876</b>	<b>3,029</b>	<b>3,115</b>	<b>1,316</b>	<b>4,295</b>	<b>4,126</b>	<b>4,405</b>	<b>5,208</b>	<b>5,875</b>	<b>3,326</b>	<b>2,012</b>	<b>1,594</b>	<b>1,391</b>	<b>1,065</b>	<b>964</b>	<b>1,210</b>	<b>1,482</b>	<b>972</b>	<b>640</b>	<b>57,251</b>	
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>790</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>251</b>	<b>391</b>	<b>677</b>	<b>881</b>	<b>1,177</b>	<b>1,176</b>	<b>1,380</b>	<b>1,491</b>	<b>1,091</b>	<b>1,901</b>	<b>2,797</b>	<b>3,123</b>	<b>2,378</b>	<b>1,745</b>	<b>2,297</b>	<b>2,104</b>	<b>3,340</b>	<b>3,572</b>	<b>3,594</b>	<b>2,691</b>	<b>1,934</b>	<b>1,929</b>	<b>43,546</b>	
Arvada	44	33	34	4	15	50	44	75	105	72	71	278	143	256	397	650	416	569	864	788	1,070	1,128	1,142	764	576	588	10,176	
Bow Mar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	3	11	6	6	1	9	6	8	5	3	1	1	1	67	
Edgewater	36	24	15	10	30	82	130	69	62	61	40	135	62	54	231	108	70	40	21	32	34	14	33	45	15	21	1,474	
Golden	32	19	15	6	11	43	23	75	86	269	123	36	65	60	103	141	79	46	46	81	70	107	83	89	57	44	1,809	
Jefferson Unincorporated	69	24	25	20	39	53	67	101	139	109	89	55	66	71	121	158	216	142	290	443	847	465	466	424	217	204	4,920	
Lakewood	448	166	167	68	123	132	251	412	445	400	510	390	314	983	1,411	1,509	1,048	507	722	526	997	1,452	1,565	1,145	928	962	17,581	
Morrison	3	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	7	12	5	2	9	6	8	3	6	0	0	2	17	2	1	1	2	93	
Mountain View	18	0	0	0	9	0	36	20	6	2	16	6	2	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	2	6	0	0	135	
Westminster	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	5	0	5	4	1	2	1	0	26	
Wheat Ridge	140	130	60	12	23	31	120	128	334	256	518	585	433	463	513	543	540	431	340	228	301	380	297	214	138	107	7,265	
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>2,541</b>	<b>2,761</b>	<b>2,717</b>	<b>729</b>	<b>700</b>	<b>1,124</b>	<b>2,589</b>	<b>4,808</b>	<b>5,011</b>	<b>5,321</b>	<b>4,383</b>	<b>7,578</b>	<b>7,430</b>	<b>8,658</b>	<b>11,276</b>	<b>15,098</b>	<b>9,351</b>	<b>6,974</b>	<b>7,931</b>	<b>8,167</b>	<b>8,321</b>	<b>8,397</b>	<b>8,895</b>	<b>8,191</b>	<b>7,260</b>	<b>4,635</b>	<b>160,846</b>	
<b>Totals for Split Cities</b>																												
Arvada	44	33	34	4	15	50	44	75	105	72	71	278	143	256	397	650	416	569	864	788	1,070	1,128	1,142	764	576	588	10,176	
Aurora	15	22	9	3	7	7	8	33	120	102	435	619	845	973	814	391	228	164	166	317	396	330	480	697	492	531	8,204	
Bow Mar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	3	11	6	6	1	9	6	8	5	3	1	1	1	67	
Westminster	4	2	7	7	3	7	20	65	35	65	52	73	50	182	357	476	534	461	489	215	167	107	60	141	159	208	3,946	

SOURCE: Calculated by Front Range Research Associates, Inc., from Regional Parcel Database.

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**Table J6**  
**RESIDENTIAL DWELLINGS ERECTED BY REGION, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPALITY, 1940-1965**

Jurisdiction	Subtotal by Period					Total 1940-1965	Average Year Built
	1940- 1945	1946- 1949	1950- 1954	1955- 1959	1960- 1965		
<b>Adams</b>	<b>673</b>	<b>1,771</b>	<b>4,691</b>	<b>13,921</b>	<b>11,041</b>	<b>32,097</b>	<b>1957</b>
Adams Unincorporated	241	368	729	6,077	3,124	10,539	1958
Arvada	1	1	4	1	341	348	1962
Aurora	137	793	1,474	1,041	861	4,306	1954
Brighton	80	112	197	500	274	1,163	1955
Commerce City	179	299	1,034	1,672	340	3,524	1954
Federal Heights	2	5	10	13	18	48	1957
Northglenn	0	0	1	379	4,855	5,235	1962
Thornton	3	8	528	2,063	386	2,988	1956
Westminster	30	185	714	2,175	842	3,946	1957
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>856</b>	<b>1,446</b>	<b>6,613</b>	<b>6,677</b>	<b>10,712</b>	<b>26,304</b>	<b>1957</b>
Arapahoe Unincorporated	15	26	253	679	496	1,469	1958
Aurora	63	263	3,686	1,266	2,926	8,204	1957
Bow Mar	0	5	24	58	41	128	1958
Centennial	3	9	15	655	3,997	4,679	1962
Cherry Hills Village	18	5	61	121	203	408	1958
Columbine Valley	3	1	1	42	44	91	1959
Englewood	654	945	1,856	1,852	635	5,942	1953
Glendale	0	1	1	0	19	21	1961
Greenwood Village	7	8	16	34	325	390	1961
Littleton	51	137	632	1,646	1,785	4,251	1958
Sheridan	42	46	68	324	241	721	1957
<b>Broomfield</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1,078</b>	<b>553</b>	<b>1,648</b>	<b>1959</b>
<b>Denver</b>	<b>6,771</b>	<b>10,599</b>	<b>19,350</b>	<b>14,198</b>	<b>6,333</b>	<b>57,251</b>	<b>1952</b>
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>2,268</b>	<b>3,911</b>	<b>8,660</b>	<b>11,647</b>	<b>17,060</b>	<b>43,546</b>	<b>1956</b>
Arvada	180	296	1,145	3,287	5,268	10,176	1959
Bow Mar	0	1	19	28	19	67	1957
Edgewater	197	322	522	271	162	1,474	1952
Golden	126	453	387	393	450	1,809	1954
Jefferson Unincorporated	230	416	402	1,249	2,623	4,920	1958
Lakewood	1,104	1,508	3,608	4,312	7,049	17,581	1956
Morrison	4	13	34	17	25	93	1954
Mountain View	27	64	28	2	14	135	1948
Westminster	4	0	3	6	13	26	1957

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Jurisdiction	Subtotal by Period					Total 1940-1965	Average Year Built
	1940- 1945	1946- 1949	1950- 1954	1955- 1959	1960- 1965		
Wheat Ridge	396	838	2,512	2,082	1,437	7,265	1954
<b>Five County Region</b>	<b>10,572</b>	<b>17,729</b>	<b>39,325</b>	<b>47,521</b>	<b>45,699</b>	<b>160,846</b>	<b>1955</b>
<b>Totals for Split Cities</b>							
Arvada	181	297	1,149	3,288	5,609	10,524	
Aurora	200	1,056	5,160	2,307	3,787	12,510	
Bow Mar	0	6	43	86	60	195	
Westminster	34	185	717	2,181	858	3,972	

**SOURCE/NOTES:** Aggregated from Regional Parcel Database by Front Range Research Associates, Inc. Average year built is the average of dwellings built only within the 1940-65 period. Shading in the table cells denotes the period with the greatest number of dwellings erected for each jurisdiction.

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**Table J7**  
**PARCEL AREA AND SIZE AND DWELLING DENSITY**  
**BY REGION, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPALITY, 1940-1965**

Jurisdiction	Number of Parcels	Average Parcel Size (sq. feet)	Sum of All Parcel Areas		Dwellings Per Acre
			Acres	Sq. Miles	
<b>Adams</b>	<b>32,097</b>	<b>10,183</b>	<b>7,503</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>4.3</b>
Adams Unincorporated	10,539	12,311	2,978	4.7	3.5
Arvada	348	9,208	74	0.1	4.7
Aurora	4,306	8,387	829	1.3	5.2
Brighton	1,163	9,515	254	0.4	4.6
Commerce City	3,524	10,617	859	1.3	4.1
Federal Heights	48	10,716	12	0.0	4.1
Northglenn	5,235	9,251	1,112	1.7	4.7
Thornton	2,988	8,543	586	0.9	5.1
Westminster	3,946	8,826	800	1.2	4.9
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>26,304</b>	<b>11,877</b>	<b>7,172</b>	<b>11.2</b>	<b>3.7</b>
Arapahoe Unincorporated	1,469	14,138	477	0.7	3.1
Aurora	8,204	8,803	1,658	2.6	4.9
Bow Mar	128	43,764	129	0.2	1.0
Centennial	4,679	12,755	1,370	2.1	3.4
Cherry Hills Village	408	61,247	574	0.9	0.7
Columbine Valley	91	38,417	80	0.1	1.1
Englewood	5,942	8,421	1,149	1.8	5.2
Glendale	21	20,596	10	0.0	2.1
Greenwood Village	390	40,500	363	0.6	1.1
Littleton	4,251	12,265	1,197	1.9	3.6
Sheridan	721	10,078	167	0.3	4.3
<b>Broomfield</b>	<b>1,648</b>	<b>10,679</b>	<b>404</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>4.1</b>
Broomfield	1,648	10,679	404	0.6	4.1
<b>Denver</b>	<b>57,251</b>	<b>7,728</b>	<b>10,157</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>5.6</b>
Denver	57,251	7,728	10,157	15.9	5.6
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>43,546</b>	<b>11,077</b>	<b>11,074</b>	<b>17.3</b>	<b>3.9</b>
Arvada	10,176	9,103	2,126	3.3	4.8
Bow Mar	67	43,257	67	0.1	1.0
Edgewater	1,474	3,600	122	0.2	12.1
Golden	1,809	5,575	232	0.4	7.8
Jefferson Unincorporated	4,920	21,350	2,411	3.8	2.0
Lakewood	17,581	10,700	4,318	6.7	4.1
Morrison	93	11,392	24	0.0	3.8
Mountain View	135	3,040	9	0.0	14.3
Westminster	26	47,601	28	0.0	0.9

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Jurisdiction	Number of Parcels	Average Parcel Size (sq. feet)	Sum of All Parcel Areas		Dwellings Per Acre
			Acres	Sq. Miles	
Wheat Ridge	7,265	10,405	1,735	2.7	4.2
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>160,846</b>	<b>9,833</b>	<b>36,310</b>	<b>56.7</b>	<b>4.4</b>
<b>Totals for Split Cities</b>					
Arvada	10,524	9,106	2,200	3.4	4.8
Aurora	12,510	8,660	2,487	3.9	5.0
Bow Mar	195	43,590	195	0.3	1.0
Westminster	3,972	9,080	828	1.3	4.8

**SOURCE/NOTES:** Aggregated from Regional Parcel Database by Front Range Research Associates, Inc.

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**Table J8  
BUILDING TYPE BY COUNTY AND MUNICIPALITY, 1940-1965**

Jurisdiction	01	A-Frame	B	Bi-Level	Conversions	Duplex 1/2 Story	Duplex One Story	Duplex Two Story	Earth Sheltered	Four-Level	Geodesic	Mixed	Modular	Multi-Story	Not Provided	One-and-a-Half-Story	One-Story	Raised Ranch	Ranch	Rowhouse	Split Level	Three-Story	Tri-Level	Tri-Level Bsmnt.	Triplex 1.5 Story	Triplex One Story	Triplex Split Level	Triplex Two Story	Two-and-a-Half-Story	Two-Story	Grand Total
<b>Adams</b>				<b>1,022</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>				<b>1</b>		<b>68</b>	<b>148</b>			<b>28,528</b>		<b>1,682</b>				<b>2</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>298</b>	<b>32,097</b>
Adams Unincorporated				214			63	5					1		31	39			9,890		193				3				100	10,539	
Arvada				34			1												303		10									348	
Aurora				163		2	88	1							8	9			3,596		392			1	26	1			19	4,306	
Brighton				3		1	28								3	7			1,079		23				5			14	1,163		
Commerce City				5			71	5	1						19	10			3,186		170			1	11		1	44	3,524		
Federal Heights				2			2								2				41		1									48	
Northglenn				480												24			3,839		827							65	5,235		
Thornton				14											1	1			2,938		7							27	2,988		
Westminster				107			29	1							4	58			3,656		59				3			29	3,946		
<b>Arapahoe</b>			<b>6</b>	<b>366</b>						<b>1</b>								<b>22,919</b>			<b>93</b>	<b>1,360</b>						<b>1,559</b>	<b>26,304</b>		
Arapahoe Unincorporated			1	4															1,270									106	1,469		
Aurora				129						1									7,264			38						264	8,204		
Bow Mar				1															119									2	128		
Centennial				92															3,521			1	476					589	4,679		
Cherry Hills Village																			299				19					90	408		
Columbine Valley																			87				1					3	91		
Englewood			3	38															5,652			11	90					148	5,942		
Glendale																			3			15						3	21		
Greenwood Village				13															264				29					84	390		
Littleton			1	84															3,747			28	139					252	4,251		
Sheridan			1	5															693				4					18	721		
<b>Broomfield</b>				<b>38</b>										<b>1</b>		<b>50</b>			<b>1,394</b>		<b>138</b>							<b>27</b>	<b>1,648</b>		
<b>Denver</b>	<b>28</b>			<b>376</b>	<b>66</b>										<b>3,538</b>	<b>851</b>	<b>47,803</b>			<b>1,209</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>937</b>	<b>585</b>			<b>1</b>	<b>1,849</b>	<b>57,251</b>		
<b>Jefferson</b>		<b>3</b>		<b>1,389</b>							<b>9</b>	<b>23</b>				<b>716</b>		<b>446</b>	<b>36,666</b>		<b>2,746</b>						<b>5</b>	<b>1,543</b>	<b>43,546</b>		
Arvada				524												124		31	8,360		847							290	10,176		
Bow Mar																		1	60		3						3	67			
Edgewater																9		278	1,119		14							54	1,474		
Golden		2		43							3	3				86		7	1,513		64						88	1,809			
Jefferson Unincorporated				150							6	3				104		22	4,019		322					2	292	4,920			
Lakewood				602								8				236		76	14,981		1,073					2	603	17,581			
Morrison				1												20			60		2						10	93			
Mountain View																2			133									135			
Westminster																			19		3						4	26			
Wheat Ridge		1		69								9				135		31	6,402		418					1	199	7,265			
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3,191</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3,606</b>	<b>1,765</b>	<b>47,803</b>	<b>446</b>	<b>89,507</b>	<b>1,209</b>	<b>4,573</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>2,297</b>	<b>585</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5,276</b>	<b>160,846</b>

**SOURCE/NOTES:** Aggregated from Regional Parcel Database by Front Range Research Associates, Inc. Many of the table cells are blank since some of the building types are not present or recognized in each county and because some categories represent seldom-constructed building types.

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**Table J9**  
**DWELLING SIZE, NUMBER OF ROOMS, BEDROOMS, AND BATHS AND**  
**AVERAGE VALUE BY COUNTY AND MUNICIPALITY, 1940-1965**

Row Labels	Average Num. of Total Rooms	Average Num. of Bedrooms	Average Num. of Baths	Average Dwelling Size (Sq. Ft.)
<b>Adams</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>1,102</b>
Adams Unincorporated	5.0	2.7	1.6	1,058
Arvada	5.3	2.9	1.4	1,088
Aurora	5.2	2.8	1.4	1,094
Brighton	5.3	2.8	1.3	1,153
Commerce City	5.0	2.6	1.2	1,014
Federal Heights	5.1	2.6	1.3	1,224
Northglenn	5.3	2.8	2.1	1,189
Thornton	5.5	3.0	1.6	1,174
Westminster	5.3	3.0	1.4	1,127
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>1,391</b>
Arapahoe Unincorporated	0.0	1.8	2.0	1,510
Aurora	0.0	2.0	1.8	1,278
Bow Mar	0.0	3.2	2.8	2,820
Centennial	0.0	1.7	2.2	1,457
Cherry Hills Village	0.0	3.6	3.5	3,317
Columbine Valley	0.0	2.3	3.0	2,543
Englewood	0.0	1.9	1.6	1,162
Glendale	0.0	15.4	14.7	9,571
Greenwood Village	0.0	3.2	3.0	2,486
Littleton	0.0	1.9	2.1	1,488
Sheridan	0.0	2.4	1.4	996
<b>Broomfield</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>1,422</b>
<b>Denver</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>1,420</b>
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>1,412</b>
Arvada	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,321
Bow Mar	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,895
Edgewater	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,165
Golden	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,312
Jefferson Unincorporated	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,580
Lakewood	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,423
Morrison	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,585
Mountain View	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,046
Westminster	0.0	0.0	0.0	2,006
Wheat Ridge	0.0	0.0	0.0	1,461
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>1,350</b>

**SOURCE/NOTES:** Calculated from Regional Parcel Database by Front Range Research Associates, Inc.

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**Table J10**  
**DEVELOPMENT OF DENVER REGIONAL FREEWAY SYSTEM, 1940-1965**

