1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Denver Civic Center

Other Name/Site Number: 5DV161

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Approximately Grant to Cherokee Streets and 14th to Colfax Avenues Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Denver Vicinity: N/A

State: CO County: Denver Code: 031 Zip Code: 80204

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	____	Building(s):	____
Public-Local:	X	District:	X
Public-State:	X	Site:	____
Public-Federal:	____	Structure:	____
		Object:	____

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
5	0	buildings
1	0	sites
2	0	structures
10	9	objects
18	9	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 15

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Politics and Government	Sub:	civic center
	Landscape	Sub:	park
	Entertainment and Recreation	Sub:	outdoor recreation
	Transportation	Sub:	pedestrian-related
Current:	Politics and Government	Sub:	civic center
	Landscape	Sub:	park
	Entertainment and Recreation	Sub:	outdoor recreation
	Transportation	Sub:	pedestrian-related

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals/Beaux Arts/Beaux Arts Classicism

MATERIALS:

Foundation:	Stone/granite
Walls:	Stone/granite; Stone/marble; Stone/sandstone
Roof:	Metal; Terra Cotta
Other:	Metal/bronze; Stone/granite

INTRODUCTION

Located immediately south of Denver's central business district, the Denver Civic Center National Historic Landmark (NHL) is a nationally significant public landscape and collection of public buildings and monuments highly evocative of the nation's City Beautiful movement. As it exists today, the thirty-three-acre civic center took form in several stages beginning in 1890 and ending in 1935. Despite its lengthy evolution, the center reflects a continuum of progressive thought about civic betterment, regional character, and public architecture, while stylistically adhering to overriding principles of formal order, symmetrical balance, and neoclassical expression.

Today, the Denver Civic Center represents one of the most complete and intact examples of early-twentieth-century civic center design nationwide. It ranks highly among the handful of City Beautiful civic centers nationwide that, inspired by the 1900 Macmillan Plan for the nation's capital in Washington, D.C., actually reached a stage of completion. Other notable examples exist in San Francisco and Cleveland. The Denver example possesses a remarkable degree of artistic quality and historic integrity in its overall synthesis of design, interpretation of neoclassical elements of design, and representation of American ideals and heritage.
The construction of the Colorado State Capitol on one of the city's highest points between 1890 and 1908 served as the catalyst for the development of a larger, urban park to celebrate the role of Colorado in settling the American West and provide a dignified setting for the highly important functions of state and local government. Along the major east-west axis leading away from the statehouse, the public landscape gradually expanded westward through the development of a sequence of parks, each with its own special function and character, while integrated into a single, balanced and unified plan. Other stately buildings and monuments were built opposite the statehouse and at the edge of the parkland. Beaux-Arts principles of spatial organization and a rich vocabulary of neoclassical features unified the ensemble of built features. Stone construction throughout showcased Colorado's rich deposits of granite, sandstone, and marble, further imparting a sense of permanence and solidity to the whole. The development of the massive Denver City and County Building and its grounds in the 1930s formed the western terminus of the landscape, bringing closure physically and figuratively to a design process that had taken more than four decades and involved some of the nation's most accomplished planners, architects, landscape architects, and artists.

The Denver Civic Center is nationally significant in the areas of community planning and development, landscape architecture, architecture, and art. Under the theme, Transforming the Environment, the historic district meets NHL Criterion 1 for its association with the City Beautiful movement, the origins of city planning in America, and early twentieth-century efforts to define and celebrate the principles of democracy and the vital role of local and state government in American history and life. Under the theme, Expressing Cultural Values, it meets NHL Criterion 4 for its embodiment of Beaux-Arts inspired architecture and landscape architecture, its exemplary physical representation of City Beautiful ideals, and its demonstration of a collaborative design process that, introduced at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, characterized the creation of public works in the United States in the twentieth century. The period of national significance extends from 1890, to include the date the cornerstone was laid and construction began on the Colorado State Capitol, and extends to 1935 to recognize the completion of the Denver City and County Building grounds in 1935.

In response to the City Beautiful movement and the emergence of city planning as an essential function of local government, enumerable plans for civic centers were developed for American cities in the early twentieth century. Most of these remained plans on paper only, never receiving public support and funding. Denver's experience was the exception. Mayor Robert Walter Speer, nationally recognized for his progressive leadership, persistently promoted the concept, garnering support from the various commissions that controlled the city government as well as the voting public. The design was shaped by a succession of nationally renowned

designers, including Charles Mulford Robinson, Frederick MacMonnies, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., and finally Edward H. Bennett, whose ingenious 1917 plan brought synthesis to a number of earlier proposals, resolved the functional and aesthetic problems that had hindered previous plans, and gave material form to the civic center that exists today.

The Denver Civic Center reflects an extraordinary integration of civic arts–a hallmark of the City Beautiful movement. Some of the nation's most distinguished early twentieth-century architects, landscape architects, and artists contributed to its design. Individual buildings and structures within the district reflect the inspiration of Elijah E. Myers, renowned for his design of state capitols, and respected Denver architects and architectural firms, including Frank E. Edbrooke, Fisher and Fisher, Marean and Norton, William N. Bowman, and the Allied Architects Association. City landscape architects, Reinhard Schuetze and Saco De Boer, influenced site layout and plantings. Nationally recognized artists of the period produced works of art blending classical forms with popular regional themes; these individuals included muralist Allen Tupper True and sculptors Frederick MacMonnies, Alexander Phimister Proctor, Preston Powers, and Robert Garrison.

The Colorado State Capitol, an exceptional example of Renaissance Revival, today continues to dominate the east end of the civic center and from its west front provides an open vista toward the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains. At a lower elevation at the west end of the civic center, the Denver City and County Building, a monumental public building in the Georgian Revival style, provides a dignified counterpoint to the statehouse. In between, the public grounds of the Capitol, Lincoln Park, Civic Center Park, and the forecourt of the municipal building are embellished with a variety of landscape features that contribute to an attractive and inspiring park setting and echo the grandeur and neoclassical vocabulary of the nearby buildings. These features include groves and borders of trees, expanses of lawn and formal flowerbeds, pedestrian walkways and paved plazas, elaborate balustrades, fountains, and a reflecting pool.

Marking the termini of a grand transverse axis, two colonnaded structures—the Voorhies Monumental Gateway (1921) on the north and the Greek Theater and Colonnade of the Civic Benefactors (1919) on the south—continue to draw the public from the expanding business district nearby and offer a venue for public entertainment and civic engagement as they did when first constructed. Three additional government buildings inspired by Beaux-Arts Classicism—the Denver Public Library (1910), Colorado State Museum (1915), and Colorado State Office Building (1921)—surround the public landscape and harmonize with the architecture of the statehouse and city and county building. Located at the edge of the civic center, the Pioneer Monument (1911) by nationally renowned sculptor Frederick W. MacMonnies celebrates the settling of the American West. Throughout the landscape, other heroic and commemorative statuary, as well as murals and allegorical sculpture, evoke meaningful images of western culture and history.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Located in the center of downtown Denver, the Denver Civic Center is classified as a historic district and contains twenty-seven resources, eighteen (or 67 percent) of which have been evaluated as contributing (see Table 1). The eighteen contributing resources include the thirty-three acre public landscape (a contributing site), five public buildings (contributing buildings), the memorial gateway and outdoor theater (contributing structures), the Pioneer Monument (a contributing object), and four additional works of sculpture, a pair of Civil War-era cannons, and several memorial flagpoles and water fountains (contributing objects). All contributing resources were either constructed or installed on the public grounds during the period of significance, 1890 to 1935. Nine additional commemorative features of substantial size, some artistic in nature, were placed on the grounds after the period of significance and are classified as noncontributing objects. In accordance with NHL guidelines, only resources substantial in size and scale or having special importance have been classified as

buildings, structures, or objects and included in the count of contributing and noncontributing resources. Small features that make up the landscape are considered integral elements of the overall site but are not counted separately. These include plantings, lampposts, paths and sidewalks, stairways, curbs and coping, balustrades and walls, and pylons and piers installed during the historic period that today contribute to the historic character, setting, and integrity of the civic center. In addition, the civic center today includes a number of nonhistoric walks, paving materials, memorials, and outdoor furnishings (including benches, plaques, signs, stone posts, trash cans, and lampposts) that are not considered sufficient in size or scale to be counted individually but have been considered in the overall assessment of historic integrity.

Representative photographs of the resources are included with the nomination and are identified by number on the sketch map. Contributing resources, sorted by resource type (site, buildings, structures, and objects), are described below beginning with the overall contributing site that includes the public landscape in its entirety and is coterminous with the NHL boundaries. Detailed descriptions of the contributing buildings, structures, and objects follow the site description; they in turn are followed by detailed descriptions of the noncontributing resources, all of which are classified as objects. The location of each resource and the vantage point of each photograph appear on the accompanying sketch map. In addition, historical plans and photographs have been included as figures. A table of the contributing and noncontributing resources appears at the end of section 7, and biographies of architects, artists, landscape architects, and planners are alphabetically arranged at the end of section 8.

CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Denver Civic Center Site (Resource 1, Contributing Site)

The Denver Civic Center site extends a distance of six city blocks from Grant Street on the east to Cherokee Street on the west, and a distance varying from one to two city blocks from Colfax Avenue on the north to 14th Avenue on the south. The entire site is classified as one contributing site. The design and construction of the civic center evolved chronologically and expanded geographically in several stages beginning with the construction of the *Colorado State Capitol* and the laying out of the Capitol grounds in the years between 1890 and 1906, and ending with the completion of the *Denver City and County Building* and related landscape improvements in the 1930s. Through a restrained sense of architectural elegance drawn from Renaissance interpretations of Classical antiquity, the statehouse overlooks the city from its lofty, mile-high location, anchoring the east end of the civic center. At a lower elevation on the same grade as the surrounding business district, the city and county building through its stately Colonial Revival presence and vibrant daily activity anchors the west end, providing a counterbalance to the statehouse and an equally strong sense of importance and permanence. Reflecting City Beautiful principles, the references to classical antiquity and the spatial organization visually and symbolically conveys the cultural forces and political balance that forged the nation's westward expansion. (Photographs 1 & 2)

The introduction of two transverse axes introduced complexity to the design and extended the reach of the civic center north and south into the surrounding streetscape. The easternmost cross-axis runs through the center of the statehouse and follows Sherman Street, connecting with the *Colorado State Museum* on the south and the *Colorado State Office Building* on the north. The second cross-axis boldly defines and extends the north and south boundaries of Civic Center Park. One of most striking features of the civic center's overall spatial organization, this axis was created about 1920 when two triangular shaped parcels were added on the north and south sides of the block identified for the future city park that was intended to link the grounds and park in front of the statehouse with the site proposed for the new city and county building. Shortly after acquisition, the triangular parcels became the site of the *Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors* on the south and the *Voorhies Memorial Gateway* on the north, articulating the end points of the axis with bold neoclassical forms. During the period of significance West Colfax and West 14th Avenues were realigned to curve around

the outside edge of the triangular parcels and enclose what today appears as a pair of symmetrically balanced semi-elliptical extensions in a city otherwise organized into rigid, rectilinear blocks. (Photographs 3 & 4)
The small triangular parcel on which the *Pioneer Monument* stands today is another highly important component of the civic center. Located opposite the northeast corner of Civic Center Park and surrounded by city streets, this parcel resulted from the earliest efforts of planners to reconcile the east-west orientation of the statehouse with the existing grid of city streets which was oriented at a forty-five degree angle to the cardinal compass points. Surrounded on all sides by city streets, the monument is one of the city's first City Beautiful improvements and today maintains its spatial relationship and historic associations with the Denver Civic Center. A similar triangular parcel opposite the southeast corner of Civic Center Park was also added to the civic center during the historic period; now absorbed into the grounds of the new public library, it no longer retains its historic character and is not included in the district boundaries.

Most of the additions to the grounds since the period of significance stem from its continuing value in commemorating significant events and recognizing the contributions of special groups to Colorado's history. Most of these consist of additional small-scale memorials and minor landscape features that have been installed on the Capitol grounds and Lincoln Park. Other alterations relate to the way long-standing commemorative works are displayed and the need to improve and expand the circulation network within the center due to increasing visitation by the public. Because of their recent date, they do not contribute to the historical significance of the Capitol grounds or the overall civic center. Most are not considered of sufficient size or scale to be counted individually as noncontributing resources.

Despite the long-held purpose and popular support for the integration of varied State and local governmental functions within the framework of a cohesive public landscape, the completion of the civic center did not occur until the end of the 1930s. Prior to that decade, the site evolved as four separate but interrelated landscape components. Set against the backdrop of the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains, these four landscape component landscapes today form the central core of the civic center and create a linear mall along the principal east to west axis from the grounds of the State Capitol on the east and to the forecourt of the city and county building on the west, with Lincoln Park and Civic Center Park situated in between. Several streets running north and south—Lincoln Avenue, Broadway, and Bannock Street—which have historically passed through the civic center continue to geographically separate the component landscapes. The four component landscapes comprising the contributing civic center site are described below chronologically and in geographical sequence from east to west.

Colorado State Capitol Grounds (Resource 1: Landscape Component 1)
The design of the Colorado State Capitol and its grounds became the starting point for all subsequent civic center plans. Designed by landscape architect Reinhard Schuetze between 1895 and 1896, the grounds lie at the east end of the civic center and occupy two city blocks bounded by East Colfax on the north, East 14th avenue on the south, Grant Street on the east, and Lincoln Avenue on the west. Sherman Street enters the grounds from the north and south connecting with an interior loop drive that is roughly elliptical in form and encircles the statehouse. Today the Capitol grounds contain formal lawns, public sculpture, several memorials, and a variety of evergreen and deciduous trees, including blue spruce, black walnut, oak, honey locust, catalpa, American linden, and European beech.

The centerpiece of the grounds is the monumental *Colorado State Capitol* designed by national renowned architect Elijah E. Myers in 1885-86 and constructed between 1890 and 1908 under the supervision of Frank E. Edbrooke (Resource 2). The statehouse occupies the center of grounds with its longer axis measuring 384 feet north to south and shorter axis measuring 313 feet east to west. Like many state capitols of the period, the Renaissance Revival building echoes the stately elegance, hilltop setting, and neoclassical form of the United

States Capitol at Washington D.C. The statehouse has a rock-faced stone foundation, a raised basement with banded rustication, and walls constructed entirely of gray cut granite from the Aberdeen (Zugelder) quarry in Gunnison County, Colorado. Monumental porticos on projecting pavilions dominate each elevation, and a center dome 272 feet high and forty-two feet in diameter rises from a four-story colonnaded drum.[1] (Photographs 1 & 5)

Set high on the hill facing the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains, the west front of the statehouse was developed as the primary elevation and today provides spectacular views over the city to the mountain peaks beyond. Schuetze designed the grounds on the west side as open terraces and sloping lawns that would allow stately views of the State Capitol from various points in the city while at the same time providing open vistas towards the Front Range (Photograph 2). The level loop drive encircling the statehouse served the important aesthetic purpose of visually providing a firm base from which the building emerged, thereby eliminating the undesirable visual effect of the hilltop building sliding forward. Today the terraced effect is magnified by recent landscape improvements which have introduced a pair of paved plazas and broadened the central walkway descending from the west portico to the western boundary. Schuetze was able to extend the public landscape westward by coordinating the design of the Capitol grounds with that of Lincoln Park, a one-block area at the base of the hill. As the larger civic center took form in subsequent decades, the axial views expanded to take in the richly textured landscape of additional parkland and the architectural grandeur of nearby buildings and monuments.

Historically pedestrian stairways and paths provided entry to the grounds from the northeastern and southeastern corners of the grounds, while the extension of Sherman Street (closed to through traffic) on the north and south provided vehicular access from East Colfax and East 14th Avenue and connected with the interior loop road. The road was laid out on a level grade and forms the outer edge of the elliptical terrace on which the statehouse was built. Today the road provides circulation in a clockwise direction and is lined with a narrow concrete sidewalk and parking on each side. The west side of the terrace, like the west portico above it, provides a magnificent panoramic view of the distant mountain range. Plantings filled the areas within the loop that flank the corners of the building and framed the wide central stairways that descended from the raised porticos and served as entrances to the statehouse. Outside the loop drive, the grounds to the east, north, and south were developed in quadrants as a tree park with informal groupings of deciduous and evergreen trees, while the hillside on the west was left as an open sloping lawn. From the east grounds, where much of the historic tree canopy remains today, the tree park wrapped around the corners of the statehouse to frame the north and south porticos.

One of the most striking features of Schuetze's design was the planting of a continuous double-row of deciduous trees along the edges of the grounds that bordered city streets on the east, north, and south. A concrete sidewalk was placed between the two rows of evenly spaced trees, with the overall effect being that of a formal allée and pleasing promenade. The orderly rows of elms trees were punctuated by symmetrically balanced walkways and stairways on the east and the openings for Sherman Street on the north and south. In keeping with nineteenth-century park design, the trees effectively screened the grounds from the traffic and noise of neighboring city streets. The border plantings, which Schuetze extended into Lincoln Park, also had the effect of transforming the adjoining streets into tree-lined boulevards and framed views to the west. As the double-row plantings matured, they accentuated the geometrical structure of the underlying plan and gave bold relief to the spatial organization of the public landscape.

West Front and West Side Grounds. Schuetze's spatial organization of the sloping west lawn remains the dominant feature of his work on the Capitol grounds. The grounds framing the principal elevation of the

[1] The height of the dome is the equivalent of an average 20-story commercial building, assuming 13' per story.

Colorado statehouse were developed to draw attention to the refined proportions and restrained elegance of the statehouse and portray it as a noble citadel when viewed from afar. The west front was further developed to reveal a series of sweeping, westward vistas. Dominant in the overall design of building and grounds was the grand central portico with its colossal Corinthian order, bold triangular pediment, and monumental flight of granite stairs (Photograph 1). The portico's six multi-story columns supported an entablature with a banded architrave and plain frieze and were linked together at porch level by a balustrade. Surmounting the whole, a triangular pediment featured a highly moulded raking cornice and a sculptured tympanum depicting in high relief "a pioneer family and gold seekers struggling through the dangerous frontier to the welcoming lands of Colorado."[2]

Aligned with the east-west axis of the statehouse, the portico's monumental flight of stairs projected outward into the surrounding landscape and became the central organizing element in Schuetze's design of the west grounds. Complementing the exterior materials of the statehouse, the stairway and its sidewalls were constructed of granite and equipped with brass handrails. Globed lampposts today are mounted on the flanking side walls. At the base of the stairs, the loop drive was extended outward to form a semi-elliptical viewing bay below which the front lawn sloped downward. Schuetze designed a central walkway along the east-west axis of the portico, beginning at the outer edge of the loop drive and descending across the sloping lawn to the base of the hill. The central walkway divided the west side grounds into a pair of symmetrically balanced quadrants that extended around the corners of the statehouse to the north and south elevations. The porch of the portico, the descending granite staircase, the outer edge of the loop drive, and points along the central walkway together provided a sequence of points from which the city and Front Range could be viewed. As the double rows of trees along East 14th and East Colfax Avenues matured, they effectively framed the views. During the first decades of the twentieth century the west slope took the form of an open lawn with grassy terraces extending outward from a central stairway. Still visible today, the terraces were symmetrically modeled to gradually diminish and blend into the contours of the natural slope. The central walkway was laid out with a series of sandstone stairways with intermittent landings which served as viewing terraces. From the base of the hill, the walkway proceeded into Lincoln Park. Although recently repaved, the central walkway continues to dominate the west side of the Capitol grounds and descends through a series of terraces and stairways as originally designed.

In 1909 the *Colorado Soldiers Monument* was installed in the center of the sloping central walkway to honor Coloradans who fought in the Civil War (Resource 13). Designed by Captain John D. Howland, a frontier artist and veteran of the Union Army, the monument consists of an eight-foot bronze statue of a Colorado soldier facing west toward Lincoln Park and standing atop a high, neoclassically ornamented, granite pedestal (Photographs 2 & 7). About the same time two Civil War-era cannons were placed nearby on the lawn to either side of the central walkway (Resources 14 & 15). The monument remains in its original, centrally prominent location just below the loop drive. The area immediately surrounding it which originally followed the contours of the downhill slope has been redesigned in the form of a level, paved plaza. Still on its original pedestal, the statue now rises above a circular planting bed bounded by a raised sandstone wall with round-edged coping. The Civil War-era cannons, originally placed on pedestals and set on the nearby lawn, are now placed directly on the plaza pavement in a diagonal orientation several feet north- and southwest of the statue.

The plaza displaying the monument is the smaller of two semi-circular plazas constructed in 1990 between the west front and the central descending walkway. Decoratively paved, the plazas extend outward from the base of the west portico in descending tiers along the east-west axis. The decorative patterned pavement of contrasting

[2] An unknown artist executed the work. Derek R. Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol: History, Politics, Preservation* (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 67; Federal Writers Project, *Guide to 1930s Colorado* (New York: Hastings House, 1941; reprint Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 144.

sandstone and granite blocks is the most salient feature of the two plazas. The larger, upper plaza extends across the loop drive and forms a wide viewing terrace. A granite wall with a brass railing separates the upper and lower levels, and short stairways of the red sandstone descend on each side of the wall to the lower plaza where the *Colorado Soldiers Monument* is displayed.

Alterations. Increasing visitation to the Capitol grounds in recent years has necessitated several other changes on the west grounds. In 1999 a pair of symmetrically balanced walkways was added to west lawn, dividing the area into roughly triangular areas. The walkways begin at the new central plaza and descend on opposite sides of the sloping west lawn to the northwest and southwest corners of the Capitol grounds. Today the street corners have grown up in the form of a tree park, while open grassy areas still flank the central west-facing stairway. The new walkways are paved with granite, lined by low red sandstone coping and walls, and incorporate stairways of red sandstone built midway to ease the descent along the steepest sections of the slope (Photograph 6). The location of the paths was based on plans drawn by Reinhard Schuetze about 1900 but not executed during the historic period.[3] Today each walkway forms a graceful elliptical curve, and mirrors the walkways installed under Schuetze's supervision in nearby Lincoln Park. In 1996, the *Colorado Symbols Fence*, a hand-forged work of art four feet high and thirty feet long, was installed across the central walkway at the base of the west slope. Designed by Colorado artist Rafe Ropek to suggest a gate, it is composed of five hinged and interconnected steel screens arranged to form a shallow arc. Each screen displays a tracery depicting one of the official state symbols, such as a bighorn sheep for the state animal, a stegosaurus for the state fossil, and a lark bunting for the state bird. Small park furnishings include nonhistoric green metal benches and trash receptacles of design similar to those in Civic Center Park and metal lampposts topped by globe lights.

East Side Grounds. The east side of the Capitol grounds forms the eastern boundary of the civic center. Here border plantings and tree-covered lawns give the grounds a sense of enclosure and privacy that contrasts with the open lawns and sweeping vistas that characterize the west grounds. On the east side the grounds are less expansive and appear subordinate to the grand scale and formality of the projecting porticos and adjoining walls of the statehouse. While double-rows of evenly spaced deciduous trees and a sidewalk formed the borders adjacent to East Colfax Avenue, Grant Street, and East 24th Avenue, the inner grounds were characterized by informal plantings of deciduous and evergreen trees in the form an informally planted tree park. Foundation plantings, many small evergreen shrubs, were historically planted in the small areas within the loop drive that flanked the portico stairways and wrapped around the corners of the Capitol building. These helped soften the transition between the hard-edged surfaces of the building and the tree-covered lawns.

A wide central granite stairway descends from the east portico and merges into a central walkway that, following the east-west axis of the statehouse, crosses the loop drive and extends to Grant Street. The walkway divides the east grounds into a pair of symmetrically balanced quadrants each with its innermost corner cut away by the centrally located loop drive. Schuetze envisioned the loop drive as a narrow carriage road and designed a pair of pedestrian paths to radiate out from the loop and extend to the northeast and southeast corners of the grounds, further dividing the quadrants. Because the east end of the grounds lies slightly below the grade of Grant Street, wide sandstone steps were built at the street corners to allow for adjustments in grade. Wye intersections with a small triangular swathe of lawn, a convention drawn from nineteenth-century naturalistic landscape gardening, were introduced on either side of the projecting pavilion to link the radial walkways with the loop drive. The historic configuration of the pathways remains evident today.

[3] Landscape architect Philip E. Flores discovered the ca. 1900 Schuetze plan in showing the planned walkways at the State Archives. Capitol Complex Facilities, State Historical Fund grant application, 1992-93, A-8, A-15, and 2-1. State Historical Fund, Colorado Historical Society, Denver, Colorado; *Denver Post*, 15 May 1999, B1.

In 1898 Preston Powers's sculpture, *The Closing Era* (1893), was placed in the center of the east Capitol grounds between the grand east portico and Grant Street (Resource 10). Originally displayed at the World's Columbian Exposition, the statue was the first public sculpture installed on the Capitol grounds. The bronze statue faces east against the backdrop of the east portico and depicts a Native American hunter standing above a dying buffalo, his bow balanced on the animal's shoulder and his left foot resting on its lower back. Supported on its historic granite pedestal, the sculpture remains on the central pathway in the location selected in 1898 (Photograph 8). In 1996, the area surrounding the sculpture, however, was redesigned in the form of a circular plaza enclosed by a low sandstone wall with round-edged coping. The plaza has a decorative pavement of contrasting sandstone and granite blocks, arranged in part to depict a compass rose with embedded metal letters for the cardinal directions. The plaza is the largest of three similarly designed circular spaces arranged in a row beneath the mature trees along Grant Street and linked by a red sandstone walkway. The smaller spaces, located to the north and south, are enclosed by low red sandstone walls, are paved with red sandstone and contrasting dark gray granite squares, and have centrally placed, octagonal planters made of sandstone (Photograph 9). Designed as alcoves for outdoor reflection, these areas are designed to display commemorative plaques.[4]

After the district's period of significance, several additional memorials were placed inside the loop drive at the northeast corner of the statehouse. The *U.S.S. Colorado Memorial* (1997), a gray granite bench intersecting a vertical granite slab featuring a silhouette of the battleship and a list of its significant engagements, is dedicated to those who served aboard the ship from 1929 to 1959. The bronze *Armenian Genocide Memorial Plaque* (1982), set on a low, slanted concrete pedestal, features an Armenian cross in *bas relief* and is dedicated to the memory of one and one half million Armenians who were victims of the 1915 genocide."[5] The *Colorado State Capitol Centennial Cornerstone* (1990), dedicated on the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the original cornerstone, consists of a subterranean vault holding memorabilia and documents pertaining to present-day Colorado and is covered by a rectangular slab of Aberdeen granite with an inscription of its significance the occasion.[6]

South Side Grounds. On the south side of the Capitol grounds, an extension of Sherman Street provides automobile access from East 14th Avenue and divides the landscape into two symmetrically balanced quadrants along the north-south axis of the statehouse. Originally a double row of trees lined the northern edge of East 14th Avenue on either side of Sherman Street. The south portico of the statehouse faces the Sherman Street entrance and a grand stairway descends to the loop road encircling the statehouse. The widening of the loop road to provide additional parking has diminished the area originally intended for foundation plantings and the tree lawn on the south side of the statehouse. A few scattered trees and shrubs, a wide concrete sidewalk, and a narrow planting strip characterize the landscape today (Photograph 10).

Within the two decades following the completion of the State Capitol, the functions of state government expanded, necessitating the construction of two new buildings adjacent to the statehouse. The buildings were placed on opposite sides of the statehouse north of Sherman Street and parallel to the north-south axis of the statehouse. Beaux-Arts architectural details unified them visually with the statehouse. The first of these was the Classical Revival, three-story *Colorado State Museum* (now the Colorado Legislative Services Building), designed in 1915 by Frank E. Edbrooke, the supervising architect of the Capitol (Resource 5). The square-plan building featured walls of polished white Colorado Yule marble atop a raised, banded foundation of rusticated gray granite from the Aberdeen Quarry in Gunnison County, Colorado. By reflecting Beaux-Arts principles of

[4]Plaques in the south area commemorate Gov. Ralph L. Carr (1939-43) and Camp Amache, a World War II Japanese American relocation camp in southeast Colorado, while those in the north area honor the Colorado State Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution and provide a quote from the preamble to the state constitution.

[5] *Denver Post*, 23 April 1990, 2B.

[6] *Rocky Mountain News*, 29 July 1990, 7M and 31 July 1990, 7; *Denver Post*, 5 August 1990, 4C.

proportion and massing, marble and granite building materials, and neoclassical embellishments, the 1915 building achieved architectural harmony with the statehouse. The principal entrance on East 14th Avenue faces north toward the southeastern quadrant of the Capitol grounds, and features a shallow, projecting center portico with four fluted giant order Ionic columns and a continuous projecting entablature. The portico opens directly onto a wide flight of granite stairs that descends to the public sidewalk at ground level (Photograph 11). The stairway has brass handrails and is flanked by stepped granite sidewalls, each of which displays its original metal lamppost with five light globes. A sidewalk, narrow tree strip, and corner planting beds fill the narrow space between the building and the street.

North Side Grounds. On the north side of the Capitol grounds, the extension of Sherman Street provides automobile access from East Colfax Avenue and divides the landscape into two symmetrically balanced quadrants along the north-south axis of the statehouse. Originally a double row of trees lined the southern edge of East Colfax Avenue on either side of Sherman Street. The north portico of the statehouse faces the Sherman Street entrance and a grand stairway descends to the loop road encircling the statehouse. The widening of the loop road to provide additional parking has diminished the area originally intended for foundation plantings and a tree lawn on the north side of the statehouse. A few scattered trees and shrubs, a wide concrete sidewalk, and a narrow planting strip characterize the landscape today.

Between 1920 and 1922 the *Colorado State Office Building*, a five-story Classical Revival style building designed by Denver architect William N. Bowman, was constructed at the northeast corner of Sherman Street and East Colfax Avenue (Resource 6). The square-plan building was primarily composed of blocks of smooth, light gray Cotopaxi granite from Fremont County, Colorado. The principal entrance on East Colfax Avenue faces south toward the northeast quadrant of the Capitol grounds and visually echoes the neoclassical vocabulary and materials of statehouse (Photographs 12 & 13). Instead of repeating the spatial effect of a projecting grand portico, the building tightly fit its one-block site and the upper walls were organized into bays by six giant order fluted pilasters that rose to composite capitals. Artistic attention focused on the decorative development of the centrally located ground-level entrance, which features three sets of recessed, double brass doors with three-part transoms. A moulded stone architrave surrounds each set of doors and is surmounted by a three-part stone frieze in low relief with a central shield flanked by foliated ornament and corner rosettes. An oversized triangular pediment supported by a pair of large scroll brackets surmounts each opening, and a sculptural frieze of alternating acanthus and volutes stands atop each pediment. Original bronze lanterns flank the central doorway and two bronze mountain lions, sculpted by Robert Garrison and cast by A. and H.F. Hosek of Denver, are mounted on low stone pedestals to either side of the stone entry terrace and stairs. A sidewalk, narrow tree strip, and corner planting beds fill the narrow space between the building and the street.

Lincoln Park (Landscape Component 2)

In 1895 at the same time he was designing the Capitol grounds, Reinhard Schuetze was making plans for a public park on the block directly west. This enabled him to envision a design that would spatially and visually extend the Capitol grounds beyond the base of the hill. Just as the introduction of the semi-elliptical loop drive gave grounding and stability to the statehouse, the development of Lincoln Park countered the downhill pull of the sloping west grounds by gradually easing the central east-west axis into the gentler grades that characterized the surrounding city. At the time the park was completed, ideas to extend the public landscape further west were just emerging. Today the park remains an important landscape link within the civic center, connecting the Capitol grounds on the east to Civic Center Park on the west.

Bordered by Broadway, Lincoln Street, and East Colfax and East 14th Avenues, Lincoln Park is rectangular in shape, with the longer dimension running north to south. It slopes slightly downhill to the west and is bisected by a wide central walkway that extends along an east-west axis and is aligned with the central walkway

descending the Capitol grounds. Borders of dense, evenly spaced rows of trees flanking the outer sidewalks, similar to those introduced on the Capitol grounds, enclosed the north, south, and west edges of the park.

Schuetze seems to have applied a naturalistic convention of landscape design called the "hanging wood" to the design of plantings for Lincoln Park. The interior plantings of trees were informally arranged within the dense borders of evenly spaced trees. At ground level these plantings provided shade-covered walks and lawns. When viewed from the West front of the Capitol, the tree canopy became a verdant treed plateau that contrasted with the open slopes of the Capitol grounds and built-up city beyond. The hanging wood was intended to enclose the ground level vistas to the west, screen the park from the traffic on Broadway, and protect the sense of tranquility and contemplation that the grounds had been designed to create. It also shielded the park and capitol grounds visually from the disconcerting collision of the street grids that lay outside the park's borders.

While Schuetze laid out a central walkway to align with the principal east-west axis established on the Capitol grounds, he introduced a plan dependent on a combination of bilateral and radial symmetry. The layout of the park was centered on a 120-foot tall flagpole dedicated to the Colorado volunteers who served in the Spanish American War Flagpole and placed at the center of the park in 1898. The plan was dominated by a pair of lateral walkways that formed graceful elliptical curves extending from north to south to connect opposite corners of the park (Photograph 14). The walkways were symmetrically reversed on opposite sides of the north-south axis and arranged to come together as they passed through the center of the park where they intersected the central walkway. The overall design of the park was simple yet elegant, contributing to the dignified setting of the State Capitol and at the same time creating a self-contained park with gently curving paths conducive to strolling and reflection.

Today the eastern lawn is relatively open, while the remainder of the park is more heavily forested, featuring a variety of deciduous trees, including oaks, crabapples, and elms. The mature trees that mark the site today date from various plantings projects that have taken place in its more than one-hundred-year history. Schuetze's original plan for the borders along East Colfax and East 14th Avenues called for double rows of evenly spaced trees flanking a central walk. Today concrete sidewalks and narrow tree lawns border the south and west edges of the park, while only sidewalks remain on the north edge. A similar double row of trees was laid out along the east side of Broadway, which remained the western end of the civic center for several decades. In 1923, the Sadie Likens Drinking Fountain was installed near the northwest corner of the park.