Freeway	Major Segments	Year(s) Opened
US 6	First "Clover Leaf" interchange at intersection of US6 and 85 as part of the "Northeast Highway," Adams City, northeast of Denver	1941
	W 6 <sup>th</sup> Avenue (later part of US6) is widened to 4-lane west from Denver to the Denver Ordnance Plant, now Denver Federal Center	1941-1942*
	Route follows Vasquez-46 <sup>th</sup> Ave-Brighton-Broadway-Larimer-Colfax	1947**
	Clear Creek Canyon route between Golden and Idaho Springs completed	1952
	Rerouted in Denver on to 6 <sup>th</sup> Ave Expressway east to Federal then 8 <sup>th</sup> Ave-Broadway-Brighton-46 <sup>th</sup> Ave-Vasquez	1954
	East from SH58 into Denver; Classed as expressway from Denver to Golden	1957
	Interchange at Federal Boulevard to I-25 classed as freeway	1960
	New interchanges at Wadsworth and Sheridan blvds	1961
	Freeway designation west from Federal to Wadsworth and partial exchange at SH58	1961
	Freeway designation from Wadsworth to Kipling St	1965
	Freeway designation from Kipling St to Simms Ave	1966
Interstate 25	46 <sup>th</sup> Ave Interchange and 2.2 miles between 38 <sup>th</sup> and 52 avenues	1950†
	38 <sup>th</sup> to Colfax avenues	1953
	Colorado Blvd to Emerson St	1955††
	52 <sup>nd</sup> to 16 <sup>th</sup> Street and Colorado Blvd to Downing St	1956
	3 <sup>rd</sup> Avenue to Colfax avenues	1957
	Emerson Street to 3 <sup>rd</sup> Avenue	1958◆
	Entire freeway opens	November 23, 1958
Interstate 25 Denver connectors	Colorado Blvd to Arapahoe Rd & County Line	1958◆◆
	US87 58 <sup>th</sup> Ave to 120 Ave becomes part of I-25	1962
	US87 120 <sup>th</sup> Ave to SH7 becomes part of I-25	1963
Interstate 70	Elevated highway over 46 <sup>th</sup> Ave interchange and 2.6-mile section	1964
	I-25 to Peoria St	1965
	Peoria St to E Colfax Ave	1966
	Shared alignment with US6 from I-25 to Golden	Until 1967
	I-25 to Wadsworth Blvd	1967
	Wadsworth Blvd to Kipling St	1968
US 36	Originated in eastern plains to end in Denver about Colfax Ave and Broadway	1946



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Freeway	Major Segments	Year(s) Opened
	Denver-Boulder Turnpike (later part of US36) opened	1952
	System extended through Denver from Colfax Ave up I-25 to turn northwest on the Denver-Boulder Turnpike	1967

**Sources:** Associated Cultural Resource Experts (ACRE), "Highways to the Sky: A Context and History of Colorado's Highway System" (Denver: Colorado Department of Transportation, 2002); Marion C. Wiley, *The High Road: Colorado Department of Highways History* (Denver: Colorado Department of Highways, 1976); Matthew Salek, "The Highways of Colorado," 1997, accessed online at [www.mesalek.com](http://www.mesalek.com) 2009 & 2010; Christine Pfaff, "Bullets for the Yanks: Colorado's World War II Ammunition Factory," in *Colorado Heritage*, Summer 1992, 37; Clayton Fraser, "Valley: Documentation of Structures on the Valley Highway, Denver, Colorado," prepared for Hermsen Consultants (Loveland, Colorado: FRASERdesign, July 2000).

**NOTES:** \* Pfaff, "Bullets for the Yanks: Colorado's World War II Ammunition Factory," 33-45.

\*\* US 6 shared alignment with US 40 on Colfax Avenue during this period.

† Fraser, "Valley," states this section was completed in November 1950, while Salek, "The Highways of Colorado," states it was 1951.

†† Fraser's research identified the completion date as 1955, differing with Salek's completion date for 1958.

◆ Fraser's research identified the completion date as February 1958, differing with Salek's completion date for 1959.

◆◆ Fraser's research identified the completion date as 1958, differing with Salek's completion date for 1959.

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**Table J11**  
**BUILDING PERMITS ISSUED AND COST OF CONSTRUCTION**  
**DENVER METROPOLITAN SINGLE RESIDENCES, 1946-63**

Year	Number of Permits	Value of Construction	Average Value of Construction
1946	5,597	\$24,030,624	\$4,293
1947	3,909	\$22,610,218	\$5,784
1948	4,740	\$28,413,241	\$5,994
1949	5,634	\$32,974,855	\$5,853
1950	8,562	\$59,247,266	\$6,920
1951	6,440	\$50,750,113	\$7,880
1952	8,255	\$60,770,620	\$7,362
1953	6,830	\$60,416,666	\$8,846
1954	11,069	\$95,759,284	\$8,651
1955	10,868	\$99,711,912	\$9,175
1956	7,813	\$81,181,961	\$10,391
1957	6,380	\$70,036,854	\$10,978
1958	7,912	\$87,659,813	\$11,079
1959	7,925	\$103,816,039	\$13,100
1960	8,188	\$106,199,931	\$12,970
1961	10,050	\$136,689,449	\$13,601
1962	10,674	\$149,462,999	\$14,003
1963	8,540	\$115,189,936	\$13,488
TOTAL	139,380	\$1,384,921,781	\$9,936

**SOURCE:** *Colorado Year Book, 1962-64,705*. For 1946-59, the metropolitan area consisted of Adams, Arapahoe, Denver, and Jefferson; Boulder was included in the 1960-63 figures by the original compilers and was not broken out. Figures from county clerks and county building inspectors were used to compile the table.

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**Table J12  
SHOPPING CENTERS IN THE DENVER REGION BY COUNTY, 1966  
SORTED BY COUNTY AND SHOPPING CENTER NAME**

Name	County	Address	Open Year	Acres 1966	No. Stores 1966	Developer	Architect
Fitzsimons Plaza	Adams	E. Colfax Ave. and Peoria St.	1965	5.4	20	N/A	Nat Sachter
Garland	Adams	E. 107th Ave. & Washington	1961	3.5	12	Bernard Bernstein	Warren Flickenger
Ivy K	Adams	E. 64th Ave. and Kearney St.	1958	9.0	11	Austin K. Thompson	N/A
Northgate	Adams	7150 Federal Blvd.	1958	10.0	14	Felix Pomponio	John Milan and Nat Sachter
Northglenn	Adams	W. 104th Ave. and I-25	1964	22.0	13	N/A	Warren A. Flickenger
Northland Plaza	Adams	810 E. 88th Ave.	1962	3.7	13	N/A	N/A
Perl Mack	Adams	7055 Pecos St.	1957	9.0	21	Perl-Mack	Nat Sachter
Shaw Heights	Adams	W. 88th Ave. and Lowell Blvd.	1964	5.0	6	Winston Construction Co.	Paul W. Rader
Sheridan Acres	Adams	5007 W. 64th Ave.	1964	9.0	11	Wester and Co.	N/A
Thornton	Adams	E. 88th Ave. and Washington St.	1955	18.8	25	N/A	N/A
Westminster Plaza	Adams	7301 Federal Blvd.	1959	28.3	40	V.J. Dunton	Jared Morse
Broadridge Plaza	Arapahoe	S. Broadway and Ridge Rd.	1965	8.4	8	Fuller & Co.	N/A
Broadway Estates	Arapahoe	6500 S. Broadway	1960	6.2	12	Ambrose-Williams & Co.	Simon and Hipp
Brookridge	Arapahoe	5100 S. Broadway	1954	8.0	19	Brookridge Shopping Center, Inc.	N/A
Centennial	Arapahoe	W. Belleview and S. Federal Blvd.	1960	8.0	16	L.E. Clarida	R.C. Huston and R.D. Peterson
Dry Creek	Arapahoe	3575 S. Logan St.	1959	3.2	10	Bush Construction	Jerome K. Nagel
Englewood Park 'n Shop	Arapahoe	3315 S. Broadway	1953	4.4	12	Ambrose-Williams & Co.	Fisher and Davis
Hoffman Heights	Arapahoe	E. 6th Ave. and Peoria St.	1954	19.7	33	Ace Realty Corp.	N/A
Littleton Square (King Soopers)	Arapahoe	100 W. Littleton Blvd.	1964	6.0	5	Littleton Development Co.	Richard Crowther & Assocs.

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Name	County	Address	Open Year	Acres 1966	No. Stores 1966	Developer	Architect
Orchard Plaza	Arapahoe	S. University Blvd. and E. Orchard Rd.	Pre-1966	7.0	17	Henry Kirkpatrick	N/A
Southglenn	Arapahoe	2200 E. Arapahoe Rd.	1964	15.5	10	Southglenn Development Co.	N/A
Woodlawn	Arapahoe	1300 W. Littleton Blvd.	1950	6.1	29	V.L. Ashbaugh and C. Quelland	Miles Lantz & Assocs.
Broomfield	Broomfield	W. Midway Blvd. and Hwy. 287	1962	8.4	18	N/A	N/A
Alameda	Denver	2200 W. Alameda Ave.	1959	19.9	40	Alameda Shopping Center, Inc.	Simon and Hipp
Athmar Park	Denver	W. Mississippi Ave. and Raritan St.	1954	9.0	30	Bernard Bernstein	Nat Sachter
Avondale	Denver	3200 W. Colfax Ave.	Pre-1966	3.0	16	Avondale Associates, Inc.	Dan Roark
Bear Valley	Denver	3100 S. Sheridan Blvd.	1959	8.4	20	Mortgage Investments, Inc.	Piel, Slater, Small, and Spent
Belcaro	Denver	E. Exposition Ave. and S. Colorado Blvd.	1952	7.0	21	Belcaro Realty Investment Co.	Roger Musick
Brentwood	Denver	W. Evans Ave. and S. Federal Blvd.	1965	12.0	33	Ambrose-Williams & Co.	N/A
Chaffee Park	Denver	Pecos St. and W. 48th Ave.	1952	5.9	19	Garrett-Bromfield & Co.	N/A
Cherry Creek ★	Denver	University Blvd. and E. 1st Ave.	1954	22.5	28	Temple H. Buell	Buell & Co.
Dahlia	Denver	3300 Dahlia St.	1957	9.2	15	Bernard Bernstein	Nat Sachter
Happy Canyon	Denver	5000 E. Hampden Ave.	1961	6.1	20	Louis P. Bansbach, Jr.	Fisher and Davis
Leetsdale	Denver	600 S. Holly St.	1961	5.3	9	Alden Brown	Moore, Sink, and Bush
Mar Lee	Denver	4249 W. Florida Ave.	1954	9.5	21	T. Nevin	Ralph Peterson

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Name	County	Address	Open Year	Acres 1966	No. Stores 1966	Developer	Architect
Merchants Park	Denver	601 S. Broadway	1952	6.0	14	Richard L. Mark	Jared Morse
Montview Plaza	Denver	9400 E. Montview Blvd.	1960	9.5	14	Perenyi	N/A
University Hills ★	Denver	2700 S. Colorado Blvd.	1951	25.0	34	N/A	N/A
University Hills Plaza	Denver	2450 S. Colorado Blvd.	1955	13.8	26	Royal Judd and Henry Frankel	E. Floyd Redding
Virginia Village	Denver	E. Florida Ave. and Holly St.	1954	4.0	11	N/A	N/A
Applewood Grove	Jefferson	W. 20th Ave. and Youngfield St.	1960	8.3	20	Midway Development Corporation	John Milan
Applewood Village	Jefferson	W. 32nd Ave. and Youngfield St.	1965	26.0	20	N/A	Rolf Peterson
Arvada Plaza	Jefferson	Ralston Rd. and Independence St.	1963	18.0	32	Carroll Quelland	N/A
Arvada Square	Jefferson	9400 Ralston Rd.	1959	7.0	21	Forsberg, Fuller	Ramsey and Reeves
Green Mountain Plaza	Jefferson	12220 W. Alameda Pkwy.	Pre-1966	10.0	18	Green Mountain Plaza Shopping Center	N/A
JCRS	Jefferson	6401 W. Colfax Ave.	1957	19.7	20	Richard Marks	Jared Morse
Lakeside ★	Jefferson	5801 W. 44th Ave.	1956	36.0	46	Von Frellick Assocs.	Von Frellick Assocs.
Meadowlark	Jefferson	W. 6th Ave. and Garrison St.	1956	3.9	13	Meadowlark Shopping Center, Inc.	N/A
North Park	Jefferson	W. 64th Ave. and Wadsworth Bypass	1962	4.4	10	Hoy Construction	N/A
Paramount Heights	Jefferson	W. 26th Ave. and Kipling St.	1958	4.0	18	Lee Doud, Inc.	C.E. Copeland
Sheridan-Alameda	Jefferson	W. Alameda Ave. and S. Sheridan Blvd.	1955	12.0	27	Coperthwaite & Co., Friedman	Richard Crowther & Assocs.

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Name	County	Address	Open Year	Acres 1966	No. Stores 1966	Developer	Architect
Westland ★	Jefferson	10405 W. Colfax Ave.	1960	35.5	37	May Department Store Co.	Beckett & Assocs., Erwin & Assocs., and Piel, Slater, Small and Spent
Wheatridge Park 'n' Shop	Jefferson	Wadsworth Blvd. and W. 38th Ave.	1961	6.1	11	Ambrose-Williams & Co.	Fisher and Davis

**SOURCE/NOTES:** A star (★) denotes large regional shopping centers with at least one department store as an anchor. Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, "Shopping Center Directory" (October 1966) and Denver Regional Council of Governments, "Shopping Centers Listed," *COGNotations* (October 1972).

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**Table J13  
NUMBER AND AREA OF SUBDIVISIONS, 1940-1965  
ARAPAHOE AND DENVER COUNTIES**

Jurisdiction	Arapahoe		Denver		Two-County Total		
	Number	Area In Acres	Number	Area In Acres	Number	Area In Acres	Average Area
1940-45	17	164	36	1,088	53	1,252	23.6
1946-49	55	689	89	1,924	144	2,613	18.1
1950-54	150	2,212	157	3,536	307	5,748	18.7
1955-59	214	3,582	80	1,958	294	5,540	18.8
1960-65	263	5,343	77	2,697	340	8,040	23.6
Total	699	11,990	439	11,203	1,138	23,193	20.4

**SOURCE/NOTES:** Calculated by Front Range Research Associates, Inc., from Denver and Arapahoe GIS files of subdivisions containing data for year platted. Each filing of a subdivision is a separate polygon/record. Arapahoe and Denver were the only two counties where this information data was available in computer datafiles.

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**Table J14  
SUBDIVISIONS WITH AT LEAST 100 DWELLINGS OF WHICH AT  
LEAST 75 PERCENT WERE ERECTED BETWEEN 1940 AND 1965  
SORTED BY COUNTY, MUNICIPALITY, AND SUBDIVISION**

County	Municipality	Subdivision	Number of Dwellings				Percent of Dwellings		
			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
<b>ADAMS</b>	N/A	N/A	<b>2,192</b>	<b>32,097</b>	<b>64,582</b>	<b>98,871</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>32.5%</b>	<b>65.3%</b>
<b>Adams</b>	<b>Adams Unincorporated</b>	N/A	<b>707</b>	<b>10,539</b>	<b>9,015</b>	<b>20,261</b>	<b>3.5%</b>	<b>52.0%</b>	<b>44.5%</b>
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Calahan Subd	0	121	0	121	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	City View Heights First Filing	0	124	1	125	0.0%	99.2%	0.8%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	City View Heights Second Filing	0	332	36	368	0.0%	90.2%	9.8%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Coronado Subd	0	223	12	235	0.0%	94.9%	5.1%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Fairview Second Filing	0	359	7	366	0.0%	98.1%	1.9%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Florado Second Filing	0	118	0	118	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Florado Third Filing	0	125	0	125	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Hillsborough	9	122	15	146	6.2%	83.6%	10.3%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Northfield Second Filing	0	134	0	134	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Northfield Seventh Filing	0	125	0	125	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Northview Estates	0	142	1	143	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Norwood Park	0	274	4	278	0.0%	98.6%	1.4%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Pattie Lea Subd	0	129	0	129	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor	0	130	0	130	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Eighth Filing	0	110	0	110	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Eleventh Filing	0	119	0	119	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Fifteenth Filing	0	103	0	103	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Fourteenth Filing	0	239	0	239	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Fourth Filing	0	175	0	175	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%



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County	Municipality	Subdivision	Number of Dwellings				Percent of Dwellings		
			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Ninth Filing	0	146	7	153	0.0%	95.4%	4.6%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Second Filing	0	187	0	187	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Sixth Filing	0	234	0	234	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Tenth Filing	0	126	0	126	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Third Filing	0	285	0	285	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Perl Mack Manor Thirteenth Filing	0	128	0	128	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Shaw Heights Fourth Filing	0	143	0	143	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Shaw Heights Seventh Filing	0	231	32	263	0.0%	87.8%	12.2%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Shaw Heights Sixth Filing	0	162	18	180	0.0%	90.0%	10.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Shaw Heights Third Filing	0	160	0	160	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Sherrelwood Estates Filing No 2	0	500	6	506	0.0%	98.8%	1.2%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Sherrelwood Estates Filing No 5	0	171	54	225	0.0%	76.0%	24.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Valley Vista Filing No 1	0	200	0	200	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Valley Vista Filing No 2	0	133	0	133	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Adams Unincorporated	Western Hills Filing No 1	0	480	0	480	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
<b>Adams</b>	<b>Arvada</b>	N/A	<b>3</b>	<b>348</b>	<b>605</b>	<b>956</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>36.4%</b>	<b>63.3%</b>
Adams	Arvada	Northridge	0	202	0	202	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Arvada	Tennyson Hills Amended	0	100	28	128	0.0%	78.1%	21.9%
<b>Adams</b>	<b>Aurora</b>	N/A	<b>335</b>	<b>4,306</b>	<b>881</b>	<b>5,522</b>	<b>6.1%</b>	<b>78.0%</b>	<b>16.0%</b>
Adams	Aurora	Cox Subd	0	181	0	181	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Aurora	Gateway Park Add	0	274	0	274	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Aurora	H And J Subd	0	183	0	183	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Aurora	Morris Heights Filing No 2 Amended	0	315	0	315	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Aurora	Morris Heights Filing No 3	0	418	1	419	0.0%	99.8%	0.2%
Adams	Aurora	Morris Heights Filing No 4	0	106	3	109	0.0%	97.2%	2.8%

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County	Municipality	Subdivision	Number of Dwellings				Percent of Dwellings		
			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Adams	Aurora	Morris Heights Filing No 5	0	211	1	212	0.0%	99.5%	0.5%
Adams	Aurora	Morris Heights Filing No 6	0	123	2	125	0.0%	98.4%	1.6%
Adams	Aurora	Morris Heights Filing No 7	0	162	2	164	0.0%	98.8%	1.2%
Adams	Aurora	New England Heights	61	377	14	452	13.5%	83.4%	3.1%
<b>Adams</b>	<b>Brighton</b>	N/A	<b>752</b>	<b>1,163</b>	<b>6,032</b>	<b>7,947</b>	<b>9.5%</b>	<b>14.6%</b>	<b>75.9%</b>
Adams	Brighton	Sheraton Park Amended	0	108	2	110	0.0%	98.2%	1.8%
<b>Adams</b>	<b>Commerce City</b>	N/A	<b>235</b>	<b>3,524</b>	<b>8,056</b>	<b>11,815</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>29.8%</b>	<b>68.2%</b>
Adams	Commerce City	Adams Heights Amended	0	283	1	284	0.0%	99.6%	0.4%
Adams	Commerce City	Black Hawk Derby Subd	5	162	22	189	2.6%	85.7%	11.6%
Adams	Commerce City	Tichy Subd No 2	0	171	0	171	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Commerce City	Town And Country Subdivision Resubd	0	109	1	110	0.0%	99.1%	0.9%
<b>Adams</b>	<b>Federal Heights</b>	N/A	<b>3</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>918</b>	<b>969</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>94.7%</b>
<b>Adams</b>	<b>Northglenn</b>	N/A	<b>0</b>	<b>5,235</b>	<b>3,285</b>	<b>8,520</b>	<b>0.0%</b>	<b>61.4%</b>	<b>38.6%</b>
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Eighteenth Filing	0	711	9	720	0.0%	98.8%	1.3%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Eleventh Filing	0	354	1	355	0.0%	99.7%	0.3%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Fifteenth Filing	0	124	0	124	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn First Filing	0	176	0	176	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Nineteenth Filing	0	278	0	278	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Ninth Filing	0	146	0	146	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Second Filing	0	906	1	907	0.0%	99.9%	0.1%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Sixteenth Filing	0	116	0	116	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Sixth Filing	0	303	0	303	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Tenth Filing	0	151	0	151	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Thirteenth Filing	0	309	0	309	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Twelfth Filing	0	143	0	143	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Northglenn	Northglenn Twenty First Filing	0	336	4	340	0.0%	98.8%	1.2%

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County	Municipality	Subdivision	Number of Dwellings				Percent of Dwellings		
			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Adams	Northglenn	Victoria Heights West Amended	0	120	3	123	0.0%	97.6%	2.4%
<b>Adams</b>	<b>Thornton</b>	N/A	<b>33</b>	<b>2,988</b>	<b>24,349</b>	<b>27,370</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>10.9%</b>	<b>89.0%</b>
Adams	Thornton	Thornton	0	2,446	17	2,463	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%
<b>Adams</b>	<b>Westminster</b>	N/A	<b>124</b>	<b>3,946</b>	<b>11,441</b>	<b>15,511</b>	<b>0.8%</b>	<b>25.4%</b>	<b>73.8%</b>
Adams	Westminster	Apple Blossom Lane	2	258	15	275	0.7%	93.8%	5.5%
Adams	Westminster	Country Meadows	0	104	4	108	0.0%	96.3%	3.7%
Adams	Westminster	Harris Park	50	260	23	333	15.0%	78.1%	6.9%
Adams	Westminster	Hillsdale Subd	0	154	0	154	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Westminster	Les Lea Manors	3	102	0	105	2.9%	97.1%	0.0%
Adams	Westminster	Rosewood Subd	1	103	12	116	0.9%	88.8%	10.3%
Adams	Westminster	Shaw Heights	0	240	0	240	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Westminster	Shaw Heights Fifth Filing	0	102	20	122	0.0%	83.6%	16.4%
Adams	Westminster	Skyline Vista Filing No 2	0	105	0	105	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Westminster	Skyline Vista Filing No 4	0	233	0	233	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Westminster	Sunset Ridge First Filing	0	278	43	321	0.0%	86.6%	13.4%
Adams	Westminster	Sunset Subd Amended	0	118	0	118	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Westminster	Westminster Hills Filing No 2	0	101	0	101	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Adams	Westminster	Westminster Hills Filing No 3	0	138	13	151	0.0%	91.4%	8.6%
<b>ARAPAHOE</b>	N/A	N/A	<b>3,081</b>	<b>26,304</b>	<b>65,616</b>	<b>95,001</b>	<b>3.2%</b>	<b>27.7%</b>	<b>69.1%</b>
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>Arapahoe Unincorporated</b>	N/A	<b>39</b>	<b>1,469</b>	<b>4,839</b>	<b>6,347</b>	<b>0.6%</b>	<b>23.1%</b>	<b>76.2%</b>
Arapahoe	Arapahoe Unincorporated	Brookridge Heights	0	255	1	256	0.0%	99.6%	0.4%
Arapahoe	Arapahoe Unincorporated	Gaiser Holly Hills	0	203	1	204	0.0%	99.5%	0.5%
Arapahoe	Arapahoe Unincorporated	Gaiser Holly Ridge	0	161	23	184	0.0%	87.5%	12.5%
Arapahoe	Arapahoe Unincorporated	Holly Hills Sub	0	155	14	169	0.0%	91.7%	8.3%
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>Aurora</b>	N/A	<b>204</b>	<b>8,204</b>	<b>32,300</b>	<b>40,708</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>20.2%</b>	<b>79.3%</b>
Arapahoe	Aurora	Aurora	48	201	8	257	18.7%	78.2%	3.1%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Aurora Heights	10	240	3	253	4.0%	94.9%	1.2%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Aurora Hills 1st Flg	0	135	34	169	0.0%	79.9%	20.1%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Aurora Hills 3rd Flg	0	311	94	405	0.0%	76.8%	23.2%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Aurora Hills 5th Flg	0	168	39	207	0.0%	81.2%	18.8%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Aurora Vista	1	120	0	121	0.8%	99.2%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Brooklyn	0	133	7	140	0.0%	95.0%	5.0%

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			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Arapahoe	Aurora	Burns Aurora 1st Flg	0	158	0	158	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Burns Aurora 2nd Flg	0	221	4	225	0.0%	98.2%	1.8%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Burns Aurora 3rd Flg	0	150	2	152	0.0%	98.7%	1.3%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Burns Aurora 4th Flg	0	215	3	218	0.0%	98.6%	1.4%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Burns Aurora 5th Flg	0	137	1	138	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Colfax Villa Resub	6	276	4	286	2.1%	96.5%	1.4%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Gamble Add	0	151	0	151	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Grahams Sub	0	207	10	217	0.0%	95.4%	4.6%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Havana Park	0	109	1	110	0.0%	99.1%	0.9%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Highland Park 3rd Flg	0	101	0	101	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Hillside Add To Aurora	0	202	1	203	0.0%	99.5%	0.5%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Hoffman Town	0	278	1	279	0.0%	99.6%	0.4%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Hoffman Town 2nd Flg	0	285	0	285	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Hoffman Town 3rd Flg	0	310	0	310	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Hoffman Town 4th Flg	0	307	0	307	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Hoffman Town 5th Flg	0	284	0	284	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Hoffman Town 6th Flg	0	175	1	176	0.0%	99.4%	0.6%
Arapahoe	Aurora	J E Roupp 2nd Add Amend	0	176	2	178	0.0%	98.9%	1.1%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Park East 2nd Flg	0	114	4	118	0.0%	96.6%	3.4%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Park View Estates	0	131	0	131	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Sunnyvale 5th Flg	0	116	6	122	0.0%	95.1%	4.9%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Sunnyvale Amended	0	134	2	136	0.0%	98.5%	1.5%
Arapahoe	Aurora	Zurchers Sub 2nd Flg	0	178	2	180	0.0%	98.9%	1.1%
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>Centennial</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4,679</b>	<b>17,881</b>	<b>22,578</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>20.7%</b>	<b>79.2%</b>
Arapahoe	Centennial	Broadway Estates 1st Flg	0	405	5	410	0.0%	98.8%	1.2%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Broadway Estates 2nd Flg	0	234	50	284	0.0%	82.4%	17.6%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Broadway Estates 4th Flg	0	121	13	134	0.0%	90.3%	9.7%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Cherry Hills Manor	0	115	29	144	0.0%	79.9%	20.1%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Cherry Knolls	0	222	14	236	0.0%	94.1%	5.9%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Cherry Knolls 2nd Flg	0	121	8	129	0.0%	93.8%	6.2%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Cherrywood Village 1st Flg	0	110	12	122	0.0%	90.2%	9.8%

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			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Arapahoe	Centennial	Dream House Acres 3rd Flg Revi	0	108	2	110	0.0%	98.2%	1.8%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Dream House Acres Amend	0	144	4	148	0.0%	97.3%	2.7%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Nob Hill 1st Flg Amend	0	219	3	222	0.0%	98.6%	1.4%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Southglenn 1st Flg	0	135	13	148	0.0%	91.2%	8.8%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Southglenn 2nd Flg	0	104	1	105	0.0%	99.0%	1.0%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Southglenn 3rd Flg	0	126	36	162	0.0%	77.8%	22.2%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Southwind Sub 1st Flg	0	117	0	117	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Southwood Add	0	140	21	161	0.0%	87.0%	13.0%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Vista Verde Estates	0	144	5	149	0.0%	96.6%	3.4%
Arapahoe	Centennial	Walnut Hills 1st Flg	0	182	22	204	0.0%	89.2%	10.8%
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>Cherry Hills Village</b>	N/A	<b>33</b>	<b>408</b>	<b>1,683</b>	<b>2,124</b>	<b>1.6%</b>	<b>19.2%</b>	<b>79.2%</b>
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>Englewood</b>	N/A	<b>2,259</b>	<b>5,942</b>	<b>772</b>	<b>8,973</b>	<b>25.2%</b>	<b>66.2%</b>	<b>8.6%</b>
Arapahoe	Englewood	Arapahoe Acres Sub	0	121	3	124	0.0%	97.6%	2.4%
Arapahoe	Englewood	Bellewood	0	128	1	129	0.0%	99.2%	0.8%
Arapahoe	Englewood	Centennial Acres 2nd Flg	0	116	2	118	0.0%	98.3%	1.7%
Arapahoe	Englewood	Centennial Acres 6th Flg	0	103	1	104	0.0%	99.0%	1.0%
Arapahoe	Englewood	Centennial Acres 7th Flg	0	101	1	102	0.0%	99.0%	1.0%
Arapahoe	Englewood	Hampden Hills	0	130	5	135	0.0%	96.3%	3.7%
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>Glendale</b>	N/A	<b>2</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>5.9%</b>	<b>61.8%</b>	<b>32.4%</b>
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>Greenwood Village</b>	N/A	<b>15</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>2,793</b>	<b>3,198</b>	<b>0.5%</b>	<b>12.2%</b>	<b>87.3%</b>
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>Littleton</b>	N/A	<b>418</b>	<b>4,251</b>	<b>4,610</b>	<b>9,279</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	<b>45.8%</b>	<b>49.7%</b>
Arapahoe	Littleton	Bel-Vue Heights	0	207	67	274	0.0%	75.5%	24.5%
Arapahoe	Littleton	Broadmoor	1	108	1	110	0.9%	98.2%	0.9%
Arapahoe	Littleton	Broadmoor 5th Flg	0	229	2	231	0.0%	99.1%	0.9%
Arapahoe	Littleton	Centennial Acres 2nd Amend	0	257	5	262	0.0%	98.1%	1.9%
Arapahoe	Littleton	Centennial Estates 2nd Flg	0	123	41	164	0.0%	75.0%	25.0%
Arapahoe	Littleton	Kassler Add 2nd Flg	0	175	6	181	0.0%	96.7%	3.3%
Arapahoe	Littleton	Meadowbrook Valley 3rd Flg	0	138	3	141	0.0%	97.9%	2.1%
<b>Arapahoe</b>	<b>Sheridan</b>	N/A	<b>91</b>	<b>721</b>	<b>322</b>	<b>1,134</b>	<b>8.0%</b>	<b>63.6%</b>	<b>28.4%</b>
Arapahoe	Sheridan	Knollwood	0	105	9	114	0.0%	92.1%	7.9%
<b>BROOMFIELD</b>	<b>Broomfield</b>	N/A	<b>31</b>	<b>1,648</b>	<b>11,599</b>	<b>13,278</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>12.4%</b>	<b>87.4%</b>

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			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Broomfield	Broomfield	Broomfield Heights Filing No 1 & Amended	0	881	7	888	0.0%	99.2%	0.8%
Broomfield	Broomfield	Broomfield Heights Filing No 2 & Replat	1	556	163	720	0.1%	77.2%	22.6%
<b>DENVER</b>	<b>Denver</b>	<b>N/A</b>	<b>47,062</b>	<b>57,251</b>	<b>30,912</b>	<b>135,225</b>	<b>34.8%</b>	<b>42.3%</b>	<b>22.9%</b>
Denver	Denver	Athmar Park Unit No. 1	2	239	0	241	0.8%	99.2%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Athmar Park Unit No. 2	0	181	1	182	0.0%	99.5%	0.5%
Denver	Denver	Athmar Park, Unit No. 3	0	485	1	486	0.0%	99.8%	0.2%
Denver	Denver	Bear Valley Subdivision	0	778	150	928	0.0%	83.8%	16.2%
Denver	Denver	Belmont Heights Filing No.1	0	178	5	183	0.0%	97.3%	2.7%
Denver	Denver	Belmont Heights Filing No.2	0	176	0	176	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Burns Brentwood Subdivision Filing No. 1	0	270	0	270	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Burns Brentwood Subdivision Filing No. 3	0	140	0	140	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Burns Brentwood Subdivision Filing No. 4	0	236	0	236	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Burns Brentwood Subdivision Filing No. 6	0	140	1	141	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%
Denver	Denver	Burns Brentwood Subdivision, Filing No. 5	0	257	0	257	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Burns Brentwood Subdivision, Filing No. 7	0	154	1	155	0.0%	99.4%	0.6%
Denver	Denver	Carlson - McClelland - Frederics Green Acres Filing*	0	420	0	420	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Carlson - McClelland - Frederics Sunny Acres	0	127	1	128	0.0%	99.2%	0.8%

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			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Denver	Denver	Centennial Acres, Fifth Filing	0	144	0	144	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Centennial Estates	0	222	38	260	0.0%	85.4%	14.6%
Denver	Denver	Chaffee Park Heights	0	406	0	406	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Chaffee Park Subdivision	0	130	0	130	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Chamberlins Colfax Addition	3	513	0	516	0.6%	99.4%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Cherry Hills Vista	0	160	0	160	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Cherry Hills Vista, Filing No. 2	0	107	0	107	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Christian Noe Subdivision	0	135	0	135	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Clayton Park Addition	0	237	0	237	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Colfax Terrace	52	448	10	510	10.2%	87.8%	2.0%
Denver	Denver	Crestmoor Park 2nd Filing	0	409	72	481	0.0%	85.0%	15.0%
Denver	Denver	Dora Lea Subdivision	0	102	0	102	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	East Berkeley	58	220	4	282	20.6%	78.0%	1.4%
Denver	Denver	East Capitol Hill Subdivision Second Filing	1	319	63	383	0.3%	83.3%	16.4%
Denver	Denver	East Colfax Subdivision	15	102	1	118	12.7%	86.4%	0.8%
Denver	Denver	Eastern Capitol Hill, Third Filing	1	137	41	179	0.6%	76.5%	22.9%
Denver	Denver	Elmwood Place	8	275	2	285	2.8%	96.5%	0.7%
Denver	Denver	Evanston - 3rd Filing	50	261	37	348	14.4%	75.0%	10.6%
Denver	Denver	First Addition To Park Hill Heights	34	115	3	152	22.4%	75.7%	2.0%
Denver	Denver	First Addition To University Park	7	109	21	137	5.1%	79.6%	15.3%
Denver	Denver	Garden Park	0	347	6	353	0.0%	98.3%	1.7%
Denver	Denver	Garfield Heights Annex	9	151	7	167	5.4%	90.4%	4.2%
Denver	Denver	Gunnison Heights	0	133	1	134	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%
Denver	Denver	Gunnison Heights Filing No 2	0	117	0	117	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Gunnison Heights Filing No. 4	0	163	0	163	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Gunnison Heights Filing No. 5	0	121	0	121	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%

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			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 1	0	592	0	592	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 10	0	119	0	119	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 12	0	237	1	238	0.0%	99.6%	0.4%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 13	0	436	0	436	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 14	0	329	3	332	0.0%	99.1%	0.9%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 15	0	207	0	207	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 16	0	322	0	322	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 18	0	101	0	101	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 19	0	115	0	115	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 2	1	178	1	180	0.6%	98.9%	0.6%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 3	0	145	0	145	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 5	0	259	0	259	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 7	0	180	0	180	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Harvey Park Addition Filing No. 9	0	131	0	131	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Higgins - Kassler Second Addition	0	107	0	107	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Hill and Websters Addition	14	168	6	188	7.4%	89.4%	3.2%
Denver	Denver	Honeymoon Manor	0	254	3	257	0.0%	98.8%	1.2%
Denver	Denver	Hurley Heights, Filing No. 1	0	173	1	174	0.0%	99.4%	0.6%
Denver	Denver	Hutchinson Hills Filing No. 1	0	115	0	115	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%