Lincoln Park has experienced more change than any other part of the district, mostly due to expanding commemorative functions. The central walkway remains in place today but has been widened and paved with contrasting blocks of granite and sandstone to form a distinct geometrical pattern that echoes the recently installed plazas on the Capitol grounds. The greatest change occurred in 1990 with the development of the *Colorado Veterans Monument* at the center of the park (Resource19, noncontributing). In the form of a paved plaza dominated by a centrally located sandstone obelisk forty-five feet in height, the new memorial replaces the original flagpole and transforms the simple space where the park's walkways once converged (Photograph 15). In addition to the obelisk, the new plaza also contains rectangular planting beds and a new forty-five-foot flagpole (Resource 27, noncontributing) dedicated to the state's volunteers who served in the Spanish-American War). The widened central walkway with its decorative pavement intersects the monument, and the original semi-elliptical walkways have been paved in red flagstone and now converge on the central plaza.

Several smaller memorials have been installed on the grounds since the end of the period of significance (Photograph 31). Near the center of the park, the statue of U.S. Army Private Joe P. Martinez, Colorado's first recipient of the Medal of Honor for service in World War II, was installed in 1988 (Resource 26, noncontributing), and a replica of the Liberty Bell was installed in 1986 (Resource 20, noncontributing). In the

northwest corner, a Ten Commandments monument was installed in 1956 (Resource 23, noncontributing), and in 2005 a small concrete monument was installed honoring the memory of Rev. Wade Blank, who led efforts to make local buses wheelchair-accessible.[7]

Civic Center Park (Landscape Component 3)

Civic Center Park lies between Lincoln Park and the grounds of the Denver City and County Building and encompasses an area approximately two-and-a-half blocks in size. It is bounded by Broadway on the east, Bannock Street on the west, West Colfax Avenue on the north, and West 14th Avenue on the south. Today the popular term "Civic Center," in the minds of most citizens and visitors, refers to this public park and the adjoining city and county building. The selection of the location for the park and the resulting design represent the most lengthy and complicated stage in the evolution of the Denver Civic Center.

The overall design of Civic Center Park demonstrates Bennett's genius in melding together the most practical and popular aspects of earlier plans to form a single cohesive whole. The design is the summation of more than two decades of City Beautiful thinking and practice in applying Beaux-Arts principles of design. This area presented the most challenging problems, design wise and politically, and it received the most collaboration by well-known planners and designers. Still reflecting the complex structure and spatial organization that the park assumed in the 1920s, today it is one of the most widely used public spaces in the city and certainly is the most popular section of the overall Denver Civic Center. (Photographs 3 & 4)

From the beginning Civic Center Park was conceived and developed as the lynchpin of the larger public landscape (Photographs 16 & 17). East to west the park is organized as a progression of spaces, each having its own function and character. It was described in the 2009 *Civic Center Design Guidelines*:

> The two primary park spaces are the Upper and Lower Terraces separated by the formal Balustrade Wall. The Upper Terrace [along the east edge] includes the Broadway Terrace that extends the full length of Broadway and incorporates two Red Oak groves and Crabapple trees flanking a central walkway. The Upper Terrace wraps around on the north to include the Voorhies Memorial and on the south to include the Greek Theater. The Lower Terrace [to the west] is set several feet below and includes the promenade connecting the Voorhies Memorial, the Greek Theater and the Great Lawn.[8]

The idea for the formally designed public landscape originated with the earliest plans for a larger center of government that would extend the east-west axial corridor established on the Capitol grounds and Lincoln Park either to the existing Arapahoe County Court House several blocks to the northwest or an entirely new civic complex that would combine the functions of both city and county government. The westward extension of the Capitol grounds was problematic due to the disparity between the east-west orientation of the Capitol grounds and the rectilinear grid of the city streets north of Colfax Avenue which was oriented at a forty-five degree angle to the northeast and left an irregular arrangement of triangular parcels on the north side of West Colfax.

The completion of the *Pioneer Monument* (1911) at Broadway and West Colfax Avenue and the *Denver Public Library* (1910) at West Colfax Avenue and Bannock Street further strengthened the logic for the ultimate location of the civic center and gave momentum to the planning process. It would take several cycles of planning and three more decades of construction, however, before the west end of the Denver Civic Center as it exists today would be complete.

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[7] This small monument is located near the former bus stop.

[8] Mundus Bishop Design, Inc., *Denver's Civic Center Design Guidelines* (Denver: Denver Parks and Recreation Department, 2009), 26.

The *Pioneer Monument* (Resource 9) by renowned American sculptor Frederick MacMonnies, which was intended as a tribute to the territorial heritage of the state, became an important determinant of the location of the larger park that exists today (Photograph 18). Although its location in the small triangular block formed by Broadway, West Colfax Avenue, and Cheyenne Place, was set by 1907, the monument wasn't completed and dedicated until 1911. Today located on the northern edge of the civic center, the monument is a multi-tiered fountain thirty-five feet tall featuring three bronze figures typical of frontier life on the lower tier and a heroic, bronze equestrian statue of Kit Carson on the top tier. The lower sculptures represent a pioneer mother and child, the hunter or trapper, and the prospector or miner (Photograph 19). The life-size figure of Carson is depicted astride a west-facing, rearing horse; the western hero looks back toward the east while pointing ahead to the west. The rich sculptural ornament of the stone basins and central shaft expands the iconography to include a bountiful cornucopia, garlands of grain, eagle with outstretched wings, skulls of bison and the heads of mountain lions and mountain trout. The fountain was set on a massive hexagonal base composed of black and light gray granite and laid up as a series of concentric steps. Although the landscape surrounding the monument has been changed periodically, the fountain with its granite pedestal and bronze statuary remain unchanged today.

Another influential factor was the construction of the *Denver Public Library* (Resource 4) on West Colfax Avenue several blocks west of the State Capitol between 1907 and 1910. Designed by local architect Albert Randolph Ross, the Classical Revival building reflects one of the city's earliest responses to the City Beautiful movement and the search for a unified style of classically inspired architecture worthy of the city's progressive vision (Photograph 20). Approximately 180 feet long and ninety-one feet deep, the building rests on a foundation of pink Pikes Peak granite, and its principal façade (north) features a grand colonnade of the Corinthian order having thirty-foot fluted columns. Its walls and columns are composed of light gray sandstone from Colorado's Turkey Creek quarry.

Charles Mulford Robinson's Plan of 1906 was the first attempt to create a public landscape outside the grounds of the Capitol and Lincoln Park that would encompass the monument and the library and provide the setting for additional government buildings. Robinson proposed the creation of a northwest axis from Lincoln Park to the existing Arapahoe County Court House and the creation of a public park in the narrow block between the site of the proposed library and Broadway. Although there was general agreement on the sites for the library and the monument, other aspects of Robinson's plan including the transition from the east-west axis of the statehouse to a northwest axis to align with the 1880s county courthouse failed to gain support.

MacMonnies's visit to Denver in 1907 in conjunction with his work on the pioneer monument gave city officials the opportunity to seek the sculptor's recommendations for the civic center. It was MacMonnies who suggested that the civic center extend to the wide blocks directly west along the east-west axis of the statehouse and that a municipal building be built facing the statehouse several blocks west on the same east-west axis. MacMonnies called for the symmetrical layout of the grounds that lay between the two buildings and introduced the idea of creating a secondary north-south axis by extending the proposed park to semi-circular areas to the north and south. MacMonnies's plan gained considerable support among city officials and residents and fixed the location of the final civic center.

By 1913 the area bounded by Broadway and Bannock and West 14th Avenue and West Colfax Avenue, and a separate parcel north of West Colfax, known as the Bates triangle to the north, had been cleared and developed as a public park. This was largely the result of a 1912 plan developed by nationally renowned landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and architect Arnold W. Brunner. The plan provided design details for the space between Lincoln Park and the grounds of the proposed municipal building. Because the land sloped gently downhill from east to west they recommended dividing the area into upper and lower terraces and

planting a dense grove of red oaks on the upper end west of Broadway. A classical balustrade wall was to mark the edge of the upper terrace and flank a central stairway leading to a sunken garden with paths and parterres laid out on a north-south cross-axis in the form an oblong space with semi-circular ends. The grove of trees would extend to an irregular parcel of land on the south side of the park that would be used as an outdoor concert grove. A great lawn was planned for the west end, and space was reserved across from the Denver Public Library for a symmetrically balanced, second public building. The plans for the wooded upper terrace and the great lawn were carried out and remain visible today. An ornamental balustrade wall similar to the one Olmsted and Brunner proposed for the west edge of the upper terrace was retained in later plans and remains in place today.

It was Edward H. Bennett's plan presented in 1917 that ultimately translated Mayor Speer's vision into the design of Civic Center Park that exists today. Bennett, who was already an accomplished planner when he came to Denver, provided a synthesis of earlier recommendations and resolved the myriad practical and aesthetic considerations that stymied the execution of earlier plans. The formal development of Civic Center Park would provide an approach and stately setting for the proposed city and county building which would anchor the western termini of the civic center. It was intended as a great public space that encouraged use by all citizens and would offer large civic events having broad popular appeal. Wide walkways and paved promenades and plazas, embellished by neoclassical balustrades, walls, stairways, colonnades and sturdy paved surfaces were to convey a sense of permanence, durability, and grandeur, providing an infrastructure that could withstand a large volume of pedestrian use and traffic (Photograph 21).

Bennett's 1917 plan for Broadway Terrace modified the extensive forested area suggested by Olmsted and Brunner, limiting the dense tree plantings to the quadrants forming the upper terrace. The trees—all red oaks—were to be planted in double-rows bordering the outer edges of the quadrants, whose outer corners aligned with the corners of the surrounding city streets. The interior corners, where the two quadrants met on either side of the central walkway, were chamfered to conform with a circular arc; the two quadrants came together to frame the wide central stairway that descended to the sunken plaza of the lower terrace. In the 1990s a pair of curving concrete walks was constructed through the wooded portions of the upper terrace. The paths begin at the northeast and southeast corners of the park (at Broadway and West Colfax and Broadway and West 14th Avenue) and pass through the groves of red oak that form the eastern quadrants and upper terrace of the park, before meeting at the central plaza. Spatially the two walks merge to form a sweeping elliptical arc that extends from the park's southeastern corner to the northeastern corner; in its entirety the walk imitates the form of the back-to-back elliptical paths that Schuetze designed along the north-south axis of Lincoln Park.

The delineation of the quadrants forming the upper terrace in both the Olmsted-Brunner plan and Bennett's final plan reflected a geometrical precision that was lacking in Schuetze's treatment of the quadrants on the Capitol grounds and Lincoln Park but would later become a key organizing element in the architectural design of the Denver City and County Building. Symmetrically balanced on either side of the east-west axis, the western edge of each quadrant was delineated by a neoclassical balustrade of shimmering light gray sandstone that, contrasting with the dark foliage to the east, became a striking visual marker that effectively divided the west and east ends of the linear, mall-like landscape. (Photograph 3)

Like Schuetze's hanging wood, the wooded grove served several purposes. Visually it merged the eastern section of Civic Center Park with Lincoln Park, effectively screening the parkland from the multi-lane Broadway and minimizing any sense of border between the park elements. The continuation of the tree-flanked central walkway from one block to the next further emphasized the horizontality of the public landscape and provided an almost seamless transition from one space to the next. In this way Bennett's plan overcame the

stylistic and compositional differences between the new park and the grounds designed by Schuetze two decades earlier.

Bennett's original idea called for the central walkway on the east end of Civic Center Park to be widened and paved to form a large outdoor area where crowds could gather. Consequently, the section of the central walkway extending west from Broadway and the north-south promenade were originally paved in concrete embedded with contrasting panels of stone, brick, and concrete in an effort to give it a sense of permanence, enlivenment, and durability. This treatment of the principal axial walkway in Civic Center Park contrasted with the crowned gravel paths (with gutters) that comprised the north-south promenade and secondary east-west paths along each side of the Great Lawn. The geometric patterning and contrasting paving materials were reflected in the historic flooring of the outdoor theater and colonnades.[9] Today the central walkway of the upper terrace is lined on each side by a row of evenly spaced crabapple trees, the result of a 1950s planting program. In the 1990s the north-south promenade was paved using a similar combination of brick, stone, and concrete.

On the west end of the park, the upper terrace is outlined by a low wall and graceful classical balustrade (also proposed by Olmsted-Brunner plan). Designed by Edward H. Bennett, the balustrade wall is composed of light gray sandstone from the state's Turkey Creek quarry with lighted columns. The balustrade draws attention to the western edge of the quadrants that form the east end of the park. To the south, it connects with the colonnades and upper terrace of the amphitheater. It is a highly significant character defining feature that helps define the spatial organization of the overall civic center. While providing a striking contrast to the groves of trees that flank it on the east, it complements the Beaux-Arts features that embellish the sunken garden and landscape features on the west (Photographs 3 & 16).

Today a wide central stairway divides the balustrade wall, providing an entry to the lower level (Photograph 16). Here the landscape opens up onto an area defined by parterres with flower beds, paved walkways, open lawns, and the distant view of the Denver City and County Building. The central east-west walkway diverges into a set of minor east-west pathways set to either side of center, and a wide north-south promenade dominates the space. Bennett rotated the garden design element proposed in the Olmsted-Brunner design by ninety degrees so that its eastern end formed a semi-circle and coincided with the chamfered curvilinear edge of the balustrade wall on the upper terrace. Today the transitional space where the two axes cross is planted with flower beds, and the paved north-south walkway provides long views of the surrounding modern city.

The most striking of Bennett's contributions to the final plan is the *tour de force* provided by the wide north-south promenade along the secondary axis that connects the *Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors* (Resource 7) and the *Voorhies Memorial Gateway* (Resource 8). A pair of columnar pylons is placed at each end of the north-south promenade, marking the endpoints of the north-south axis and signaling one's entry into the colonnaded spaces beyond. The balustrade walls, with their decorative panels and end piers and the pylons remain in place, adding to the formality and grandeur of the space.

Forming the southern terminus of the transverse axis across Civic Center Park, the *Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors* (1919) is located in the semi-elliptical extension of the park bordered by West 14th Avenue (Resource 7). The Beaux-Arts inspired structure was designed by Denver architects Willis A. Marean and Albert J. Norton of Marean and Norton in collaboration with planner Edward H. Bennett. It would

[9] Similar paving materials and the idea of geometric patterning were recently adopted in the recent redesign of the central walkway and construction of paved plazas beginning at the base of the Capitol's west portico and extending through Lincoln Park. The contrasting pavement treatment in the flooring of the Greek Theater and the central walkway of Broadway Terrace has recently been restored and reflects the original construction according to Bennett's 1917 plan.

serve as a counterpoint to the memorial gateway and colonnade built several years later on the north side of the park.

Constructed of smooth, light gray Turkey Creek sandstone, the five-part structure extends approximately 210 feet along the south side of Civic Center Park. The ends of the colonnades curve inward to frame a sunken orchestra and the floor of the theater. The structure consists of a central pavilion that houses an open stage and a pair of double colonnades in the Ionic order ending in a square pavilion to each side. A low balustrade wrapped the inner rows of the colonnades and connected with a balustrade encircling the upper terrace. The east and west sides of the theater are enclosed by paneled granite walls that extended from the colonnades toward the center of the park and sheltered a geometrically ordered system of stairways, parapets, balustrades, and corner piers, much of it rendered in the same light gray sandstone from Colorado's Turkey Creek quarry. A pedimented wall fountain in the Ionic order was incorporated into the design of the walls on opposite sides of the amphitheater; no longer functional, each fountain consisted of a spigot in the form of a lion's head and a semi-circular catch basin. (Photographs 21 & 22)

Like the theaters of ancient Greece from which it took inspiration, Denver's open-air theater was designed to host significant civic events and concerts attracting large groups of people accommodated in an urban setting. The idea of an outdoor theater had originated in the MacMonnies's plan, was modified in the form of a forested concert grove in the Olmsted-Brunner Plan, and finally assumed its current dramatic architectural form as a result of Bennett's collaboration with architects Marean and Norton. Murals by Allen Tupper True graced the interior walls of the colonnade depicting popular themes such as the nineteenth-century prospecting (Photograph 22). Originally the audience was accommodated in wooden chairs mounted on movable wedge-shaped sections arranged to rise in concentric tiers from the circular orchestra located at foot of the stage. Today permanent concrete benches provide seating. In addition there are many historic lighting fixtures in the park, including those on the columns of the balustrade wall and on the monumental pylons at the entrances to the colonnaded structures. Replicas of original metal light poles designed by Marean and Norton appear throughout the park set "in a pattern reminiscent of the original placement."[10]

From the beginning the park was intended as a setting for works of art, especially sculpture. The first works – Alexander Phimister Proctor's *Broncho Buster* and *On the War Trail* – were installed in the early 1920s (Resources 11 & 12). Both statues are set on a tall granite pedestals prominently sited to face north along the southernmost east-west walkway near the intersection with the north-south axis leading to the Greek theater (Photographs 17, 23 & 24). A number of works appeared later on the opposite side of the park.

Forming the northern terminus of the transverse axis across Civic Center Park, the *Voorhies Memorial Gateway and Sea Lion Pool* (1921) is located in the semi-elliptical extension of the park bordered by the West Colfax Avenue near the intersection of Cheyenne Place (Resource 8). Monumental in character and inspired by Beaux-Arts design, the contributing structure was designed by Denver architects William E. Fisher and Arthur A. Fisher of Fisher and Fisher. Extending approximately 180 feet east to west on the north side of Civic Center Park, the gateway was designed to provide a grand entrance to the park and serve as a counterpoint to the Greek theater and colonnade on the south side of the park. The monumental structure consists of a central arch flanked to either side by a pair of curvilinear double colonnades and was constructed with the same smooth, light gray Turkey Creek sandstone as the amphitheater (Photographs 25 & 26). Murals by Allen Tupper True adorn the interior lunettes of the central arch. A special feature is the elliptical reflecting pool within the arc of the colonnade; it consists of a shallow basin bound by a low concrete retaining wall with round-edged coping. Sculptor Robert Garrison designed a pair of bronze fountains for the east and west ends of the pool, each in the form of a sea lion with an infant riding upon its back with an outstretched arm clinging to its neck. Set atop

[10] Mundus Bishop Design, *Design Guidelines*, 42.

rectangular concrete bases, the sea lions are arranged to face each other so that the arcing jets that spring from their mouths intersect above the center of the pool.[11]

The Great Lawn. The central and southern sections of the park west of the north-south axis comprise the Great Lawn, a level grassy area bordered on the west and south by concrete sidewalks, on the north by the former public library building. Occasional shade trees line the walkways here (Photograph 17). The west end of the Great Lawn was organized according to Bennett's plan and featured a central swathe of grass that provided the foreground of the Denver City and County Building (Photograph 27). The Allied Architects Association, which designed the city and county government building, proposed changes to the west end of the Great Lawn as a dignified foreground for the city and county building. Although they proposed a long narrow reflecting pool, in the end the central lawn was left as a wide open panel of grass flanked on either side by a row of wide-spreading trees that both frames the view of the monumental building at the park's terminus and gave renewed emphasis to the central axial corridor.[12]

The rear elevation of the 1910 Denver Public Library faces the center of the Great Lawn. Because the construction of the library building predated the development of Civic Center Park, the primary façade with its fine neoclassical design was oriented to face north on West Colfax Avenue, and the south elevation, which would later face into Civic Center Park, was considered the rear of the building and received a more functional, unornamented, and almost austere treatment. The original rear façade remains visible today despite recommendations by MacMonnies, Olmsted and Brunner, and Bennett that it be redesigned to assume a more dignified appearance in keeping with its prominent location facing Civic Center Park (Photograph 17).[13]

Proposals made by MacMonnies, Olmsted and Brunner, and Bennett all reserved the site on the Great Lawn opposite the library building for a public building of similar scale that would have cultural value such as an art museum or concert hall. Such construction would provide balance to the overall design of the park and create symmetry along the central east-west axis. The proposed building was never erected and this portion of the lawn remains open and bounded by pedestrian walks with a few trees along the edges.

By the end of the 1920s the design and construction of Civic Center Park was complete. It succeeded in giving definition to the westward extension of the public space in the form of interconnected walkways, classical balustrades, a great lawn, an outdoor theater, sculptures mounted on pedestals, commemorative objects, and formal tree groves.

Civic Center Park also contains a few relatively small artistic and commemorative objects installed after the period of significance. In 1954 a memorial drinking fountain honoring Emily Griffith, the founder of Denver's Opportunity School, was installed at a location south of the memorial gateway and west of the north-south transverse axis (Resource 22, noncontributing). Designed by Denver architect John Burrey, the noncontributing object is four feet in height and consists of a polished black granite shaft set on a gray stone base. In 1975 a bronze sculpture, *In Honor of Christopher Columbus* (1970), mounted on a fifteen-foot high concrete pedestal was installed south of the memorial gateway east of the north-south axis. Designed by Denver sculptor William F. Joseph, the design is reminiscent of Leonardo Da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man*, having four faces, arms, and legs pointing to the four cardinal directions of the compass and encircled by three rings symbolizing the globe

[11] *Denver Municipal Facts*, August 1921, 15.

[12] Changes were made to the spacing of these rows of trees as part of the finally integration of the city and county building into the overall civic center design in the 1930s. A comparison of photographs and plans indicates that the evergreen trees planted in the 1920s following Bennett's 1917 plan were removed and replaced by two rows of deciduous trees spaced further back to either side of the central lawn following the Allied Architects' 1925 plan. This change provided a more spacious view of the façade and a more dramatic framing of the west terminus of the civic center.

[13] It appears that the library stacks were housed on the south side of the building.

(Resource 24, noncontributing).[14] In 1975 a large untitled work of sculpture, roughly measuring sixteen feet in height and twenty-two feet in width, was installed on West Colfax Avenue, north of the Carnegie Library. Designed by Robert Mangold, the piece representing the abstract form of two trees was created from variously sized welded steel pipes set in a concrete base (Resource 25, noncontributing). In 1983, the thirty- foot United Nations memorial flagpole (1950) was moved from its original location at Broadway and East 16th Street to its current location southwest of the Greek Theater (Resource 21, noncontributing). Nonhistoric site furnishings are found throughout Civic Center Park, including metal benches, moveable chairs, trash receptacles, signs, bicycle racks, and tree grates. These furnishings, painted the same shade of "civic center green," are practical in nature and simple in design and serve as background features necessary for park function rather than artistic elements.

Denver City and County Building Grounds (Landscape Component 4)

Authorized in 1923 and completed nine years later, the *Denver City and County Building* (Resource 3) represented the last major stage of construction within the civic center. The completion of its grounds in 1935 marked the end of the City Beautiful era in Denver. Bounded by West Colfax Avenue, West 14th Avenue, Bannock Street, and Cherokee Street, the three-story building was designed to occupy most of the city block. Designed by the Allied Architects Association, the building was constructed between 1929 and 1932 and the grounds were completed in 1935.

The east elevation of the 1932 building displays a five part façade with a projecting, monumental entrance portico and flanking wings. The portico features six fifty-foot giant order Roman Corinthian columns measuring more than five feet in diameter and rising above three flights of tooled stone stairs.[15] The central portico is embraced by the wings that extend outward from central portico with symmetrically balanced curving walls toward the southeast and southwest corners of the parcel at West 14th and West Colfax Avenues. (Photographs 27 & 28)

Here against the scenic backdrop of the majestic peaks of the Front Range, the architecture boldly dominates the western terminus of the civic center. With its central portico, embracing wings, and elegant Colonial Revival style cupola, the building provides an effective counter balance to the monumental state house. The size and scale of the facilities designed to accommodate functions related to city and county government rivaled that of the statehouse on the opposite end of the civic center. Changes proposed by the Allied Architects Association to the west end of Civic Center Park resulted in adjustments to Bennett's design; most important among these was the opening up of the west end to reveal a more spacious and dramatic view of the building's portico and curving walls and. From its position at the western end of civic center, the front (east) of the City and County Building provides a deep vista across the main axis across the Great Lawn with its wide allée, Broadway Terrace, Lincoln Park, and the Capitol grounds toward the monumental statehouse on its elevated site. In keeping with Beaux Arts principles, the geometry of the building and its grounds echoes the basic quadrant form with the chamfered corner first introduced on the Capitol grounds and later followed in the shaping of Broadway Terrace at the eastern end of Civic Center Park.

With Civic Center Park providing the foreground and approach to the Denver City and County Building, the landscape design of the grounds was limited to the forecourt leading to the building's grand portico. The curving wings to each side of the front portico of the city and county building form a balanced pair of quadrants that embrace a landscaped semi-circular court that includes a central plaza and curving concrete walks and bands of grass (Photograph 30). The plaza is paved with concrete and includes small areas of grass to the north

[14] *Denver Post*, 25 June 1970, 23; "In Honor of Christopher Columbus—Denver, CO" accessed at www.waymarking.com on 16 June 2008; "Central Denver Park District Points of Interest," accessed at denvergov.org on 20 June 2008.

[15] The Corinthian capitals of the columns were carved from 26-ton granite blocks. Federal Writers Project. *Guide to 1930s Colorado*. (New York: Hastings House, 1941; reprint, Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 142.

and south where the pair of memorial flagpoles with drinking fountains, designed by Roland Linder were installed in 1935 (Resources 17 & 18). The Community Conservation Garden (2005), a rectangular display garden for native plants adorns the center of the court today. The perimeter of the entire block is bordered by a wide concrete sidewalk that runs along the street. Narrow panels of grass, with trees at each corner of the building, fill the area extending to the sidewalk on all sides except the center rear, where two rear paved courtyards serve as a service entrance and parking area (Photograph 29).

In contrast to the two-block Capitol site where spacious grounds surround the architectural centerpiece and the overall landscape is divided in quadrants which frame and provide the setting of the building (and whose central corner is cut by the semi-elliptical curve of the loop road), the reverse is the true on the grounds of the city-county building where the design of the building literally frames the landscape. The quadrants that repeat the basic unit of design that repeats throughout the landscape are formed by the structure itself and instead of the landscape framing the building, here the building frames the landscape.

Colorado State Capitol, 200 East Colfax Avenue, Elijah E. Myers and Frank E. Edbrooke (architects), 1886-1908 (5DV6000, Resource 2)
Describing the building as "of the Corinthian order of classic architecture", Elijah E. Myers drafted the initial plans for the Renaissance Revival style Colorado statehouse in 1885-86.[16] One of the last great state capitols of the "Gilded Age", the Colorado capitol features layered classical ornament that contrasts with the more restrained academically correct neoclassical statehouses built at the turn-of-the-nineteenth century.[17] Located on two city blocks, the cruciform Capitol with its colonnaded dome extends approximately 384 feet north and south and 313 feet east and west. Constructed entirely of gray cut granite from the Aberdeen (Zugelder) quarry in Gunnison County, Colorado, the building's walls are rusticated with each window bay framed by pilasters supporting full entablatures on each elevation. All stone above the foundation is smoothly dressed except for the quarry faced foundation. The three-story building includes a full basement and a subbasement. Monumental porticos on projecting pavilions are supported on an arcaded rusticated base on each façade. The gilded dome surmounted by a lantern is 272 feet high and forty-two feet in diameter and rises from a four-story drum. Wood frame windows throughout the building are one-over-one-light. A cornerstone dated 4 August 1890 lies at the northeast corner.[18]

The Capitol's primary facade faces west, across Lincoln and Civic Center parks toward the Denver City and County Building. The central projecting pavilion features a monumental portico, which includes an arcaded first story with rusticated stone, rectangular columns, and three round arched entrances leading to sets of doors with circular transoms covered by metal grilles. The portico opens onto monumental granite stairs with brass railings. Granite sidewalls hold globed lampposts, and there is an intermediate landing with intersecting stairs descending to the north and south.

Above the first story, the portico features six giant order Corinthian columns, including paired corner columns. A balustrade links the columns, which support an entablature with a banded architrave and a plain frieze surmounted by a triangular pediment. Within the tympanum of the pediment are figures in high relief representing "a pioneer family and gold seekers struggling through the dangerous frontier to the welcoming

[16] Myers, quoted in Board of Capitol Managers, *Second Biennial Report*, 1886 accessed at http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/ cap/archts.htm on 4 February 2011. Myers also designed the Michigan capitol (1872) and the Texas capitol (1881).

[17] This contrast with later state capitols was lessened by the substitution of granite for Myers' original choice of sandstone for the walls. This change was made when he was dismissed in 1889. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and William Seale, *Temples of Democracy The State Capitols of the USA* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 192.

[18] The 272-foot height of the dome is the equivalent of an average 20-story commercial building, assuming thirteen feet per story.

lands of Colorado."[19] Pilasters divide the west wall behind the portico. There are five flat arch windows between the pilasters, with the second-story windows being taller than those of the third. The spandrels of both stories feature inset stone panels. The wall is crowned by a full entablature with a stepped architrave, plain frieze, and cornice with dentils. A parapet with paired corner piers rises above the entablature.

Myers described the central dome as "strictly Corinthian, having no unnecessary carving, but ornamented simply by the embellishments demanded by the Corinthian order."[20] The four-story drum of the dome is composed of cast iron painted gray, with the two lower stories wider than the two upper levels, which are about the same diameter as the dome itself. The lowest story's rusticated walls are divided by banded pilasters. Four slightly projecting pavilions on the lowest story form bases for columned porticos on the second story. Between the pilasters of the lower story are segmental arched windows. The second story features Corinthian columns aligned above the pilasters of the first story. The tall fluted columns are smooth toward their bases and stand atop paneled pedestals, with a continuous balustrade between the pedestals. The four projecting porticos are crowned by segmental pediments. The columns support an entablature with a stepped architrave, plain frieze, and cornice with dentils and modillions topped by a balustrade between the pediments. The inset second story wall has tall arch windows with transoms and keystones flanked by Corinthian pilasters aligned behind the columns. The drum narrows at the third story and has a banded wall divided by pilasters and slightly projecting bays aligned with the porticos below. Flat arch windows between the pilasters are aligned with the windows of the lower stories. The fourth story has four projecting porticos flanked by columns and crowned with triangular pediments. The cast iron wall resembles smooth cut stone and is divided by pilasters, with each bay containing an arch window.

The circular dome is gilded with gold leaf and divided by ribs into sixteen segments. Each segment contains a flat arch window with a decorative surround displaying stained glass depicting a Coloradan significant in the state's history. The sixteen windows constitute the "Colorado Hall of Fame." The dome is surmounted by a slender, gilded, cylindrical cupola with a lantern with narrow arch windows flanked by engaged Corinthian columns and topped by a glass globe with a beacon.

On the west front, setback wings flanking the center pavilion on the north and south are terminated by slightly projecting hipped roof pavilions. The window bays are divided by pilasters, with banded pilasters on the raised basement and first story and unfluted giant order pilasters on the upper story. Windows are aligned on each story in each bay between the pilasters which support a continuous entablature.

Like the west front, the north elevation of the Capitol also features a monumental projecting portico, although it is narrower than the west. On the first story the portico includes three arched entrances accessed by stone stairs with metal railings. The first story is surmounted by four giant order Corinthian columns linked by a balustrade and supporting a pediment with a tympanum of coursed, cut stone and a raking cornice. At the center of the tympanum is a small oculus. The setback east and west wings feature slightly projecting center bays crowned by triangular pediments. Banded pilasters are on the first story and unfluted pilasters are on the second and third stories. The south elevation duplicates the design of the north elevation. The east elevation facing Grant Street is similar to the west elevation. However, the portico's pediment is filled with coursed stone and has a small oculus. The entrance on the first story is a center door flanked by arch windows. The stairs accessing the entrance do not have railings; there are no stairs descending off the intermediate landing to the north and south.

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[19] An unknown artist executed the work. Derek R. Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol: History, Politics, Preservation* (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 67; Federal Writers Project, *Guide to 1930s Colorado* (New York: Hastings House, 1941; reprint Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 144.

[20] Myers, quoted in Board of Capitol Managers, *Second Biennial Report*.

Interior. The Capitol interior is particularly notable for its display of stone. White marble from Yule Creek in Gunnison County, Colorado, is featured in stairs and floors.[21] Railings, balusters, elevator doors, doorknobs, and chandeliers are crafted of bronze. Panels of bronze elevator doors depict the history of Colorado. Beulah red marble (Colorado rose onyx) from Pueblo County is utilized in wainscoting and column bases. It required seven years and more than two hundred men to extract and install the marble.[22] Historian William Pyle found that "the entire known supply of this onyx was used for the interior of the Capitol."[23]

In Architect Myers's words: "The Rotunda is a magnificent feature of the building, and not only adds greatly to its beauty, but is of great utility also in furnishing an abundance of light to the halls and corridors. It has a diameter of forty-five feet, being open from the basement to the diaphragm of the dome, and having balconies surrounding it on a line with several of the floors."[24] The walls of the first story of the rotunda display murals and an associated poem celebrating the significance of water in the state's history; these were executed in 1938-39 by Colorado artist Allen Tupper True and Denver poet Thomas Hornsby Ferril. The coffered apex of the dome rises 150 feet above the floor below.

A grand staircase, or *piano nobile*, with marble steps and brass balustrades embellished with oak and olive leaves and acorns rises from first floor, splitting into two at an intermediate landing to access the second floor in the rotunda. The second floor contains the legislative halls and former courtroom of the Colorado Supreme Court. The Senate and House of Representative halls are immense double-height chambers measuring forty-two feet in height with upper floor balconies and public galleries. The Senate chamber displays stained glass windows depicting prominent citizens and is known as "Colorado's Second Hall of Fame." The House of Representatives features large windows looking onto the west portico.

Denver City and County Building, 1437 Bannock Street, Allied Architects Association (architects), 1929-32 (5DV5989, Resource 3, contributing building)
The Denver City and County Building at the western terminus of the civic center is a massive roughly H-shaped, symmetrical, light gray granite building 450 feet wide and 275 feet deep. It occupies a full city block bounded by Bannock and Cherokee Streets and West Colfax and West 14th Avenues.[25] With its central portico, embracing wings, and elegant Colonial Revival style cupola, the building provides an effective visual response to the monumental state house. The three-story building has a raised basement level with ashlar masonry. The east elevation displays a five part façade with a projecting, monumental entrance portico and flanking wings that curve outward to embrace Civic Center Park. The hexastyle portico features six fifty-foot giant order Roman Corinthian columns measuring more than five feet in diameter and rising above three flights of tooled stone stairs.[26] The columns support an entablature with a frieze inscribed "Erected by the People City and County of Denver." A triangular pediment with block modillions and dentils surmounts the entablature. The stone tympanum was left without carving because of economic stringencies at the time of its completion.[27] The

[21] This quarry also provided stone for the Lincoln Memorial and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington Cemetery.

[22] State of Colorado, "Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour: Marble and Granite," http://www.Colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/cap/marble.htm (accessed 4 February 2011).

[23] William R. Pyle, "History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex," M.A. thesis, University of Denver, 1962, 36.

[24] Myers, quoted in Board of Capitol Managers, *Second Biennial Report*, 1886.

[25] Cotopaxi, Colorado, and Stone Mountain, Georgia, granite were used in construction of the building. Colorado granite extends from the foundation to the belt course, and the remainder of the walls are Georgia granite. Diana L. Carroll, "History and Description of the City and County Building," unpublished manuscript for Denver City Council, 1992, 2, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado; *Denver Post*, 11 September 1931, 7.

[26] The Corinthian capitals of the columns were carved from 26-ton granite blocks. Federal Writers Project. *Guide to 1930s Colorado*. (New York: Hastings House, 1941; reprint, Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 142.

[27] In 1931 the city solicited ideas for design of the tympanum from Denver citizens, indicating that the mayor, supervising architect, and other officials would select the best of those submitted, calling the sculptural relief "the most important point in the entrance façade." Carvings planned included buffalos, ox-teams, and pioneers. *Denver Post*, 1 November 1931, 3; Carroll, "History

coffered ceiling of the portico has lights in rosette-shaped fixtures and the floor is sandstone. The wall behind the portico is composed of coursed cut stone and divided by fifty-foot Corinthian pilasters. The center bay features a monumental entrance with a stepped stone surround and an entablature with a frieze inscribed "AD MCMXXX." The entrance includes brass and glazed double and single doors, with a fluted band of brass above the doors. A double-height overdoor is composed of *clathri* (crossed lattice) windows divided horizontally by a decorative band embossed "City and County Building." Flanking the entrance are large lamps with scroll-shaped sconces with foliate ornament. The end bays include entrances with double brass doors with *clathri* transoms. On the second story, metal frame two-light windows are aligned above these entrances. The third story has five large *clathri* windows between the pilasters, with a decorative horizontal band with a Vitruvian wave motif above a string of dentils.

Above and behind the portico, at the center of the building, a slender tower rests on an octagonal base. Its design influenced by 18th century Georgian architecture, the multi-stage structure features a round colonnaded lantern supporting a clock tower modeled after the *Choragic Monument of Lysicrates* in Athens (ca. 334 B.C.).[28] Mayor Robert W. Speer's widow donated the Speer Memorial Chimes produced by the Meneely Bell Company of Troy, New York, for the bell chamber. [29] This is surmounted by a narrow circular tower with a Seth Thomas clock with four faces, also donated by Kate Speer. The tower is topped by a narrower, ornamented pedestal holding a finial in the form of a six-and one-half-foot gold-plated bronze eagle with wings outspread.[30] The height of the building from the finished grade to the top of the tower is 175 feet.[31]

The curvilinear wings to the north and south of the portico are aligned on an east-west axis with the public library on the north side of the park and the anticipated location of a balancing building on the south side, as well as a forecourt extending along Bannock Street. These identical flanking wings feature ashlar masonry that supports second and third story pilasters, behind which are the first and second story windows. The basement level features fourteen paired, one-over-one-light metal windows and an entrance with double brass doors ornamented with decorative brass grilles for each wing. Above the basement level, tapered, giant order, engaged Ionic stone columns rise from the water table to support an entablature. The walls of the first and second stories are smooth cut stone. Between the columns, windows are aligned on the first and second stories, with the taller first-story windows having paired one-over-one-light windows with two-part transoms and shorter second-story windows having no transoms. Each terminating bay, flanked by square, giant order pilasters, features a shallow, arched niche with scroll keystone on the first story and a panel of pink *fleur de pêche* Italian marble on the second story.[32] The entablature is composed of a stepped architrave, a plain frieze, and a cornice with moldings and block modillions, and it is topped by a stone balustrade. The slightly recessed attic story of each wing has shorter, paired one-over-one-light windows aligned above the windows of the lower stories.

The east walls of the north and south wings display identical designs. The basement level of ashlar masonry has three central paired one-over-one-light windows that corresponding to the bays of the upper stories. The center three bays of the first and second stories are inset and divided by giant order engaged Ionic columns; the first story has paired one-over-one-light windows with two-part transoms, while the second story displays paired one-over-one-light windows without transoms. The outer bays on the first and second stories, flanked by pilasters, include shallow round arched niches with scroll keystones on the first story and single panels of *fleur*

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and Description," 1.

[28] *Denver Post*, 20 February 1932, 1.

[29] Kate A. Speer donated six new chimes in 1950. Thomas J. Noel, *Buildings of Colorado* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 48; Carroll, "History and Description," 8.

[30] *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 November 1932, 3.

[31] Carroll, "History and Description," 1.

[32] Jack A. Murphy, *Geology Tour of Denver's Buildings and Monuments* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1995), 24.

de pêche marble on the second story. The slightly recessed attic story has paired one-over-one-light windows in each bay.

The northeast and southeast corners of the building are chamfered and the south and north walls of those corners have panels of *fleur de pêche* marble on the second story. The broad north and south walls of the building (facing West Colfax and West 14th Avenues) display identical designs. The basement level has rusticated ashlar masonry, paired one-over-one-light windows, and a central entrance with a stone surround and double brass doors with grilles. On each of the upper stories there are fifteen windows of the same design as those on the east façade. Giant order pilasters divide slightly projecting end pavilions of the first and second stories into three bays, each with a window on each story. The entablature extends across the top of the second story, and the attic story has three-bay outer pavilions divided by pilasters.

On the west elevation the rear of the building faces Cherokee Street. A monumental central pavilion extends westward. Six Roman Ionic columns stand on the rusticated basement story. The first and second stories have paired one-over-one-light windows between the columns, with taller first-story windows. The attic story is set-back from the plane of the façade with only the central pavilion featuring a gable roof with a full entablature. The upper stories have five bays separated by pilasters, four with two-over-two sash and one blind. The basement level of the west portico has entrances with garage doors flanked by windows on the north and south sides.

The walls of the wings flanking the portico on the basement level contain double door entrances at each end of a series of paired one-over-one light windows. The upper story windows are of similar design to those of the east wall, with the exception of the first story windows nearest the portico, which have stone panels above the doors. The north wall of the south pavilion and the south wall of the north pavilion display three paired one-over-one-light windows and an entrance at the east end on the basement level. Two-story pilasters divide the upper stories, with windows on each story matching the design of the windows on the front (east) facade. The west walls of the end pavilions display identical designs. The lower story contains three central windows. The upper stories are divided into five bays by giant order pilasters. There are stone panels in the outer bays of the first and attic story, and panels of *fleur de pêche* marble in the outer bays of the second story. The center three bays have windows on each story matching the design of the windows of the east wall.

Interior. Among the principal interior spaces of the building are the city council chambers on the top floor, the mayor's offices on the second floor and several courtrooms on the first floor. A variety of marbles from around the nation and the world grace the interior, including black and gold Italian marble, pink and rose Tennessee marble, pearl and gray Vermont marble, and white Colorado Yule marble.[33] Colorado marble is utilized on walls and the nineteen-foot columns of the lobby. According to building records, these were the largest monoliths of the material ever quarried up to that time, with each created from a block of stone weighing 6,600 pounds.[34] The columns of the upper two floors are finished in *scagliola*, painted to resemble natural stone.[35] John E. Thompson, who studied at the Art Students League of New York and the Académie Julian in Paris, became an influential member of the Denver Atelier (discussed below) and supervised the decoration of the lobby and the selection of colors for the entire building.[36]

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[33] Murphy, *Geology Tour*, 26; Virginia McConnell, "For These High Purposes," *Colorado Magazine* 44 (Summer 1967): 219; *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 August 1932, 8.

[34] Carroll, "History and Description," 2.

[35] Murphy, *Geology Tour*, 24, 26.

[36] *Denver Post*, 16 October 1931, 40.

Artwork displayed in the building continues the regional themes seen elsewhere in the Denver Civic Center, including *American Indian Orpheus and the Animals*, a massive eleven- by six-foot *bas relief* by Colorado artist Gladys Caldwell Fisher. The work, installed in 1934, consists of two-and-a-half tons of Colorado stone in two relief panels depicting a Native American and native animals, such as an eagle, bear, and buffalo.[37] Plans for the building in the 1920s included two murals by Allen Tupper True for court offices. Not until 1931, however, did the artist begin negotiations with the city for the commission, and the pieces were not completed and installed until 1950. True's large *Miner's Court* and *Frontier Trial* remind citizens of "the early days of jurisprudence."[38]

Alterations. The building's exterior has undergone very few alterations. In 1954 workers removed the original tile roof, which was judged to be "very poor" in quality, and installed granite-colored aluminum sheeting on the sloped surfaces of the roof and tar and gravel on the flat surfaces.[39] The original one-ton bronze doors measuring twenty-six by thirteen feet proved difficult for many people to open. A 1992 description of the building stated the huge doors and the tracks they slide on weigh fifteen to twenty tons and are moved with the assistance of pneumatic motors. Smaller doors added in 1959 are used by visitors and the sliding doors "are left undisturbed in their recesses at the outer edge of the main doors."[40]

Denver Public Library (Denver Carnegie Library), 144 West Colfax Avenue, Albert Randolph Ross (architect), 1910 (5DV161.4, Resource 4, contributing building)
The city publication *Denver Municipal Facts* boasted Denver possessed "the finest public library in the West" when its first Carnegie library opened in 1910.[41] The location, design, and materials of the library influenced the planning and architectural design of civic center, although its orientation fronting Colfax Avenue did not lend itself to integration with the park's designs. The neoclassical style two-story building (approximately 180 feet by 91 feet) rests on a foundation of pink Pikes Peak granite, while its walls and columns are composed of light gray sandstone from Colorado's Turkey Creek quarry.[42] A cornerstone at the northeast corner is inscribed "April 11, 1907." A full entablature extends across the front (north), east, west, and portions of the rear (south) facades. It is composed of a stepped architrave terminated by classical molding, a plain frieze clad with limestone panels, and a cornice with a band of dentils, moldings, and block modillions. The building has a low hipped roof with batten seam copper roofing.

The front (north) presents a grand colonnade of giant thirty-foot fluted Corinthian columns in antis supporting an entablature that crowns the pavilion roof. Behind each column is a corresponding pilaster with a Corinthian capital. The columns stand atop the raised basement level with rustication masonry and recessed, paired four-light metal frame windows with security bars. There is a one-story projecting center pavilion with a projecting, enclosed entrance clad with stone panels that has glazed double doors. A sign covering the transom reads "144 W. Colfax," while other signs above the entrance identify this as the "McNichols/Civic Center Building." Adjacent to the entrance, the walls of the pavilion have decorative metal lanterns and are terminated by pilasters. The first and second stories have replacement five-part, stacked, metal frame windows. The first-story window openings were shortened by the addition of limestone panels.[43]

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[37] Caldwell's work is also known as *Montezuma and the Animals*. Murphy, *Geology Tour*, 26.
[38] Jere True and Victoria Tupper Kirby, *Allen Tupper True: An American Artist* (San Francisco, California: Canyon Leap, 2009), 301 and 432.
[39] *Denver Post*, 11 March 1954, 48.
[40] *Denver Post*, 29 August 1956; *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 August 1959; McConnell, "For These High Purposes," 219; Carroll, "History and Description," 6.
[41] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 1 July 1911, 2. The building is comparable is scale to architect Albert Randolp Ross's Washington, D.C. and Columbus, Ohio libraries.
[42] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 14 August 1909, 1; Murphy, *Geology Tour*, 30.
[43] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 14 August 1909, 4.

Pilasters divide the identically-designed, four-bay east and west walls above the basement level; paired pilasters flank the outer corners. The first and second stories display paired five-part metal frame windows and stone spandrels, as on the north wall. On the west wall, the south window of the first story retains its original height and there is no spandrel panel between the stories. Six of the window lights are filled with metal panels.

The neoclassical detailing of the front and side elevations continues around portions of the rear elevation, terminating at the stair towers on each side of a central projecting wing. On the west side of the wing, the first story has paired ten-light windows, with metal panels covering six central lights and narrow stone panels between the first and second stories. On the east side, the first story contains three paired five-part windows and one covered window, as well as wide stone spandrel panels. The upper stories at both ends have paired windows with five stacked lights, and the easternmost window is covered. In the center of this façade is a multi-bay wing flanked by neoclassical ornamented stair towers that house the book stacks. The façade of this wing consisted of trabeated sandstone walls with plain windows and virtually no detailing. In front of the library on the north is a sunken courtyard enclosed with a low sandstone wall topped by a decorative metal balustrade and accessed by pink granite stairs with sandstone sidewalls on the east and west. Adjacent to the building at the west end is a concrete ramp with metal railings. Three tall metal flagpoles stand along the north end of the balustrade. A paved parking lot is adjacent to the building on the south facing the Great Lawn.

Alterations. After the library moved to a new building across from civic center on the south, the city remodeled the interior of this building to serve the Board of Water Commissioners and other city offices in 1957. Denver architect Gordon D. White designed the $600,000 remodeling, which included the removal of the monumental exterior stairs leading to the original grand entrance on the façade (north) and the creation of a sunken courtyard and small enclosed entrance at the basement level. The original wood frame windows were replaced with aluminum windows and limestone panels were added to shorten the windows. Two skylights were removed, one over the book receiving room and one over the stacks.[44] Limestone panels were placed over the inscription of the façade frieze, which remains underneath. These changes were documented in a 1999 Historic Structure Assessment[45]

During the remodeling, original decorative interior plasterwork and ornamental stairways were removed.[46] Two murals painted by Allen Tupper True in 1916, *Hopi Potters* and *Cliff Dwellers*, disappeared at that time.[47] A paved drive along the south side of the library was expanded to include a row of surface parking the length of the building.[48]

Colorado State Museum, 200 East 14th Avenue, Frank E. Edbrooke (architect), 1915 (5DV5990, Resource 5, contributing building)
Supervising Architect of the State Capitol Frank E. Edbrooke designed the Classical Revival style three-story Colorado State Museum (now the Colorado Legislative Services Building), which faces the statehouse across the street to the north. This building is almost an English Regency interpretation of a Renaissance palazzo and is the smallest of the buildings. The museum (approximately 113 by 107 feet) displays a shallow hipped clay tile roof, square plan, monumental porticos, and walls of polished white Colorado Yule marble atop a raised,

[44] Barbara Norgren and Cynthia Emrick, "Civic Center," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 10 December 1973 (listed 27 February 1974). Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Colorado Historical Society, Denver, Colorado.
[45] Slater, Paull & Associates, Inc., "Historic Structure Assessment and Exterior Preservation Plan: City and County of Denver McNichols Civic Center Building, Final Report" (Denver: Slater, Paull & Associates, Inc., December 1999), 9, Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
[46] Slater, Paull & Associates, Inc., "Historic Structure Assessment," 7-9.
[47] True and Kirby, *Allen Tupper True*, 178-79.
[48] Slater, Paull & Associates, Inc., "Historic Structure Assessment," 13.

foundation of rusticated gray granite from the Aberdeen Quarry in Gunnison County, Colorado. Windows of the building are wood frame one-over-one light; the more elaborate first-story windows include single-light transoms and are surmounted by flat hoods supported by consoles flanking stone panels, while the second-story windows display stone surrounds with projecting, bracketed sills.

The front (north) features a projecting center portico with four fluted giant order Ionic columns opening onto a wide flight of granite stairs with brass railings and granite cheek walls extending to the public sidewalk. Each stepped sidewall features an original metal lamppost with five light globes and state seals on its base. The first story of the central bay behind the columns has a central entrance with double doors flanked by windows surmounted by stone panels. The second story contains three windows aligned with the fenestration of the first story. The columns support an entablature with a frieze inscribed "Colorado State Museum" and ornamented with roundels. The portico is topped by the central, projecting bay of the attic story, on which pilasters are aligned with the columns of the portico flanking windows. A narrow frieze with closely spaced roundels is topped by a projecting, molded cornice. Four antefixes decorate the roofline of the portico. The flanking walls display two windows on each story.

The west wall, facing Sherman Street, is quite similar to the front. It features the same portico, but without an entrance or stairs. Its ornamentation and windows are the same as the front. The east wall (abutting an alley) contains a slightly projecting center portico with four giant order pilasters. Fenestration is the same as on the front. The rear (south) wall features an inset center bay containing a three-story bow window.
Interior. The interior is notable for marble walls, golden oak woodwork, and brass stair railings and trim. The building also contains a subbasement that originally housed heating and ventilation equipment for other buildings in the State Capitol Complex.

Colorado State Office Building, 201 East Colfax Avenue, William N. Bowman (architect), 1921
(5DV5991, Resource 6, contributing building)
In 1920-21 Colorado erected a State Office Building despite some citizens' objections that it created more office space than would ever be needed.[49] The five-story Classical Revival style building (approximately 113 by 111 feet) at the northeast corner of Sherman Street and East Colfax Avenue faces south toward the State Capitol across the street. Denver architect William N. Bowman designed the steel frame, clay tile hipped roof, square plan monumental building with walls composed of blocks of smooth, light gray Cotopaxi granite from Fremont County, Colorado. There is a set-back attic story.

The front (south) displays a smooth stone foundation and molded, slanting water table below the rustication of the first story. At the center is the main entrance with three sets of double brass doors with three-part transoms; the center entrance is flanked by decorative bronze lamps.[50] Surmounting the doors are stone panels with foliate ornament flanked by scroll brackets supporting shallow triangular pediments crowned with antefixes above the first story cornice. The entrance area is guarded by bronze mountain lions, sculpted by Robert Garrison and cast by A. and H.F. Hosek of Denver, resting on projecting stone bases. Between the entrance and the street stands a nonhistoric balustrade with the state seal in the center and concrete end piers. Flanking the entrances on the south wall are two flat arch windows with gauged stone lintels. At each end of the first story are arch windows with transoms. A cornerstone at the southwest corner of the building is dated 5 June 1920.[51]

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[49] "All the History You Ever Wanted to Know About 201 E. Colfax Ave.," *The Gold Star*, December 2009 accessed at http://www.cde.state.co.us/communications on 4 February 2011.

[50] This entrance originally had a revolving door. See "All the History You Ever Wanted to Know About 201 E. Colfax Ave."

[51] The lions were installed in mid-1922. *Denver Post*, 2 July 1922, 11; *Denver Municipal Facts*, May-June 1922, 5; Amy B. Zimmer, *Denver's Capitol Hill Neighborhood*, Images of America Series (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 22.

The second through fourth stories of the south facade are divided into seven bays by giant order fluted pilasters with composite capitals. A balustrade extends between the pilasters above the first-story cornice. Inset bays between the pilasters contain four-light windows with three-light transoms on each story. Window spandrels on the third and fourth stories are metal, ornamented with plain molding, a band with flowers, torches, garlands, fluting, and Greek key at the bottom. At each end of the building, the second story features a wide bay with a two-part window with a *clathri* transom surmounted by a triangular pediment with scroll brackets. The windows also have wrought iron balconets supported by stone brackets. The stone entablature consists of a stepped architrave; a frieze inscribed "State Office Building" and ornamented with carved panels and roundels; and a cornice with dentils and modillions. The attic story presents a molded cornice with a frieze ornamented with a Vitruvian wave motif band above a series of seven central three-part windows flanked by single windows aligned with the fenestration of the lower stories.

The first story of the west wall (adjacent to Sherman Street) offers a center double door entrance opening onto concrete steps with brass railings. The entrance is surmounted by a triangular pediment like those of the center of the south wall and is flanked by tall, tapering, three-sided bronze light standards, each with three sphinx heads supporting a glass globe and a base of three clawed feet. Flanking the entrance are three four-light windows with three-light transoms and gauged stone lintels. At each end of the first story are arch windows with transoms. The second through fifth stories exhibit similar fenestration and ornament to that of the south wall. The entablature and attic cornice and frieze continue on the west wall.

The north wall is clad with light gray granite, but displays less ornamentation than the south and west walls. The slightly inset seven-bay center section is flanked by two-bay sections on each end. The first story of the center section has an off-center entrance (added about 1985) and one-over-one-light metal windows with decorative security grilles, while the east and west ends with walls of banded rustication contain two four-light gauged arch windows with transoms. The second through fifth stories have seven one-over-one-light windows with narrow sidelights in the center section, flanked by two one-over-one-light windows to the east and two two-light windows with four-light transoms to the west. The wall has a simpler entablature than those on the south and west, with the sections at the outer ends including dentils.

The east wall is also granite, except for the second through fifth stories of the center section, which are clad with blonde brick. That section originally consisted of a light well, which was partially filled in during 1983-85 to create additional office space.

Interior. The interior of the building is notable for its two-story lobby with vaulted ceiling, bronze chandeliers, and Tiffany stained glass skylight. The lobby also features a checkerwork floor composed of black Tennessee marble displaying fossils and white Colorado Yule marble. Pink Botticino Italian marble is displayed on the walls of the lobby, while the walls of the remaining floors are clad in Vermont marble.[52]

Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors, West 14th Avenue and Acoma Street, Willis A. Marean and Albert J. Norton with Edward H. Bennett (architects), Allen Tupper True (artist), 1919
(5DV161.12, Resource 7, contributing structure)
At the south end of Civic Center Park near West 14th Avenue, the Greek Theater and the Colonnade of Civic Benefactors (approximately 210 feet x forty feet) face and balance the Voorhies Memorial Gateway on the opposite side of the park. Like the theaters of ancient Greece from which it took inspiration, Denver's open-air theater was designed to host significant civic events attracting large groups of people seated in wedge-shaped sections of seats in concentric tiers rising from a circular orchestra in front of the stage. The central stage of the

[52] Thomas J. Noel, *Denver Landmarks and Historic Districts* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1996), 34; James Bretz, *Denver's Early Architecture*, Images of America Series (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 52-53.

open-air theater pavilion is flanked by double colonnades with forty-foot Corinthian columns atop rusticated podiums built on the arc of a circle. Behind the semi-circular, projecting stage, the theater pavilion has a flat proscenium arch supported on fluted Ionic columns and piers with narrow corner pilasters atop massive rusticated pedestals. The full entablature includes a frieze with *patera*, and a cornice with classical moldings surmounted by a parapet. The theater, colonnade, walls, balustrades, pylons, and piers were all constructed of light gray Turkey Creek sandstone. The rear (south) wall of the stage is open, but it originally featured a glass and bronze curtain that could be raised and lowered. Steps from the rear lead to a path among crabapple trees south to West 14th Avenue.[53]

Extending from either side of the theater pavilion is the Colonnade of Civic Benefactors. Called "the most unique hall of fame in America," it consists of the curvilinear colonnades extending to each side of the central theater pavilion.[54] The colonnades feature double rows of forty-foot, smooth sandstone columns with Ionic capitals and terminate in square hipped-roof pavilions with vaulted ceilings and grouped corner columns. Between the columns are stone balustrades. Extending north from the end pavilions, stone walls enclose the theater space on the east and west, each featuring near the south end a panel with a sculptural lion's head that was originally designed to spout water that would flow into a basin below. The names of civic benefactors are listed on the stone walls. Some names are spelled with individual bronze letters designed by sculptor Robert Garrison. Other names are etched in a 1923 metal panel reading: "In order to give effect to the oft expressed intention of the late mayor Robert W. Speer the government of the city and county of Denver Colorado here records with grateful appreciation the names of civic benefactors who by gifts of material character have added to the beauty or to the distinction of this city." Another inscription, "To the donors of the Pioneer Monument, the Auditorium curtains, the Welcome Arch," is followed by additional names of men and women. Another inscription to the donors of the Burns monument and the municipal organ also contains names. Some donors are cited without reference to a specific gift, and a few acknowledgment plaques were added in later years.[55] As Speer biographer Edgar MacMechen observed, the tribute to civic benefactors "is distinguished from other commemorative works of art in that it is dedicated to all citizens, whether living or dead, who shall have enriched their city in heart interest as well as in art interest."[56]

The north end of the amphitheater is elaborated by an east-west balustrade pierced by flights of stairs on the east and west ends that lead to the central walkway that follows the transverse axis across the park and connects to the Voorhies Memorial Gateway. Monumental columned pylons and concrete and stone pedestals topped by bronze lions flank the stairs leading from the floor of the amphitheater to the walkway. Each light gray stone pylon consists of a cut stone base, paneled and bracketed pedestal, and fluted column with a scroll-shaped console holding a globed light topped by a stone sphere.

At the interior ends of the colonnades, stairways lead down to two entrances to the theater pavilion: one opening onto the stage and one into a backstage room. The walls around each entrance are curved, and above the doorways are niches ornamented with Allen Tupper True murals. As early as 1913, True conceived of a large mural project that would later be realized in the embellishment of the theater. In 1919 *Denver Municipal Facts* announced Mrs. Charles Hanson Toll would donate two murals for niches above the stairs on either side of the stage pavilion in memory of her late husband, a prominent Denver lawyer.[57] The Art Commission reviewed and approved preliminary sketches of the paintings. In February 1920, Frank Brangwyn advised True concerning

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[53] The stage is divided into a partially enclosed *skene*, the structure facing the audience that serves as the background for performances, and the *proscenium*, the front part where the actors perform. Flanking the stage are rooms utilized by performers.

[54] *Denver Municipal Facts*, September-October 1919, 2.

[55] *Denver Post*, 21 December 1922; *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 January 1950, 6.

[56] Edgar C. MacMechen, "The Court of Honor to Civic Benefactors, Denver, Colorado," *Art World* 3(1917): 412.

[57] *Denver Municipal Facts*, November 1919, 17.

the type of medium to use for the murals, commenting: "I know of no city which has so fine a civic center. It is very noble."[58] True painted the mural scenes in oil on canvas.[59]

Completed in 1920, the murals *Trapper* and *Prospector* depict pioneers in wilderness settings and reflect the theme of early life in the West. *Prospector* (in the east niche) is a spring-summer scene showing a white-bearded man with a packhorse. The man with a prospecting pan squats next to a stream in a grove of aspens and flowering columbine (the state flower). *Trapper* (in the west niche) presents an autumn scene with a man riding through a forest wearing a fringed buckskin jacket and a blanket, as well as a cap with an upright feather. The trapper is carrying a musket and his faithful dog travels alongside. Below each mural are two plaques: one dedicated to the memory of Charles Hansen Toll and one commemorating the restoration of the murals by Philip Henselman in 1976. In 1920 *Denver Municipal Facts* reported that the murals connect "the architecture of the Civic Center with the life of the state."[60] The same year Reginald Poland, then director of the Denver Art Museum, expressed his opinion that the murals represented True's finest work.[61]

Behind the amphitheater seating is a circular sunken plaza (where, in the past, wood benches stood until winter). The paved plaza surface has a pattern of squares and diamonds of red and gray bricks bound by concrete borders. Today tiers of curved concrete benches ring the plaza; together the two seating areas accommodate as many as 1200 people. A 1919 newspaper article noted: "This open air theater is successfully shut off from intrusion by artistic architectural creations and can be used for public concerts or an open forum."[62]
Alterations/Restoration: The theater originally included a large glass curtain that could be lowered to enclose the rear opening during productions. The curtain served as a sound deflector for the stage, yet permitted the audience to see West 14th Avenue.[63] In the years following the first inscription of the names of civic benefactors, the city added new names, as was intended.[64]

Voorhies Memorial Gateway, West Colfax Avenue at Cheyenne Place, William E. Fisher and Arthur A. Fisher (architects), Allen Tupper True (artist), 1922 (5DV161.13, Resource 8, contributing structure)
At the opposite end of the transverse axis that defines Civic Center Park, lie the curved, double colonnade and monumental arch of the Voorhies Memorial Gateway (approximately 181 by 25 feet). This structure displays construction of the same smooth, light gray Turkey Creek sandstone. Double Ionic colonnades flank the monumental round arched gateway.[65] The podium of the structure is sandstone and has tooled sandstone steps. The central gateway features a round arch elaborated with moldings and supported by paired Ionic columns. The arch displays a carved keystone and spandrel panels with carved wreaths. The projecting, molded cornice features a band of dentils.[66] There is a plain, unbroken parapet above the cornice.

The west interior wall of the archway contains a plaque indicating that John P. and Georgia H. Voorhies donated the structure in 1920. Arched lunettes above the entrances to the colonnades contain two Allen Tupper True murals: *Bison* (east) and *Elk* (west). Denver Art Museum Director George W. Eggers, formerly head of the

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[58] True and Kirby, *Allen Tupper True*, 244.
[59] *Rocky Mountain News, Now*, 21 November 1976, 20.
[60] *Denver Municipal Facts*, September 1920, 8.
[61] Reginald Poland, "Artistic Expression in Denver," *Denver Municipal Facts*, September 1920, 8.
[62] *Denver Post* [1919], undated article in the clipping files of Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
[63] *Denver Municipal Facts*, November 1918, 16.
[64] *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 February 1964, 26. In 1971 former Denver resident Alfred P. Adamo donated the two 450-pound cast iron lions (one roaring and the other at rest with crossed paws) placed atop pedestals at the north end of the amphitheater. Adamo acquired the lions (artist and date unknown) at a Detroit estate auction of the Fisher Body Company family. *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 July 1971, 22.
[65] *Denver Municipal Facts*, September-October 1919, 4 and November 1919, 5.
[66] The architect's original plans called for an inscription on the frieze.

Chicago Art Institute, suggested True emulate the style and colors of antique Greek vases in the pieces.[67] The artist completed the murals in 1920 while standing on a scaffold and painting directly on sand-finished plaster.[68] The double colonnades flanking the gateway provide covered walkways for promenades. The colonnades have Ionic columns extending from the gateway, with slightly projecting square pavilions with vaulted ceilings at each end. The colonnades support an entablature, and the ceiling of the colonnades is vaulted and painted light blue. The colonnades curve towards the center of the park and embrace a plaza having an elliptical reflecting pool, just as the Colonnade of Civic Benefactors embraces the Greek theater seating area.

Fisher and Fisher, the local architects who designed the Voorhies Memorial Gateway, envisioned its completion with a reflecting pool located within the arc of the colonnade.[69] The shallow elliptical basin is bounded by a low concrete retaining wall with a rounded rim. Sculptor Robert Garrison, who frequently collaborated with the architects, designed a pair of bronze fountains for the east and west ends of the pool, each in the form of a sea lion with an infant with an outstretched hand clinging to its neck and a jet of water shooting from its mouth and The sculptures are set atop rectangular concrete bases and face each other across the pool, the jets of water intersecting above the center.[70]

***Pioneer Monument*, Colfax Avenue, northwest corner of Broadway and West Colfax Avenue, Frederick W. MacMonnies (sculptor), Maurice P. Biscoe (architect of shaft and base), 1911** (5DV161.1, Resource 9, contributing object)
Planned before the city acquired the grounds for the civic center, the *Pioneer Monument* "played an important part" in determining its final form.[71] Located on the northern edge of the district in a small triangular block formed by Broadway, West Colfax Avenue, and Cheyenne Place, this monumental fountain, designed by renowned American sculptor and planner Frederick MacMonnies, is thirty-five feet tall and features three bronze figures typical of frontier life, as well as a heroic equestrian statue of Kit Carson at the top. The stepped hexagonal base is composed of black and light gray granite.[72] Two projecting basins, originally intended as watering troughs for animals, intersect the base. Another granite basin at the top of the base offers projecting pedestals holding three bronze statues. The seated figures include: *Pioneer Mother and Child* (on the northeast, depicting a woman in a dress holding a rifle and an infant next to a cradle and marked "F. MacMonnies" and "Jaboeuf & Rouard Fondeurs Paris"), *The Trapper/Hunter* (on the west), modeled after early-day Colorado scout Jim Baker, who holds a gun and dog, and marked "F. MacMonnies" and "E. Gruet Fondeur Paris"), and *The Prospector/Miner* (on the southeast, cast by Jaboeuf & Rouard). Water fills the lower basins from two fountains in the form of the mountain lion heads.

Bronze tablets on the trough and pedestals include: a State of Colorado shield; "To the Pioneers of Colorado, 1911"; "Subscribers to the Pioneer Monument Fund," 1911; "Here was the End of the Famous Smoky Hill Trail," 1936; "The Pioneer Monument," 1983; and, below *Pioneer Mother*, "Honoring Pioneer Mothers of Colorado/Dedicated by Daughters of Colorado/May 14, 1950." The south lion's head basin displays a plaque with names of donors to the fountain's restoration by the Park People and the City of Denver, December 1983.

The granite pedestal of the Kit Carson statue rises from a rectangular base with large corner scrolls ornamented with carved bears. The top of the base is decorated with projecting curvilinear molding surmounted by sculptural cornucopias. The lower part of the shaft features plaques with carved eagles holding shields inscribed

[67] Noel, *Denver Landmarks and Historic Districts*, 33 and 141.
[68] *Denver Municipal Facts*, March-April 1923, 16; *Rocky Mountain News*, 18 July 1949, 15.
[69] *Denver Municipal Facts*, September-October 1919, 4
[70] *Denver Municipal Facts*, August 1921, 15.
[71] *Denver Municipal Facts*, October 1918, 4.
[72] Denver architect Maurice P. Biscoe designed the shaft and base. *Modern Cemetery* 21 (1911):627.