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			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Denver	Denver	Hutchinson Hills Filing No. 11	0	105	0	105	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Hutchinson Hills Filing No. 2	0	130	1	131	0.0%	99.2%	0.8%
Denver	Denver	Hutchinson Hills Filing No. 3	0	111	13	124	0.0%	89.5%	10.5%
Denver	Denver	Hutchinson's University Place	1	149	1	151	0.7%	98.7%	0.7%
Denver	Denver	Inspiration Point Estates	1	106	24	131	0.8%	80.9%	18.3%
Denver	Denver	Irving Park Subdivision	34	244	43	321	10.6%	76.0%	13.4%
Denver	Denver	J Cook Jr.'s, North Division of Capitol Hill	10	190	2	202	5.0%	94.1%	1.0%
Denver	Denver	Jerome Addition	8	298	4	310	2.6%	96.1%	1.3%
Denver	Denver	Keating's Colfax Ave. Sub-Division	21	161	10	192	10.9%	83.9%	5.2%
Denver	Denver	Kentucky Gardens Annex	20	221	29	270	7.4%	81.9%	10.7%
Denver	Denver	King - Houston Subdivision	0	148	2	150	0.0%	98.7%	1.3%
Denver	Denver	Lakota Heights	3	201	9	213	1.4%	94.4%	4.2%
Denver	Denver	Lowrey Heights	10	267	5	282	3.5%	94.7%	1.8%
Denver	Denver	Lynwood No. 1	0	122	0	122	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Manchester Heights	4	115	20	139	2.9%	82.7%	14.4%
Denver	Denver	Mar - Lee Manor No. 2	0	134	8	142	0.0%	94.4%	5.6%
Denver	Denver	Mar - Lee Manor No. 3	0	294	0	294	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Mar - Lee Manor, Filing No. 1	0	272	0	272	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Marland Heights	0	133	4	137	0.0%	97.1%	2.9%
Denver	Denver	May Fair Park, Blocks 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 And 9	0	134	0	134	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Mayfair Park, Second Filing	0	274	1	275	0.0%	99.6%	0.4%
Denver	Denver	Mississippi Heights	0	155	1	156	0.0%	99.4%	0.6%
Denver	Denver	Monaco Gardens	0	131	30	161	0.0%	81.4%	18.6%
Denver	Denver	Mont View Park Addition	0	146	1	147	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%
Denver	Denver	Morbros Park No. 1	0	154	0	154	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Morristown Subdivision	1	139	1	141	0.7%	98.6%	0.7%

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			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Denver	Denver	Mountain View Park	98	644	18	760	12.9%	84.7%	2.4%
Denver	Denver	Muse Subdivision	0	109	0	109	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	North Denver Heights	42	166	8	216	19.4%	76.9%	3.7%
Denver	Denver	Oakland	2	641	2	645	0.3%	99.4%	0.3%
Denver	Denver	Olmsted And Chamberlin's Colfax Park	1	116	11	128	0.8%	90.6%	8.6%
Denver	Denver	Perl - Mack Subdivision	0	127	0	127	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Porter And Raymond's Montclair	59	416	44	519	11.4%	80.2%	8.5%
Denver	Denver	Porter And Raymond's Second Addition To Montclair	62	276	5	343	18.1%	80.5%	1.5%
Denver	Denver	Professional Subdivision	0	159	0	159	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Regis Heights	26	185	1	212	12.3%	87.3%	0.5%
Denver	Denver	Resubdivision of Blocks 7, 8, 9, And 10, Unive*	0	111	0	111	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Resubdivision of Lakeridge	0	102	17	119	0.0%	85.7%	14.3%
Denver	Denver	Resubdivision of Lynwood No. 2	0	128	0	128	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Resubdivision of Blocks Four (4), Five (5), Six (6*	0	141	10	151	0.0%	93.4%	6.6%
Denver	Denver	Richthofen's Montclair	84	417	36	537	15.6%	77.7%	6.7%
Denver	Denver	San Rafael	1	100	1	102	1.0%	98.0%	1.0%
Denver	Denver	Schermerhorn And Worrell's Subdivision of Montcla*	35	191	18	244	14.3%	78.3%	7.4%
Denver	Denver	Sharon Park	0	238	4	242	0.0%	98.3%	1.7%
Denver	Denver	Sheridan Manor	0	185	1	186	0.0%	99.5%	0.5%
Denver	Denver	Sheridan Park	2	135	1	138	1.4%	97.8%	0.7%
Denver	Denver	Smedley's Subdivision	20	105	4	129	15.5%	81.4%	3.1%
Denver	Denver	South University Place	0	183	23	206	0.0%	88.8%	11.2%
Denver	Denver	South University Place First Addition	1	119	14	134	0.7%	88.8%	10.4%

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			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Denver	Denver	Southern Hills Filing No. Six	0	121	1	122	0.0%	99.2%	0.8%
Denver	Denver	Southern Hills, Filing No. Five	0	125	1	126	0.0%	99.2%	0.8%
Denver	Denver	Southern Hills, Filing No. Four	0	123	0	123	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Southmoor Park	0	153	34	187	0.0%	81.8%	18.2%
Denver	Denver	Stearns Sunnyview Addition	11	105	5	121	9.1%	86.8%	4.1%
Denver	Denver	Stokes Place Addition	0	104	4	108	0.0%	96.3%	3.7%
Denver	Denver	Strayer And Shepard's Park Hill	1	604	0	605	0.2%	99.8%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Strayer's Park View	1	280	4	285	0.4%	98.2%	1.4%
Denver	Denver	University Hills No. 2, Filing No. 2	0	173	2	175	0.0%	98.9%	1.1%
Denver	Denver	University Hills No. 2, Filing No. 3	0	197	1	198	0.0%	99.5%	0.5%
Denver	Denver	University Hills No. 3, Filing No. 1	0	116	3	119	0.0%	97.5%	2.5%
Denver	Denver	University Hills No. 3, Filing No. 2	0	151	0	151	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	University Hills No. 3, Filing No. 3	0	249	1	250	0.0%	99.6%	0.4%
Denver	Denver	University Hills No. 3, Filing No. 4	0	112	1	113	0.0%	99.1%	0.9%
Denver	Denver	Valverde Heights	0	150	2	152	0.0%	98.7%	1.3%
Denver	Denver	Virginia Vale Filing No Two	0	201	0	201	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Virginia Vale, Filing No. One	0	271	0	271	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Virginia Village, Filing No. 1	0	150	0	150	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Virginia Village, Filing No. 2 Amended	2	299	2	303	0.7%	98.7%	0.7%
Denver	Denver	Virginia Village, Filing No. 3	0	228	1	229	0.0%	99.6%	0.4%
Denver	Denver	Walnut Hill	27	105	4	136	19.9%	77.2%	2.9%
Denver	Denver	Wareington	5	174	0	179	2.8%	97.2%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Watertown Place	14	131	0	145	9.7%	90.3%	0.0%
Denver	Denver	Wellshire Heights	1	240	1	242	0.4%	99.2%	0.4%
Denver	Denver	Winston Downs Second Filing	0	212	0	212	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%

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			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
<b>JEFFERSON</b>	<b>N/A</b>	N/A	<b>6,779</b>	<b>43,546</b>	<b>96,201</b>	<b>146,526</b>	<b>4.6%</b>	<b>29.7%</b>	<b>65.7%</b>
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Arvada</b>	N/A	<b>782</b>	<b>10,176</b>	<b>21,841</b>	<b>32,799</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	<b>66.6%</b>
Jefferson	Arvada	Allendale 4th Flg	0	158	1	159	0.0%	99.4%	0.6%
Jefferson	Arvada	Allendale 5th Flg	0	258	17	275	0.0%	93.8%	6.2%
Jefferson	Arvada	Allendale 6th Flg	0	117	0	117	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Allendale 7th Flg	0	157	10	167	0.0%	94.0%	6.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Allendale 9th Flg	0	117	2	119	0.0%	98.3%	1.7%
Jefferson	Arvada	Alta Vista Add	0	343	0	343	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Alta Vista Sub	0	280	0	280	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Arvada West Flg # 1 Amd & Blk 1 Arvada Square	0	153	0	153	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Arvada West Flg # 4	0	208	0	208	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Arvada West Flg # 5	0	140	0	140	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Arvada West Flg # 6	0	134	0	134	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Arvada West Flg # 7	0	123	0	123	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Arvada West Flg # 8	0	142	2	144	0.0%	98.6%	1.4%
Jefferson	Arvada	Clara Belle	0	110	0	110	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Combs Add	0	101	1	102	0.0%	99.0%	1.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Far Horizons Flg #1	0	340	69	409	0.0%	83.1%	16.9%
Jefferson	Arvada	Highland Homes	0	121	4	125	0.0%	96.8%	3.2%
Jefferson	Arvada	King Krest Amd Plat	0	121	3	124	0.0%	97.6%	2.4%
Jefferson	Arvada	Koldeway	0	126	1	127	0.0%	99.2%	0.8%
Jefferson	Arvada	Lamar Heights Flg # 3	0	145	0	145	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Lamar Heights Flg # 4	0	266	2	268	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%
Jefferson	Arvada	Lamar Heights Flg # 7	0	129	33	162	0.0%	79.6%	20.4%
Jefferson	Arvada	Lyndale	1	146	1	148	0.7%	98.6%	0.7%
Jefferson	Arvada	Sandra Terri	0	113	0	113	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Arvada	Vetting	1	140	0	141	0.7%	99.3%	0.0%
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Bow Mar</b>	N/A	<b>1</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>59.3%</b>	<b>39.8%</b>
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Edgewater</b>	N/A	<b>920</b>	<b>1,474</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>2,537</b>	<b>36.3%</b>	<b>58.1%</b>	<b>5.6%</b>
Jefferson	Edgewater	Rose Acres	0	176	0	176	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Golden</b>	N/A	<b>747</b>	<b>1,809</b>	<b>2,891</b>	<b>5,447</b>	<b>13.7%</b>	<b>33.2%</b>	<b>53.1%</b>
Jefferson	Golden	Bunzel Add to Golden	0	104	0	104	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Golden	Welchs Add to Golden	104	522	37	663	15.7%	78.7%	5.6%

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County	Municipality	Subdivision	Number of Dwellings				Percent of Dwellings		
			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Jefferson Unincorporated</b>	N/A	<b>743</b>	<b>4,920</b>	<b>38,297</b>	<b>43,960</b>	<b>1.7%</b>	<b>11.2%</b>	<b>87.1%</b>
Jefferson	Jefferson Unincorporated	Applewood Grove 1st Flg	0	133	12	145	0.0%	91.7%	8.3%
Jefferson	Jefferson Unincorporated	Applewood Mesa Ranchettes	2	160	30	192	1.0%	83.3%	15.6%
Jefferson	Jefferson Unincorporated	Applewood West Flg #3	0	130	0	130	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Jefferson Unincorporated	Applewood West Flg #4	0	116	1	117	0.0%	99.1%	0.9%
Jefferson	Jefferson Unincorporated	Applewood West Flg #5	0	100	11	111	0.0%	90.1%	9.9%
Jefferson	Jefferson Unincorporated	Columbine Hills 2nd Flg	0	172	7	179	0.0%	96.1%	3.9%
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Lakewood</b>	N/A	<b>2,039</b>	<b>17,581</b>	<b>17,912</b>	<b>37,532</b>	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>46.8%</b>	<b>47.7%</b>
Jefferson	Lakewood	Applewood Knolls 3rd Flg	0	115	4	119	0.0%	96.6%	3.4%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Belmar Gardens	0	246	60	306	0.0%	80.4%	19.6%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Bonvue	1	156	25	182	0.5%	85.7%	13.7%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Briarwood Hills 5th Flg	0	103	0	103	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Calahan Homes Unit 2	0	126	6	132	0.0%	95.5%	4.5%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Cedar Crest	0	140	1	141	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Cloverdale Blks 1 To 8 Inc	0	160	0	160	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Cloverdale Blks 9 To 16 Inc	0	169	1	170	0.0%	99.4%	0.6%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Cloverdale Blks 17 To 33 Inc	0	175	1	176	0.0%	99.4%	0.6%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Cloverdale Blks 17-33 Resub of Blks 22-27	0	129	0	129	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Cloverdale West Flg #1	0	161	4	165	0.0%	97.6%	2.4%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Craigs Clover Knoll	0	109	0	109	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Cress Clover Knoll	0	113	1	114	0.0%	99.1%	0.9%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Green Acres Amd	5	104	11	120	4.2%	86.7%	9.2%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Green Mountain Village Flg # 2	0	295	3	298	0.0%	99.0%	1.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Green Mountain Village Flg # 4	0	144	1	145	0.0%	99.3%	0.7%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Green Mountain Village Flg # 5	0	123	0	123	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Green Mountain Village Flg # 8	0	250	0	250	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%

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County	Municipality	Subdivision	Number of Dwellings				Percent of Dwellings		
			Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965	Total	Pre-1940	1940-65	Post-1965
Jefferson	Lakewood	Green Mountain Village Flg #10	0	166	1	167	0.0%	99.4%	0.6%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Green Mountain Village Flg #12	0	153	0	153	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Greenwood Park	0	107	0	107	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Greenwood Park Flg #2	0	110	1	111	0.0%	99.1%	0.9%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Haines & Starkloff	0	120	0	120	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Highland Hills	0	169	2	171	0.0%	98.8%	1.2%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Lakewood Terrace	0	275	0	275	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Martindale	0	343	29	372	0.0%	92.2%	7.8%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Meadowlark Hills	0	414	17	431	0.0%	96.1%	3.9%
Jefferson	Lakewood	More	0	221	0	221	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Palomino Park Flg #2	0	294	17	311	0.0%	94.5%	5.5%
Jefferson	Lakewood	Virginia Dale	0	101	19	120	0.0%	84.2%	15.8%
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Morrison</b>	N/A	<b>92</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>36.5%</b>	<b>36.9%</b>	<b>26.6%</b>
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Mountain View</b>	N/A	<b>320</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>68.8%</b>	<b>29.0%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Westminster</b>	N/A	<b>7</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>12,397</b>	<b>12,430</b>	<b>0.1%</b>	<b>0.2%</b>	<b>99.7%</b>
<b>Jefferson</b>	<b>Wheat Ridge</b>	N/A	<b>1,128</b>	<b>7,265</b>	<b>1,864</b>	<b>10,257</b>	<b>11.0%</b>	<b>70.8%</b>	<b>18.2%</b>
Jefferson	Wheat Ridge	Castle	0	105	0	105	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Wheat Ridge	Clearvale	0	183	0	183	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%
Jefferson	Wheat Ridge	Coulehan Grange	30	167	8	205	14.6%	81.5%	3.9%
Jefferson	Wheat Ridge	Hillcrest Heights	4	216	4	224	1.8%	96.4%	1.8%
Jefferson	Wheat Ridge	Melrose Manor	1	109	0	110	0.9%	99.1%	0.0%
<b>FIVE-COUNTY REGION</b>	N/A	N/A	<b>59,145</b>	<b>160,846</b>	<b>268,910</b>	<b>488,901</b>	<b>12.1%</b>	<b>32.9%</b>	<b>55.0%</b>

**SOURCE/NOTES:** Extracted and summarized from Regional Parcel Database by Front Range Research Associates, Inc. Data includes single-family residential parcels only (excluding condominiums and townhouses). If no subdivisions are listed below a municipality, then there are none that meet the criteria. Subdivision names are shown as they appear in the database and some may be truncated. Some subdivision names are truncated in the Regional Parcel Database.

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## K. Historic and Current Figures

Figure Number	Description and Source
K1	This subdivision plan prepared by the FHA illustrated standards developed by the agency and contained building sites for 101 homes. The Urban Land Institute's <i>Community Builders Handbook</i> reproduced the FHA plan and other maps showing what the FHA considered "good" and "bad" platting and development practices. SOURCE: Urban Land Institute, <i>Community Builders Handbook</i> (1950), 58.
K2	Denver Region, Highways and Major Streets, 1937. SOURCE: Conoco, Travel Denver, Colorado Springs and Vicinity with Conoco (1937), in the files of the Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department. The blue triangles denote the locations of Conoco service stations.
K3	Denver Region, Urbanized Area, 1950. SOURCE: SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1950.
K4	Denver Region, Urbanized Area, 1960. SOURCE: SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1960.
K5	Denver Region, Urbanized Area, 1970. SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1970.
K6	County Population by Census Year, 1940-70.
K7	Population change by decade for each county in the Denver region.
K8	Municipal Population by Census Year, 1940-70 for the largest municipalities in the region in 1970. Wheat Ridge and Lakewood did not incorporate until 1969
K9	Dwellings constructed by year for the five-county region, 1940-65. SOURCE: Regional Parcel Database.
K10	Year-Built for Residential Single-Family Parcels, 1940-65
K11	Unlike today's crowded highways moving commuters around the city, commuters in the 1950s used the city street system to get to work, shop, and church. Highways were not major inter-city corridors, but regional connectors. Before the 1956 interstate highway era, principal U.S. highways into and out of Denver were 87/85/285 (north-south connectors) and 6/40/287 (east-west connectors). SOURCE: Robert S. Collins, "Aurora, Colorado: A Geographical Analysis of a Denver Urban Fringe," M.A. Thesis, University of Colorado, 1953.
K12	Denver Region, Highways and Major Streets, 1958. SOURCE: Colorado Department of Highway (Denver: Colorado Department of Highways, 1958).
K13	Denver Region, Highways and Major Streets, 1962. SOURCE: Colorado Department of Highways, Travel Map for Colorado for 1962 (Denver: Colorado Department of Highways, 1962).