"Dedicated by the Citizens 1910," while the narrower top of the shaft is encircled by sculptural bison skulls and garlands of grain. A circular upper basin, with trout heads spouting water from its underside, projects outward above the shaft, providing a base for the Kit Carson equestrian statue at the top. The life-sized figure looks back toward the east and points with his right hand to the west (the land of new opportunity) while astride a rearing horse.

***The Closing Era*, Colorado State Capitol grounds (center of east side), Preston Powers (sculptor), 1893 (installed 1898)** (5DV161.5, Resource 10, contributing object)
Preston Powers's sculpture, *The Closing Era,* is situated in the center of the east Capitol grounds between the statehouse and Grant Street. The bronze statue faces east and depicts a Native American hunter standing above a dying buffalo, his bow balanced on the animal's shoulder and his left foot resting on its lower back. The hunter is clad in a breechcloth and wears three feathers at the back of his head. An 1893 newspaper article reported it was not Powers' intention "to represent any particular tribe of Indians, but to represent an Indian as one of the many tribes that wandered over the plains in the past." However, at the request of his patrons, Powers "endeavored to reproduce to some extent the facial outlines of [Ute Chief] Ouray in his younger days." The statue is approximately six-and-one-half-feet tall and ten feet long and rests on a battered gray Cotopaxi granite base with a projecting cap. The monument is placed in a raised circular bed filled with native plants and surrounded by a low wall capped in red sandstone. The Galli Brothers foundry of Florence, Italy, cast the work. The use of bronze, instead of the initial choice of red sandstone, permitted Powers to show the Indian with a bow instead of a rifle and to give him a "more graceful pose." For a larger version of the work, Powers commissioned poet John Greenleaf Whittier to produce a four-line poem, which provided the name, *The Closing Era.* After returning from the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago, the statue was kept in storage and then displayed elsewhere on the Capitol grounds until installed in this location in 1898.[73]

***Broncho Buster*, Alexander Phimister Proctor (sculptor), north of the Greek Theater and west of the north-south axis, 1918[74] (installed 1920)** (5DV161.16, Resource 11, contributing object)
One of the country's most prolific monument sculptors and a former Denver resident, Alexander Phimister Proctor designed *Broncho Buster* and its companion piece, *On the War Trail.* Both works represent regional themes important to the state's history. *Denver Municipal Facts* observed: "In the civic center the Bucking Broncho and Indian Scout [sic] of Proctor will preserve the picturesque atmosphere of the frontier, a flavor of which MacMonnies has already given in the Pioneer Monument."[75] Many western artists depicted bronco busters, a popular symbol of the taming of the West.[76]

Sculptor Proctor remembered playing marbles as a boy on the site where his *Broncho Buster* stands.[77] This monumental bronze equestrian statue depicts a cowboy wearing a hat, scarf, chaps, boots, ammunition belt, and gun sitting in a saddle on a bucking horse with its rear feet off the ground and its head down. The cowboy's right hand is raised, while his left hand holds the reins. The statue rests on a tall, finely crafted, curvilinear pedestal of pink granite atop a concrete pad. The statue is inscribed: "A. Phimister Proctor" and "Gorham Co. Foundry." A bronze plaque on the east side of the base indicates J.K. Mullen, local industrialist, donated the statue in 1920. A small stone bench rests on the concrete pad below the plaque. Cowboy Slim Ridings, whom Proctor reportedly bailed out of jail following charges of horse rustling, served as the model.

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[73] *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 May 1893, 2 and 14 August 1895, 15; Closing Era Statue, Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour, www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/ archives/cap/close.htm (accessed 27 September 2010).

[74] Mae E. Gillis, "A History of the Civic Center of Denver," M.A. thesis, Colorado State Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado, August 1929, 73.

[75] *Denver Municipal Facts*, October 1918, 7.

[76] Denver Art Museum, "Defining the West: Creating the Cowboy & His World," Exhibition, 2010.

[77] *Denver Municipal Facts*, May-July 1926, 20.

***On the War Trail*, Alexander Phimister Proctor (sculptor), north of the Greek Theater and east of the north-south axis, 1918 (installed 1922)** (5DV161.15, Resource 12, contributing object)
Alexander Phimister Proctor produced this dignified representation of an American Indian, one of many works created by artists that influenced public perception of the nation's indigenous peoples.[78] Located directly north of the Greek Theater and opposite the *Broncho Buster* east of the main north-south axis of civic center, this monumental bronze equestrian statue depicts a Native American wearing a breechcloth and moccasins, holding a spear with a triangular point, and carrying a quiver and scabbard on his back. The Indian has braided hair and is riding a bareback pony. The sculpture is approximately 15' in height. "A. Phimister Proctor" and "Gorham Co. Foundry" are inscribed along the bottom of the statue. The statue rests on a tall oblong pedestal of buff color Platte Canyon granite atop a concrete and sandstone pad.[79] A plaque on the west side of the base reads, "*On the War Trail* Presented to Denver by Stephen Knight A.D. 1922."

***Colorado Soldiers Monument*, Colorado State Capitol grounds near west Capitol entrance, Captain John D. Howland (artist) and J. Otto Schweizer (sculptor), 1909** (5DV161.6, Resource 13, contributing object)
Captain John D. Howland, a frontier artist and Union veteran of the Battle of Glorieta Pass, New Mexico, designed this monument to honor Coloradans who fought in the Civil War. J. Otto Schweizer of Philadelphia modeled the statue, with Bureau Brothers foundry of Philadelphia executing the casting. The monument consists of an eight-foot tall, 1950-pound, bronze statue of a dismounted Union cavalryman atop a rectilinear granite pedestal. The mustachioed soldier, wearing a forage cap, cape, and boots with spurs, looks to the southwest while holding a rifle across his chest. He is also armed with a saber in a scabbard and a holstered pistol. On each side the granite pedestal has a raised center section with brackets and the inscription, "1861-1865." A cornice with a decorative architrave is supported by scroll consoles. Each face of the pedestal has a carved stone plaque with the inscription, "Erected by the State of Colorado" and a bronze plaque bearing the names of Colorado Civil War dead. The plaque is bordered by decorative carving and flanked by tapered pilasters. The monument is set in a circular planting bed surrounded in the front by a low red sandstone wall and in back a granite wall surmounted by a brass railing.

Civil War Cannon, Number 268, Colorado State Capitol grounds northwest of the Colorado Soldiers Monument, Revere Copper Company (manufacturer), 1863 (installed ca. 1910) (5DV161.7, Resource 14, contributing object)
Two Civil War-era cannons are located northwest and southwest of the Colorado Soldiers Monument at the west front of the Capitol. The Revere Copper Company manufactured the Number 268 twelve-pound Napoleon cannon in 1863. The muzzle end of the brass barrel is stamped with the name of the manufacturer, a number ("No. 268"), the date 1863, "1247 lbs.", and the letters "T.J.H." The barrel trunnions rest on a carriage constructed of Honduran mahogany reinforced with metal bands; the large wood spoke wheels have metal rims. The cannon is located at the northwest edge of the recently installed *Colorado Soldiers Monument* plaza.[80]

Civil War Cannon, Number 148, Colorado State Capitol grounds southwest of the Colorado Soldiers Monument, Revere Copper Company (manufacturer), 1862 (installed ca. 1910) (5DV161.7, Resource 15, contributing object)
The Revere Copper Company manufactured this twelve-pound Napoleon cannon in 1862. The muzzle end of the brass barrel is stamped with the name of the manufacturer, a number ("No. 148"), the date 1862, "1233 lbs.", and the letters "T.J.H." The barrel trunnions rest on a carriage constructed of Honduran mahogany

[78] Denver Art Museum, "Defining the West: Picturing American Indians," Exhibition, 2010.
[79] *Rocky Mountain News*, 10 May 1922, 2.
[80] Civil War Cannons, Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour, www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/ archives/cap/cannon.htm (accessed 18 June 2008); Colorado Historical Society, State Historical Fund, Stabilization of Civil War cannons, grant application, number 94-02-72, 1 March 1994.

reinforced with metal bands; the large wood spoke wheels have metal rims. One of the metal bands on the carriage is stamped "US Watervliet Arsenal." The cannon is located at the southwest edge of the recently installed *Colorado Soldiers Monument* plaza. The cannon and its companion have been on display at this location as early as 1910.[81]

Sadie M. Likens Drinking Fountain, Lincoln Park near northwest corner, 1923 (5DV161.11, Resource 16, contributing object)
The Sadie Likens Drinking Fountain, on a slightly raised platform adjacent to the Broadway sidewalk, is a tapered, black granite, six-foot, six-inch tall pedestal whose north and south edges have a raised, polished foliate design. The monument features sculptural brass drinking fountains (no longer operational) and identical brass plaques on its polished north and south faces; the east and west faces are not polished. The plaques dedicate the monument "in memory of Sadie M. Likens 1840-1920 who devoted many years of her life aiding the survivors of the Civil War and other wars." The Grand Army of the Republic, Affiliated Orders, and friends erected the monument, which was dedicated on 7 July 1923.[82]

***Edbrooke Memorial Flagpoles and Drinking Fountains*, in front of the Denver City and County Building, Roland L. Linder (architect), 1935** (Resource 17, on the north, & Resource 18, on the south, both contributing objects)
The two 2000-pound tapered steel flagpoles on the lawn of the city-county building are seventy feet, three inches, in height. Each shaft emerges from a nine-foot Cotopaxi granite base topped by an octagonal bronze collar engraved with the words, "Memorial/Camilla S. Edbrooke."[83] Drinking fountains have been installed on the north and south sides of the granite bases of each flagpole.[84]

NONCONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

There are nine noncontributing resources within the nominated boundary. All are commemorative objects, and, with the exception of the Colorado Veterans Monument, are relatively small in scale.

Colorado Veterans Monument, near the center of Lincoln Park, Robert Root and Richard Farley (architects), in association with Noel Copeland and JH/P Architecture, 1990 (Resource 19, noncontributing object)
The 1990 Colorado Veterans Monument is the largest noncontributing resource within the nominated area. Located at the center of Lincoln Park, the monument is made of red sandstone from Lyons, Colorado. The centerpiece is a three-sided obelisk, forty-five feet in height, topped by a pointed, asymmetrical lighted bronze and onyx "beacon." The west face of the obelisk near its base contains five bronze insignia representing the branches of the U.S. military. An engraving below expresses the people of Colorado's "gratitude and respect for the men and women who have proudly served and sacrificed in our nation's armed forces." At the base is a projecting red granite altar stone. The monument is set on a paved plaza paved in red sandstone and granite with a low north-south wall built into the slope of the land. The resource is assessed as noncontributing due to its installation after the period of significance.[85]

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[81] A photograph of the west front of the Capitol in *Denver Municipal Facts* shows both cannons flanking the Colorado Soldiers Monument in November 1910. *Denver Municipal Facts*, 12 November 1910, 10; Civil War Cannons, Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour, www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/ archives/cap/cannon.htm (accessed 18 June 2008); Colorado Historical Society, State Historical Fund, Stabilization of Civil War cannons, grant application, number 94-02-72, 1 March 1994.

[82] Murphy, *Geology Tour*, 40-41; Likens Drinking Fountain, Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour, www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/ archives/cap/likens.htm (accessed 18 June 2008).

[83] Camilla S. Edbrooke was the wife of noted Denver architect Frank E. Edbrooke, who designed the State Museum. Edbrooke also served as supervising architect the State Capitol for several years. *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 November 1935, 15.

[84] Carroll, "History and Description of the City and County Building."

[85] Veterans Monument, Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour, www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/ archives/cap/vets.htm (accessed 18

Liberty Bell Replica Number 47, Lincoln Park near south center, Paccard Foundry (manufacturer), 1950 (installed 1986) (5DV161.9, Resource 20, noncontributing object)
This is one of fifty-five, full-sized replicas of the Liberty Bell fabricated in 1950 by the Paccard Foundry, in Annecy-le-Vieux, France. The original Liberty Bell was cast in 1752 (then recast in 1753) for the Pennsylvania Statehouse in Philadelphia (now known as Independence Hall). The U.S. Department of the Treasury commissioned the replicas with funding provided by six major U.S. corporations and distributed them without charge to the states and territories. Located in the south-central section of Lincoln Park, the three-foot high Colorado bell stands on an eighteen-foot circular concrete base. The one-piece wood yoke (oriented east-west) rests in a steel cradle constructed by the American Bridge Company, with the bell hanging from the yoke by metal U- and eye-bolts. This is the bell's third location, having previously been situated in the old Colorado State Museum Building and at the corner of Sherman Street and East 14th Avenue. It was moved to this site in 1986. The resource is assessed as noncontributing due to its installation after the period of significance.[86]

United Nations Square and Flagpole, southwest of the Greek Theater, 1950 (relocated 1983) ((Resource 21, noncontributing object).
This commemorative object consists of a two-part octagonal pink granite base; a round granite column tapered toward the top with decorative moldings, garlands, brackets; a bronze plaque ("United Nations Square") on the south; and a thirty-eight foot, silver metal flagpole crafted by the Union Metal Manufacturing Co. of Canton, Ohio, hoisting the United States flag and, on a cross-piece, the Colorado and United Nations flags. The flagpole formerly was located at Broadway and 16th Street. This resource is noncontributing due to its installation after the period of significance.

Emily Griffith Memorial Drinking Fountain, south of the Voorhies Memorial Gateway and west of the north-south axis, John Burrey (designer), 1954 (Resource 22, noncontributing object).
Alfred P. Adamo, former Denver resident, donated this object in recognition of the positive influence in his life of the Opportunity School founded by teacher Emily Griffith.[87] The piece consists of a roughly four-foot- tall drinking fountain with a shaft of polished black granite, carved with information about Emily Griffith, rising from a gray stone base. Denver architect John Burrey designed the memorial fountain. This resource is noncontributing due to it installation after the period of significance.

Ten Commandments Monument, Lincoln Park near northwest corner, Fraternal Order of Eagles National Headquarters (donor), 1956 (5DV161.10, Resource 23, noncontributing object).
The red granite Ten Commandments Monument is approximately four feet tall and two-and-one-half feet wide with a double-arched top. The principal face (southwest) of the monument contains engravings of an eagle, an American flag, and an eye in a triangle surrounded by rays of light (the "eye of Providence" or "the all-seeing eye of God"), flanked by round-arched tablets with writing in Greek. Below is the text of the Biblical Ten Commandments (or Decalogue) and a scroll noting the monument's donation by the Fraternal Order of Eagles of Colorado. The sides are rock-faced and the blank rear is tooled. The Colorado chapter of the Eagles placed the monument here in 1956. The national headquarters of the group designed the monument as part of a national

June 2008); Tim Drago, ed., *Mission Accomplished: Building Colorado Veterans Monument* (Denver: Colorado Tribute to Veterans Fund, Inc., 2003); Tim Drago, Denver, Colorado, Telephone Interview by Thomas H. Simmons, 10 December 2010.

[86] Liberty Bell Replica, Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour, www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/ archives/cap/bell.htm (accessed 18 June 2008); National Park Service, Independence National Historical Park, Liberty Bell Center, website, http://www.nps.gov/inde/liberty-bell-center.htm (accessed 4 October 2010); Liberty Bell Museum, website, http://www.libertybellmuseum.com (accessed 18 June 2008); Michigan Department of Natural Resources and Environment, Michigan's Liberty Bell, website, http://www.michigan.gov (accessed 18 June 2008).

[87] "Emily Griffith Drinking Fountain," Art Inventory Catalog, Smithsonian American Art Museum, accessed at http://siris-artinventories.si.edu on 16 June 2009 and *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 June 1954, 21.

service campaign and installed the monuments throughout the country.[88] This resource is noncontributing due to its installation after the period of significance.

***In Honor of Christopher Columbus*, William F. Joseph (sculptor), south of the Voorhies Memorial Gateway and east of the north-south axis, 1970, installed 1975** (5DV161.14, Resource 24, noncontributing object).
Italian immigrant and former Denver resident Alfred P. Adamo donated this monument created by Denver sculptor William F. Joseph to the city to honor Colorado as the first state to recognize Columbus Day as a holiday.[89] This fifteen-foot high work includes an eight-by- ten-foot concrete base topped by a battered concrete column. Atop the column is a bronze figure reminiscent of Da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man*, having four faces, arms, and legs pointing to the four cardinal directions of the compass and encircled by three rings suggesting a globe. A plaque on the base describes the accomplishments of Columbus. A white marble bench is placed below the statue.[90] This resource is noncontributing due to its installation after the period of significance.

***Trees or Untitled*, West Colfax Avenue, north of the Carnegie Library, Robert Mangold (sculptor), 1975 (relocated)** (Resource 25, noncontributing object).
Commissioned as part of an Art in the City project funded by the city and the National Endowment for the Arts, this roughly sixteen-foot tall and twenty-two foot wide piece consists of two abstract sculptures of trees created from variously sized welded steel pipes attached to thick center pipes (trunks) set in a concrete base.[91] A plaque reads "By Robert Mangold/Untitled/Presented to the City of Denver by Robert Mangold and the Park People 1975." First installed in the median on West Colfax Avenue near Bannock Street, the sculpture was moved into Civic Center Park. This resource is noncontributing due to its installation after the period of significance.

***Joe P. Martinez*, Lincoln Park near north center, Emanuel Martinez (sculptor), 1988** (Resource 26, noncontributing object).
Dedicated in 1988, this memorial honors U.S. Army Private Joe P. Martinez of Ault, Colorado's first recipient of the Medal of Honor in World War II. During action on Attu Island in the Aleutians in May 1943, Private Martinez led troops against Japanese positions, displaying "conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty" before his death. The larger-than-life-size bronze statue rests on an eighteen-by-twenty-two-foot base of concrete and Baltic brown granite from Finland. It faces southwest and depicts the soldier in combat gear advancing with a Browning automatic rifle. Denver sculptor Emanuel Martinez created the memorial. This resource is noncontributing due to its installation after the period of significance.[92]

Colorado Volunteers Flagpole, Lincoln Park near west center, 1990 (5DV161.8, Resource 27, noncontributing object).

The Colorado Volunteers Flagpole consists of a forty-five-foot flagpole of spun aluminum which rises to a ball finial. It is set in a cylindrical red sandstone base covered with metal plaques honoring Colorado servicemen who died in the Spanish American War. The flagpole has a metal shield on the west side just above the base, indicating it was erected "in honor of the Colorado Volunteers of 1898" by the Society of the Sons of the Revolution and dedicated on 14 June 1898. Originally located in the center of Lincoln Park, the flagpole was

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[88] Ten Commandments Plaque, Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour, www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/ archives/cap/ten.htm (accessed 18 June 2008); *Rocky Mountain News*, 23 September 1967, 31.

[89] *Rocky Mountain News*, 13 August 2008, www.rockymountainnews.com (accessed 16 June 2009).

[90] *Denver Post*, 25 June 1970, 23; "In Honor of Christopher Columbus—Denver, CO" accessed at www.waymarking.com on 16 June 2008; "Central Denver Park District Points of Interest," accessed at denvergov.org on 20 June 2008.

[91] "Trees (or Untitled) by Robert Mangold—Denver, CO," accessed at www.waymarking.com on 18 June 2008.

[92] Murphy, *Geology Tour*, 38-39; U.S. Army, Center of Military History, Medal of Honor Recipients-World War II (M-S), website, http://www.history.army.mil/html/moh/wwII-m-s.html (accessed 28 September 2010); Joseph P. Martinez Statue, Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour, www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/ archives/cap/joe.htm (accessed 18 June 2008).

displaced by the construction of the Colorado Veterans Monument and reconstructed in 1990. The metal flagpole replaced an original wood mast and the sandstone base is not original. The metal shield and plaques are the only extant parts of the original monument. This resource, counted as contributing in the National Register nomination prepared in 1974, is noncontributing due to its construction and installation after the period of significance.[93]

INTEGRITY

Denver Civic Center displays a high level of historic physical integrity, retaining all of the buildings, structures, and all but one of the objects completed on the site during the period of significance. Much of the historic landscape also retains its historic design and elaborating features from the period of significance. Resources added after the period of significance are generally small and in keeping with the artistic and commemorative intent envisioned by early planners.

Location. The *locations* of the contributing resources within the civic center are unchanged since the period of significance, preserving the important original siting and grouping of the buildings, structures, and objects and their relationships with each other. Noted planners carefully recommended where each of the buildings, structures, and objects should be placed to achieve the greatest effect in terms of City Beautiful considerations such as beauty, inspirational value, harmony, and perspective. Likewise, the major divisions of space within the landscape remain and retain their original relationship to their surroundings, offering the same opportunities for appreciation of component areas.

Design. The substantial majority of historic resources in the civic center retain a remarkably high degree of integrity of *design*. The Denver Public Library experienced significant exterior alteration to its north elevation in 1957 as part of the effort to update and reuse the building after its library functions ended. Its redesign as an office building resulted in removal of monumental stairs leading to the main entrance, which were replaced with an entrance at the basement level facing a newly-constructed sunken courtyard. The original windows of the building also were replaced at this time and the openings truncated by the installation of limestone panels. The frieze inscription on the façade was covered. Despite these changes the library retains its historic character and remains an essential component of the civic center, representing the first building after the Capitol planned and completed within the district and one that influenced all plans for the site. The original rear wall of the library facing Civic Center Park is unchanged, based on historic photographs. In the 1980s a light well on the east alley side of the State Office Building was partially filled to create additional office space.

The nine noncontributing objects are commemorative and artistic elements that were added to the civic center after the period of significance. Most are compatible with the original functions and general design ethos of the civic center site. Relatively small in scale, they do not seriously detract from the original qualities of the designed landscape, architecture, and artistic objects. The Colorado Veterans Monument, a red sandstone obelisk forty-five feet in height added at the center of Lincoln Park in 1990, impinges upon the open vista along the primary east-west axis between the Capitol and the city-county building first proposed by Charles Mulford Robinson. The relatively short and slender monument replaced the 120-foot tall Colorado Volunteer's Flagpole that had been installed at the center of the park in 1898. The elevated site of the Capitol in relationship to the lower level of Lincoln Park and the city-county building somewhat mitigates the visual impact of the Veterans Monument.[94]

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[93] Before its move and reconstruction, the flagpole was assessed as contributing in the 1988 National Register district nomination. Drago, ed., *Mission Accomplished*; Colorado Legislative Council, *Memorials and Art in and Around the Colorado State Capitol* (Denver: Colorado Legislative Council, June 1992), 89.

[94] An entirely reconstructed version of the flagpole stands a short distance west of the Veteran's Memorial and is about the same height (forty-five feet) as the shaft of the monument.

In the 1990s the western Capitol grounds received a plaza extending from the west front of the Capitol around the Colorado Soldiers Monument, on which the two Civil War cannons are placed. Red sandstone stairs and walkways across the west lawn from the plaza to the northwest and southwest corners of the block mirror similar walks in Lincoln Park. Reinhard Schuetze had included such walkways in original plans for the Capitol grounds, but they were not constructed. In 1996 a circular commemorative area was created on the east lawn of the Capitol grounds around *The Closing Era*, flanked by two smaller circular commemorative areas.
The landscape design of Lincoln Park experienced the most change after the period of significance, while the basic designs of the Capitol grounds, Civic Center Park, and Denver City and County Building grounds retain substantial historic integrity. In 1989-90 Lincoln Park underwent alterations associated with the construction of the Colorado Veterans Monument, including the resurfacing of the two elliptical walks established by Reinhard Schuetze. Reconstruction and resurfacing of the historic east-west walkway west of the Veterans Monument also occurred. In association with the Veterans Monument, a low curving wall and flagstone-paved courtyard were constructed. These modifications were in keeping with improvements made to the west front plaza and central stairway leading down from the west portico of the statehouse.

Civic Center As the 2005 *Denver's Civic Center: Park Master Plan* concluded:

> Civic Center's original composition, as a formal, symmetrically arranged plan defined by two stepped terraces and a primary axis, is largely intact. Its composition is the park's strongest defining characteristic. The park's composition closely resembles the constructed park of the early 1920s that was the result of Edward Bennett's plan of 1917. Today, as in the early 1920s, the primary park spaces and those features that define its organization remain.[95]

Changes within Civic Center Park include incorporation of much of the northern sidewalk along the Great Lawn into a parking lot behind the public library in the 1950s. The south triangle (which was seen as balancing the north triangle of the Pioneer Monument) is not extant and is no longer part of the civic center. Upon construction of the new Denver Public Library, the city vacated the street south of the triangle and it became part of the library grounds. In 2011 the city eliminated the extension of 15th Street to Broadway and incorporated the previously isolated triangular piece of parkland into the main body of the park.

Drawings for Civic Center Park from 1936 and 1963 show almost no change in the layout of interior walkways; by 1989 some secondary north-south paths had been eliminated.[96] Pedestrian ramps and the central stairs from the balustrade in Civic Center Park linking the east-west walkway to the lower terrace of the park were built in the early 1990s. In 2011, two nonhistoric diagonal paved walkways in the Broadway Terrace area were removed and replaced with two curving concrete sidewalks extending from the northeast and southeast corners of the park to the west end of the central walkway. The elliptical configuration of the new sidewalks emulates the design of the walkways in Lincoln Park. Other 2011 changes to Broadway Terrace included: widening the curving sidewalk east of the balustrade and adding brick pads for benches; adding concrete pads with benches along the east-west sidewalks bordering the terrace on the north and south; planting additional trees at the north and south ends; and installing raised granite curbs along some sidewalks. Two rectangular planting beds were

[95] Mundus Bishop Design, Inc., *Denver's Civic Center Master Plan* (Denver: Denver Parks and Recreation Department, 2005), 21-, 76.

[96] Civic Center, Denver, 1932, Drawing, April 1932 (updated through 1936). Denver Parks Department Collection, WH1316, OVFF363, Range Unit 2, Shelf 4, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado; E. Johnson, Civic Center Redevelopment Plan, Drawing, 22 May 1956 (updated through 4 December 1963), Denver Parks Department Collection, WH1316, OVFF305, Range FFC17, Shelf 18, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado; A.A. Engineers and Associates, Inc., Civic Center Park, Drawing, Denver, Colorado, 24 April 1989, Denver Parks Department Collection, WH1316, OVFF305, Range FFC17, Shelf 18, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

created at the center of the promenade along the secondary axis, which was paved in a manner similar to the historic Broadway Terrace central walkway in the early 1990s.

Setting. The addition of new cultural and governmental buildings on the periphery of the district clearly differentiates Denver Civic Center from its surroundings. City Beautiful planners encouraged construction of civic and cultural facilities in adjacent areas, and many of the buildings erected after the period of significance represent this intention. However, planners such as Charles M. Robinson and Edward H. Bennett suggested any new construction in the immediate vicinity should represent architecture harmonious in style, materials, massing, and height, as well as appropriate functions. Despite the abandonment of many of the principles of architectural harmony, buildings erected adjacent to the civic center do evince similar dignity, importance of purpose, and quality of design and construction. The architectural styles surrounding the site serve to differentiate it from the remainder of downtown Denver and emphasize its special sense of place. The later buildings display styles stemming from different periods of development and are a reminder of the constant evolution of the city outside the boundary of the district. Several of the buildings qualify as landmarks themselves and fulfill the City Beautiful role of attracting visitors to the city and providing efficiency through their proximity to the older buildings of related function.

Materials. Denver Civic Center retains integrity of *materials*, which to a large extent remain unchanged on the buildings, structures, and objects. As discussed above, the 1956 remodeling of the library resulted in replacement of its original windows. Some of the metal streetlights within park areas are replicas.[97] Greek Theater rehabilitation in 2003 rebuilt its flooring and benches using appropriate materials in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's standards. Projects beginning in 2009 rehabilitated the Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors and the Voorhies Memorial Gateway. With the exception of the concrete and brick center walkway in Broadway Terrace and some perimeter sidewalks, interior Civic Center Park walkways did not receive a hard surface until the early 1990s.[98]

After the period of significance, some changes to the existing vegetation occurred. During a dispute over the disparity between the plantings at Civic Center Park and those of the Capitol grounds in 1936, Denver Public Works Director George E. Cranmer observed, "The trees in Civic Center don't get along with the trees on the Capitol grounds." He ordered the removal of evergreen trees from around the public library and the planting of flowering trees and shrubs.[99] Crabapple trees were added to the forecourt of the Voorhies Memorial. In 1938 WPA workers removed some English elms planted in 1919 to improve the view between the Capitol and the city-county building.[100]

During its 1959 "Rush to the Rockies" centennial celebration, Denver's Parks Director Dave Abbott suggested: "The Capitol grounds and Civic Center form a single showplace in the center of the city and should be treated as such."[101] The state cooperated with the effort, allowing city workers to replace diseased trees with a variety of new ones as part of the area's "dress-up." The state had undertaken no new landscaping program for many years, and as W.M. Williams, the planning director, commented, "The city is set up to plan and do this work better than we are."

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[97] Mundus Bishop Design, *Design Guidelines*, 56.

[98] Historic park drawings label the internal walkways as gravel in 1936, "blacktop" in 1963, and "oil" in 1989. Civic Center, Denver, 1932, Drawing, April 1932 (updated through 1936); E. Johnson, Civic Center Redevelopment Plan, Drawing, 22 May 1956 (updated through 4 December 1963); A.A. Engineers and Associates, Inc., Civic Center Park, Drawing, Denver, Colorado, 24 April 1989.

[99] *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 April 1920, 16.

[100] *Denver Post*, 2 March 1938, 7.

[101] *Denver Post*, 16 May 1959, 6.

On Broadway Terrace outer rows of the crabapple trees were placed along the central walkway in the 1990s. In 2005 the city planted two flower beds in the forecourt of the city-county building with xeriscaping. The 2009 Design Guidelines identified areas within the park containing historic patterns of vegetation. Historic vegetation planted before 1932 includes the red oak groves on the Broadway Terrace, scattered trees along Bannock Street, and a cluster of trees west of the Greek Theater. The northern and southern edges of the park exhibit more recent tree plantings.[102]

Workmanship. The Denver Civic Center retains integrity of *workmanship*, as evidenced in the skill displayed in the construction of the monumental buildings and structures, the design of the site, and the creation of embellishing works of art. The labor and craftsmanship embodied in the quarrying and finishing of stone utilized in the construction of buildings and structures remains a remarkable testament to the industry in Colorado. Retention of the important elements of the basic landscape design conceived by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., elaborated by Edward H. Bennett, and actualized by local landscape architects such as Reinhard Schuetze and Saco De Boer, testifies to the quality of its conception and actualization. The works of artists within the district, including murals and sculptures designed by nationally-recognized professionals, display integrity of workmanship and continue to add beauty to the setting and represent some of the finest skills of the era.

Feeling. The retention of all of the original buildings, structures, and all except one object, as well as the preservation of most of the original landscape, contribute to the integrity of *feeling*, which enables understanding of the immense undertaking the historic resources represent. The combination of these elements illuminates the civic life and municipal aspirations in this urban location during the early twentieth century. These elements also allow the visitor to understand the enduring legacy of City Beautiful philosophies and Beaux-Arts design. The dignified setting, framed by the State Capitol and the Denver City and County Building, enhances a feeling of purpose and inspiration for visitors.

Association. As one of the most complete and intact civic centers in the country, the district conveys its historic character and provides an important window into the *association* between the City Beautiful movement, Beaux-Arts aesthetics, progressive social and political concepts, and the development of Denver embodied in a realized civic center. All of the buildings and structures and all but one object erected and placed in civic center during the period of significance are present, associated with its history, and convey its significance, providing a direct link to an important era of the city's past.

[102] Mundus Bishop Design, *Design Guidelines*, Figure 4.