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Figure Number	Description and Source
K14	Lakeside Shopping Center, at West 44th Avenue and Harlan Street, was one of dozens of new retail areas added during the 1940-65 period (view north-northwest). The center, once one of the area's four regional shopping venues, is now gone. Lake Rhoda lies beyond the shopping center and the Lakeside Amusement Lake is to the right. SOURCE: <i>Denver Post</i> , 29 August 1956, 47
K15	This 1959 photograph shows planner William Henninger of HOH going over plans for Northglenn with its developers, the three partners in Perl-Mack: Samuel Primack (left), William Robinson (left-rear), and Jordon Perlmutter (right). SOURCE: <i>Denver Post</i> , 21 June 1959, Sec. E.
K16	Celebrities at times promoted new housing developments. Here, developer Sam Hoffman poses with actress Jane Russell in front of one his model homes in Thornton. Russell appeared at the 1953 grand opening of the planned community. SOURCE: Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, clipping collection.
K17	Carey Construction noted houses under construction in four subdivisions in this 1959 advertisement and boasted of completing 4,000 homes since 1949. SOURCE: <i>Denver Post</i> , Centennial Edition, 1959, 351.
K18	Subdivision newspaper display advertisements of the period typically included an image of a home, extolled amenities, and provided contact information. Ridgewood, platted in two filings in 1959 and 1961, was located in Littleton. SOURCE: <i>Littleton Independent</i> , 9 June 1961, 5.
K19	This Koelbel & Company brochure showed the location of the Cherry Ridge subdivision in Arapahoe County in relation to nearby points of interest with driving times. SOURCE: VanderWerf, <i>High on Country</i> , 100.
K20	Developers used billboards to draw potential homebuyers to their subdivisions. This sign advertised Hoskinson Brothers' Alta Vista subdivision in Arvada. SOURCE: Morley, <i>Centennial Arvada</i> , 107.
K21	This oblique aerial view south of Northglenn shows the planned community's curvilinear layout in 1962, just seven years after ground was broken for initial construction. Interstate 25 is to the right, with the 104th Avenue interchange near the top-right. Thornton lies in the distance at the top-left of the picture. SOURCE: <i>Rocky Mountain News</i> , 14 October 1962, 3D.
K22	The curvilinear layout of Broomfield Heights, a planned community, is visible in this c. 1960 oblique aerial photograph. The Denver-Boulder Turnpike cuts diagonally through the lower left of the image. SOURCE: Denver Public Library, photograph collection, image number X-7228.
K23	Aberdeen Village in Littleton featured irregularly-shaped lots with streets sinuously curving around Ketring Lake to the west. The pin flags on this promotional map indicate sold lots. SOURCE: Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, Littleton clipping collection.



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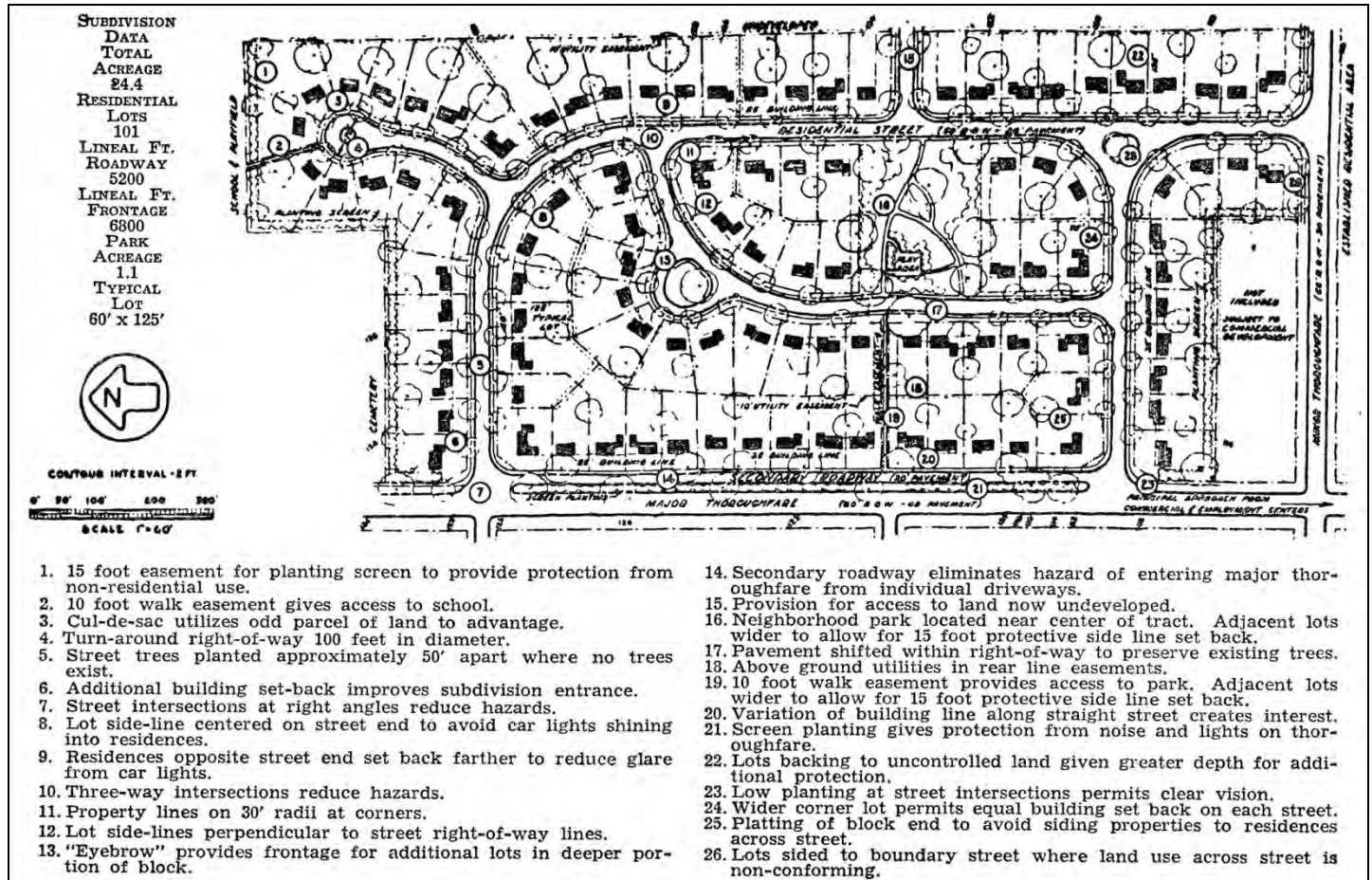
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Figure Number	Description and Source
K24	Chester L. "Chet" Hoskinson platted the rectilinear Vetting Subdivision in 1951. The houses sold quickly, with prices ranging from \$7,000 to \$7,500. The relief curves on insidse corners were known as "eyebrows." SOURCE: Jefferson County Clerk and Recorder, Plat Book 10, Page 1.
K25	Subdivision Platting in the Denver Region, 1955-64. The map was originally printed in color and depicted two eras of platting, 1955-59 and 1960-64. The black and white reproduction herein makes it difficult to distinguish the difference but accurately conveys 1955-64 activity. SOURCE: Extract of Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, <i>Population: Denver Metro Area, Master Plan Report 27C</i> (June 1965).
K26	These simple and economical Ranch type houses were built in the early 1950s in Aurora's Del Mar area. SOURCE: Collins, "Aurora, Colorado: A Geographical Analysis," 1953.
K27	One of the homes in Arvada's Alta Vista subdivision is shown in this view as a young Baby Boomer waves at the photographer. Houses in the development were constructed in the 1950s. SOURCE: Morley, <i>Centennial Arvada</i> , 108.
K28	A newly-constructed "Holiday Home" in the Harvey Park subdivision awaits landscaping about 1954. SOURCE: Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, photograph collection, image X-25231.
K29	Ranch. Apple Blossom Lane, Westminster, Adams County, 2010.
K30	Ranch. Shaw Heights, Adams County, 2010.
K31	Ranch, Clara Belle Arvada, Jefferson County, 2010.
K32	Ranch. Northglenn, Adams County, 2010.
K33	Ranch. Harvey Park, Denver County, 2010.
K34	Bi-Level. Walnut Hills, Centennial, Arapahoe County, 2010.
K35	Bi-Level. Ralston Hills, Arvada, 2010.
K36	Cape Cod. Chaffee Park Heights, Denver, 2010.
K37	Cape Cod. Vista Verde, Centennial, Arapahoe County, 2010.
K38	Contemporary. Apple Blossom Lane, Westminster, Adams County, 2010.
K39	Contemporary. Walnut Hills, Centennial, Arapahoe County, 2010.
K40	Minimal Traditional. Chaffee Park, Denver, 2010.
K41	Minimal Traditional. Oakland, Denver, 2010.
K42	Split Level. Briarwood Park, Lakewood, Jefferson County, 2010.
K43	Split Level. Morris Heights, Aurora, Adams County, 2010.
K44	Streetscape, Harvey Park, Denver, 2010.
K45	Streetscape, Bel Aire, Wheat Ridge, 2010.

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**Figure K1.** This subdivision plan prepared by the FHA illustrated standards and practices developed by the agency and contained building sites for 101 homes. The Urban Land Institute's *Community Builders Handbook* reproduced the FHA plan and numerous other maps showing what the FHA considered "good" and "bad" platting and development practices. SOURCE: Urban Land Institute, *Community Builders Handbook* (1950), 58.

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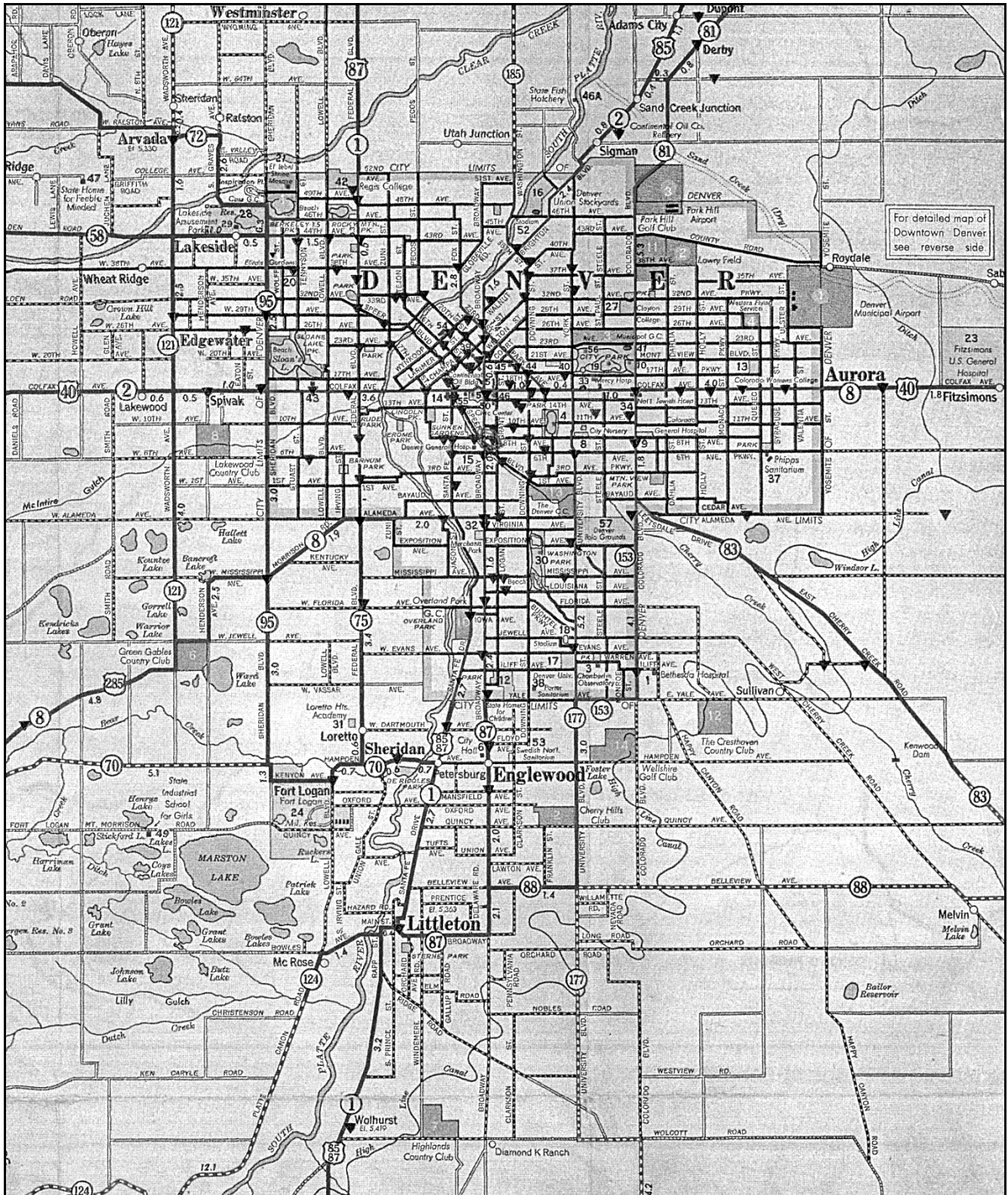


Figure K2. Denver Region, Highways and Major Streets, 1937. SOURCE: Conoco, Travel Denver, Colorado Springs and Vicinity with Conoco (1937), in the files of the Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department. The triangles denote the locations of Conoco service stations.

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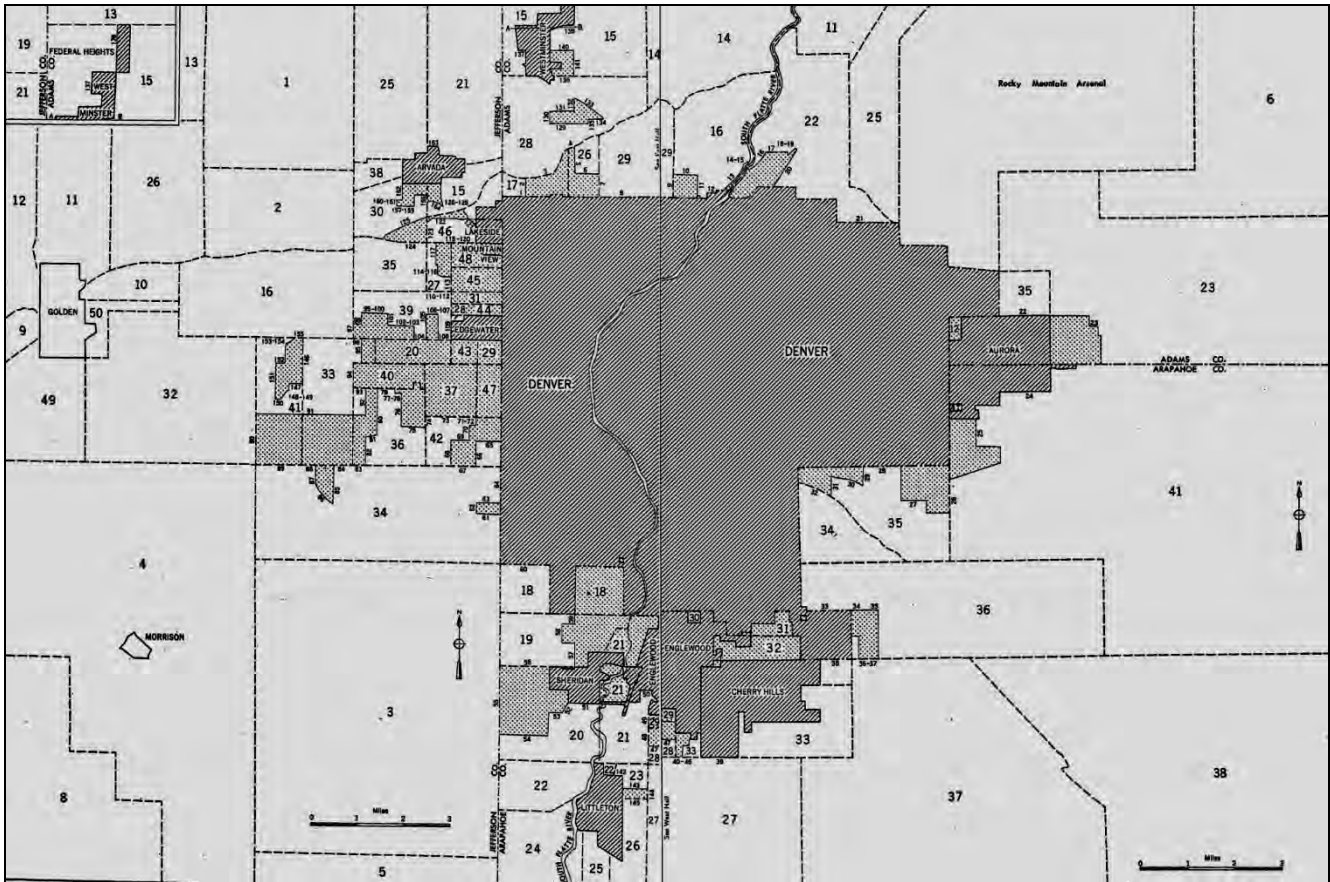


Figure K3. Denver Region, Urbanized Area, 1950. SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1950.



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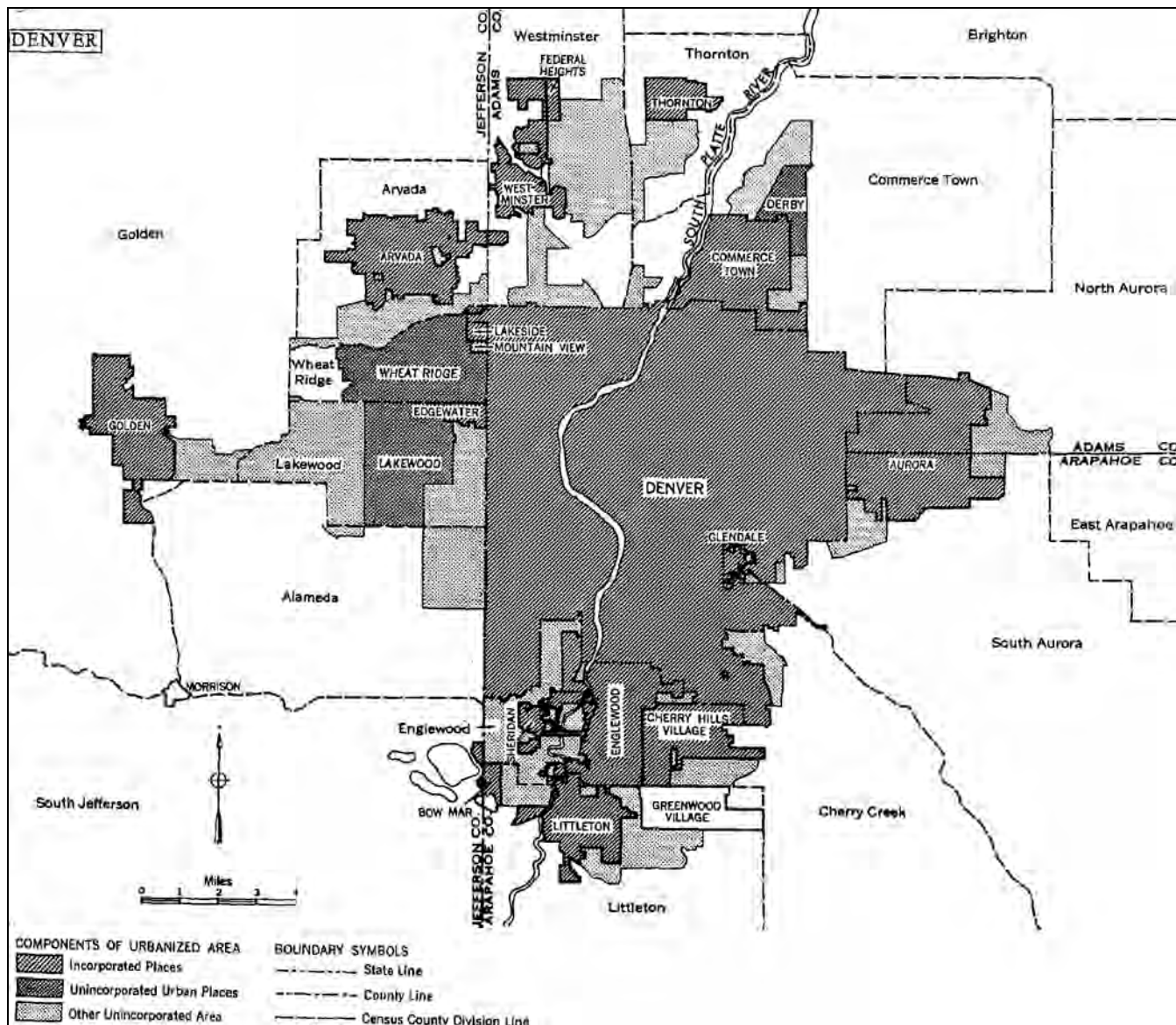


Figure K4. Denver Region, Urbanized Area, 1960. SOURCE: SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1960.

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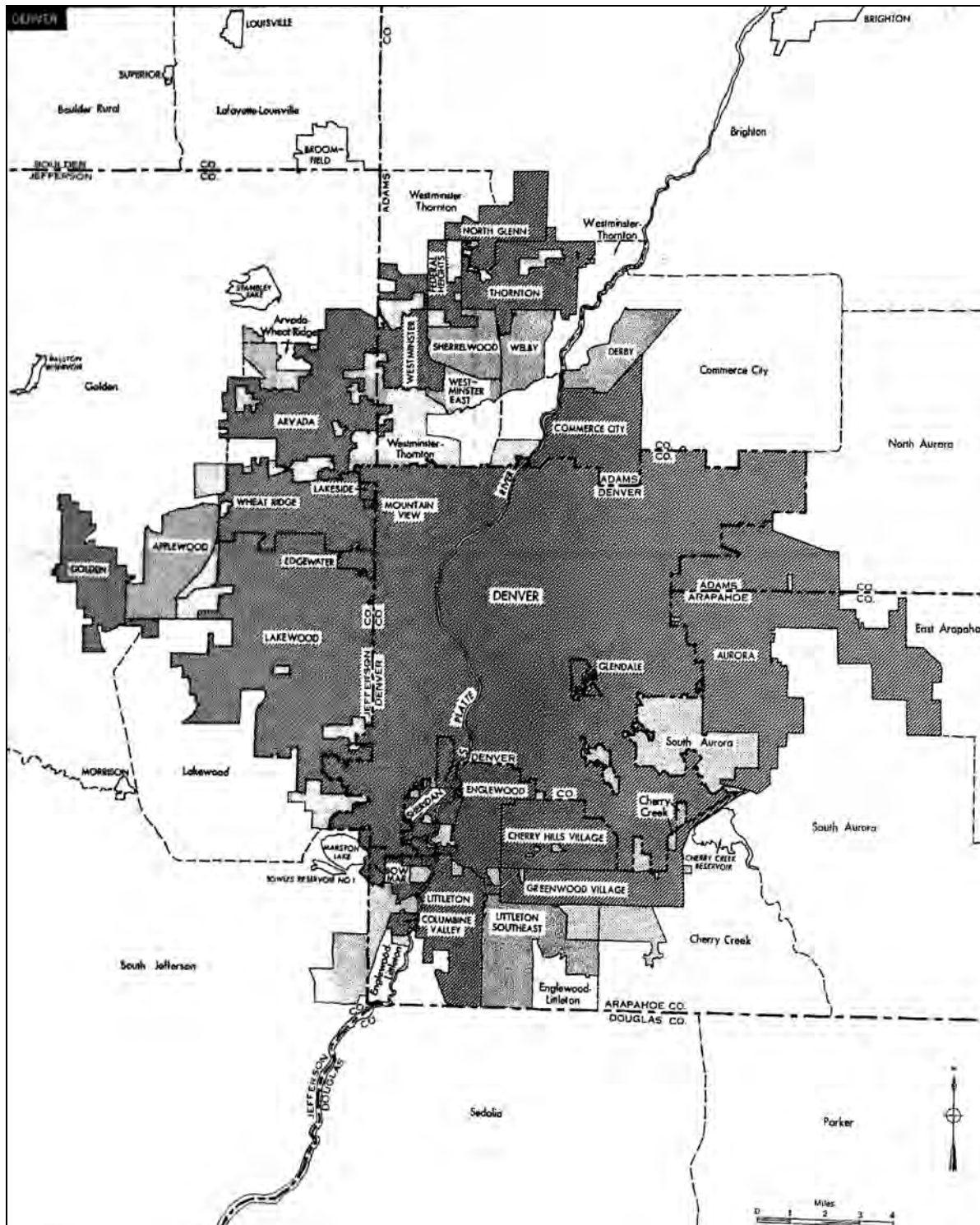


Figure K5. Denver Region, Urbanized Area, 1970. SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1970.

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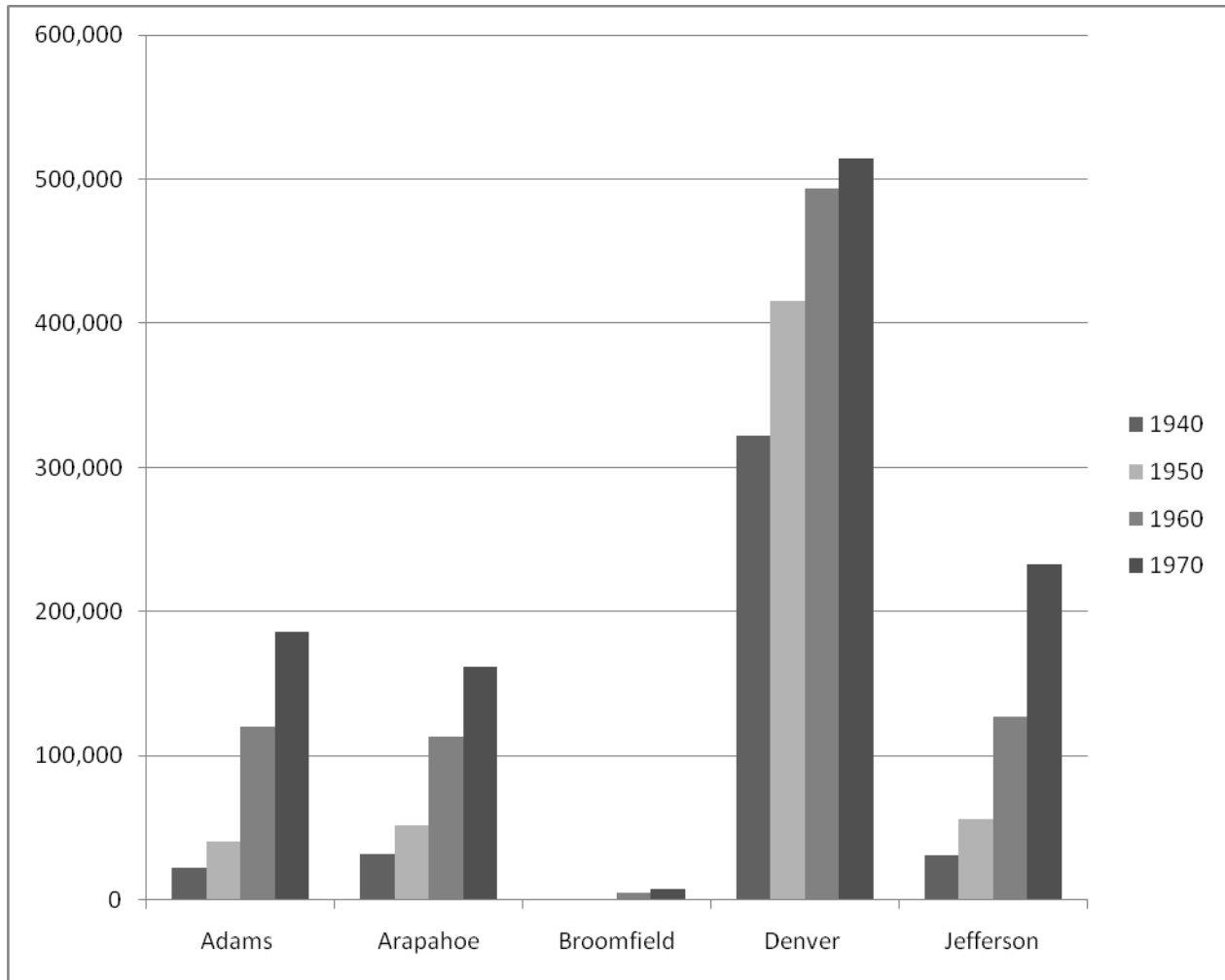
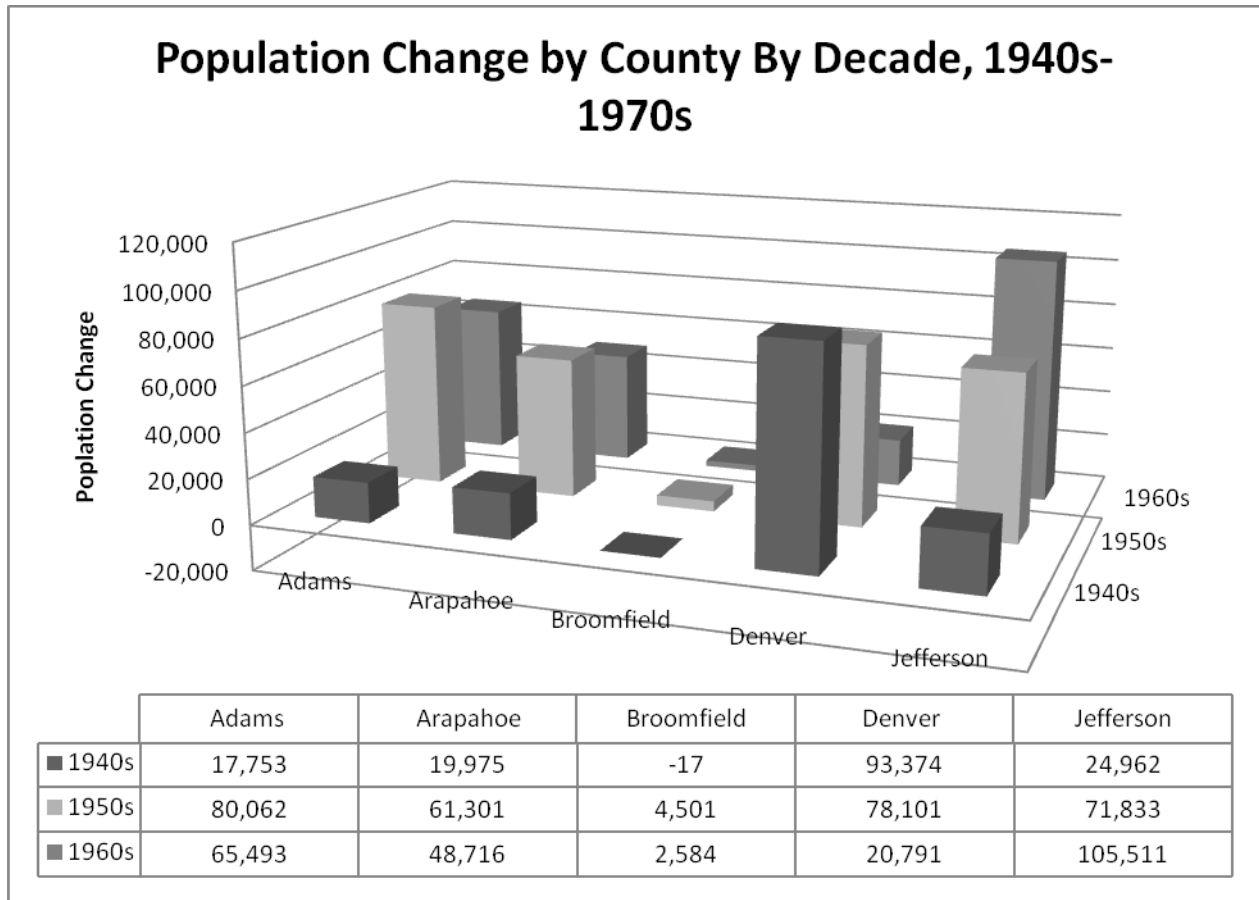


Figure K6. County Population by Census Year, 1940-70. SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, 1940-70.

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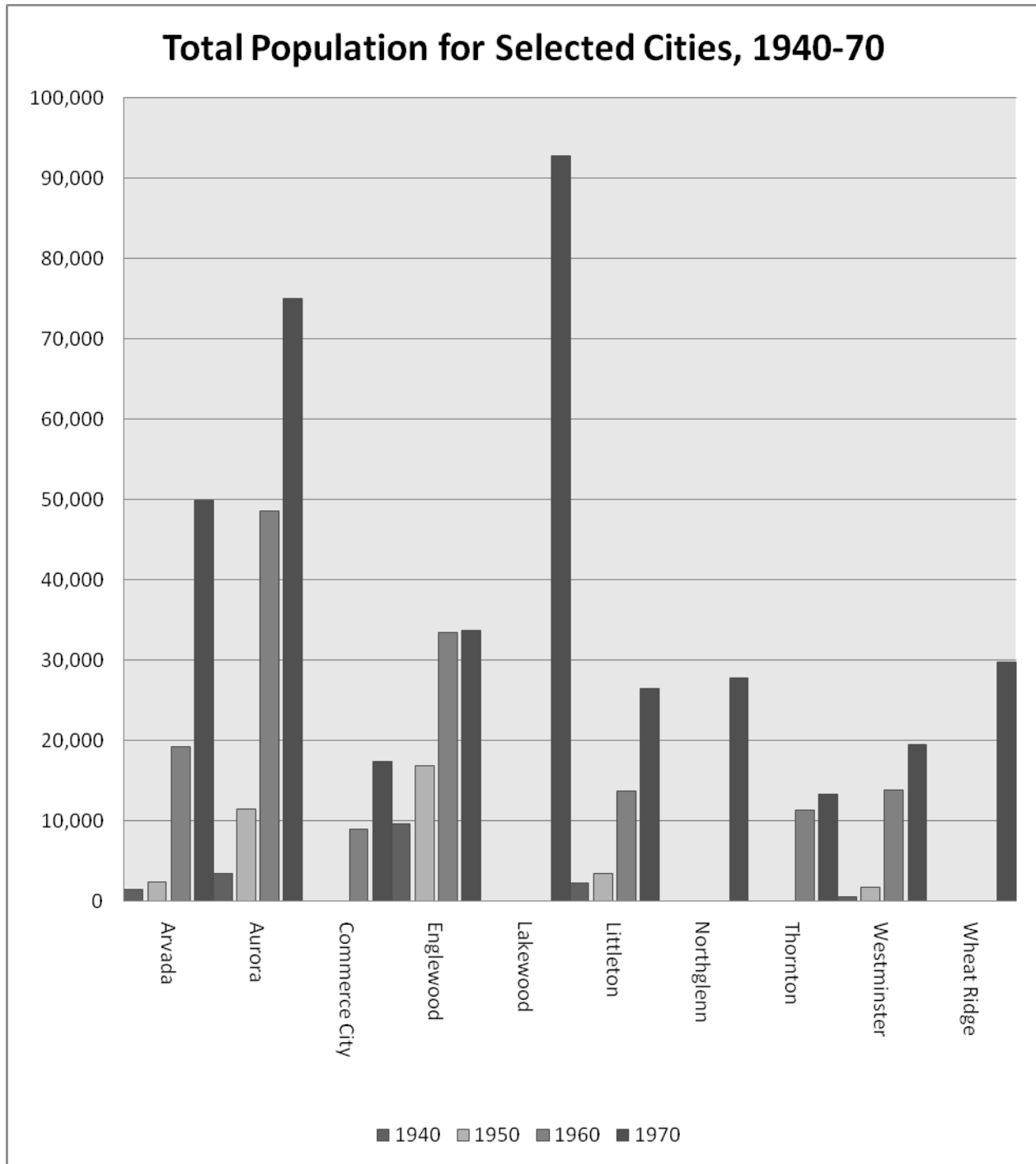