DENVER CIVIC CENTER NHL
RESOURCES LOCATED WITHIN DISTRICT BOUNDARY

Res. No.	Resource	Year Built	Designer	Resource Type	Contributing Status	Subarea Location
1	Denver Civic Center Site	1895-1935	Reinhard Schuetze, Charles Mulford Robinson, Frederick W. MacMonnies, Olmsted Brothers and Arnold Brunner, Edward H. Bennett, Allied Architects Association	Site	Contributing	All
2	Colorado State Capitol, 200 E. Colfax Ave.	1908	Elijah E. Myers and Frank E. Edbrooke	Building	Contributing	Capitol Grounds
3	Denver City and County Building, 1437 Bannock St.	1932	Allied Architects Association	Building	Contributing	City and County Building Grounds
4	Denver Public Library, 144 W. Colfax Ave.	1910	Albert Randolph Ross	Building	Contributing	Civic Center Park
5	Colorado State Museum, 200 E. 14th Ave.	1915	Frank E. Edbrooke	Building	Contributing	Other
6	Colorado State Office Building, 201 E. Colfax Ave.	1921	William N. Bowman	Building	Contributing	Other
7	Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors	1919	Marean and Norton with Edward H. Bennett	Structure	Contributing	Civic Center Park
8	Voorhies Memorial Gateway	1921	Fisher and Fisher	Structure	Contributing	Civic Center Park
9	*Pioneer Monument*	1911	Frederick MacMonnies	Object	Contributing	Other
10	*The Closing Era*	1893	Preston Powers (installed 1898)	Object	Contributing	Capitol Grounds
11	*Broncho Buster*	1918	Alexander Phimister Proctor (installed 1920)	Object	Contributing	Civic Center Park
12	*On the War Trail*	1918	Alexander Phimister Proctor (installed 1922)	Object	Contributing	Civic Center Park
13	*Colorado Soldiers Monument*	1909	Capt. John D. Howland and J. Otto Schweizer	Object	Contributing	Capitol Grounds
14	Civil War Cannon (north)	1863	Revere Copper Company (installed ca.1910)	Object	Contributing	Capitol Grounds

Res. No.	Resource	Year Built	Designer	Resource Type	Contributing Status	Subarea Location
15	Civil War Cannon (south)	1862	Revere Copper Company (installed ca.1910)	Object	Contributing	Capitol Grounds
16	Sadie Likens Drinking Fountain	1923	Unknown	Object	Contributing	Lincoln Park
17	Camilla S. Edbrooke Memorial Flagpole and Drinking Fountain (north)	1935	Roland Linder	Object	Contributing	City and County Building Grounds
18	Camilla S. Edbrooke Memorial Flagpole and Drinking Fountain (south)	1935	Roland Linder	Object	Contributing	City and County Building Grounds
19	Colorado Veterans Monument	1990	Robert Koot and Richard Farley in association with Noel Copeland	Object	Noncontributing	Lincoln Park
20	Liberty Bell Replica	1950	Paccard Foundry (installed 1986)	Object	Noncontributing	Lincoln Park
21	United Nations Flagpole	1950	Unknown (installed 1983)	Object	Noncontributing	Civic Center Park
22	Emily Griffith Drinking Fountain	1954	John Burrey	Object	Noncontributing	Civic Center Park
23	Ten Commandments Monument	1956	Fraternal Order of Eagles National Headquarters	Object	Noncontributing	Lincoln Park
24	*In Honor of Christopher Columbus*	1970	William F. Joseph	Object	Noncontributing	Civic Center Park
25	*Trees* or *Untitled*	1975	Robert Mangold	Object	Noncontributing	Civic Center Park
26	*Joseph P. Martinez*	1988	Emanuel Martinez	Object	Noncontributing	Lincoln Park
27	Colorado Volunteers Flagpole	1990	Unknown	Object	Noncontributing	Lincoln Park

NOTES: Contributing Status: C, contributing; NC, noncontributing.
Location: “Other” indicates locations north of Colfax Avenue or south of 14th Avenue.
Resource Numbers: Resource numbers are keyed to the narrative description and the sketch map.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: _ Locally:

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B _ C X D
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A _ B _ C _ D _ E _ F _ G
NHL Criteria:	1, 4
NHL Criteria Exceptions:	
NHL Theme(s):	III. Expressing Cultural Values 5. Architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design
Areas of Significance:	Community Planning and Development Architecture Art Landscape Architecture
Period(s) of Significance:	1890-1935
Significant Dates:	1904, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1915, 1917, 1921, 1932
Significant Person(s):	N/A
Cultural Affiliation:	N/A
Architect/Builder:	Allied Architects Association Bennett, Edward H. Bowman, William N. Edbrooke, Frank E. Fisher, William A. and Fisher, Arthur E. Garrison, Robert MacMonnies, Frederick W. Marean, Willis A. and Norton, Albert J. Myers, Elijah E. Powers, Preston Proctor, Alexander Phimister Ross, Albert Randolph Schuetze, Reinhard True, Allen Tupper
Historic Contexts:	VII. Political and Military Affairs, 1865-1939 C. The Progressive Era, 1901-1914

XVI. Architecture
- W. Regional and Urban Planning
  - 1. Urban Areas

XVII. Landscape Architecture (it has no subheadings or description)

XXIV. Painting and Sculpture
- G. Historical Painting and Sculpture: Memory and Dreams, 1876-1908
- H. The 20th Century, 1900-1930
  - 3. Regionalism, 1915-1935

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

SIGNIFICANCE

The Denver Civic Center is nationally significant under the NHL theme "Expressing Cultural Values" and NHL Criteria 1 and 4. It is significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 1, for its outstanding representation of the widespread impact of the City Beautiful Movement on American cities and the attendant creation of civic centers during the early twentieth century. This theme is central to the history of American planning, architecture, art, and landscape architecture and is expressed in the diversity of experiences that characterized the nation's growth and expansion. The property also is significant under Criterion 4 as an outstanding example of cohesive public landscape design and as a collection of public architecture. The civic center's artistic merit represents the work of several nationally and regionally prominent planners, architects, artists, and landscape architects and whose components were executed through many projects extending over many years. The Denver Civic Center is an exceptional example of an American civic center, reflecting what has been described as a successful merging of the formality and rational order of the Beaux-Arts tradition with the democratic ideals and regional splendor of the nation's interior landscape and heritage. Its inclusion of the works of important regional artists and architects conveying imagery of the area's heritage and the perceived triumph of order and unity over the wild American continent is a representative feature of civic center design reflecting the emergence and recognition of growing cultural and artistic sophistication paralleled by the maturation of regional governance. The period of significance for the property begins in 1890, with the laying of the cornerstone of the Colorado State Capitol, and ends in 1935, with the completion of the City and County Building grounds. The district is remarkably intact, retaining all of the of buildings, structures, and all but one object that adorned it during the period of significance, as well as significant features of its historic designed landscape.

As in communities across the country during the early twentieth century, Denver's civic leaders, most notably Mayor Robert W. Speer (serving 1904-1912 and 1916-1918) and the Denver Art Commission, called for improvement and beautification of the urban environment.[103] Adopting tenets of the City Beautiful movement and influenced by the 1902 plan for Washington, D.C., Denver sought to create a grand civic center containing monumental cultural and governmental buildings of American Beaux-Arts classical design linked by a formally ordered and inspiring landscape, a rich display of works of art and commemoration, and magnificent vistas. A series of nationally recognized professionals from a variety of fields prepared plans for the district, including Charles Mulford Robinson, Frederick MacMonnies, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Edward H. Bennett. Bennett is credited with harmonizing key elements of previous plans and integrating his own ideas and those of local leaders into a successfully actualized scheme. The process of achieving a plan approved by the populace and convincing voters to accept the entailed cost lasted more than a decade, required considerable educational and political effort, and reflected what noted City Beautiful scholar William H. Wilson called "the need for harmony in politics and design."[104]

Described as "one of the most complete and intact City Beautiful civic centers in the country," Denver's example contrasts with that of most cities, where the era's civic center aspirations resulted in little or no actual construction.[105] The Denver Civic Center represents a well-conceived plan that took advantage of local conditions existing at its outset. The civic center encompasses both the Colorado State Capitol and the Denver City and County Building of the state's largest community, which face each other across a swath of open

[103] Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 102.
[104] William H. Wilson, "A Diadem for the City Beautiful," *Journal of the West* (1983): 82.
[105] Mundus Bishop Design, Inc., *Master Plan*, 1; Draper, *Edward H. Bennett*, 29.

parkland. In summary, the NHL district is nationally significant in the areas of community planning and development, architecture, art, and landscape architecture for the period 1900-40. Information about properties comparable to the Denver center and the biographical background of its principal planners, architects, artists, and landscape architects appears at the end of this section.

CRITERION 1

The Denver Civic Center is significant in the area of Community Planning and Development as an exceptional representative of successful planning and implementation of a City Beautiful era civic center accomplished by staged projects over several decades. During the early twentieth century Denver's civic leaders and interested organizations articulated and actively pursued projects to improve and aesthetically enhance the city in accordance with City Beautiful principles. The election of Robert W. Speer as mayor in 1904 coalesced the interest, means, and political will necessary to achieve diverse community planning goals. As a career politician with twenty years of experience in Denver government, Speer understood the inner workings of city administration and built a powerful political organization, leading local newspapers to proclaim him "Boss Speer." Once in office, the mayor became a leading national proponent and practitioner of the City Beautiful Movement's ideals. As architecture critic Nicolai Ouroussoff observed, "Emulated in cities like Washington, Cleveland, Denver, and Detroit, the movement gave the country its first uniform vision of city planning."[106] Mayor Speer, who absorbed City Beautiful concepts during a visit to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and later trips to Europe, strongly supported Denver's Art Commission (established in 1904) in its efforts to improve the appearance and cultural sophistication of the city. The mayor believed public spaces ornamented with artistic features such as fountains and sculptures increased the affection of local residents for their city, attracted tourism that strengthened the economy, increased property values, and stimulated additional funding for civic improvement. During Speer's three terms as mayor, Denver expanded and improved its city parks, established a parkway system, created an innovative chain of mountain parks, increased private donations for public improvements, built a municipal auditorium to host a national political convention, and began comprehensive planning. Historians Lyle D. Dorsett and Michael McCarthy evaluated the mayor's accomplishments as "by any standard substantial and remarkable."[107]

With encouragement from Art Commissioner Henry Read, Speer envisioned the crown jewel of Denver's City Beautiful efforts as a civic center reflecting its recently attained status as Colorado's first unified city and county and its position as the financial and commercial capital of the Rocky Mountain region. The mayor encouraged the Art Commission to secure the services of respected City Beautiful proponent and early city planner Charles Mulford Robinson to produce a civic center plan for Denver. In his 1906 report Robinson recommended creation of a civic center in the heart of the city that would emphasize Denver's status as the state capital as well as its magnificent mountain backdrop. Using the existing statehouse as a starting point, and taking into consideration the location of a planned public library and the difficult juxtaposition of conflicting street grids, Robinson created the first formal scheme for a civic center in the history of the Rocky Mountain region. City officials and municipal groups rapidly embarked on a vigorous campaign to gain public funding for the proposal, but failed to win electoral support for the expensive plan.

The mayor and other civic and business leaders refused to abandon the dream of making Denver a national leader in civic beautification and cultural attainment, redoubling their educational efforts and employing astute political strategies to secure funding for the project. During the long period required to settle legal disputes over acquisition of land and funding, the city solicited advice from other local committees and prominent professionals, including Frederick MacMonnies and Frederick L. Olmsted, Jr. Each plan built upon previous

[106] Nicolai Ouroussoff, "An Epoch Locks Its Doors, Week in Review, *New York Times*, 25 October 2009, 1.
[107] Lyle W. Dorsett and Michael McCarthy, *The Queen City: A History of Denver* (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1986), 137.

efforts and considered existing conditions. As the process extended several decades, the mayor's office, art and parks commissions, community organizations, and Denver citizens also reacted to and helped refine the evolving design. The effort culminated with a 1917 civic center concept produced by renowned City Beautiful architect and planner Edward H. Bennett, considered the most influential and fully realized of all such proposals for the city.

Bennett's plan represented the evolution of civic center design from the beginning of the twentieth century up to World War I in its application of City Beautiful concepts together with a pragmatic approach to what could be accomplished within the local context. Its success demonstrated the importance of personal relationships in the planning and creation of civic centers, with Bennett and Speer working together "for the essence of the City Beautiful, rather than its perfect form." [108] According to Professor Wilson, Denver's civic center resulted from "the persuasive presentation of a realistic plan for its construction within the context of effective political leadership."[109] Despite the failure to realize all aspects of Bennett's plan, "the center is a pleasing contrast to its surroundings. Its invitation to relaxation and tranquility belies the bitter struggles involved in its creation."[110]

The Denver Civic Center is an excellent example of the successful collaboration between a planner who produced a realistic, yet highly artistic, scheme for improvement and city officials who laid the groundwork and provided the necessary support to facilitate acceptance of the plan. Bennett's biographer, Joan Draper, acknowledged: "Bennett's plans, like those of his fellow practitioners, had the best chance to guide development of cities with a strong support for planning where the new schemes incorporated and embellished the existing structure of the city and pre-existing ideas for public improvements."[111] Throughout the process, Mayor Speer brought all of his political clout, courage, and understanding to bear on the successful outcome, employing what has been called "a full complement of City Beautiful campaign techniques."[112] Following Speer's death in office in 1918, subsequent administrations continued Denver's quest to complete its civic center. As Art Commissioner Theo Merrill Fisher recounted in 1923:

> Denver was a pioneer in the whole movement for city planning, as we generally term it, and its Civic Center is an outstanding example of noble ideas greatly accomplished, for it is much nearer completion than the similar programs of other cities, which for the most part are still in the 'paper stage.' It stands as a most adequate and fitting monument to the memory of Robert W. Speer, a city executive who in his career gradually became revealed as a civic leader of a type and kind very different from the usual politician.[113]

Securing public approval and funding and completing the design and construction of final elements of the district extended until the opening of the city-county building in 1932 and completion of its landscaped grounds in 1935. The Denver Civic Center thus fulfilled its multi-faceted goals of becoming a center of government and culture, a green park in the heart of the city, and a grand public gathering space serving as the site for the city's largest and most significant political and governmental events, commemorative activities, and celebrations, as well as cultural exhibitions, entertainment, and a diversity of festivals.

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[108] William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 253.
[109] Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 234.
[110] Ibid., 253.
[111] Joan E. Draper, *Edward H. Bennett: Architect and City Planner, 1874-1954* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1982), 26.
[112] Wilson, "A Diadem," 79.
[113] Theo Merrill Fisher, "The Denver Civic Centre," *Architectural Record* 53 (March 1923): 201.

CRITERION 4
Architecture

Denver Civic Center possesses national level of significance under NHL Criterion 4 in the area of Architecture for its representation of Beaux-Arts Classicism in America, as reflected in the composition of its plan and the design of its cultural and governmental buildings, embellishing structures, and objects of art. The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition popularized Beaux-Arts design in America, as exemplified in the fair's Court of Honor:

> Formally arranged around a central lake and fountain stood gleaming white buildings visually tied together with a uniform cornice height, a regular spacing of arcades, and a shared language of massing and detail. Each building, as well as the entire ensemble, displayed the rational and axial order of Beaux-Arts planning.[114]

The buildings displayed a style derived from historic motifs of classic Greek and Roman architecture, as translated by architects trained at the influential École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Architectural unity as a source of beauty for the grouped buildings of the "White City," as the Court of Honor became known, appealed to the fair's millions of visitors and "fixed the taste of a people for a generation."[115] As contemporary critic Ouroussoff remarked, "The homogeneity of the architecture, with its classical facades typically arranged around formal parks, reflected the desire to create a symbolic language of national unity after the Civil War."[116]

Described as "scholarly, self-confident, grand, and lush," Beaux-Arts Classicism seemed entirely appropriate and desirable for the monumental public architecture of civic centers of the early twentieth century.[117] The Denver Civic Center displays its overall influence in its assemblage of classically inspired buildings of monumental scale incorporating a variety of components of Beaux-Arts design, including order, balance, symmetry, dignity, and the blending of art and architecture. The controlling classical vocabulary adds to the unity and harmony of the district. The buildings and structures exhibit such defining Beaux-Arts characteristics as stone construction, banded rustication, giant order columns (usually with Ionic or Corinthian capitals), richly embellished walls, elaborated entablatures, attic stories, low-pitched roofs, and roofline balustrades or parapets. Most of the building facades are dominated by projecting porticos. Many windows are framed by pilasters and crowned by entablatures and pediments. Denver's civic center also displays the evolution of Beaux-Arts Classicism from the first decade of the twentieth century, as reflected in the completion of a State Capitol modeled on a particular reference, the United States Capitol, to the early years of the Great Depression, with the 1932 city-county building exemplifying a more simplified and liberalized version of the style incorporating fewer traditional ornamental devices while remaining faithful to its basic tenets.[118]

A variety of characteristics evident in the Denver Civic Center place it in the Beaux-Arts tradition. A strong axial arrangement governs the spatial organization of the center, with a principal east-west "governmental" or "civic" axis extending from the State Capitol to the Denver City and County Building and a secondary "cultural" transverse axis connecting the symmetrically balanced Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors on the south to the Voorhies Memorial Gateway on the north and tying the district to downtown

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[114] Mark Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in Their Cultural and Technological Context* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1999), 203.

[115] Talbot Hamlin, *Architecture Through the Ages* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 611.

[116] Ouroussoff, "An Epoch," 1.

[117] James Stevens Curl, *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 64; Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *Guide to Colorado's Historic Architecture and Engineering: Beaux Arts*, http://coloradohistory-oahp.org/guides/architecture/beauxarts.htm (accessed 11 February 2011).

[118] Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture*, 239; Michael J. Lewis, *American Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 2006), 229; Astrid Liverman, Colorado National and State Register Coordinator, email to Tom and Laurie Simmons, 9 March 2011.

Denver. These structures with their dramatic inward facing double colonnades anchor the public landscape to the north and south, symbolically and spatially enclosing the central transverse axis and giving to the center of the city a palpable sense of prominence and grandeur. Buildings are grouped symmetrically, with the Capitol and the city-county building facing each other across a linear public landscape, while the State Office Building and State Museum flank the Capitol on the north and south. Plans called for a building at the southwest corner of Civic Center Park to provide similar balance with the library building. Although this construction did not occur, the site remains subtly defined by bordering sidewalks.

A light-colored palette of enduring building materials enhances the architectural harmony within the civic center, with white to light-gray stone serving as the principal wall cladding for all buildings and structures. Regional distinction is achieved through the use of diverse types of Colorado stone. Builders employed light-gray granite for the first building erected within the district, the Capitol, as well as the 1920-21 office building and the 1932 city-county building. The public library, Greek theater and colonnade, and memorial gateway all exhibit light-gray sandstone. Construction of the state museum utilized white Colorado Yule marble. Sculptural works also echo this detailing in the utilization of native stone for bases and pedestals to accent their uniformly bronze compositions.

All of the buildings in the civic center are monumental in scale. Building heights do not vary greatly, ranging from two to five stories. The Capitol with its gilded dome and the city-county building with its slender tower are both three stories atop full-height basements. The State Office Building, at five stories, is the tallest building in the district. Many of the buildings and structures include recessed attic stories, parapets, or balustrades along the roof that visually lessen their verticality and emphasize the horizontality of the landscape as it approaches the Front Range.

Beaux-Arts Classicism informed the professions of landscape architecture and architecture in the early twentieth century. Design emphasized rational order and perspective, focusing on a logical progression through space and the relationship of component features. Formality derived from geometrical design, classical proportions, and the dominance of bilateral or radial axial order gave each component landscape an individual character while integrating it within a single but complex cohesive design. Willis A. Marean, one of the architects of the Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors, discussed the importance of properly grouping individual elements around the open space, noting: “Buildings to appear at their best should be seen at sufficient distance to view them in perspective.”[119] Inspiring vistas from building to building, across the designed landscape, and to the distant mountains are a primary feature of Denver Civic Center. The city highlighted the significance of these vistas when encouraging citizens to support the construction of a center, observing: “The view of the snow-clad range from the capitol, the sunny skies of Colorado, and the setting formed by a city already famed for its beauty, offer additional reasons for creating a plaza that no city in the world can excel.”[120]

Construction within the center represents the work of a number of talented architects. Elijah E. Myers of Detroit, the architect of two other state capitols, drew plans for the Colorado State Capitol in 1886 (completed 1908). École des Beaux-Arts-trained Albert Randolph Ross of New York designed the Denver Public Library and other Carnegie institutions across the country, including the 1903 Washington, D.C., building. The guiding hand of esteemed Chicago architect and planner Edward H. Bennett influenced the overall plan of the civic center, contributing to the design and location of the Greek theater and colonnade, as well as reviewing the design of the memorial gateway and other features of the district. The center also contains the work of some of Denver’s most prominent architects. William E. Fisher and Arthur A. Fisher, founders of “one of the largest and

[119] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 28 September 1912, 1.
[120] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 6 March 1909, 3.

most influential architectural firms in the Rocky Mountain region," designed the memorial gateway and its associated reflecting pool.[121] Nine Fisher and Fisher designs are presently listed in the National Register. Pioneering Denver architect Frank E. Edbrooke, who served as Supervising Architect of the State Capitol and designed the National Register-listed Brown Palace Hotel, prepared the plans for the 1915 Colorado State Museum. William N. Bowman, architect of the 1921 Colorado State Office Building, also designed the National Register-listed Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Building in downtown Denver, as well as a number of schools and county courthouses in the region. A group of thirty-nine Denver architects calling themselves the Allied Architects' Association mounted a collaborative effort with the sole purpose of designing the 1932 Denver City and County Building to complete the civic center.

Art

The Denver Civic Center is significant in the area of Art for representing the essential role American regional artists played in civic center design, which testified to the growing cultural and artistic sophistication of the nation's cities. As a founding member of the 1893 Denver Artist's Club wrote: "Back of all Denver's art life lies a deep desire to see her in the forefront of everything distinctively beautiful."[122] City Beautiful proponent Charles Mulford Robinson echoed these sentiments, finding the city "full of faith in itself, of ambition and of enterprise. It wants to be—as it can be, as it would pay it to be, and as, happily, it can now afford to make itself—one of the beautiful cities of the world."[123] The 1911 dedication of the *Pioneer Monument*, designed by internationally recognized sculptor Frederick MacMonnies, caused the city's art commissioner to observe proudly: "Denver the Beautiful has been a dream of far reaching import, and we need but glance around to see the vision is even now taking concrete form."[124]

In his 1990 treatise on American regional art, William H. Gerdts observed: "Of all the Rocky Mountain states, it was Colorado that most closely followed the same patterns of artistic development as elsewhere in America."[125] The varied and magnificent landscape of the region attracted many nineteenth-century artists, such as Albert Bierstadt, whose widely popular images of mountains and other natural western marvels led to their designation as the "Rocky Mountain School." During the early twentieth century, the "focus shifted to the human story," as revealed in themes of western history incorporated into the work of artists, many of whom grew up in the state.[126] Young local artists followed the tradition of studying with masters at the best schools in the United States and Europe, including New York's Art Students League and the École des Beaux-Arts and Académie Julian in Paris.[127] In Denver, artists' clubs and schools formed to support artistic aspirations, including the Denver Atelier and University of Denver's School of Fine Arts, which sponsored frequent competitions and exhibitions. Several of the artists whose work enhances the civic center were shaped by their early lives in Colorado as well as subsequent education and training that strengthened their expression of western themes. In the words of Peter Hassrick, former director of the Denver Art Museum's Petrie Institute of Western American Art remarked, many artists of the period "claimed the American West as muse. The frontier had just closed, and the West as an experiential phenomenon was thought to be passing quickly into the pages of history."[128]

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[121] Rutherford W. Witthus, "The Fisher Architectural Records Collection, 1897-1978" (Denver: Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, 1983).

[122] Meredith M. Evans, "Pioneering Spirits: E. Richardson Cherry and the First Women of the Artist's Club of Denver, 1893," in Petrie Institute, *Colorado: The Artist's Muse* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2008), 71.

[123] Charles Mulford Robinson, "Opening the Center of Denver," *Architectural Record* 19 (January 1906): 365.

[124] *Denver Post*, 24 June 1911, 4.

[125] William H. Gerdts, *Art Across America, Two Centuries of Regional Painting, 1710-1920: The Plains States and the West*, Vol. 3 (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990).

[126] Petrie Institute, *Colorado: The Artist's Muse*.

[127] Evans, "Pioneering Spirits," 62.

[128] Hassrick in True and Kirby, *Allen Tupper True*, xvii.

The symbolism and imagery of the Western experience is a defining feature of the art within the civic center, which displays some of the country's finest examples of late nineteenth and early twentieth century regional expression. Here a national template and ideology for Beaux-Arts Classicism seems to be rendered in regional terms—embracing both the magnificence of the native landscape and the unique cultural history of the interior West. The first artwork placed on the Capitol grounds reflected this emphasis on western themes significant to Colorado's heritage. *The Closing Era*, an 1893 sculpture by University of Denver art teacher Preston Powers, drew acclaim at the World's Columbian Exhibition for its Beaux-Arts depiction of a Native American hunter standing above a dying buffalo, a work that addressed the end of a way of life important to the region's indigenous history.[129] This regionalist approach coincided with a planning principle established during the earliest consideration of Denver Civic Center. In his 1906 recommendations, Charles Mulford Robinson encouraged the city to "maintain its individuality" in the course of undertaking the improvement.[130] When École des Beaux-Arts-trained MacMonnies submitted his first scheme for a fountain honoring pioneers in Denver, citizens criticized the piece for the symbolism implied in placing an Indian leader at the apex, a design that disturbed pioneers for whom the frontier era remained close at hand. MacMonnies traveled to the West to talk with residents and gain an understanding of the city's history in order to produce a more acceptable design, and, in the process, he made recommendations to city officials that would influence the design of final civic center. The sculptor returned to his Paris studio and revised the monument, placing an equestrian statue representing Colorado scout Kit Carson at the top of the fountain and figures of typical pioneers, including a mother and child, a prospector, and a trapper, along the base.

The works contributed by sculptor Alexander Phimister Proctor also represent regionalist art at its finest. Trained in New York and Paris, Proctor, who specialized in the painting and sculpture of animals and western figures, acknowledged the impact on his work of growing up in Denver and meeting its early inhabitants. He created two bronzes, *Broncho Buster* and *On the War Trail*, for the civic center, where he had seen herds of antelope graze as a boy. According to the 1919 *Denver Municipal Facts*, a city-produced publication describing civic progress, the two works represented "the early, virile days of the West" and would "preserve the picturesque atmosphere of the frontier, a flavor of which MacMonnies has already given in the *Pioneer Monument*."[131] At the time the statues were proposed Reginald Poland, who was at the time director of the Denver Art Museum, commented on their lasting value:

> Art critics have said Denver needed something to typify its underlying spirit. . . . The two equestrian figures by Proctor are being rightly placed on the Civic Center. There they will be seen by all, among whom are the tourists and the transient visitors. Coming to Denver, they will see that which will remain in their memory as the essential spirit of the city and region. These statues satisfy that desire. They will give life to the rather formal, classic architecture.[132]

The murals of Allen Tupper True, whose work has been described as "clearly American and decidedly Western in inspiration," reflect the evolution of approaches to regionalism over time. A native of Colorado, True studied in London with painter and muralist Frank Brangwyn, before returning to the state, where he created works of "profound importance and extraordinary breadth of vision."[133] Designing murals for the public library, the State Capitol, Civic Center Park, and the city-county building, True sought through his work to:

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[129] *The Closing Era* was placed on the Capitol grounds in 1898.
[130] Charles Mulford Robinson, "The Development of Denver," *The American City* 1 (September-November 1909): 197.
[131] *Denver Municipal Facts*, April 1919, 3-4
[132] Poland, "Artistic Expression in Denver," 8.
[133] Hassrick in True and Kirby, *Allen Tupper True*, xix.

> ….aid a little in interesting American people in American art, help a little in bringing to their understanding the real spirit of the American life, and drawing them away from an absorption in European art that does not concern us. In the Indians, the history of the cliff dwellers, the pioneers who laid with hardship and suffering the foundation for the building of this country, we have the greatest themes ever given to an artist for his work.[134]

True believed artists previously interpreted American life in "bold rough subjects," such as "picturesque cowboys" and "cunning savages." He wanted to portray what he saw as the authentic nature of western subjects devoid of earlier assumptions and misconceptions. His depiction of western themes reflected the state's growing distance from its frontier period. The style of his works in the civic center also reflected an evolution in mural painting, as he abandoned the "hampering dictums and confining conceptions of realism."[135]

Landscape Architecture

The district is significant under Criterion 4 in the area of Landscape Architecture, as an important example of a civic center with a Beaux-Arts landscape design of the City Beautiful era. Like planners, architects, and artists of the period, landscape architects recognized the negative social impact of unplanned urban growth and became interested in the creation of public open space, the "general effects of light, color, atmosphere, and above all, unity in their landscape compositions," and what could be achieved in cooperation with other professions.[136] City Beautiful proponents favored landscapes reflecting axial planning and geometrical design, as well as the inclusion of less formal areas providing balance to Beaux-Arts Classical architecture.[137] The design of the Denver Civic Center extended beyond formal landscape planning and included: the arrangement, scale, massing, and materials of buildings; the integration and placement of works of art; consideration of sightlines into and out of the center, particularly those preserving the vista from the State Capitol west to Rocky Mountains; and arrangement of areas for public uses such as cultural entertainment, speeches, and other gatherings. The designed setting incorporated dignity, order, and democratic ideals reflecting Denver's position as the seat of state and city and county government, and it acknowledged the dominance of the State Capitol in relationship to the city-county building. The civic center established a landscape of sufficient quality, size, and sophistication to demonstrate that the brash, cowtown of Denver stood ready to take its place among the leading urban centers of the nation in terms of municipal improvements.

Among the Beaux-Arts concepts reflected in the Denver Civic Center's landscape design are formality, symmetry, axial order, respect for vistas, the incorporation of public art, and stylistic harmony of the architecture and embellishments within the site. At the same time, the concept of regional distinction is displayed in the choice of some tree and plant species, the works of art, and the spacious views. Reinhard Schuetze's 1895 plan for the Colorado State Capitol grounds and Lincoln Park (implemented in 1896) established a Beaux-Arts approach influencing all subsequent development. Schuetze's Capitol grounds landscape plan created a formal, symmetrical layout that made the view west toward the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains a major focal element. Denver park historians Carolyn and Don Etter trace the origins of the civic center idea to Schuetze, who "gave Denver a simple and graceful example of the application of City Beautiful principles."[138] The 1904-17 effort to develop a civic center extending from the Capitol not only

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[134] Allen Tupper True remarks in *Denver Times* (undated), quoted in True and Kirby, *Allen Tupper True*, 230.
[135] True and Kirby, *Allen Tupper True*, 231.
[136] Melanie Simo, *100 Years of Landscape Architecture: Some Patterns of a Century* (Washington, D.C.: ASLA Press, 1999).
[137] Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2001), 370.
[138] Don and Carolyn Etter, *Forgotten Dreamer: Reinhard Schuetze, Denver's Landscape Architect* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 2001).

incorporated Schuetze's original designs for the Capitol grounds and Lincoln Park, but also adopted the landscape architect's sensibility and vision.

The Beaux-Arts concept of a strong axial layout found voice in Frederick MacMonnies's 1907 approach, which extended the civic center due west from the Capitol (forming an east-west axis) and added triangles of land to the north and south, allowing the creation of a secondary, north-south transverse or cross axis. Edward H. Bennett, who crafted the 1917 civic center plan that was eventually implemented by the city, retained the axial arrangement and incorporated elements of a 1912 plan developed by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., which called for the planting of a pair of symmetrically placed groves of red oak tree adjacent to Broadway, a curving Neoclassical balustrade, and a sunken garden. In Bennett's plan, an open air theater and a commemorative gateway, both flanked by semi- elliptical colonnades, were to balance the opposing ends of the north-south axis, and a building to house local government was proposed for the western end of the principal east-west axis as a counterpoint to the State Capitol.

Many landscape architects of the City Beautiful period believed public spaces such as civic centers played an important role in achieving social goals by bringing together persons from all ranks and classes of society to share the same recreational, cultural, educational, and civic opportunities.[139] Designed landscapes thus encompassed areas for the quiet individual contemplation of the natural setting and areas for organized events attracting large crowds. Edward H. Bennett was successful in translating Mayor Speer's City Beautiful concept of the landscape as a gathering place for people of diverse backgrounds and socioeconomic strata into a practical and aesthetically pleasing plan that created areas for large public gatherings, broad walkways, and an outdoor theater. This accessible public space represents a vision of American democracy and civic responsibility that shaped the city and continues to have meaning today. The Etters concluded: "Olmsted's and Bennett's work for Civic Center created a beautiful and treasured space–of national as well as statewide and local importance."[140]

DEVELOPMENT OF THE DENVER CIVIC CENTER

The history of the campaign to create Denver's civic center reveals the collaboration and cooperation of civic and business leaders, city planners, artists, architects, landscape architects, and ordinary citizens necessary for the success of a project of such massive scale. Denver's experience is representative of the long process often required to realize large and costly municipal improvements from conception through a number of plans and stages of development. It also reveals the advantage of having a strong leader with unwavering focus on the effort despite setbacks and changes in the political climate. Mayor Robert W. Speer's embrace of City Beautiful ideals led him to champion the cause for a civic center and other municipal improvements. Utilizing the direction provided in a series of plans produced by prominent professionals, Denver actualized such related City Beautiful concepts as an interconnected system of parks and parkways, a chain of mountain parks, and a civic center.[141]

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[139] Charles E. Beveridge and Paul Rocheleau, *Frederick Law Olmsted: Designing the American Landscape*, ed. David Larkin (New York: Rizzoli, 1995), 46.

[140] Carolyn and Don Etter, "The Olmsted Legacy," "Summary Sheet 3—Denver's Civic Center Park Master Plan," 2006, in the files of Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department.

[141] Draper, *Edward H. Bennett*, 26; Ann Moss, "Denver Mountain Park System, Denver, Colorado, 1912-1941," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form; Don Etter, "Denver Park and Parkway System," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1986.

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT AND THE INFLUENCE OF BEAUX-ARTS CLASSICISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Professor Jon Peterson, the recognized authority on the early years of American city planning, observed, "Civic revitalization—the thorough revamping of city life and values—represented the essence of the City Beautiful."[142] By the late nineteenth century, America's rapid industrialization, burgeoning urban population, and increasingly chaotic development led people to seek solutions for problems viewed as arising from city life, including alienation, poverty, disease, overcrowding, political corruption, and crime. Many reformers believed that the solution to such evils could be found in a rebirth of community spirit and shared responsibility in reshaping the city. Adherents asserted the public interest could be discerned through historical experience and acquired knowledge, supplemented by more recent discoveries and inventions and touted such ideals as sanitation, moral purity, civic responsibility, and good government. These goals found concrete expression in visual images such as manicured lawns, beautifully proportioned buildings, and orderly parks. Progressive social philosophies combined with concepts of civic reawakening developed in the fields of architecture, landscape architecture, art, and city planning and coalesced in the City Beautiful movement. One of the most significant and widely considered concepts emerging from the movement was that of the civic center. The civic center embodied two goals: "the strictly architectural objective of grouping of public buildings as a visually impressive ensemble, and the hopes of urban progressives to give evocative form to their citizenship."[143]

Many of the leading architects who participated in the creation of American civic centers of the City Beautiful era studied for several years at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, which provided architectural education from 1819 until 1968. The school limited attendance to persons (including women from the turn of the century on) between fifteen and thirty years of age, and each advanced at his own rate based on points obtained through participation in competitions and the award of prizes. Students attended lectures and participated in short- and long-term design competitions, which constituted the most important component of the school's training. Every student learned to design in an *atelier* (a drafting room or studio for teaching a group of pupils at various stages of advancement) under the guidance of an experienced master, many of whom had won the Grand Prix de Rome, a competition conferring the school's highest honor. As Richard Chaffee noted in his study of architectural instruction at the school, "Outside of France from the time of the Revolution, an architect who had studied at the École in Paris won respect simply for having been there."[144]

More than 500 American architects attended the school and hundreds more received training in Parisian ateliers, returning home to create buildings of Beaux-Arts composition and to spread its influence.[145] Art history Professor David Van Zanten described the French academic system's teaching of composition as the design of "whole buildings, conceived as three-dimensional entities and seen together in plan, section, and elevation."[146] This process included analysis of the most effective interior layout, identification of significant features of the site, and consideration of the total effect. École des Beaux-Arts principles included "close attention to the classical orders, its fundamental belief in axial organization, and its firm reliance on symmetrical composition," according to architectural historian Carter Wiseman. [147] Other key considerations included the integration of decorative art and architecture, framing of sites, and physical progression through a designed space.[148]

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[142] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*, 149-150

[143] Ibid., 143-46, 149-150, 154, 156-157.

[144] Richard Chaffee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts," in *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, ed. Arthur Drexler (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 85.

[145] Neil Levine, "The Romantic Idea of Architecture Legibility: Henry Labrouste and the Neo-Grec," 8-9; Chaffee, "The Teaching of Architecture," 62-63, 82, 85, and 88; David Van Zanten, "Architectural Composition at the École des Beaux-Arts from Charles Percier to Charles Garnier," 111-112; "Beaux-Arts Buildings in France and America," 464; all in Drexler, *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*.

[146] Van Zanten, "Architectural Composition," 112.

[147] Carter Wiseman, *Shaping a Nation: Twentieth Century American Architecture and its Makers* (New York: W.W. Norton

Richard Morris Hunt (1827-1895), the first American to attend the École des Beaux-Arts (1846-55), returned to the United States to found his own *atelier* in New York along the lines of the French School. Hunt's educational efforts enormously influenced the country's subsequent architectural training, and several of his students became prominent architects who helped spread the concepts of Beaux-Arts design across the country. Referred to as "the dean of American architects," Hunt served as co-founder and the second president of the American Institute of Architects.[149]

The nation's largest architectural firm of the late nineteenth century, McKim, Mead and White, helped establish Beaux-Arts Classicism as a favored style in the United States. Charles Follen McKim (1847-1909), an École des Beaux-Arts graduate, designed the office's public buildings, including the Boston Public Library (1887-98), described as "a textbook example of Beaux-Arts doctrine."[150] McKim closely collaborated with artists, including Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Daniel Chester French, in the creation of the building, establishing widely imitated precedents in American architecture.[151] He is also credited with influencing the trend toward "austere severity" in early twentieth-century classicism.[152]

Nineteenth-century landscape architecture provided another foundation for the City Beautiful movement and prepared citizens for reforms resulting in creation of public parks and playgrounds in urban areas. Before his untimely death in 1852, Andrew Jackson Downing emphasized the social purpose of tastefully arranging buildings and plantings in farms and communities and agitated for public parks in cities. He believed urban residents benefitted from access to green spaces and fresh air and that public parks supported democracy by increasing social interaction between classes.[153]

Downing's ideas influenced the work of Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903), including his groundbreaking 1858-61 design of New York's Central Park with Calvert Vaux. Olmsted advanced landscape architecture as a profession in the United States and led to park system planning throughout the country after the Civil War. As architectural historian Leland M. Roth observed, Olmsted foresaw the necessity of preserving open space in the face of industrial growth, and "social concern lay at the very heart" of his efforts.[154] In 1868, Buffalo, with the innovative guidance of Olmsted and Vaux, became the first city to plan and undertake a comprehensive interconnected park and parkway system. Olmsted's work at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago directly influenced the City Beautiful movement, including his multi-purpose park and boulevard planning; promotion of naturalistic beauty in urban areas; and argument that improvement of parks raised the value of adjacent land, thereby aiding private enterprise. By this time the American profession of landscape architecture was increasingly coming under the influence of Beaux-Arts formalism and the grand European traditions of landscape design. The work of the Olmsted firm at the exposition and on the Biltmore estate in Asheville, North Carolina, demonstrated how formal principles of design, represented by Beaux-Arts principles, could be as relevant and meaningful in shaping the American landscape, as the informal principles drawn from the English landscape gardening tradition that had shaped nineteenth century urban parks. This awareness of style occurred simultaneously with a growing professional advocacy for the preservation of the scenic qualities of the American landscape. It is not surprising that in the early twentieth century, civic leaders and designers

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and Co., 1998), 32-33.

[148] Liverman, email to Simmons, 9 March 2011.

[149] Wiseman, *Shaping a Nation*, 32-35.

[150] Michael J. Lewis, *American Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 2006), 182.

[151] Roth, *American Architecture*, 292-293; Drexler, *The Architecture of the École des Beaux Arts*, 491.

[152] Drexler, *The Architecture of the École des Beaux Arts*, 491.

[153] Beveridge and Rocheleau, *Frederick Law Olmsted*, 20.

[154] Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2001), 230.

alike embraced this plurality of style, seeing formal boulevards and civic centers as important to public inspiration and engagement as outlying natural reservations and parkways laid out along low-lying streams.[155]

Olmsted formulated a comprehensive theory of landscape design that included an assertion of the restorative psychological effect of scenery, which he believed able "to refresh and delight the eye and through the eye, the mind and the spirit."[156] He emphasized the importance of expressing the "spirit of the place" when shaping a landscape, a concept influential to the regionalism exhibited in many of the nation's civic centers and other public spaces. He preferred the use of native plants, utilizing outside sources only if "their exotic character was evident only to experts in horticulture."[157] Of primary importance to Olmsted was the pursuit of social goals through his life's work. As explained by Olmsted scholar Charles E. Beveridge, the landscape architect "intended his parks to be public institutions of recreation and popular education that would demonstrate the viability of the republican experiment in America."[158] Like Downing, he believed the American populace would benefit from the park's function as a meeting ground for citizens of all classes and backgrounds. In park design he also showed immense concern for the poor, who often had little opportunity to escape crowded living conditions of the inner city and enjoy the outdoors.[159]

1893 World's Columbian Exposition and Early City Beautiful Planning Efforts

French-trained architects viewed buildings in their broader context, encouraging a growing appreciation of urban planning and group design. The World's Columbian Exposition, celebrating the 400th anniversary of Columbus's landing in the New World, thoroughly popularized Beaux-Arts classical design in the United States with its remarkable "White City." The fair introduced Americans to the concept of a civic center or grouped arrangement of civic buildings designed to inspire the populace through their formalism, harmony, balance, and beauty. Daniel Burnham, as chief of construction, supervised the creation of an immense (633-acre) Olmsted-designed landscape framed by monumental white buildings of uniform scale exhibiting diverse expressions of classical style created by some of the nation's leading architects working in collaboration noted artists of the day. The resulting effort offered an image of an ideal city untarnished by the forces of urban decay. The acclaimed centerpiece, known as the Court of Honor, stimulated public interest in recreating public squares or city centers as the focus of civic activities and demonstrated the benefit of uniformly designed, grouped architecture.

Planning historian Mel Scott found that "the fair proclaimed the aesthetic principles that would govern the design of civic centers, malls, boulevards, university and college campuses, waterfronts, and other expositions for two decades or more."[160] The beautiful balance of buildings, lawns, walkways, and water strongly impressed visitors and critics and influenced the public planning and design of American cities into the first decades of the twentieth century. The event also stimulated the development of comprehensive city planning, as communities throughout the United States sought to beautify and create order in their cities. Peterson evaluated the fair as "a high point in the history of the American architectural profession and as a crystallization of a new civic image reflecting powerful currents of nationalism and reform then emerging in public life."[161]

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[155] Mel Scott, *American Planning Since 1890:A History Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Institute of Planners* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969), 11; Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 9 and 29.
[156] Olmsted quoted in Beveridge and Rocheleau, *Frederick Law Olmsted*, 34.
[157] Beveridge and Rocheleau, *Frederick Law Olmsted*, 43.
[158] Ibid., 46.
[159] Ibid., 46-49
[160] Scott, *American City Planning*, 36.
[161] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 57.

During the remainder of the 1890s civic leaders discussed grouped public buildings, which became a primary focus of the City Beautiful movement's efforts to reform the landscape as one means of improving social order. The Chicago Exposition's comprehensive planning, consistency of style, axial organization, and rational progression, as well as its many uses of electricity and water, influenced subsequent urban development.[162] Advocates contended improvement of the environment and architecture of cities would result in corresponding benefits for moral growth and civic responsibility. As City Beautiful scholar William H. Wilson described these concepts: "Physical change and institutional reformation would persuade urban dwellers to become more imbued with civic patriotism and better disposed toward community needs. Beautiful surroundings would enhance worker productivity and urban economics."[163]

Pioneering City Beautiful planner Charles M. Robinson described desirable public buildings as "large, substantial, white, and pure . . . with detached columns and perhaps sculptured figures standing clear against the sky."[164] Other design considerations espoused by City Beautiful advocates, derived from Beaux-Arts tradition, included symmetry and balance; dignity and uniformity; simplicity and order; and harmonious building materials, with stone considered a "noble" material. Planners regarded harmony of classical architectural designs, monumental scale, and uniformity of the cornice lines of principal buildings as essential. Inclusion of public art, such as murals, statues, and sculptures; utilization of embellishments such as balustrades, arches, and columns; addition of water features, such as fountains and reflecting pools; and application of landscape features such as shaded walks and flower beds, terraces and steps, and sunken gardens became vital components of civic centers.

The 1902 Senate Park Commission Plan for Washington, D.C. (also known as the McMillan Plan), created by a commission of leading designers of the day headed by Daniel Burnham, expressed many of the ideals of the emerging City Beautiful movement, including a belief in the power of beauty to transform urban environments from chaos to harmony, to stimulate civic pride and community spirit leading to social and moral reform, and to increase architectural quality and property values. The first significant American program to achieve the goals of City Beautiful municipal planning proceeded in Washington. Peterson stated the significance of the project:

> As a plan, its fundamental achievement, historically, was to join for the first time the civic vision of American architects, especially their recent involvement with large-scale, ensemble design at the Chicago World's Fair, with the older tradition of park system planning for the urban fringe, thereby encompassing the entire physical city, core and periphery.

Furthermore, the plan was "a scheme so spectacular that it … inspired many of the local beautification organizations then springing up throughout the nation to urge schemes of comparable boldness."[165] By 1902 beautification efforts proliferated across the country in towns of every size. Arts organizations initiated many early projects, as artists, too, considered their work central to the quality of urban life. Civic improvement groups and municipal art organizations nationwide developed connections and shared ideas. A professionally designed overall vision or plan for city development increasingly became a primary goal in order to avoid or control the unplanned, unsafe, and unattractive growth many communities experienced. City Beautiful advocates believed the resulting pleasing buildings and surrounding landscapes would affect the outlook of individuals and communities, instilling a sense of civic pride and desire for social harmony among

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[162] Roth, *American Architecture*, 320.

[163] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 55 and 57; Scott, *American City Planning*, 32-37; Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 1, 90, 92-93.

[164] Robinson quoted in Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 94.

[165] Denver's civic leaders received information about the Washington Plan, which motivated them to consider a civic center. Scott, *American City Planning*, 48; Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 1 and 77.

urban residents of differing backgrounds and classes. Daniel Burnham and Edward H. Bennett's 1909 *Plan of Chicago* became "the most celebrated" example of a number of comprehensive plans published during the era before World War I.[166]

As a principal component of many City Beautiful city plans, the civic center reflected the ideals of efficiency, cooperation, and convenience by providing a focus for government functions. Civic centers were believed to inspire patriotism through noble architecture, as well as providing a location for marking holidays and commemorations and a site for special civic events. Proponents considered a civic center an important gathering site where all members of society could share views, spend leisure time, enjoy cultural events, and participate in experiences creating social uplift. As stated in the influential 1903-04 Cleveland Group Plan, the civic center represented a place where "petty struggles for prominence, small successes and failures disappear. Here the citizens assume their rights and duties and civic pride is born." Advocates believed a civic center influenced surrounding construction, raising the quality of privately erected buildings and increasing property values. Pragmatic results expected of beautification efforts also included increases in tourism and the number of new businesses in the city.[167]

Because planning for the design, key elements, and interrelationship of a civic center with the rest of the urban environment was inherently complex, cities generally required the assistance of a professional. During the first decade of the twentieth century business and civic leaders led the push for City Beautiful planning, guided by the first experts in the field. Early city planners included Charles Mulford Robinson, described as "the nation's foremost expounder of the City Beautiful and its most prolific maker of City Beautiful plans, chiefly for small and mid-sized cities." In his 1903 book, *Modern Civic Art or The City Made Beautiful*, Robinson asserted the administrative center represented the heart of a city and should be "distinct and definite." Not only were groupings of public buildings more efficient, but more "majestic," and worthy of a conspicuous site with axial positions for important buildings and adornment with colonnades, avenues of trees, balustrades, fountains, and sculpture. The inclusion of an open space for contemplating the monumental buildings and vistas also became the subject of high design standards and provided an opportunity for embellishment with proper ornaments. As William Wilson described: "The civic center was intended to be a beautiful ensemble, an architectonic triumph far more breathtaking than a single building, no matter how comely, could be. Grouping buildings around a park, square, or intersection of radial streets allowed the visual delights of perspectives, open spaces, and the contrasts between the buildings and their umbrageous settings."[168]

Successful civic center projects incorporated a harmonious working relationship between the planner and city leaders with a realistic design. Many of the early improvement schemes found resistance in local communities due to expense or lack of community consensus. As Peterson observed: "By 1917, unable to achieve their ultimate goal in practice, the champions of the new field [city planning] settled upon implementing whatever pieces of their overall agenda local circumstances allowed." The City Beautiful movement eventually felt the impact of social movements concerned with improving living conditions of working class people, a middle class interest in protecting residential areas from undesirable development, and other groups of critics, resulting in its

[166] Wilson, "A Diadem," 75.

[167] Ibid., 74-75; William H. Wilson, "The Denver City and County Building and the Dimensions of Planning," *Planning Perspectives* 3 (1988); Cleveland Group Plan quoted in Arnold Brunner, "Cleveland Group Plan," *Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference on City Planning*, Cleveland, June 5-7, 1916 (New York: National Conference on City Planning, 1916), online version scanned and edited by John W. Reps (accessed at http://www.library.cornell.edu/Reps/DOCS/brunner.htm (accessed on 30 April 2009).

[168] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 119; Charles Mulford Robinson, *Modern Civic Art or the City Made Beautiful*, 4th ed. (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1918), Chapter V: "The Administrative Centre;" Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 92.

adoption of "more realistic and practical" goals. By 1912, city planning emphasized the "City Functional," a descendant of the reform impulses that came to dominate the profession.[169]

ORIGINS OF THE DENVER CIVIC CENTER CONCEPT AND PLANS

Denver, originally part of Arapahoe County, became the state's first combined city and county after passage of a 1902 constitutional amendment. The organization of the City and County of Denver incorporated several adjoining municipalities into the capital city, created a unified school district, increased local civic spirit, and stimulated a desire to transform the city's reputation from cow town to sophisticated cosmopolitan community. The 1902 Senate Park Commission Plan for Washington, D.C., stimulated discussion in Denver regarding the possibility of constructing grouped public buildings. The Municipal Art League gathered in that year to inspect drawings of the scheme and discuss the feasibility of a smaller project for the city. Composed of representatives from a variety of civic groups, the League supported the concept of a civic center, as well as the creation of an art commission.[170]

A new city charter in 1904 established the Denver Art Commission, giving it broad powers over all matters relating to art in the city and county, including the design, placement, alteration, and removal of any city artwork, as well as approval of art-related awards and contracts.[171] Commission members were to include the mayor, a sculptor and another type of artist, an architect, and three persons of other occupations. The group began its work in 1904, the same year that a new mayor, Robert W. Speer, assumed office with a vision for beautifying the city. Denver, believing its future lay more in the growth of tourism than industry, turned its attention to aesthetic development of the city during the early twentieth century. It aspired to accomplish a beautification program resulting in its comparison with much older European cities in only a decade. With this concept in mind, the city's leaders initiated planning for an unprecedented construction program.[172]

Robert Walter Speer (1855-1918)

According to Colorado historian Wilbur Fisk Stone, "Robert Walter Speer was a man of vision and the vision crystallized in Denver's civic greatness…. He was a dreamer of dreams but the dreams took form in practical effort that placed Denver in many respects in a point of leadership among the great cities on the American continent."[173] Born and educated in Pennsylvania, Speer worked for the Pennsylvania Railroad as a young man. In 1877 his sister contracted tuberculosis and he escorted her to Colorado, which attracted many invalids seeking relief from respiratory diseases. After returning to Pennsylvania to work and study law, he soon fell victim to the same illness. In early 1878 Speer moved to Colorado with hopes of improving his condition in its dry, sunny climate. Arriving in such poor condition he could not walk, he soon departed to find a cure in the fresh air of a mountain cattle ranch. After regaining his health, Speer worked in the capital city as a carpet salesman with the Daniels and Fisher Department Store and subsequently pursued a career in real estate. In 1882 he entered a happy marriage with Kate A. Thrush, a Pennsylvania schoolmate whose life he had saved in a boating accident. Speer soon developed an interest in politics, rising quickly within the Democratic Party in Denver due to his "open, frank, and winning nature."[174]

In 1884 Denver voters chose Speer to serve as city clerk, his first elected office. The following year he received appointment as postmaster, holding the position four years before returning to real estate. He subsequently

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[169] Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 3; Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, xvii; Scott, *American City Planning*, 80 and 123.
[170] Wilson, "A Diadem," 74.
[171] Ibid., 74.
[172] *Denver Municipal Facts*, October 1918.
[173] Wilbur Fisk Stone, ed., *History of Colorado*, vol. 2, (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1918), 96, 98-100.
[174] Charles A. Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer* (Denver: Green Mountain Press, 1969), 7; *Denver Municipal Facts*, May 1918.

became a member of the Denver Fire and Police Board as police commissioner and later fire commissioner. In 1901 Governor James B. Orman selected him as president of the Denver Board of Public Works, which controlled improvements within the city. During these years, Speer adopted the best administrative practices of other large cities, studied solutions to municipal problems, and built the strongest political machine in the city's history.[175]

In 1904 Denver, the "overgrown country town," elected officials as a unified city and county. Speer became a successful candidate for mayor despite opposition by the city's newspapers. The dynamic and charismatic mayor served two consecutive terms and part of a third that marked the transformation of Denver according to a comprehensive plan embodying City Beautiful principles. Although opponents charged he was a boss who manipulated elections and favored corporate interests, Speer's careful management and fiscal efficiency found favor among local citizens. His philosophy embraced adding municipal facilities of both beauty and utility, and he believed planned development essential to the creation of a harmonious city. In his first months the mayor's office initiated ambitious campaigns for a city auditorium, clean up and improvements along Cherry Creek, and the creation of a civic center to serve as the hub of the city and center of its government.[176]

Speer's first two terms resulted in numerous public improvements, including building viaducts, constructing modern playgrounds, paving city streets, increasing the number of shade trees by 25 percent, providing extensive street illumination, placing telephone and telegraph wires underground, establishing flood controls, constructing sewer systems, adding cultural facilities and offering free municipal entertainment, and creating a boulevard and parkway system laid out by nationally prominent city planner George E. Kessler.[177] Speer's associate and biographer Edgar C. MacMechen noted: "Beautification was the keynote of this period. The general appearance of the city changed completely."[178] One factor in the mayor's success was his interest in every detail of city government and understanding of every department, proving to the local citizens the worth of an official trained in its workings.[179]

Denver's first definite step toward creation of a civic center came on 30 November 1904, when the Denver Art Commission responded to Speer's request for suggestions regarding municipal improvement by recommending adoption of a city plan.[180] As part of such a plan, commission president Henry Read urged creation of a civic center focused on a central plaza that connected a group of public buildings including the State Capitol. Cited as the "most potent factor in the development of Denver's civic art," English-born William Henry Read (1847-1935) studied art at Heatherly's School of Fine Art in London, but pursued a short business career, which "ended in spiritual disgust, broken health and a determination to come to America." Arriving in Denver about 1890, he found an unsophisticated city with a promising future and visualized what it might become. Read taught at Wolfe Hall, a private school, and in 1895 founded the Students School of Art, teaching young pupils technique and craftsmanship. He erected a building that also provided space for the Denver Art Museum. In addition to his career as a painter, he designed Denver's corporate seal. Mayor Speer selected him as an inaugural member of the commission and Read is often cited as being the first person to suggest to Mayor Speer the possibility of a civic center for Denver. During the Speer era, the *American Magazine of Art* called Read "the artistic power behind the throne" for his role in advancing civic art and beautification. Colorado historian Wilbur Fisk Stone found the commission's work under Read's leadership influenced municipalities throughout

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[175] Edgar C. MacMechen, ed., *Robert W. Speer: A City Builder* (Denver: Robert W. Speer Memorial Association, 1919), 9-14; Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 5-6; Stone, *History of Colorado*, 96-98.
[176] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 31.
[177] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 14-16; Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 33.
[178] Ibid., 15.
[179] Ibid., 15 and 22.
[180] *Denver Municipal Facts*, April 1919, 4.

the country. With the artist's encouragement and relying on his time and talent, Speer directed the commission to obtain the services of a city planning professional who could formulate the desired master plan.[181]

COLORADO STATE CAPITOL: THE EASTERN ANCHOR

The existing Colorado State Capitol, its grounds, and Lincoln Park (the city block lying west of the Capitol) formed the anchor and obvious starting point for all discussions and plans for a larger civic center. The building's scale, design, materials, craftsmanship, associated artwork, and landscaped grounds exerted a profound influence on everything planned and created, including the 1932 Denver City and County Building. The statehouse lay on a slight rise christened "Brown's Bluff" in recognition of the area's developer. Construction of the statehouse extended more than two decades, from the start of excavation in 1886 to final completion in 1908.

Six years after Congress created the 1861 Colorado territory, the territorial legislature officially designated Denver as the capital and formed a site selection commission to secure a location for a capitol building, with the proviso that the land include at least donated ten acres. Henry Cordes Brown, a real estate developer and later founder of Denver's celebrated Brown Palace Hotel, offered suitable acreage in his H.C. Brown's Addition southeast of the commercial district, on the condition the territory pledge to erect its capitol there. The site encompassed two city blocks bordered by East Colfax Avenue on the north, Grant Street on the east, East 14th Avenue on the south, and Lincoln Street on the west, where the land dropped off creating the bluff. Brown donated the property for business reasons, anticipating construction of the state's most important building would increase real estate values in his addition and insure acceptance of its north-south, east-west street grid, which differed from the angled alignment of the downtown area.[182]

Colorado accepted Brown's offer and solicited other gifts of land and money to enable construction of a building. A lack of territorial funds, the push for statehood, and uncertainty over Denver's prospects for becoming the permanent state capital delayed work on the site. Early Denver historian Jerome C. Smiley concluded it was "fortunate that circumstances prevented the erection of even a temporary structure; otherwise, in all probability, we should not have had the magnificent State edifice now standing on Capitol Hill."[183] Colorado became the nation's thirty-eighth state in 1876. After another three years passed without the start of construction on a capitol building, Brown revoked his gift. The state contested his action, and the ensuing litigation spanned nearly seven years and included two U.S. Supreme Court appeals. Eventually the courts determined Brown could not unilaterally revoke his gift since he had not specified a timeframe for completion of a capitol. By a wide margin voters selected Denver, Colorado's largest city, as the permanent capital in 1881, and the state gained undisputed title to the ten acres in early 1886.

Lincoln Park

In early 1883 the legislature created a seven-member Board of Direction and Supervision to guide construction of the State Capitol. In the same year the Board purchased the city block lying west of the site donated by Brown. Bounded by East Colfax Avenue, Lincoln Street, East 14th Avenue, and Broadway, this land became Lincoln Park. The open space constituted an essential component of the civic center, preserving the immediate viewshed to the west and preventing incompatible development in front of the Capitol. To celebrate the laying of the Capitol cornerstone, the state held a barbecue in the park in 1890. The Sanborn fire insurance map of that

[181] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 46; Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 38; Florence N. Levy, ed., *American Art Annual*, vol. 6, 1907-08 (New York: American Art Annual, 1908), 163.

[182] Jerome C. Smiley, *History of Denver* (Denver: Old Americana Publishing Company, 1978; orig. publ. Denver: Denver Times, 1901), 506; Margaret Coel, *The Colorado State Capitol: The Pride of Our People* (Denver: Colorado General Assembly, 1992), 4-6 and 15.

[183] Smiley, *History of Denver*, 506-07.

year showed the area as part of the Capitol grounds; Lincoln Street was not opened yet. Formal design of the park came as a result of competitions in 1890 and 1895.[184]

Capitol Funding and Construction

The 1883 legislation calling for construction of a capitol building limited the total cost to $1 million and contemplated the erection of one wing of the building at a time. The Board solicited proposals from architects, but only nine responded and none submitted plans found acceptable. Determining they needed more information about the process of erecting a statehouse, board members traveled to six Midwest states that had recently built capitols. The group met with officials and collected information on building materials and construction specifications, leading them to conclude construction of one wing at a time was unwise, as the wings would settle at different rates and adversely affect the finished building.[185]

In its 1885 session the legislature passed a new act providing for erection of the entire building at once, capping the cost at $1 million, limiting annual expenditures to no more than $200,000, specifying the size and number of rooms included, offering prizes for architects who submitted plans, and calling for completion by 1 January 1890. The act stipulated that the Capitol "shall be built of stone, brick and iron, as far as practicable, and all the materials used in the construction of the same shall be those found and procured in the State of Colorado." A Board of Management and Supervision directed the project, announcing a competition for preparation of plans for the building in April 1885. From the twenty-one designs submitted, the Board selected the work of Detroit architect Elijah E. Myers, who had designed the 1883 Arapahoe County Courthouse in downtown Denver and prepared plans for the state capitols of Michigan and Texas and territorial capitols of Idaho and Utah (the latter was never built). Myers described his design, which echoed that of the national Capitol in Washington, as "Corinthian," and asserted "the building, when completed, will be the finest in the State of Colorado, and one of the finest in the country, of which every citizen of the State may be justly proud."[186]

In February 1886 the Board received five construction bids, all exceeding the $1 million limit. Two revised lower bids were submitted, and the award went to William D. Richardson of Springfield, Illinois, who received a $930,485 contract in April. Myers served as supervising architect for the project, and Peter Gumry, a Denver builder, as superintendent of construction. The formal start of work began in July 1886 with excavation for the foundation. In fall 1887, Richardson submitted a claim for additional labor and materials exceeding his contract. An investigation concluded his original bid underestimated costs, and the Board declared his contract void in January 1888. The Denver firm of Geddes and Seerie then received the commission to complete the foundation and stonework.[187]

The Board soon realized the Capitol as designed by Myers could not be completed within the budget and schedule authorized. In 1889 the Legislature reconstituted the Board of Capitol Managers as a four-person body, raised the maximum cost of the building to $2 million, and approved the use of granite for the exterior. Geddes and Seerie obtained gray granite from the Zugelder Quarry near Aberdeen in Gunnison County and set up a stonecutting yard at the construction site.[188] Capitol historian Margaret Coel described the work:

> At the grounds, a small army of almost two hundred skilled men cut and dressed the granite for exact locations in the superstructure. Diagrams showed the location of each stone and gave the

[184] No nineteenth century photographs of the park were located. Smiley, *History of Denver*, 509; Pyle, "History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex," 16; Sanborn Map Company, Denver, Colorado, fire insurance maps, vol. 1, sheet 20a, 1890.
[185] Pyle, "History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex," 14.
[186] Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 36-40 and 50; Pyle, "History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex," 18-23.
[187] Pyle, "History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex," 61.
[188] Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 36-40.

> date and hour it was to be ready. Derricks hoisted the stones into place. "It was a busy scene," said a reporter. "There is music in the ring of the stone cutters' hammers, the creaking derricks, and the chorus of anvils in the blacksmith shop."[189]

To reduce costs, the Board dismissed architect Elijah Myers in June 1889. Board member Otto Mears supplied the group's pragmatic rationale: "You see we don't need him. If he stays he gets the commission on the increased price of the building and that will make him a little fortune to which he has actually no right. The State has got his plans and they have paid for them." Myers characterized the decision as an "indignity," complaining that "for a man of my age and experience this is a most unpleasant occurrence."[190] Peter Gumry, the building superintendent, assumed the duties of Myers.

A 4 July 1890 Masonic ceremony installed a twenty-ton granite cornerstone holding a copper box with state reports, a U.S. flag, and other items. State Capitol scholar William R. Pyle judged that "in many ways it was Denver's greatest day." At the dedication, former governor Alva Adams idealistically declared: "Upon the apex of the continent our capitol becomes a lighthouse upon a great eminence, and from there it should radiate a never-fading glow of exalted principals, of high and patriotic examples." Twenty special trains to the capital city swelled the crowd to roughly 60,000 persons who attended the festivities and filled the city's hotels. Buntings decorated buildings and a parade wound through downtown to the construction site. The state served a barbecue and staged fireworks in the evening.[191]

By 1892 completed exterior walls reached the base of the capitol dome. Lane Bridge and Iron of Chicago erected the cast iron dome in 1893, marking the essential completion of the exterior. Most of the 1893-94 work focused on interior finishes. By November 1894, the building's first story opened for partial occupation by the governor, secretary of state, state treasurer, and other executive offices. The state legislature first convened in the building in January 1895. The basement housed the collections of the State Historical and Natural History Society, the Bureau of Mines, and the State Horticultural Society. Work on the interior of the building continued during the latter part of the 1890s. After Building Superintendent Gumry died in 1895, Denver architect James Murdoch assumed project oversight until Denver architect Frank E. Edbrooke stepped in as superintendent in charge in 1898.

Design Modifications and Capitol Completion

Some decisions made by the Board of Capitol Managers altered aspects of Myers' original design. Substitution of granite for sandstone as the exterior wall material was the first major modification. The managers also scaled back the architect's plan for the decoration of the west pediment of the building. On the interior, Beulah red marble (Colorado rose onyx) replaced oak for wainscoting and column bases and white Colorado Yule marble became a substitute flooring. The rotunda received a grand staircase of Italian marble and brass. Difficulties in acquiring, transporting, and installing Colorado marble considerably delayed the completion of the building's interior.[192]

Finishing the final interior projects marked the functional completion of the Colorado State Capitol in January 1901, fifteen years after the start of construction.[193] Building and furnishing the building cost approximately

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[189] Coel, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 21.

[190] Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 36-40.

[191] The mile-high Colorado Capitol is the nation's highest statehouse with a point on its west steps exactly 5,280' in elevation. Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 66.

[192] Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 91-8.

[193] Most sources reference 1908 as the year of the Capitol's completion, marking the year the dome was gilded with gold leaf and the glass globe installed at the apex.

$2.7 million, the equivalent of about $60 million in 2005 dollars. Construction required 12,000 bricks, 280,000 cubic feet of granite, two acres of marble flooring, and two linear miles of Beulah marble wainscoting.[194] Most sources cite 1908 (twenty-two years after the start of construction) as the formal completion date of the Capitol. Projects of the early 1900s produced the building's current appearance. The dome's original copper sheathing quickly weathered into shades of green. Many Coloradans found copper an inappropriate choice for the dome since the state had never been a large producer of the metal and they viewed gold as more suitable. Superintendent Edbrooke pointed out gold leaf would last for years and "give a much better appearance, being more in harmony with the general color of the building."[195] In 1902 the Board recommended coating the dome with gold leaf, but no funds were appropriated until 1907. In 1908 the dome received a gilding using two hundred ounces of gold Architect Edbrooke successfully argued for placing a lighted glass globe at the dome apex, rather than female figure envisioned by Myers. The Board of Capitol Managers agreed that "the globe itself completes the symmetry of the Building and the illumination from the electric lamps is at once unique and a constant attraction at night."[196]

The building received overwhelmingly favorable assessments at the time it was completed. The *Denver Times* noted the Capitol displayed "massive but perfectly harmonious proportions, with that beautiful impress of symmetry too often lacking in the great piles of stone, steel and mortar serving as seats of government in the commonwealths."[197] Historian Jerome C. Smiley provided an enthusiastic appraisal of the building in 1901:

> Our Capitol with its great, lofty dome, massive walls, columns and portals, is an exceptionally handsome, dignified and well-proportioned edifice; few structures in this country are more pleasing in their aspects than it as it stands there on its commanding site in a splendid park that each passing year will make more beautiful…. It would seem that a structure so stately, so dignified, so harmonious in all its lines and effects, should inspire higher, nobler and better things than some of the legislative performances that have been enacted within its walls.[198]

Later evaluations of the building were also positive. Paul D. Hamson, writing in 1958, deemed the Capitol "elegant and imposing" and "perhaps the most significant public building in the Rocky Mountain West." Capitol scholar William R. Pyle characterized the statehouse as "primarily a monument" and a "standing testimonial of Colorado's pioneers and early settlers." Noting the extensive use of native Colorado materials in its walls, wainscoting and floors, and gilded dome, Pyle called it "a tribute to Colorado's people, its resources, beauty, and wealth."[199] Capitol historian Derek R. Everett recognized the building's representation of Colorado's sense of place and emerging sophistication:

> Through artwork as well as construction, the capitol also represented the end of the American frontier as traditionally identified by Frederick Jackson Turner and the beginning of a new regional identity in Colorado and the West. The building stood as a triumph of modern technology and common potential for many Coloradoans, responding to the perennial feeling of inferiority when they compared themselves to older parts of the Union. With their capitol finished, Coloradoans considered the frontier subdued and themselves able to stand as equals with their fellow Americans.[200]

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[194] Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 99.
[195] Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 106.
[196] Ibid., 114.
[197] *Denver Times*, 7 October 1900, 24.
[198] Smiley, *History of Denver*, 513.
[199] Pyle, "History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex," 100.
[200] Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 101.