**Figure K7. Population change by decade for each county in the Denver region. SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, 1940-70 (Broomfield estimates produced by Front Range Research Associates, Inc.).**



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**Figure K8. Municipal Population by Census Year, 1940-70 for the largest municipalities in the region in 1970. Wheat Ridge and Lakewood did not incorporate until 1969. SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau, 1940-70.**

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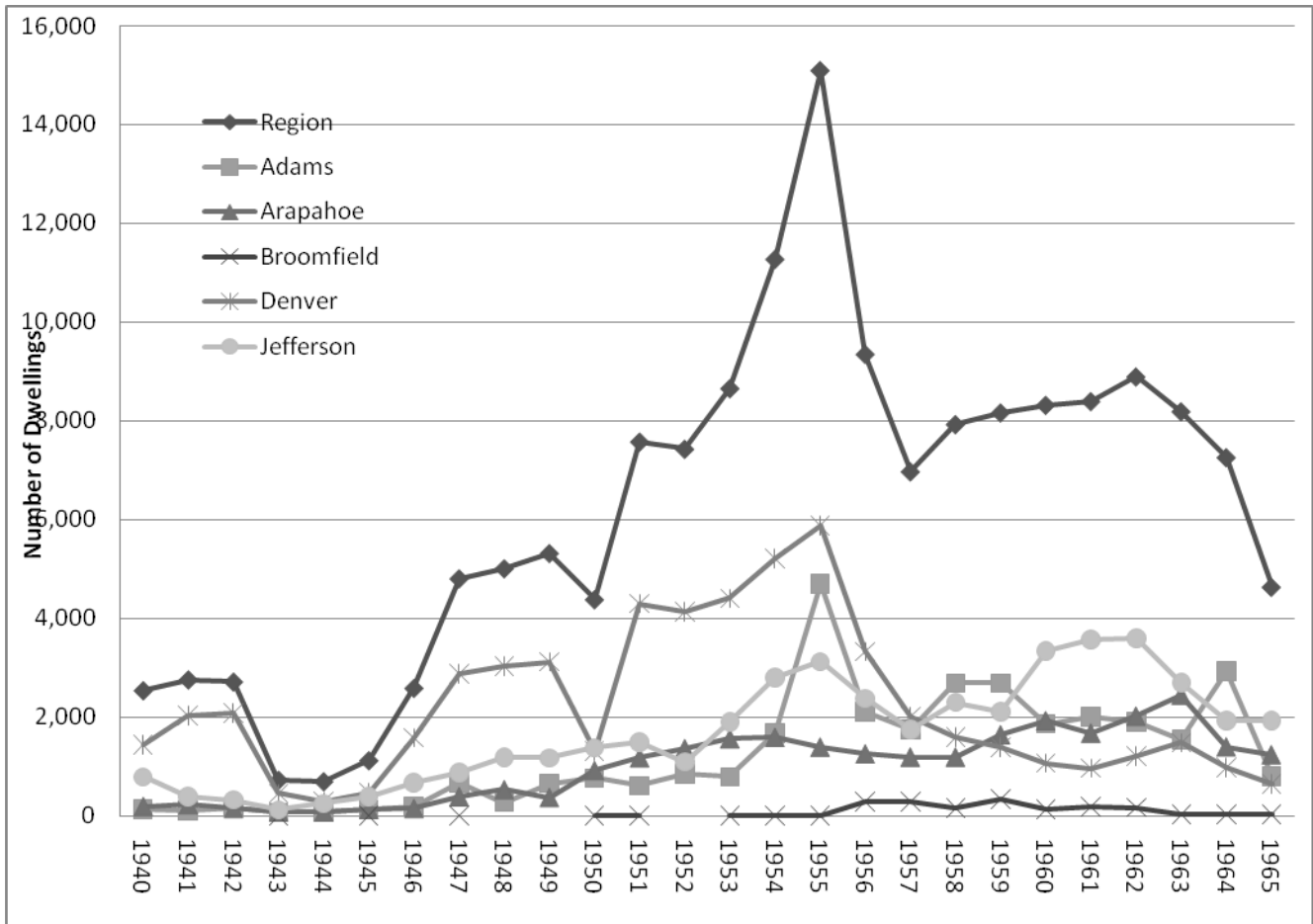
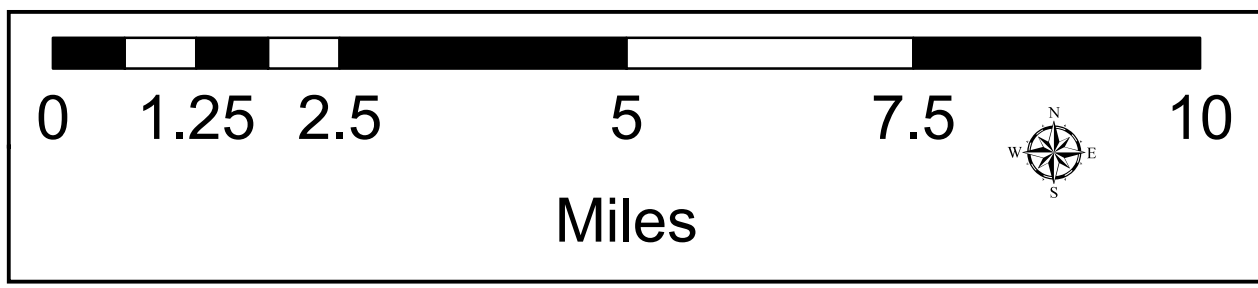
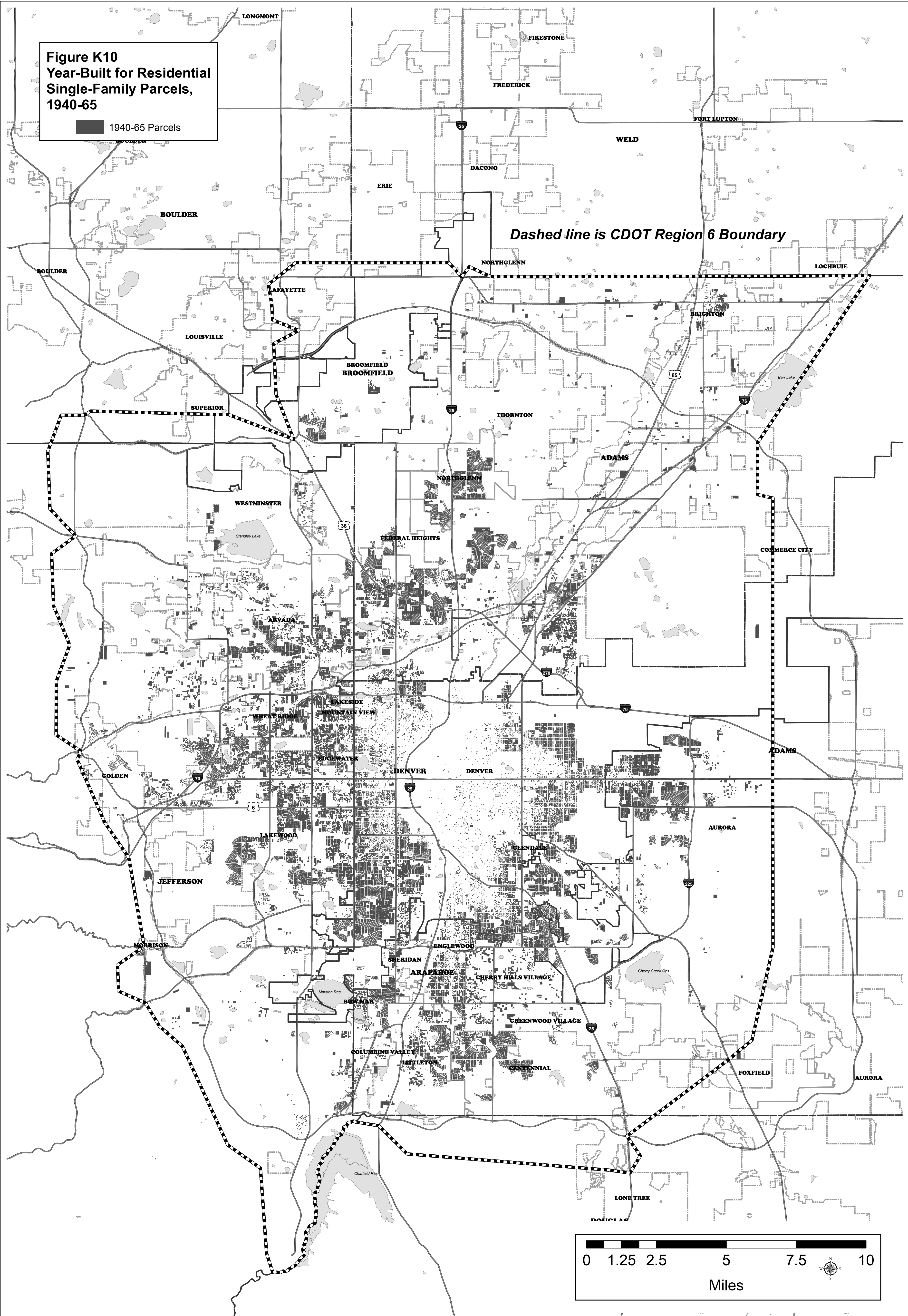


Figure K9. Dwellings constructed by year for the five-county region, 1940-65. SOURCE: Regional Parcel Database.

**Figure K10**  
**Year-Built for Residential**  
**Single-Family Parcels,**  
**1940-65**

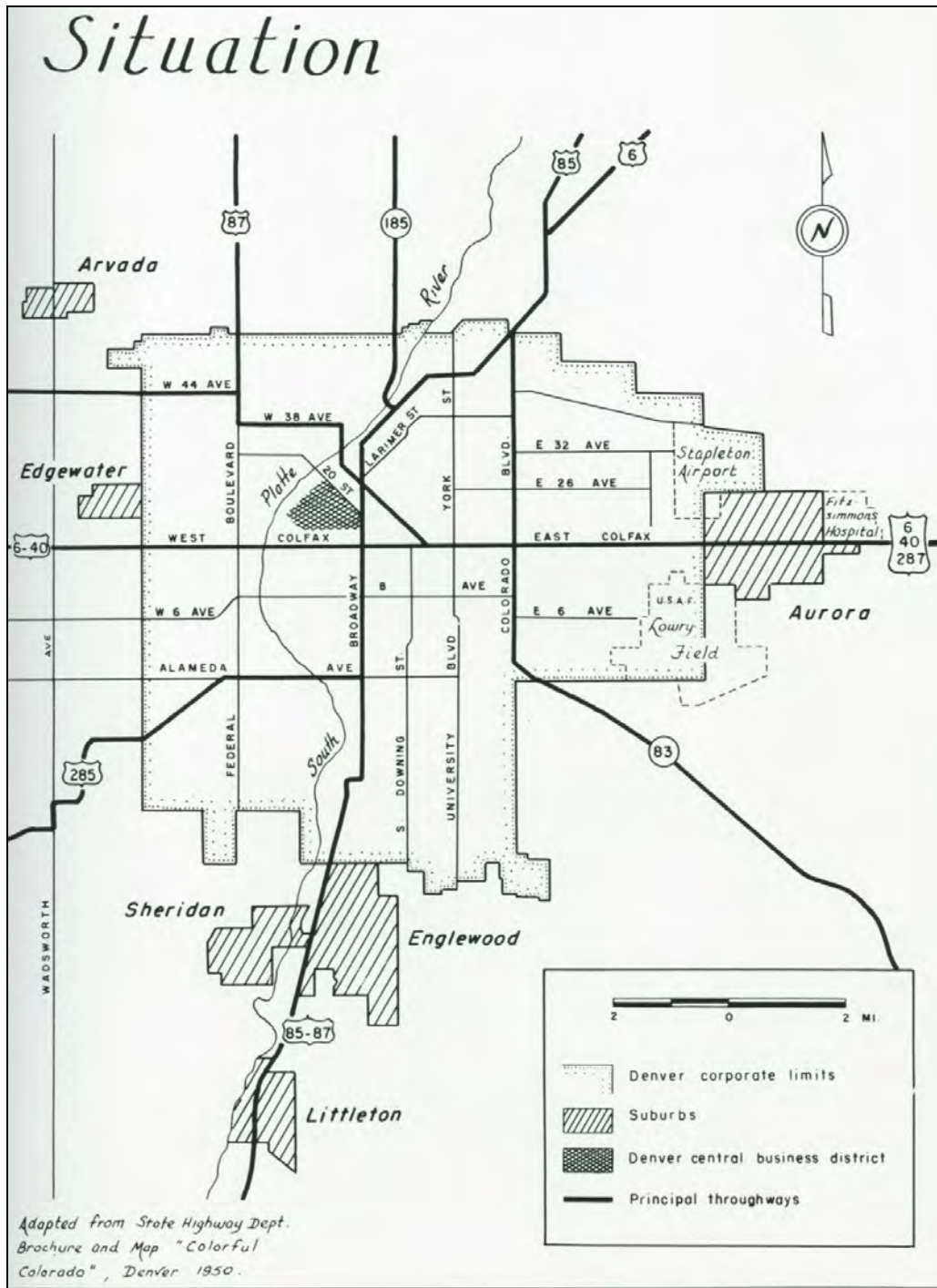
1940-65 Parcels

*Dashed line is CDOT Region 6 Boundary*



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**Figure K11.** Unlike today's crowded highways moving commuters around the city, commuters in the 1950s used the city street system to get to work, shop, and church. Highways were not major inter-city corridors, but regional connectors. Before the 1956 interstate highway era, principal U.S. highways into and out of Denver were 87/85/285 (north-south connectors) and 6/40/287 (east-west connectors). SOURCE: Robert S. Collins, "Aurora, Colorado: A Geographical Analysis of a Denver Urban Fringe," M.A. Thesis, University of Colorado, 1953.



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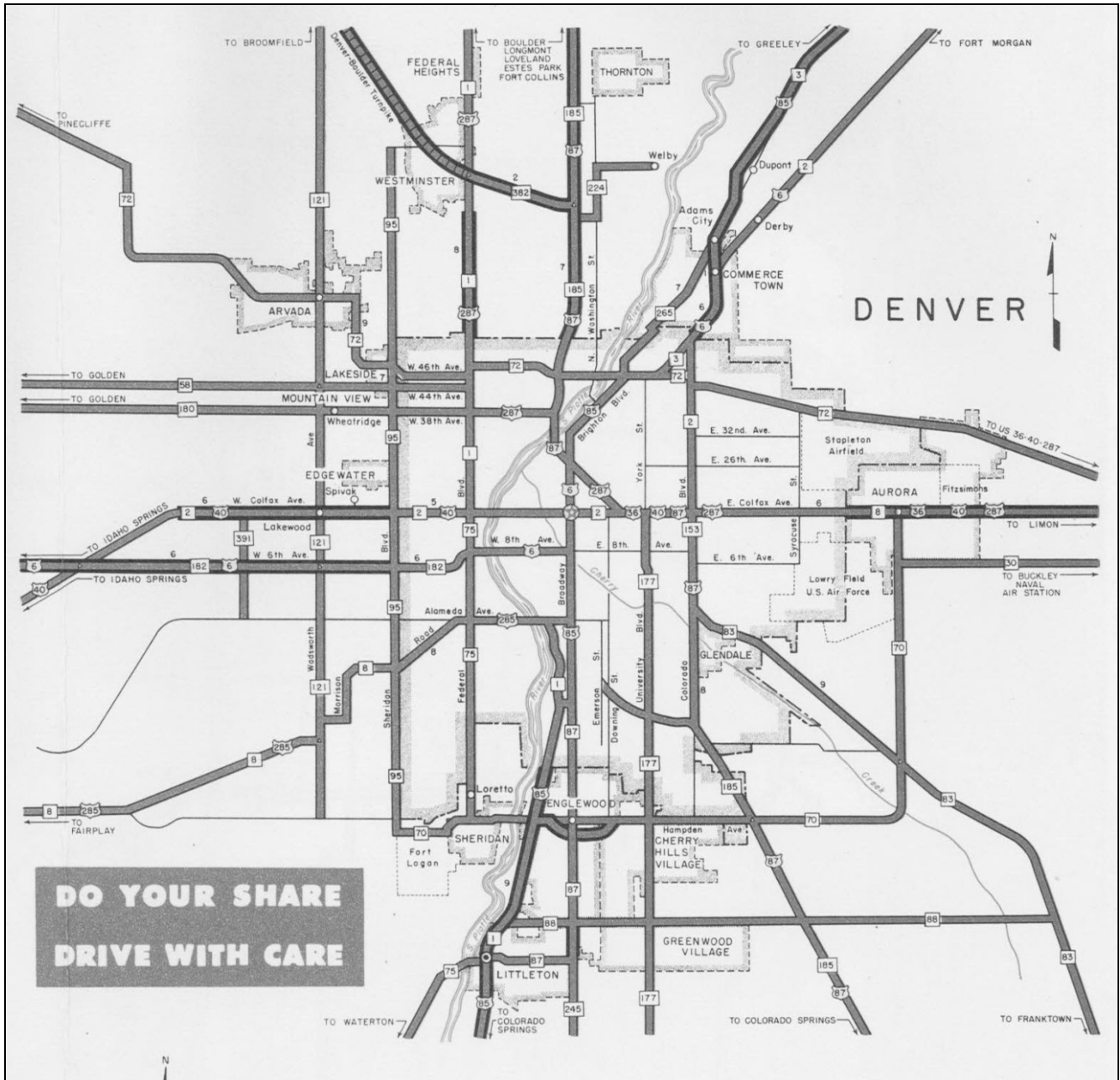


Figure K12. Denver Region, Highways and Major Streets, 1958. SOURCE: Colorado Department of Highway (Denver: Colorado Department of Highways, 1958).