The mass and elevated position of the State Capitol, as well as the magnificent view of the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains from its west portico made the building an essential component of any civic center plans. However, development west of the statehouse and Lincoln Park embraced a variety of commercial, residential, and other land uses. Planning for a civic center incorporated goals of assuring the dominance of the Capitol and eliminating "this conspicuously unlovely section" at the building's doorstep.[201]

Improvement of the Capitol Grounds and Lincoln Park

As exterior work on the Capitol neared substantial completion, the Board of Capitol Managers sponsored competitions in 1890 and 1895 for the design of its grounds. Reinhard Schuetze (see biography section below), a German-born Denver landscape architect, won both competitions for the design and planting plan of the Capitol grounds and Lincoln Park. Schuetze supervised the work on the Capitol grounds in the spring and summer of 1895.Schuetze's plans subsequently influenced landscape designs for the remainder of civic center. According to Denver park historians Don and Carolyn Etter, the 1895 design constituted "a melding of an Old World convention with the ways of the New World," and "in his urban domestication of an aristocratic landscape, he [Schuetze] gave Denver a simple and graceful example of the application of City Beautiful principles." The landscape architect was the first to emphasize the significance of the splendid mountain view from the Capitol by creating a western walkway. Viewpoints to establish a sense of place represented a key ingredient of Schuetze's designs. He surrounded the site with wide public sidewalks shaded by American elms, created stepped terraces planted in blue grass on the west, and established parterres below the terraces "accented with sentinel plantings of Colorado blue spruce and carefully placed clusters of spring-flowering snowball and lilac." The Etters concluded: "The best test of Schuetze's work for the Capitol Grounds has been the survival of the landscape and the impact of his planning on the development of Denver's civic center immediately to the west."[202] The Board of Capitol Managers in their 1897-98 report noted it was "a matter of pride that the sight of the grounds during the summer, presenting such a pleasant appearance, received the favorable comment of every stranger visiting the capitol."[203]

The Closing Era. Completion of the Capitol grounds permitted the 1898 installation of the site's first work of art, *The Closing Era,* a sculpture by Preston Powers. The artist originally planned the monument at the request of developers of a real estate project south of Denver, producing a small clay model whose final design would be rendered 30' high in red sandstone. Powers contacted his friend, poet John Greenleaf Whittier, for composition of a short verse, which supplied the name of the sculpture, to adorn the base of the work. In 1892 after the real estate project fell through, the Denver Fortnightly Club (a group of prominent Denver women led by Mrs. E.M. Ashley and Mrs. John Routt) raised $10,000 to commission a smaller version of the statue in bronze. Powers performed the final modeling and casting in Florence, Italy, where his father, noted sculptor Hiram Powers, maintained a studio. The younger artist exhibited the statue as part of Colorado's display at the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition.[204]

This influential sculpture reflected the era's renewed interest in the history of and concern for the country's indigenous inhabitants and native animals, a theme continued in later civic center art. According to an 1893

[201] Fisher, "The Civic Center," 190.

[202] Carolyn and Don Etter, *Forgotten Dreamer: Reinhard Schuetze, Denver's Landscape Architect* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 2001), 13-15; Carolyn and Don Etter, "Reinhard Schuetze, Revised Biography," August 1998, Denver Parks Collection, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

[203] Quoted in Etter and Etter, *Forgotten Dreamer*, 14-15.

[204] Henderson studied sculpture with Powers and assisted in the creation of the statue. John R. Henderson, "The Indian and Buffalo Statue on the State Capitol Grounds," *Colorado Magazine* 13 (September 1936):183-86; *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 August 1944; Joyce B. Lohse, *First Governor, First Lady: John and Eliza Routt of Colorado* (Palmer Lake, Colorado: Filter Press, 2002).

Rocky Mountain News article, Powers "visited the reservations and made numerous sketches from the Indians, so as to have his Indian perfect in every way."[205] Salt Lake City's *Deseret Weekly* described the work in 1892:

> About "The Closing Era" there is something feelingly pathetic as well as heroically poetic. It represents a wounded buffalo that has fallen while trying to escape its Indian pursuer. The prostrate animal, though supposed to be breathing its last, yet gives suggestion of movement. The Indian hunter affords a fine contrast. His left foot is resting on the haunch of the bison. His face is in repose, but it seems contemplative. The dying animal suggests to him the extinction of his own race.[206]

When the Chicago exhibition closed, the statue arrived in Denver to be stored until the Capitol grounds were completed. The question of a suitable location for the work arose: women of the Fortnightly Club favored a site on the more prominent west side of the Capitol, while others felt it was inappropriate to place a piece featuring a Native American there. After standing in a number of locations around the Capitol, *The Closing Era* found a permanent home on the east side of the building in 1898, with the state providing funds for the $1,000 Cotopaxi granite base.[207]

Colorado Volunteers Flagpole. To honor Colorado soldiers serving in the Spanish-American War, the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution donated the Colorado Volunteers Flagpole, erected in the center of Lincoln Park. Dedicated on 14 June 1898, the 120' tall wood flagpole with a horizontal mast dominated the area. Colorado troops who lost their lives in the war received recognition with small plaques attached to the base.

INFLUENCE OF THE DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY

At the same time the concept of grouped public buildings drew the interest of local leaders, efforts to secure funding and construct the city's first public library building influenced the planning, location, and design of the future civic center. The Denver Library Association organized the city's first public reading room in 1874, but after its funds dried up the city's readers waited until the chamber of commerce started a publicly accessible subscription book service in its headquarters in 1886. In 1891 the Denver City Council initiated annual appropriations for the institution, which was renamed the City Library two years later. Another facility, known as the Public Library, opened in the west wing of Denver East Side High School in 1889 and continued in operation for ten years. In 1898, after the Colorado Legislature enacted a law allowing municipalities to organize and maintain public libraries, Denver established a consolidated public library, whose sizable collection required a larger building. In January 1902 the city's library board acquired a location on the south side of Colfax Avenue between Acoma and Bannock Streets (the future library site) containing a large terrace to house its collections and pursued plans to construct a new building.[208]

In 1902 industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie offered the city $200,000, enabling it to erect its first building designed exclusively as a library.[209] The building represented the central libraries that were the focus of Carnegie Foundation efforts during the early twentieth century and upon which "they lavished money, time, and attention to detail."[210] The city council agreed to Carnegie's conditions that it appropriate at least $30,000

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[205] *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 May 1893.
[206] *Deseret Weekly* [Salt Lake City], 20 February 1892, 279.
[207] *Rocky Mountain News*, 14 August 1895, 15; *Denver Republican*, 21 May 1897, 3.
[208] Denver Public Library, *100th Anniversary Celebration* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 1989), 1-7.
[209] The total expenditure on the building amounted to $270,000, the land cost $98,000 and furnishings $57,000.
[210] Abigail A. Van Slyck, *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries & American Culture: 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 80.

each year for library operations and cover the costs associated with acquiring the site.[211] However, the civic leaders desired a much grander building than Carnegie was willing to fund and sponsored a competition for the library design, with the only requirement that the building be fireproof.[212] Since none of the state's colleges then included a department of architecture, the building committee secured an outside professional to advise them in selection of the design firm.[213]

In 1904 Mayor Speer appointed an eight-member commission to promote the new facility as a cornerstone of a city civic center. The commission selected New York architect Albert Randolph Ross (see biographical section) for the project. A graduate of the École des Beaux-Arts and former employee of prominent architects McKim, Mead and White, Ross notably planned the Central Public Library in Washington, D.C.[214] The Carnegie program preferred experienced architects to design its libraries, leading some firms to specialize in the field. Ross's office completed a number of such buildings, including those in Atlanta, Nashville, Atlantic City, and San Diego.[215]

Many libraries of the early twentieth century displayed similar symmetrical temple-front designs and most exhibited classical details reflecting local preferences, the Parisian training of architects, and the impact of City Beautiful concepts.[216] According to Carnegie library scholar Abigail Van Slyck: "The shift toward classicism is more accurately explained as the École des Beaux-Arts response to the new emphasis on the public nature of the library."[217] *Denver Municipal Facts* praised the Denver design as "substantial in appearance" and attractive in its simplicity, but Andrew Carnegie expressed displeasure with Ross's concept, writing: "I am sorry to have my money wasted in this way—This is no practical library plan. Too many pillars."[218]

Despite Carnegie's criticism, the city erected the building following Ross's design in 1910. Denver's new library would become the first new building on the Civic Center Park site. Its planned location, footprint, and massing were factors considered in all development plans. The materials, design, and style of the building influenced later architecture in the Denver Civic Center and set a path of quality and dignity adhering to Beaux Arts and City Beautiful principles for the entire public landscape.

EXISTING CONDITIONS AT THE SITE

While the Colorado State Capitol presented a logical starting point for a civic center, the locations of other existing public facilities were "givens" meriting consideration, including that intended for the public library two blocks west. The sites of the 1883 Arapahoe County Courthouse two blocks northwest of Broadway and Colfax Avenue, and the 1883 Denver City Hall at 14th and Larimer Streets, twelve blocks northwest, also influenced schemes for improvement. In addition, Denver Civic Center planners weighed such factors as Denver's street grids, existing development patterns, and topography.

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[211] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 12 February 1910, 1.

[212] *Denver Times*, 9 September 1902, 12.

[213] A newspaper article at the time indicated the Building Committee asked Professor William A. Ware of Columbia University's Department of Architecture to advise them. *Denver Times*, 13 September 1902, 5.

[214] Historical Society of Washington, D.C., "Carnegie Library," accessed at www.historydc.org on 28 September 2010; Columbus Metropolitan Library, "Columbus in Historic Photographs, accessed at http://digital-collections.columbuslibrary.org. on 28 September 2010.

[215] Van Slyck, *Free for All*, 56; Donald E. Oehlerts, *Books and Blueprints: Building America's Public Libraries* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 66.

[216] Abigail A. Van Slyck, *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries & American Culture: 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 44-45.

[217] Van Slyck, *Free to All*, 28.

[218] Denver Public Library, *100th Anniversary Celebration*, 9; *Denver Municipal Facts*, 14 August 1909, 1.

Street Grids. The civic center site is located at the meeting of two conflicting street grids in the central city. In downtown Denver, north of West Colfax Avenue and west of Broadway, streets are rotated forty-five degrees from true north following a northwest-southeast and northeast-southwest alignment. This older plan dates to the early days of Denver City and Auraria, when the settlements were platted to align with the channels of the South Platte River and Cherry Creek. South of West Colfax Avenue and east of Broadway, streets reflect the north-south and east-west grid of the rectangular survey system. Blocks in this latter area measure roughly 500 by 318 feet, with the longer axis oriented north-south. Courtland Street originally split the northern third of each block from its remainder. The intersection of the two systems results in a number of small triangular blocks along the north side of West Colfax Avenue and the west side of Broadway.

Dealing with the two street grids and their differing axes (northwest and west) provided both challenges and opportunities as the planning process proceeded. Late twentieth-century architects Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore, characterized the "collision" of the two grids as:

> the place where the pattern stutters to produce an edge. . . . Perhaps because traffic snarled at these special streets, an edge was formed as surely as if a wall had been built. Energy collected here, and three of the most urbane business districts in the American West [San Francisco, Denver, and Dallas] were formed.[219]

Existing Development Patterns. The blocks lying northwest of Colfax and Broadway and west of Lincoln Park did not comprise a blank slate, but were fully developed. Art Commissioner Theo Merrill Fisher did not view the two blocks located west of the State Capitol and Lincoln Park as an obstacle to civic center development:

> The superb view of the Front Range Rockies from its [the Capitol's] western portico was largely spoiled, however, by the immediate neighborhood as it was at that time, a variegated assortment of ancient dwellings, a large power house and a fire department station occupying the foreground. To establish the legitimate dominance of the Capitol and clean up this conspicuously unlovely section were primary objects in all that followed in planning for a civic center.[220]

Topography. The topography of the location influenced site planning. The eastern edge of the district at Grant Street lay at an elevation of 5,290 feet, roughly sixty feet higher than the western boundary. The base of the State Capitol on Brown's Bluff occupied a somewhat lower and flatter elevation (5,280 feet or a mile high on the west steps), which dropped sharply (about thirty feet) to the level of Lincoln Street, requiring Schuetze's to grade the slope with terraces. Westward from that point land sloped gently toward the Cherry Creek drainage, reaching about 5,230 feet at Cherokee Street, the district's western edge.

DENVER ART COMMISSION AND THE ROBINSON PLAN

At the direction of Mayor Speer in 1905, the Denver Art Commission solicited the advice of one of the most respected municipal beautification experts of the day, Charles Mulford Robinson (see biographical section), writer of a highly influential City Beautiful treatise, *Modern Civic Art, or the City Made Beautiful*. During a ten-day visit to Denver, he surveyed local conditions and prepared a report, *Proposed Plans for Improvement of the City of Denver*, dated 18 January 1906. Responding to a suggestion by Commissioner Read supported by Mayor Speer, Robinson focused on recommending changes "in order that Denver may more fully realize its opportunities for civic beauty," including creation of a civic center.[221] He found the city united in its desire to

[219] Kent C. Bloomer and Charles W. Moore, with a contribution by Robert J. Yudell, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1977), 104.
[220] Fisher, "The Denver Civic Centre," 190.
[221] Charles Mulford Robinson, *Proposed Plans for the Improvement of the City of Denver* (Denver: Art Commission of the

make itself more attractive, the existence of the commission as evidence of the city's aspirations, and recognized the commission's effort to obtain "a scheme of artistic development for the city" illustrative of its pragmatic nature.[222] The civic expert believed the best way to enhance the city was "to maintain its individuality" and noted Denver's notable features in this respect: a delightful climate, mountain views, and its status as the Colorado state capital. Robinson's civic center plan established the statehouse as "its crown."[223] In his opinion, the building was "very fine," complimented by its central location, commanding height, and exceptional mountain vistas, and asserted Denver's obligation to the state and itself to highlight these facts in its development. He strongly advised the enactment of height limits to protect views from the building.[224]

Addressing the difficult question of how to deal with the conflicting street plats the courthouse location and the Capitol neighborhood, Robinson saw the problem as an opportunity for "radical change" and noted the "unremarkable" architecture lying between the courthouse, statehouse, and site selected for the library. He saw the land between these points as an appropriate area for demolishing existing structures, creating sightlines, and establishing new park areas with tree-lined walkways and a basin with a water jet. His suggestions included extending 16th Street to the Capitol grounds, creating several triangular parked areas, installing lighting, and planting the block between the proposed public library and Broadway with grass and trees to provide a new setting for public buildings. Robinson suggested the installation of the proposed monument to pioneers on one of the triangular parcels north of the library site and construction of the proposed municipal auditorium west of the monument. He asserted that if Denver executed his $2 million plan for a civic center, "very few cities in the country would have its like; and in none, perhaps, is it possible to gain so great a result so easily." Robinson advised the city to always ask itself two questions regarding radical city improvements: "First, are they a good thing in themselves; second, are they worth what they would cost."[225]

Robinson also proposed creation of "a series of boulevards and parkways that would tie scattered city parks into a cohesive system." He observed that with a civic center Denver would gain an open space with pools, fountains, trees, benches, and flowers on the edge of the business district, as well as a dignified setting for the Capitol, preservation of the grand mountain vista, harmony between unrelated public buildings, and improvement to the awkward junction of two street systems.[226] "If carried out, it [the plan] will give to Denver an esplanade of such architectural and decorative possibilities, and in such close connection with the business district, as to make it, I believe, second only to the 'Cleveland Plan.'"[227]

City leaders studied Robinson's scheme carefully. Although they found several good ideas in it, there were inherent problems, including the irreconcilable forty-five degree variation between the two street grids, the fact that the facades of the key buildings (Capitol, library, and courthouse) did not align with each other, and the large cost of acquiring so much private property and redeveloping the site. Subsequent developments also impacted some of the report's suggestions, including the city's decision to erect the municipal auditorium seven blocks to the northwest and growing sentiment in favor of replacing the existing city hall and courthouse with a new city-county building. Nonetheless, local residents took great interest in the proposal, newspapers gave it much attention, and government and civic groups advanced the plan at informational meetings. The city initiated a three-month educational campaign prior to holding a charter amendment vote to decide whether to proceed with the issuance of long-term bonds funding the project. Mayor Speer spoke to a receptive audience at a large taxpayers' public improvement dinner sponsored by the influential Real Estate Exchange on 7 February

City and County of Denver, 18 January 1906), 2; Fisher, "The Denver Civic Centre," 189.

[222] Robinson, "Opening the Center of Denver,"365.
[223] Robinson, "The Development of Denver," 197.
[224] Robinson, "Proposed Plans," 3.
[225] Ibid., 3-18.
[226] Robinson, "The Development of Denver," 197.
[227] Robinson, "Opening the Center of Denver," 365.

1906. He discussed the potential of a civic center in adding to the city's beauty, providing artistic and ornamental benefits, raising property values, and advertising the city, as well as the effect it would have on raising the pride of local residents. However, he indicated the city administration would not try to force the project on unwilling citizens.[228]

In rapid response, a property owners' association organized opposition to the civic center concept, emphasizing its high cost (estimated at $3 million) and the potentially negative impact on real estate values. In a special election on 17 May, voters defeated the proposal by a slim margin. Charles Mulford Robinson reported: "No city ever had a darker outlook for a great Civic Center than had Denver the morning after the May election in 1906."[229] Although local citizens viewed the plan as too large and expensive, the concept of a civic center remained alive. As a result of the defeat city leaders realized the necessity of greater organization, "vigorous agitation," and intensive educational efforts to achieve their goal.[230]

ADDITIONAL PLANNING ACTIVITIES

1907 Citizens' Commission

Undeterred by the defeat of the Robinson Plan, Mayor Speer pushed the idea for a grand civic center to the forefront of citizens' concerns in January 1907:

> I believe the time has come to deal definitely with this matter. The decision is of such importance that I have decided to appoint an independent committee, representing the banking, real estate and other interests of the city, to investigate and report their findings [as] to the advisability of purchasing any or all of the land mentioned.[231]

Speer created a committee of twelve prominent citizens to determine the feasibility of Denver establishing a "civic center or open plaza, around which will be clustered our public and quasi-public buildings."[232] The group included Denver landscape architect Reinhard Schuetze and art commissioner Henry Read. On 19 February the committee submitted its report, representing a scaled-down, less expensive version of Robinson's scheme that required about half as much land. The new plan featured a truncated northwest axis and included altering street patterns to relieve traffic congestion, purchasing the Bates triangle northeast of the public library, placing the pioneer monument at the northwest corner of Broadway and Colfax, and acquiring land northeast of the Bates triangle and northwest of the monument site.[233] Read called the plan "a step in the right direction," but found it drew serious objections.[234] According to historian WilliamWilson:

> Deficient civic proposals doomed it. It linked none of the existing or proposed buildings in Robinson's plan. The three irregularly shaped blocks north and east of the library site could not be merged without closing major streets and were too small to provide a civic focus. The plan cost less than Robinson's, but its price was high in terms of planning benefits.[235]

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[228] Robinson, "The Development of Denver," 198; Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 38-39.

[229] Robinson, "The Development of Denver," 198.

[230] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 3 December 1910, 3; Wilson, "A Diadem," 77; Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 39. Henry Read, "City Planning and Civic-Center Work in Denver," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, 3(November 1915): 497.

[231] Members of the committee included Charles M. Wilcox, J.K. Mullen, Chester S. Morey, David H. Moffat, Jerome S. Riche, J.A. Thatcher, Frederick J. Chamberlin, Armour C. Anderson, John S. Flower, Jacob Fillius, Reinhard Schuetze, and Henry Read. *Denver Municipal Facts*, 6 March 1909,

[232] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 6 March 1909, 3; Robinson, "The Development of Denver," 198.

[233] The street changes included cutting through Broadway north of civic center and cutting Fifteenth Street through the southwest corner of Broadway and Colfax Avenue; both were undertaken later. Wilson, "A Diadem," 77.

[234] Read, "City Planning and Civic-Center Work," 497.

[235] Wilson, "A Diadem," 78.

George Kessler Studies Denver's Parks and Parkways

Simultaneously with its effort to develop the civic center, Denver studied its existing park system. Given the city's arid climate, local citizens placed high value on landscaped public spaces. Curtis Park, the city's first dedicated park, stemmed from creation of a residential subdivision in 1868. Four years later Denver developed its first parkway, Park Avenue, which featured planted triangles along the thoroughfare. After the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, former territorial governor John C. Evans with the support of the local chamber of commerce, proposed the preparation of a comprehensive park and parkway plan to include verdant spaces scattered throughout the city and connect them by parkways. According to historian Don Etter, by the turn of the century "both the idea of a system and the actual physical beginnings of a system were in place."[236]
As a result Mayor Speer invited City Beautiful planner and landscape architect George E. Kessler of Kansas City, Missouri, to visit Denver in 1907. Tasked with systematizing improvements to the parks, parkways, boulevards, and playgrounds, Kessler examined the city and offered a policy focused on developing existing parks more fully and connecting them with boulevards and parkways encircling Denver. The plan provided a series of scenic vistas of the capital city and Front Range from key points. As a result of Kessler's scheme, the proposed civic center became the central focus of the park and parkway system.[237]

FREDERICK MACMONNIES DESIGNS A PIONEER MONUMENT AND A PLAN FOR CIVIC CENTER

A triangular parcel of land at the northwest corner of Broadway and West Colfax Avenue marking the terminus of the Smoky Hill Trail traveled by 1859-60 gold seekers to reach frontier Denver became the planned site of a monument to the city's pioneers and an influential component of civic center. A neighboring property owner, G.R. Weir, hoped the demolition of the old city hose house on the site would increase the value of his nearby land. Consulting with other owners in the area in 1906, he found many willing to subscribe to a fund to erect a firehouse elsewhere and turn the triangular piece of land into a park. The installation of a magnificent work of art on the site as a memorial to Colorado's pioneers met with popular approval, and the Real Estate Exchange took up the cause, placing John S. Flower as chairman of its effort. Fundraising concentrated on the monument itself, while the city agreed to pay for a new firehouse.[238]

After celebrated artist Augustus Saint-Gaudens refused the commission for the monument "on account of age," the city turned to Frederick W. MacMonnies (see biographical section), his internationally acclaimed American student and École des Beaux-Arts graduate. In February 1907 the sculptor sent Flower a preliminary sketch and description of his proposed work, which envisioned the memorial as a five-tiered fountain depicting archetypal pioneers, such as miners, trappers, and cowboys, with native wild creatures on the lower levels. At the top of the fountain he drew an American Indian chief wearing a war bonnet while sitting on a rearing horse and giving a sign of peace. In its first response to the monument, the *Denver Republican* recalled the artist's creation of fountains at expositions in Chicago, Buffalo, and St. Louis and described his work as "always artistic and striking."[239]

However, after examining the drawing and description, local pioneers and their descendants strongly objected to the design which placed the figure of an Indian at the apex of the fountain. Although MacMonnies argued that the figure served only as a finial, not "the hero of the occasion," he recognized his view of the West needed further thought and decided to visit Denver on his next trip to the United States. During a two-week stay in the late summer of 1907, he toured the city and "listened intently" to critics of the proposed composition. Returning

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[236] Etter, "Denver Park and Parkway System," section 7, 11-16.
[237] *Municipal Journal & Engineer* 22(January-June 1907): 279; *City Planning Progress* [1917], undated copy in the clipping files of Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.
[238] *Denver Post*, 10 June 1911, 11.
[239] *Denver Republican*, 28 June 1906, 1.

to France with photographs and artifacts to guide his work, the sculptor prepared "completely new designs from top to bottom," replacing the Indian leader with famed western scout Kit Carson and adding to the lower level three symbolic figures: a mother and child, a trapper/hunter, and a prospector/miner. During the next two years the artist continued to revise the design with guidance from the city.[240]

After failing to win support for the Robinson Plan, Denver's leaders quietly consulted a number of professionals who provided suggestions for an improvement program. Fortuitously, MacMonnies's 1907 visit also gave Read, the art commissioner, an opportunity to seek his advice on the civic center design.[241] MacMonnies reported that during an automobile tour he "glanced downward and got the effect of the vistas of wide, clean streets, . . . splendid residences and the well balanced architecture of . . . the business section," and quickly conceived of a plan that overcame problems inherent in previous civic center proposals.[242] Together with Read, the artist drafted a new, highly influential plan.[243]

Like Robinson, MacMonnies found that the diagonal grid of Denver's business section as it intersected with the parallel layout of residential areas created a disconcerting lack of symmetry and caused inconvenience for traffic. The sculptor suggested the development proceed directly westward from the State Capitol along the east-west axis of the Capitol grounds, thereby reconciling the opposing plats and distributing traffic more evenly, as well as providing a suitable setting for public buildings. He contemplated the acquisition of two already developed blocks west of Broadway, an area containing residences, apartment buildings, and businesses. All plans thereafter incorporated this east-west axis.[244]

The sculptor proposed the purchase of the Bates triangle to form the northern terminus of a secondary, north-south axis which would be balanced on the south by the acquisition of a similar parcel. He envisioned a city park with a cruciform plaza containing a large, ornamental fountain and a reflecting pool on the east end and a future municipal building on the west end opposite the Capitol. The plan included the proposed library, with the suggestion that the plain rear wall facing the park be redesigned to conform to the neoclassical design of its front façade and other buildings in the civic center. In the south-central portion of the site MacMonnies suggested an outdoor stadium for gatherings and concerts. [245] The addition of a small triangular parcel southwest of Broadway and West 14th Avenue would balance the triangle proposed as the location of the pioneer monument.

The Denver Art Commission made small revisions to the drawings reflecting the MacMonnies scheme before sending them to Speer, the committee of twelve, and other planners and designers, who agreed it constituted a good alternative. In January 1908 the committee discarded its own plan in favor of the new concept, and the city formally received the proposal, which included a drawing prepared by local architects to illustrate the envisioned improvement and an estimate of its cost. The beautiful depiction of the civic center as projected in the MacMonnies Plan continued to be utilized by the city to garner support for its efforts until Chicago architect and planner Edward H. Bennett incorporated many of MacMonnies's ideas in the final 1917 plan.

Estimates for the cost of actualizing the MacMonnies Plan came in at half the amount required by Robinson's scheme. In August 1908 the Art Commission issued an informational pamphlet with the drawing of the civic

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[240] Mary Smart, *A Flight with Fame: The Life and Art of Frederick MacMonnies* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1996), 219-220.

[241] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 6 March 1909, 3.

[242] Smart, *A Flight with Fame*, 220 and 245.

[243] Although many sources do not credit Read with participation in drafting the plan, he indicates it occurred. See Read, "City Planning and Civic-Center Work," 498.

[244] *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 December 1921, 8; *Denver Municipal Facts*, 6 March 1909, 3.

[245] *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 December 1921, 8; Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 42-43.

center as it might look when completed.[246] A variety of organizations approved the new plan by resolution, including the art and library commissions, Real Estate Exchange, chamber of commerce, and Colorado Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Experts such as MacMonnies, Robinson, Kessler, Albert Randolph Ross, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and painter and sculptor F.D. Millet also publicly endorsed it.[247] MacMonnies frequently contacted city officials and business leaders to campaign for a civic center that would allow Denver to take its place among progressive cities. The artist wrote:

> I sincerely hope that the citizens of Denver will profit by the experience of older cities who are now making up for lost time by extensive improvements at great expense, and will recognize this as being the most vital moment in the history of Denver, and with courage and foresight lay the foundation of a great city ….[248]

Throughout 1909 city leaders encouraged local residents to support the MacMonnies Plan, noting Denver was destined to become "the most attractive tourist city in America" as a result of its natural advantages. The city initiated regular publication of an illustrated municipal magazine, *Denver Municipal Facts*, which explained the importance of establishing a civic center and other improvements and reported on the progress of such projects.[249] The mayor encouraged each citizen to support the development project to increase the city's beauty. He asserted a growing sense of civic pride demanded municipal betterment equal to that of other large cities and announced several wealthy citizens already supported a new monument on the proposed civic center site.[250] *Denver Municipal Facts* observed: "The view of the snow-clad range from the capitol, the sunny skies of Colorado, and the setting formed by a city already famed for its beauty, offer additional reasons for creating a plaza **that no city in the world can excel**" [emphasis in original].[251]

In 1909 Denver Chamber of Commerce member Henry Van Kleeck described in City Beautiful language the city's vision of what the civic center represented and could become, indicating it would not be just a beautiful plaza or park with monuments, but rather "a center from which will flow much of the inspiration and activity of the city." Distinct from other spots in the city, it would contain a grouping of public buildings, starting with the State Capitol and its grounds, the public library, state museum, and culminating with a new city hall and courthouse: "These buildings, which Denver civic pride will require to be of the highest architectural beauty, should be given the great advantage of fronting on the proposed center." The writer urged adoption of an important element seen in European cities and at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition: a uniform style and height for all buildings erected within civic center. An equally important consideration was the site's role in providing a place in the heart of the city where people could gather to relax, celebrate, and enjoy cultural entertainment in a pleasantly landscaped area containing a few commemorative works of "paramount excellence." Van Kleeck urged preparation of a professional comprehensive plan that would provide direction for improvement of the site, noting that Cleveland created a commission of nationally respected leaders in civic beautification to provide such advice. An architecturally mismatched jumble of buildings as found in many modern cities "sadly disturbs our peacefulness and destroys that repose within us, which is the true basis of all contentment. Let the public authorities, therefore, set an example of simplicity and uniformity."[252]

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[246] Wilson, "A Diadem," 78.
[247] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 6 March 1909, 4.
[248] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 3 December 1910, 9.
[249] The city published the magazine between 1909 and 1931.
[250] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 3 July 1909, 8.
[251] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 6 March 1909, 3; *Denver Municipal Facts*, 3 December 1910, 4.
[252] *Denver Republican*, 5 October 1909, 12.

EXPANSION OF STATE FACILITIES

While the city of Denver planned, acquired land, and took steps to develop the civic center, the State of Colorado also added monuments and erected new buildings adjacent to the State Capitol following City Beautiful principles. Until 1909 no coordinated plans existed for development of the Capitol grounds and Civic Center. Some civic leaders suggested a combined city and state art commission should be named to join the park board and mayor in directing the development of the civic center.[253] The Colorado legislature created a State Capitol art commission to work in conjunction with Denver's art commission and "enable an artistic unity" between the treatment of the Capitol grounds and the development of the city's civic center. Members of the city's commission became members of the state commission under the law.[254] By 1910 some changes were made in the layout of the Capitol grounds to conform to plans for the improvement of the civic center.
In 1909 the state installed a memorial to Civil War veterans at the west front of the Capitol consisting of the *Colorado Soldiers Monument* and two Civil War cannons. Further improvements over the next two decades reflected designs having artistic unity, a quality desirable to both commissions. The classically-inspired Colorado State Museum and the Colorado State Office Building flanked the Capitol on the south and north, respectively, displaying adherence to the Beaux-Arts architectural concepts guiding the development of the civic center.

Colorado Soldiers Monument. An effort to acknowledge Coloradans who served in the Civil War, the *Colorado Soldiers Monument*, grew out of the 1905 national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), a fraternal organization of Union veterans. Attendees of the convention in Denver pointed out that the Capitol grounds lacked a monument honoring Coloradans who fought to preserve the Union during the conflict. A Colorado Memorial Monument Board of Construction quickly organized, and Captain John D. Howland, a Union veteran of the Battle of Glorieta Pass in which Colorado troops participated, painted designs featuring a dismounted cavalryman from which J. Otto Schweizer modeled the statue. Bureau Brothers of Philadelphia performed the casting and Seerie Brothers fabricated the statue's Aberdeen granite base holding plaques with the names of Colorado's Civil War dead. The *Colorado Republican* characterized the work as a "stiff and rectangular heroic style," while the *Denver Times* commented that "the modeling is exceptionally well done and the effect is as realistic as a work in bronze can be." The monument cost $20,000, with $5,000 provided by the State and the remainder coming from the Colorado Pioneers' Association. Dedication ceremonies on 24 July 1909 included speeches, music from a Colorado National Guard band, and a twenty-one-gun salute. Colorado Adjutant General Irving Hale remarked that rather than an officer, the monument appropriately portrayed a private, as he was "the man who packs and fires the gun."[255]

Civil War Cannons. To complete the Civil War grouping at the west front of the Capitol, two cannons of the era flanked the Colorado Soldiers Monument by 1910. The two twelve-pound Napoleon fieldpieces could fire solid and canister shot; one reportedly saw service with a Massachusetts regiment at the Battle of Gettysburg. The state's Chaffee Light Artillery, a unit of the Colorado National Guard, had received the objects in 1878. A National Guard official, unaware of the cannons' significance, sold them for scrap to a New York foundry in 1907. A hurried fundraising campaign saved the weapons from destruction and returned them to the state.[256]

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[253] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 3 December 1910, 5.

[254] *Kiowa County Press*, 5 February 1909; *The Survey* 22(3 April 1909), 283.

[255] *Denver Republican*, 10 July 1909, 12 and 25 July 1909, 1 and 4; *Denver Times*, 9 July 1909, 8; Civil War Monument/Memorial, Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour, www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/cap/civwar.htm (accessed 18 June 2008); Colorado Soldier's Monument, Historical Marker Database, www.hmdb.org/marker.asp?marker=4745 (accessed 27 October 2010); *Denver Municipal Facts*, 17 July 1909, 6; Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 111-12.