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Figure K14. Lakeside Shopping Center, at West 44th Avenue and Harlan Street, was one of dozens of new retail areas added during the 1940-65 period (view north-northwest). The center, once one of the area's four regional shopping venues, is now gone. Lake Rhoda lies beyond the shopping center and the Lakeside Amusement Lake is to the right. SOURCE: *Denver Post*, 29 August 1956, 47.



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Figure K15. This 1959 photograph shows planner William Henninger of HOH going over plans for Northglenn with its developers, the three partners in Perl-Mack: Samuel Primack (left), William Robinson (left-rear), and Jordon Perlmutter (right). SOURCE: *Denver Post*, 21 June 1959, Sec. E.



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Figure K16. Celebrities at times promoted new housing developments. Here, developer Sam Hoffman poses with actress Jane Russell in front of one his model homes in Thornton. Russell appeared at the 1953 grand opening of the planned community. SOURCE: Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, clipping collection.

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We wouldn't dream  
of buying a new home until  
we see what CAREY builds!\*

\* Unfortunately, we weren't *really* here to build homes for the Gold Seekers of 1859. Since 1949, though, we've built over 4,000 homes in Denver for those modern families who've joined the latest "Rush to the Rockies."

**carey construction co.**

CAREY CARNATION HOMES . . . . .	Aurora
CAREY BONUS HOMES . . . . .	Sheridan Hills
CAREY HOLIDAY HOMES . . . . .	Harvey Park
CAREY EXECUTIVE HOMES . . . . .	Harvey Park
CAREY FAMILY HOMES . . . . .	Harvey Park
UNIVERSITY HILLS . . . . .	(Co-Developers)

Figure K17. Carey Construction noted houses under construction in four subdivisions in this 1959 advertisement and boasted of completing 4,000 homes since 1949. SOURCE: *Denver Post*, Centennial Edition, 1959, 351.

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# RIDGEWOOD



## Littleton's Finest Subdivision

Gentle rolling terrain, spacious sites. Each home well designed and each unlike its neighbors.

Within the City of Littleton, thus assuring police and fire protection, and convenient to public schools.

Parochial school planned nearby. Brand new custom built homes, now ready for occupancy—or buy a choice lot for your dream house.

Drive south to Ridge Road, then a short distance on South Prince to Ridgewood.

OPEN DAILY, 8:30 A.M. TILL DARK



**Ambrose-Williams & Company**  
SALES AGENTS SU 9-0544

Figure K18. Subdivision newspaper display advertisements of the period typically included an image of a home, extolled amenities, and provided contact information. Ridgewood, platted in two filings in 1959 and 1961, was located in Littleton. SOURCE: *Littleton Independent*, 9 June 1961, 5.

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**Figure K19.** This Koelbel & Company brochure showed the location of the Cherry Ridge subdivision in Arapahoe County in relation to nearby points of interest with driving times. **SOURCE:** VanderWerf, *High on Country*, 100.



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Figure K20. Developers used billboards to draw potential homebuyers to their subdivisions. This sign advertised Hoskinson Brothers' Alta Vista subdivision in Arvada. SOURCE: Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 107.



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Figure K21. This oblique aerial view south of Northglenn shows the planned community's curvilinear layout in 1962, just seven years after ground was broken for initial construction. Interstate 25 is to the right, with the 104th Avenue interchange near the top-right. Thornton lies in the distance at the top-left of the picture. SOURCE: *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 October 1962, 3D.

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**Figure K22. The curvilinear layout of Broomfield Heights, a planned community, is visible in this c. 1960 oblique aerial photograph. The Denver-Boulder Turnpike cuts diagonally through the lower left of the image. SOURCE: Denver Public Library, photograph collection, image number X-7228.**



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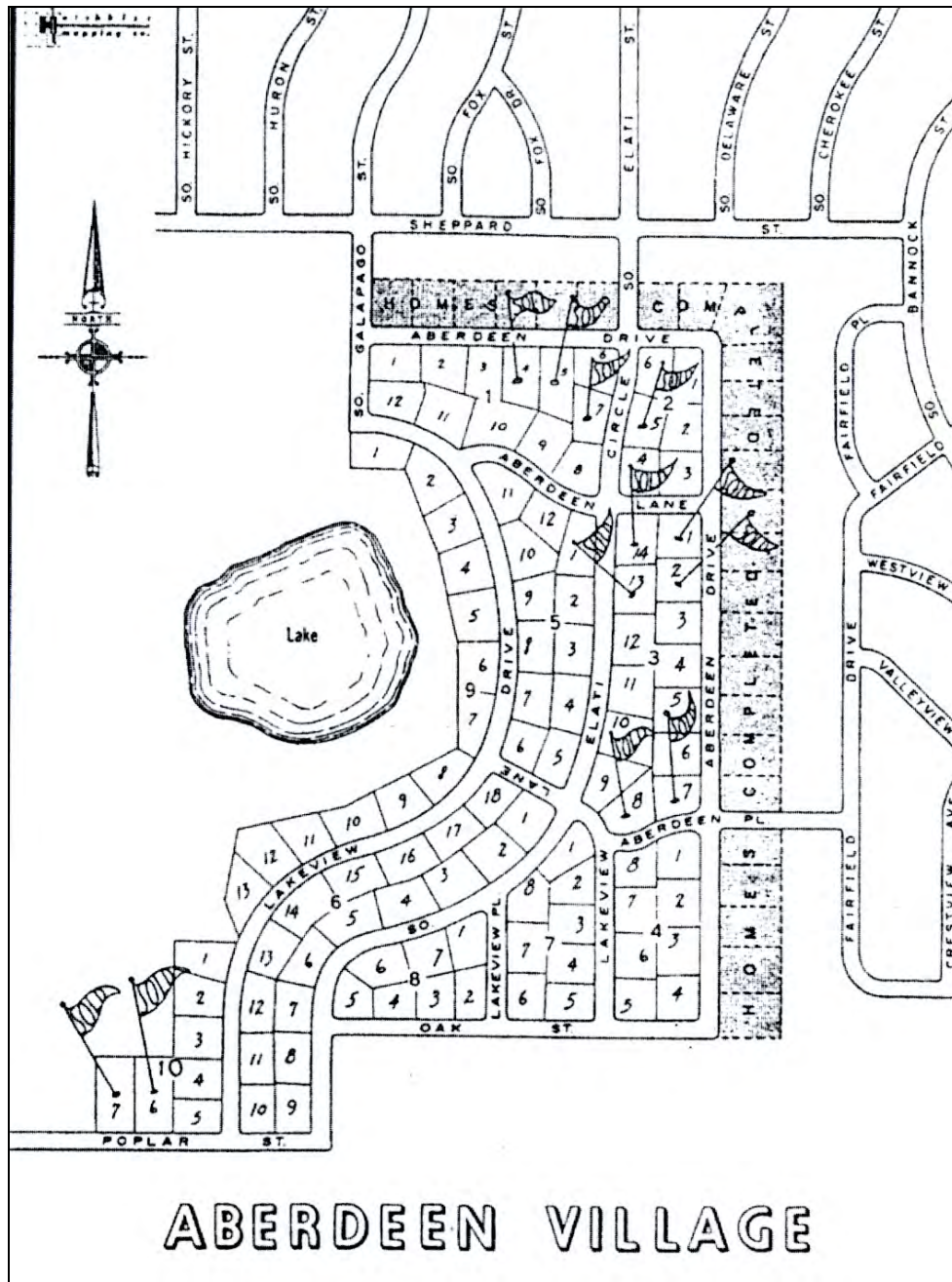


Figure K23. Aberdeen Village in Littleton featured irregularly-shaped lots with streets sinuously curving around Ketring Lake to the west. The pin flags on this promotional map indicate sold lots. SOURCE: Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, Littleton clipping collection.



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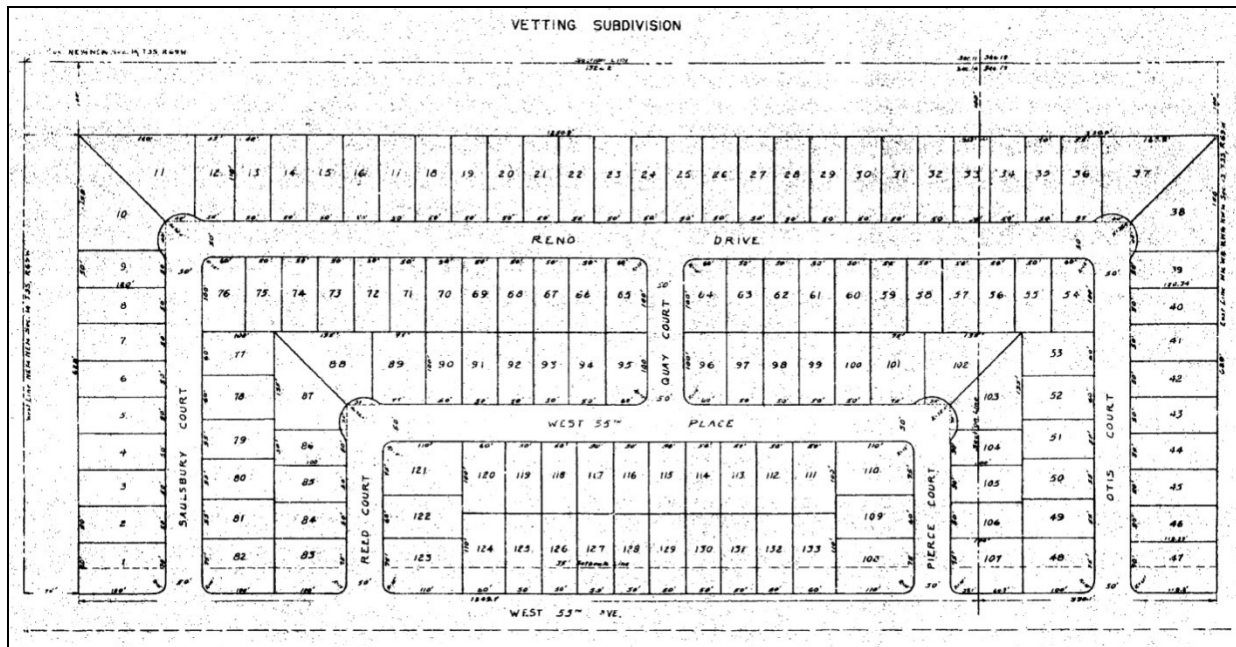


Figure K24. Chester L. "Chet" Hoskinson platted the rectilinear Vetting Subdivision in 1951. The houses sold quickly, with prices ranging from \$7,000 to \$7,500. The relief curves on inside corners were known as "eyebrows." SOURCE: Jefferson County Clerk and Recorder, Plat Book 10, Page 1.

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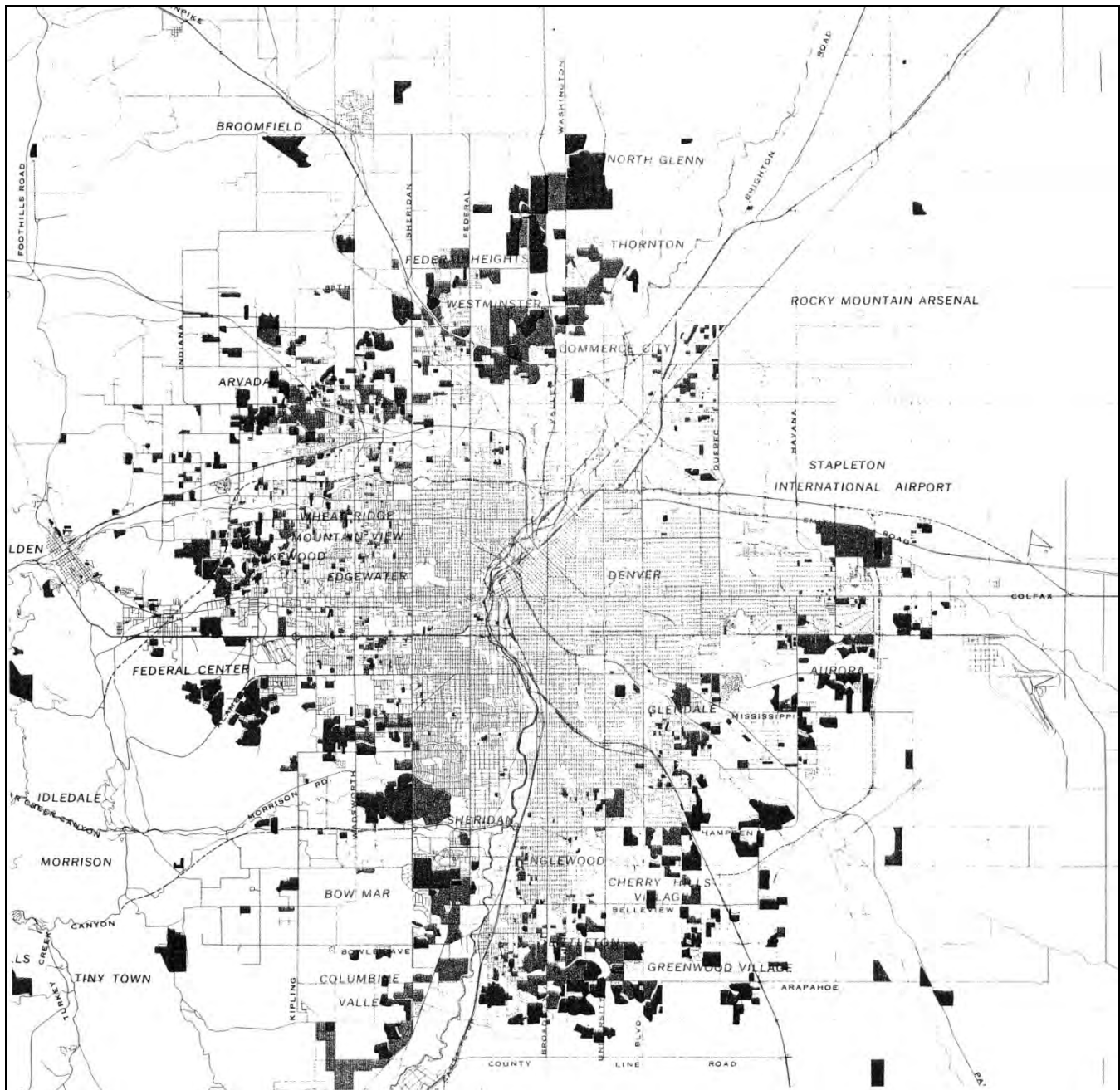


Figure K25. Subdivision Platting in the Denver Region, 1955-64. The map was originally printed in color and depicted two eras of platting, 1955-59 and 1960-64. The black and white reproduction herein makes it difficult to distinguish the difference between the two time periods but accurately conveys total 1955-64 activity. SOURCE: Extract of Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, *Population: Denver Metro Area, Master Plan Report 27C* (June 1965).

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**Figure K26. These simple and economical Ranch type houses were built in the early 1950s in Aurora's Del Mar area. SOURCE: Collins, "Aurora, Colorado: A Geographical Analysis," 1953.**



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**Figure K27. One of the homes in Arvada's Alta Vista subdivision is shown in this view as a young Baby Boomer waves at the photographer. Houses in the development were constructed in the 1950s.  
SOURCE: Morley, *Centennial Arvada*, 108.**

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**Figure K28. A newly-constructed "Holiday Home" in the Harvey Park subdivision awaits landscaping about 1954. SOURCE: Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, photograph collection, image X-25231.**



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**Figure K29. Ranch. Apple Blossom Lane, Westminster, Adams County, 2010.**



**Figure K30. Ranch. Shaw Heights, Adams County, 2010.**



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**Figure K31. Ranch, Clara Belle Arvada, Jefferson County, 2010.**



**Figure K32. Ranch. Northglenn, Adams County, 2010.**



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**Figure K33. Ranch. Harvey Park, Denver County, 2010.**



**Figure K34. Bi-Level. Walnut Hills, Centennial, Arapahoe County, 2010.**



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**Figure K35. Bi-Level. Ralston Hills, Arvada, 2010.**



**Figure K36. Cape Cod. Chaffee Park Heights, Denver, 2010.**



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**Figure K37. Cape Cod. Vista Verde, Centennial, Arapahoe County, 2010.**



**Figure K38. Contemporary. Apple Blossom Lane, Westminster, Adams County, 2010.**



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**Figure K39. Contemporary. Walnut Hills, Centennial, Arapahoe County, 2010.**



**Figure K40. Minimal Traditional. Chaffee Park, Denver, 2010.**



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**Figure K41. Minimal Traditional. Oakland, Denver, 2010.**



**Figure K42. Split Level. Briarwood Park, Lakewood, Jefferson County, 2010.**



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**Figure K43. Split Level. Morris Heights, Aurora, Adams County, 2010.**



**Figure K44. Streetscape, Harvey Park, Denver, 2010.**

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**Figure K45. Streetscape, Bel Aire, Wheat Ridge, 2010.**