[256] The cannons may have been placed somewhere on the Capitol grounds as early as 1907. Other theories of the cannons provenance (buried by Confederate General Sibley in his 1860s New Mexico campaign and later uncovered or brought back from the Philippines by Colorado troops in the Spanish-American War) are not supported by contemporary newspaper accounts. An 1894 *Denver Republican* article about target practice by the Chaffee Light Artillery described these two fieldpieces down to the markings

COMPLETION OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

The opening of the Denver Public Library in 1910 heartened supporters of the civic center and assured local citizens of the city's growing sophistication. Although the groundbreaking for the construction had occurred three years earlier, legal actions over the contractor's work and extended discussions with quarries and unions regarding the type of stone selected caused delays in its completion.[257] Denver citizens, including Governor Henry A. Buchtel and Mayor Speer, celebrated the laying of the Turkey Creek sandstone cornerstone on 11 April 1907, but it wasn't until 15 April 1909 that the building's exterior was completed. The hard, light gray Colorado sandstone utilized for the library influenced future construction in the civic center. The same material composed the Greek theater and colonnade, as well as the balustrades elaborating the east end of Civic Center Park. Finishing the interior work, receiving acceptable furniture, and moving and reorganizing books from the old library led to a belated dedication ceremony on 15 February 1910.[258] The *Denver Post* judged the building to be "architecturally one of the handsomest structures in Denver," while the *Denver Municipal Facts* remarked that from an artistic standpoint it was "acknowledged to be without a peer, for a building of its size, in the entire country."[259] Mayor Speer noted the library gave citizens a glimpse of what the civic center could become.[260]

Denver Municipal Facts described the interior of the building as "finished in marble, in extremely simple style, with no attempt at ornateness."[261] The building's ground floor contained the children's library, administrative offices, and newspaper reading rooms. The main floor included a grand entrance flanked by marble staircases, reference room, executive offices, and an open shelf department where patrons could select their own volumes, a "new and popular feature" of the library. The top floor encompassed a large art gallery designed by the architect for use by the Artists' Club of Denver, a group recognized by the city charter.[262] A 300-seat lecture room and a magazine reading room also occupied the second floor. The library's book stacks were cited as "one of the wonders of the building."[263] The book stack department occupied a rear wing with seven floors seven feet in height from the base of the building to the roof; the wing contained metal and glass stacks manufactured by New Jersey's Snead and Company Iron Works. Local boys ran the stairs to search for books in the stacks, sending them to the circulation desk via dumb waiters.[264] The building functioned as the city's central library until a new library opened adjacent to Civic Center Park at the northwest corner of West 14th Avenue and Broadway in 1956. The old library's fate remained uncertain until the Denver Water Board moved its offices into the building after extensive remodeling.

A SUCCESSFUL FUNDING STRATEGY FOR ACQUISITION OF THE CIVIC CENTER PARK SITE

The 1904 city charter created the Denver Park Department and divided the city into four districts, each with the authority to purchase land for parks and parkways. Since local voters had defeated a bond issue, the city planned to assess property owners in the East Denver Park District encompassing Civic Center Park for its cost, as well as for the cost of proposed improvements, such as parkways, boulevards, smaller parks, and playgrounds. The city proceeded to draft a map showing the land to be acquired and property to be assessed, and property owners in the district received notice of the cost of improvements.[265] Although city officials

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on the barrels. *Denver Republican*, 9 April 1894 and 9 July 1898; *Rocky Mountain News*, 5 March 1907, 3 February 1952, 7A, 15 June 1958, 33, 15 May 1966, 11; *Denver Post*, 18 May 1966, 2.

[257] Denver Public Library, *100th Anniversary Celebration*, 10.

[258] Denver Public Library, *100th Anniversary Celebration* , 9-10; *Denver Municipal Facts*, 12 February 1920, 1.

[259] *Denver Post*, 15 February 1910, 6; *Denver Municipal Facts*, 12 February 1910, 1.

[260] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 19 February 1910, 9.

[261] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 14 January 1911, 11.

[262] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 12 February 1910.

[263] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 12 February 1910.

[264] *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 March 1956, 11.

[265] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 44.

benefited from their previous experience in seeking voter approval for the civic center, bitter opposition arose over the new financing scheme. To stop the project, one-quarter of the property owners needed to file an objection. Ultimately, opponents were unsuccessful in securing valid protests from more than 20 percent of the property owners, allowing plans to move ahead.[266]

When the city announced protestors had not secured enough objections to defeat the project, Charles M. Robinson observed: "It has been finally and definitely decided that Denver is to have a great Civic Center, one of the most costly and pretentious in the United States." Robinson paid tribute to the mayor and other civic leaders for their foresight and tenacity: "She [Denver] has had a big Mayor, with the courage that ought to go with great ideas; and as president of the Art Commission she has had a man who not merely had a vision, but who had the patience, persistency and strength to make others see it."[267] *Denver Municipal Facts* reminded citizens "the Capitol and the Beautiful Surroundings" would be incorporated into the civic center: "From the Capitol building one of the grandest mountain views in the world may be had. The building of Civic Center will forever preserve and protect this view, an asset of the state and city which many cities would give most anything to possess."[268] The city believed the creation of center would increase the value of the Capitol by millions of dollars.[269]

In December 1910 Mayor Speer further outlined his own vision for the civic center. It would include a central plaza to protect mountain views from the Capitol and serve as a point from which paths and ornamental lighting would radiate. The plaza, with electric illumination, would constitute a public location for gatherings of citizens and visitors surrounded by "fountains, flowers, plants, and statues."[270] A sunken garden and a means of honoring the city's great dead were listed among its amenities. Above all, Speer asserted the site should not just be a civic center for government business, but a place for old and young, rich and poor to gather and enjoy its beauties. He believed the civic center would serve as an advertisement for the city, attracting tourists, health-seekers, and homeowners, as well as encouraging the growth of business. The project would result in the erection of new buildings, provide jobs, increase real estate values, and help the city maintain prosperity. In full City Beautiful discourse, the mayor contended the development would: "increase civic pride and make our citizens realize that it is worth something to live in the best city in the land. It will pay because a beautiful city makes better citizens."[271]

DEDICATION OF THE PIONEER MONUMENT

Long-awaited, the installation of the *Pioneer Monument* delighted local City Beautiful proponents. In 1911 MacMonnies delivered the bronze sculptures to Denver for the fountain's unveiling.[272] Dedication ceremonies on 24 June drew several thousand people, including Kit Carson's granddaughter and 300 pioneers who marched to the site.[273] One old-timer commented on the accuracy of the depiction of the scout, stating: "That'r' looks somewhat like Kit. But it makes him look too young. He may have appeared like that at one time in his life, but not when us '59ers knew him."[274] President Taft sent a telegram congratulating the city on the erection of the memorial, as did Frederick MacMonnies, whom the *Rocky Mountain News* called "the world's greatest living sculptor."[275] John S. Flower noted the growing desire of local citizens to contribute to the beauty of the city,

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[266] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 30 April 1910, 3-5.
[267] Robinson, "The Development of Denver," 206.
[268] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 3 December 1910, 1 and 5.
[269] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 3 December 1910, 5.
[270] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 3 December 1910, 8.
[271] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 3 December 1910, 8.
[272] Smart, *A Flight With Fame*, 219-220.
[273] *Denver Post*, 24 June 1955, 13 and 2 December 1983, 7; *Rocky Mountain News*, 25 June 1911, 1.
[274] *Denver Times*, 24 June 1911, 1.
[275] *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 June 1911, 1.

observing "the country is as much to the making of the man as the man is to the making of the country." He recounted Denver's effort to secure an artist of renown to design the monument.[276] Governor Shafroth extolled the courage of those who settled in the area one explorer referred to as the "great American desert."[277] The state contributed $10,000 toward the cost of the $75,000 sculpture, while the Real Estate Exchange, local citizens, and the city provided the remainder of the funds.[278]

Art Commissioner Henry Read discussed the monument's representation of the advance of civilization in the West and the city's growing sophistication: "Denver the Beautiful has been a dream of far reaching import, and we need but glance around to see the vision even now is taking concrete form."[279] One observer called the fountain "a landmark in the artistic and civic growth of the city." The *Rocky Mountain News* called it "the most magnificent monument in the West and one of the most beautiful in the world," and remarked that there would never again be such an inspiring and majestic sight in Denver as that of the gathering of pioneers for the dedication.[280]

Although citizens expressed satisfaction with the fountain at the time of its dedication, later critics found the scout at the top less rugged than "rococo." When author and playwright Julian Street visited Denver in 1914 he sarcastically commented that Kit Carson "looked like something that might have been modeled by a Frenchman whose acquaintance with this country had been limited to reading of a bad translation of Fenimore Cooper."[281] Despite such critiques, Denver continued to prize its work by the great Beaux-Arts sculptor. During the summer of 1918 the city expanded the monument site to include the entire triangular parcel, and then planted grass and installed a lighting system that put the structure into relief at night.[282]

MAYOR SPEER TRAVELS TO EUROPE, DECLINES REELECTION, AND LEAVES OFFICE

Robert Speer embarked on his first trip to Europe in 1911, when the Boston Chamber of Commerce selected a group of city leaders and municipal scholars to observe conditions in continental cities and promote friendship. Denver's mayor, who had adopted some European city planning principles, welcomed the opportunity to study and discuss municipal issues, filling several notebooks with ideas.[283] Journalist Lincoln Steffens, a member of the traveling party, discussed civic concerns with the mayor and remarked in his *Autobiography*: "We saw good things to copy that Mayor Speer sought for Denver. He was Denver, that honest able man; his eyes were Denver's eyes; his ambition was his city's; his interest was the same as our hosts, to see the best in Europe."[284] German cities especially impressed the mayor, who handed out copies of *Denver Municipal Facts* in each town he visited.[285] According to biographer MacMechen: "The trip had a wonderfully broadening effect upon him" and made Denver's mayor "a nonpartisan in city government."[286] MacMechen asserts that after Speer's European trip "he had begun to think, not alone of entertainment for the masses, but of a method by which their sufferings might be alleviated and better living conditions brought to their hearths."[287]

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[276] *Denver Times*, 24 June 1911, 1 and *Denver Post*, 24 June 1911, 1.
[277] *Denver Times*, 24 June 1911, 2.
[278] *Denver Municipal Facts*, October 1918, 4; *Rocky Mountain News*, 25 June 1911, 1.
[279] *Denver Post*, 24 June 1911, 4.
[280] *Rocky Mountain News*, 25 June 1911, 1.
[281] Federal Writers Project, *WPA Guide to 1930s Colorado*, 144.
[282] *Denver Municipal Facts*, July 1918, 17.
[283] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 151.
[284] Steffens quoted in Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 156.
[285] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 157-158.
[286] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 30.
[287] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 30.

Disgruntled property owners continued to question the legality of the city's actions in acquiring the land for civic center, arguing the cost of the project should be borne by the city as a whole rather than just property owners within the East Denver Park District. Following a favorable ruling from the Colorado Supreme Court in November 1911, the city secured valuations on the parcels to be acquired. Protests arose again over property appraisals, and condemnation proceedings encompassed another two years. In March 1912 Denver sold $2.7 million in park bonds for the project, the largest sale of improvement bonds by the city up to that time.[288] Undeterred, opponents initiated new legal challenges in state courts in 1912 and 1913. Hearings and appeals on the issue continued until January 1918, when the Colorado Supreme Court sustained the assessment of properties for acquiring the civic center site.[289]

Architectural Record heralded Mayor Speer as the "city beautiful mayor," and noted that he "gained so truly national a reputation" for his effort to secure a civic center.[290] MacMechen agreed, stating: "It required all of his [Speer's] wonderful tenacity, all his great tact and diplomacy, all of his indomitable will power, to bring the first step [acquisition of the land] to a successful conclusion."[291]

The fate of the entire civic center project became uncertain after the mayor declined to run for reelection. Speer then spent time traveling abroad and studying European municipal improvements and government. County Assessor Henry J. Arnold, running on a Citizen's ticket and promising to institute reforms without a political machine, succeeded Speer as mayor. He initiated the work of clearing the site for the center in 1912, using as many day laborers as possible to provide needed employment.

Mayor Arnold supported civic improvement, but also desired to institute economies and reforms promised during his campaign. Unlike Speer, who followed Charles M. Robinson's advice to proceed slowly and saw genius in the MacMonnies Plan, Arnold quickly ordered the demolition of existing buildings on the site and proposed a series of projects without an overall scheme.[292] Abandoning the concepts that governed the existing plans, the new mayor endeavored to erect around the center four public buildings (administrative, court, treasury, and city board) of similar size and architectural style as the library and announced that the existing courthouse would be sold to pay for construction. The new buildings would be designed so they could be enlarged as the city grew without damaging the symmetry or beauty of the site.[293] The mayor intended the construction to be completed within two years.[294] Unlike Speer, who envisioned a civic center as a place all classes of citizens would freely gather, Arnold stated: "We do not want the derelicts of humanity to detract from the beauty of the project."[295]

OLMSTED BROTHERS AND BRUNNER PRODUCE A CIVIC CENTER PLAN

In July 1912 landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., (see biographical section) representing the celebrated Olmsted Brothers firm of Brookline, Massachusetts, arrived in Denver to examine the city preparatory to producing new plans for its park and boulevard system, mountain park system, and civic center. To assist him, Olmsted included in the project New York architect Arnold W. Brunner, who had collaborated with Daniel Burnham and James Carrère on the 1903 Cleveland Group Plan.[296] Their 1913 design incorporated the main central axis extending west from the State Capitol which MacMonnies had proposed.

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[288] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 12 and 26 March 1910, 2 March and 6 April 1912; Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 44-45.
[289] Gillis, "A History of the Civic Center of Denver," 33-37.
[290] *Architectural Record*, 32 (July-December 1912): 189.
[291] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 46.
[292] *Denver Municipal Facts*, April 1919, 5.
[293] *Denver Post*, 14 June 1912, 1.
[294] *Architectural Record* 32 (July-December 1912), 189.
[295] Arnold quoted in Wilson, "A Diadem," 80.
[296] E.W. Robinson, "Civic Center and Mountain Park Plans," *The City of Denver*, 23 May 1914, 5.

Olmsted treated the area on the park side of the library as a formal lawn, or *tapis vert*, that would be adorned with minor decorative features and extend southward to what was still envisioned as the site for a future Beaux-Arts building, thus enhancing the orderly sightlines and symmetry of the overall plan. The grounds adjacent to Broadway became an open plaza with ornamental paving, minor architectural and sculptural decorations, and monumental lighting features. Between the *tapis vert* and the plaza, a formal garden was planned, with its central square corresponding with the width of the mountain vista. Taking advantage of the natural topography, the lawn and garden lay about four feet below the Broadway plaza and its flanking groves, which formed a nearly level terrace to be supported by an architectural wall topped by a balustrade. The plan proposed semi-circular areas on the north and south with dense, formal groves of trees shading graveled walks with benches. The southern area held a concert grove, whereas MacMonnies envisioned an open stadium for concerts. Olmsted envisioned the Bates triangle as open parkland with a slightly raised promenade planted with American elms like those then flanking the Capitol grounds. He rejected the concept of carrying 15th Street through to Broadway because it would create three points of intersecting traffic and weaken the continuity between the Capitol grounds and the main portion of civic center.[297]

The planners advised the city that all architectural and ornamental details should be of "absolutely the highest standard of taste and quality in design and in the execution of every detail, regardless of the temptation to get a bigger and quicker show for the money expended through the use of second rate materials or second rate designs."[298] Only one new building appeared in the plan, an art museum similar in character to the library, placed as a counterpoint south of the main axis. Olmsted noted the location of the library had influenced all previous civic center proposals and made such a building "artistically essential." He suggested the art facility also include a symphony hall. He also echoed the idea that the side of the library facing civic center be remodeled and advised that no buildings be permitted east of the two buildings.

Olmsted and Brunner found it "of utmost importance for the sake of the general design that a large and imposing public building" terminate the west end of the composition, and, like MacMonnies, they placed a future municipal building on the block west of Bannock Street. The plan advised that the municipal building be strongly horizontal in character to avoid competition with the dome of the capitol and to preclude "impertinent interruption of the sweeping panorama of mountains." Olmsted's proposal for the landscape design of the intervening civic center was predicated on the assumption that this building would be erected.[299]

Unlike the widespread acceptance of the MacMonnies Plan, Olmsted and Brunner's design for Civic Center drew much local criticism.[300] William Wilson attributed the discord to the administration's failure to provide the consultants with clear direction, as well as Olmsted's personal desire to "recreate the Washington Mall in miniature." Apparently Olmsted ignored the logic of creating a transverse axis by aligning the Bates triangle with a similar parcel on the south; nor would he consider any suggestions that detracted from a symmetrical plan. In Wilson's opinion, Olmsted focused mostly on the city and mountain park systems, spending little time on the civic center question and producing plans that were "too spartan, too elaborate, or esthetically dubious." In April 1914 Frederick's half-brother, John Olmsted, and Arnold Brunner completed a final report including costly acquisitions the park board had previously instructed them to delete.[301] Despite the city's unenthusiastic

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[297] Olmsted, Jr., "Plan of Developing Civic Center," 4-5.

[298] Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., "Plan of Developing Civic Center Outlined by Landscape Architect," *The City of Denver*, 12 April 1913, 6.

[299] Olmsted, Jr., "Plan of Developing Civic Center," 3-4.

[300] Wilson, "A Diadem," 80.

[301] Olmsted reportedly donated his work on the Denver Mountain Parks and Civic Center after some citizens objected to the amount of his fee. After several months of haggling, in October 1915 Olmsted Brothers and Brunner reached a settlement with the city for the cost of their work. Wilson, "A Diadem," 80-81; Poppum, Walter. "Denver's Civic Center." *The Green Thumb* (Mar.-Apr.

response to the Olmsted and Brunner Plan, Denver Art Commissioner Theo Merrill Fisher later contended it established the general pattern of walks, lawns, tree planting, and ornamental lighting that was followed in developing civic center.[302]

Denver's Mountain Park System

In addition to the plans for the Denver Civic Center, Olmsted prepared plans for several parkways and another jewel in the city's crown: the proposed mountain park system. In 1901 the Denver Chamber of Commerce had suggested the city consider establishing a chain of mountain parks for the enjoyment of its citizens and to encourage tourism.[303] A "Special Park Committee" formed to study the concept, but no municipal action ensued. Mayor Speer focused his attention first on establishing a civic center and on the improvement of city parks, but supported a mountain park system, stating in 1909: "The man, or combination of men, who will build a shaded drive or Apian Way from our city into the mountains, opening into the canons, and to the summit of our lofty peaks, will be remembered and praised by other generations."[304] The following year, real estate developer John Brisben Walker presented a mountain park concept to the chamber of commerce and real estate exchange, which supported the project and were involved in its planning. With this support, Speer made numerous automobile excursions to find suitable mountain land for the project.[305]

A charter amendment in May 1912 authorized funding with a half-mill levy to create parks and boulevards outside the city's corporate boundary. The project represented a cooperative effort by all levels of government, with the state assisting this scheme by allowing Denver to obtain and manage lands in adjacent counties and congressional legislation enabling the city to acquire other land from the Federal government.[306] In a memorandum to the city, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., discussed the significance of a mountain park system and provided direction for its creation and implementation, including the methodology and design concept for the project.[307] From this starting point, the city began its acquisition of a chain of thirty-one foothill and mountain parks and sixteen parcels that included grand views of the mountain peaks and the plains spreading eastward. Olmsted submitted a formal plan in January 1914, although the city began acquiring land as soon as it received his memo.[308] The city's landscape architect, Saco De Boer (see biographical section), designed portions of the system, and local architects such as Jacques B. Benedict and Burnham Hoyt worked on its major buildings and structures. Improved roads connected the city to mountain parks in Clear Creek, Douglas, and Jefferson counties, all within a sixty-two-mile radius of Denver.[309]

DENVER'S COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND EARLY IMPROVEMENTS AT CIVIC CENTER PARK

In 1913 Denver voters thwarted Mayor Arnold's plans for new buildings in the civic center by instituting a commission form of government with five commissioners and an auditor heading city departments. [310] A Park Board and Commissioner of Property received responsibility for the center's development. Citizens expected the new government to examine every aspect of the city's programs to eliminate waste and duplication. However, commissioners spent most of their first year establishing their departments and had little time to

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1965): 43.

[302] Fisher, "The Denver Civic Centre," 190.

[303] Moss, "Denver Mountain Park System, Denver, Colorado, 1912-1941," section E, 7.

[304] MacMechen asserted that Speer originated the idea of a mountain parks system although John Brisben Walker introduced the idea to the Real Estate Exchange and is usually given credit for it. MacMechen, Robert W. Speer, 71.

[305] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 71.

[306] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 202.

[307] Moss, "Denver Mountain Park System," section E, 9.

[308] Moss, "Denver Mountain Park System," section E, 9-10.

[309] Moss, "Denver Mountain Park System," section E, 1.

[310] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 54.

identify ways to save money. The following year they attempted to reduce expenses, causing city services to decline.[311] Speer's biographer Charles Johnson concluded that the three-year commission form of government was neither very good nor very bad, but "undistinguished," and the people missed Speer's "aggressive leadership, the grandiose civic planning, the visionary approach."[312]

During this period, the civic center site experienced gradual improvement, including excavation, filling, grading, installation of water and sewer systems, building walks and curbs, setting trees, and planting grass according to the Olmsted and Brunner Plan.[313] A circa 1913 photograph shows the basic structure of the plan in place. DeBoer assumed the role of City Landscape Architect from Reinhard Schuetze in 1910 and served in the position until 1931. He collaborated closely with George E. Kessler and Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., in planning Denver's park and parkway system. Like Schuetze, DeBoer emphasized Denver's sense of place by establishing viewsheds and also "by importing both mountain and prairie plant material into the city and arranging this material in flowing, naturalistic patterns." In addition, he supervised the implementation of Olmsted's red oak groves on the Broadway terrace in 1914.[314] According to Olmsted, Denver citizens initially asserted the local climate allowed only native cottonwoods to survive in their parks, but he convinced them red oaks would live. None of the species grew in Denver, so the city imported specimen trees from Pennsylvania by boxcar; after intensive watering they lived.[315]

Following the publication of the Olmsted and Brunner Plan, the city appointed a Civic Center Commission composed of leading men in a variety of fields to study issues relating to its improvements.[316] In 1916 the commission produced a public report on previous planning efforts and presented a modified version of the MacMonnies Plan, proposing more elaborate decoration and offering its opinion that the western location for a municipal building "should at all times be recognized as an essential part of the whole civic center plan."[317] The group recommended the city commit to implementing the plan as soon as funds became available and suggested it provide an annual appropriation until the completion of permanent improvements. Wilson cites the commission's report as "one of the last gasps of reform government" in the city.[318]

COLORADO STATE MUSEUM OPENS

Although planners designed the Capitol to house the entire state government, lack of adequate space for all departments quickly became apparent. During the first decade of the twentieth century, Progressive officeholders such as Governor John F. Shafroth advocated a more active role for government, resulting in the creation of new agencies, boards, and commissions, and the need for additional state office space. One approach explored in 1907 and 1908 involved extending the east wing of the Capitol, a plan that included preserving the portico by disassembling and then reassembling it after completing the addition. The state dropped this plan in favor of constructing a new building nearby.

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[311] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 200.

[312] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 205,

[313] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 11 October 1913, 14; Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 200-201.

[314] Carolyn and Don Etter, "S.R. DeBoer, Revised Biography," August 1998, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library; Don and Carolyn Etter, "The Olmsted Legacy in Denver's Park and Parkway System," Summary Sheet 1: "Olmsted & Civic Center" and Summary Sheet 2: "Olmsted, Bennett, and Civic Center," 2006, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

[315] Poppum, "Denver's Civic Center," 43; S.R. DeBoer, "The Denver Civic Center," *The Green Thumb*, 24(November 1967)6: 173.

[316] The committee included F.J. Chamberlin, Maurice B. Biscoe, John S. Fowler, Frank E. Shepard, Henry Read, and J.J.B. Benedict. *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 December 1921, 8.

[317] *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 December 1921, 8.

[318] Wilson, "A Diadem," 81.

Collections of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado (founded in 1879) in the Capitol basement constituted a popular tourist draw, but they consumed valuable space in the statehouse. In 1909 the state legislature authorized the first expansion in state facilities adjacent to the Capitol with passage of an act providing for erection of the Colorado State Museum. The new building would accommodate the holdings of the society, thus freeing up space in the Capitol for boards and commissions. The State Board of Capitol Managers purchased a site immediately south of the statehouse at the southeast corner of East 14th Avenue and Sherman Street in May 1909. Architect Frank E. Edbrooke, the superintendent of the Capitol, drafted plans for the building and excavation began in October. In June 1912 *Denver Municipal Facts* published a photograph of the partially completed building and optimistically predicted it would be finished by late autumn.[319] However, construction proceeded slowly, and rumors swirled that the $487,000 building might instead be used to house the Supreme Court or serve as the governor's mansion.[320] With the building complete in early 1915, after several months of moving its extensive archeological collection, mineralogical specimens, Civil War relics, and newspapers, photographs, and Colorado history books, the stat museum opened to the public in September 1915.[321]

The museum construction featured native Colorado materials, including walls of Colorado Yule marble from Gunnison County and a granite foundation, harmonizing with the materials used for the Capitol.[322] Edbrooke characterized the style of the building as "modified Roman classical." According to historian Thomas J. Noel the building illustrated Edbrooke's ability to make "the leap from nineteenth-century Romantic styles to early twentieth-century Neoclassicism."[323] The museum is cited as the last building designed by Edbrooke prior to his retirement in 1915; the architect died six years later. In a book about Denver's early architecture, Richard Brettell praised the building:

> Its plan is symmetrical, clear, and ample. The classical allusions are no longer piece-meal, nor are they tempered by elements of other styles from other architectural pasts. Rather, the classicism is apparently complete and almost archaeological in its effect on the viewer. The building is architecturally pure and its imagery exudes a hardened pomp and grandeur.[324]

SPEER RETURNS TO OFFICE AND HIRES ARCHITECT AND PLANNER EDWARD H. BENNETT TO CREATE A SUCCESSFUL PLAN

A group of influential citizens convinced Robert Speer to run for office again in 1916. Edgar C. MacMechen reported the lack of progress on the civic center proved "largely instrumental" in inducing the former mayor to come out of retirement.[325] A special election in May brought an end to the commission form of government, which was replaced by a mayor-council administration. It also brought about an amendment to the city charter (the Speer Amendment), which was crafted to include the best principles of governments Speer had studied as well as ideas drawn from his many years of public service.[326] The amendment reportedly entrusted the mayor

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[319] *Denver Municipal Facts*, 15 June 1912, 12.

[320] *Denver Post*, 19 May 1914, 8.

[321] The building continued to serve as the headquarters of the historical society until 1977 and then sat vacant until 1986, when it was rehabilitated into legislative support offices and hearing rooms. Stone, *History of Colorado*, 213-14; *Rocky Mountain News*, 22 November 1986, 69.

[322] Most sources report that the granite came from Cotopaxi in Fremont County, while Derek Everett identified it as "Aberdeen granite, specially quarried from the now closed site, to blend with the statehouse to the north." Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 118; Pyle, *History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex*, 53.

[323] Noel, *Denver Landmarks and Historic Districts*, 34.

[324] Richard Brettell, *Historic Denver: The Architects and the Architecture, 1858-1893* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1973), 63.

[325] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 47.

[326] Ibid., 57.

with broader powers than the executive of any other American municipality; it allowed him to proceed with the development of civic center as he desired.[327] Except for the auditor and election and civil service commissions, the mayor controlled all appointments and retained ultimate authority over city finances. A new nine-member city council included four Speer appointees who would serve until the next election. The only potential checks on the mayor's actions were the slow and difficult to implement measures of recall, initiative, and referendum.[328] MacMechen judged the mayor's last term to be his greatest, and biographer Charles Johnson found it characterized by a smoothly functioning government that carried out its established plans for civic beautification.[329]

Enjoying much local support and more favorable press, Speer pushed forward with work on the civic center. On 8 December 1916 he presented one of his most effective and memorable public addresses regarding the importance of Civic Center and citizens' support of it. In his famous "Give While You Live" speech, he discussed his concept of a Colonnade of Civic Benefactors honoring citizens, living or dead, "who have given in some substantial way to the beauty or the cultural advantages of Denver."[330] The mayor believed: "Future monuments will be erected to men for keeping out of war, not for leading armies in battle; for lifting burdens, not for gathering gold; for starting waves of happiness, rather than currents of selfishness and greed."[331] He spoke to citizens in familiar City Beautiful terms:

> Ugly things do not please. It is so much easier to love a thing of beauty—and this applies to cities as well as to persons and things. Fountains, statues, artistic lights, music, playgrounds, parks, etc., make people love the place in which they live. Every time a private citizen by gift or otherwise, adds to a city's beauty, he kindles the spirit of pride in other citizens.[332]

Speer returned to office intent on pursuing further improvement of Civic Center and voicing opposition to the plan submitted by Olmsted Brothers and Brunner. During his time away from municipal government, the mayor had returned to Europe and became particularly impressed by German parks; he now wanted Civic Center to feature a large fountain and a tree-lined mall with statues. Toward the end of the year, the mayor secured the services of Chicago architect and planner Edward H. Bennett (see biographical section), Daniel Burnham's former protégé, to prepare a plan that would garner the approval of citizens and highlight donations of the city's benefactors. As DeBoer later observed: "The present layout is very largely his [Bennett's] plan."[333] Wilson considered Bennett to be a key factor in the plan's success: "In Bennett, Speer found a man of independent and wise judgment who realized the mayor's vision while overriding his uninformed enthusiasm."[334]

The 1917 Bennett Plan

Bennett, drawing upon and integrating the various concepts that had been proposed since Robinson's 1906 analysis, prepared "additional and complete civic center plans," with the assistance of Denver architects Marean and Norton (see biographical section).[335] He submitted the *Denver Civic Center Plan* in February 1917, emphasizing that the park between Broadway and Bannock Street should become a large open space that could be used for gatherings of thousands of people rather than a "secluded park." In that regard, Bennett believed in the logic of paving large areas with concrete and brick panels or simply graveling a large section of the center to

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[327] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 207.
[328] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 207-208.
[329] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 59; Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 214.
[330] *Denver Municipal Facts*, May 1918, 17.
[331] Edgar C. MacMechen, "The Court of Honor," 412.
[332] Speer's speech quoted in MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 75.
[333] Poppum, "Denver's Civic Center," 42; DeBoer, "The Denver Civic Center," *The Green Thumb*, 173.
[334] Wilson, "A Diadem," 81.
[335] *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 December 1921, 8.

accommodate large gatherings. He also favored planting a considerable number of trees to provide shade, as well as the creating small areas with lawns and planting spaces as a suitable background for statues, balustrades, and other decorative elements.

Like others who had studied the site, Bennett appreciated the dominance of the State Capitol and the importance of preserving its vista along the main axis to the site west of Bannock Street proposed for the new city-county building.[336] He suggested the new edifice be constructed of white marble in a design harmonizing with that of the existing library and advised it should include "a strong central feature of monumental architecture which will appear to great advantage" in the central vista. Borrowing from MacMonnies for the main feature of this east-west axis, he proposed a paved plaza with a monumental white marble fountain with a large central jet capable of spraying water to great heights.

As a counterpoint for the library, Bennett, as had previous planners, envisioned an art museum of the same light gray stone facing it across the north-south axis. He proposed an underground passageway connecting the two and a narrow reflecting pool and double row of fountains between the buildings. This area would be adorned with marble sculpture. Bennett found the library needed room for expansion of reading rooms and stacks to double its existing size, and, like his predecessors, proposed a "suitable façade" be designed for the existing rear wall facing the central vista.

Bennett felt that the Bates triangle should be a definite part of the composition and adopted an earlier suggestion for the closing and diversion of West 14th Avenue and the extension of the park block following the arc of a circle on the north and south. On the north, he did not include a similar diversion of West Colfax Avenue, which continued to divide the Bates triangle from the rest of the center. A diagonal turnoff (an extension of 15th Street) cut through the northeast corner of the site, resulting in a small, detached triangle of turf.[337] The *Pioneer Monument* at the northwest corner of Broadway and Colfax would be balanced with a similar site on the south containing a state monument (an area now part of the library grounds that never received a monument). Notably, Bennett added a strong transverse axis to serve as the main entrance from the business district to the north, elaborated by a monumental gateway on the Bates triangle. To balance the gateway on the south, he incorporated MacMonnies' concept of an "open-air theater" with seats in a semi-circular arrangement. A colonnade (to satisfy Speer's desire for a memorial displaying the names of civic donors) would provide a setting and screen for the theater in the West 14th Avenue triangle and provide a southern terminus for the transverse axis. East of the theater, dense plantings of trees and shrubbery would diminish street noise from Broadway. As Speer desired, Bennett also addressed the lighting of the center, which he believed should be abundant and decorative yet without glaring effects, so that the park would serve as a vital part of the city both day and night. Marean and Norton developed the designs for the metal lampposts.[338]

Bennett recommended controlling the heights of the buildings facing and within the civic center site. Although his plan referenced the State Capitol and its grounds, he did not propose significant changes for that area. Rather, he recommended preparation of a revised plan for the area and future acquisition of additional grounds around the building: "By this means the Government and the municipal centers may be made to contribute to each other and conform to a thoroughly harmonious whole."[339]

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[336] Bennett theorized that columns of white marble might be introduced to the facades of the library and art museum to "bring the materials of all the buildings in closer harmony."

[337] *Denver Municipal Facts*, April 1919, 6.

[338] Robert Walter Speer, E.H. Bennett, and Marean and Norton, *The Denver Civic Center Plan* ([Denver: Brock Haffner Press, 1917]); DeBoer, "The Denver Civic Center," *The Green Thumb*, 174; MacMechen, "The Court of Honor," 414.

[339] *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 5(April 1917): 181.

A 1917 city publication, *Denver the Distinctive*, described the civic center as it then appeared and included a drawing of the proposed Greek theater with a discussion of Bennett's planned elements.[340] Bennett continued to advise the city after submitting the plan, opposing Speer's ideas when necessary and reminding the mayor of his desire to see the best results possible. In 1918 when Speer advocated installing Proctor's equestrian statue *Broncho Buster* in the center of the plaza, the architect strongly objected that the size of work was not sufficient for such placement. Together Bennett and Speer worked out the final location of the Voorhies Memorial, with the architect suggesting the treatment of the Bates triangle as a shallower ellipse than that of the corresponding parcel on the south side of the park. According to Wilson: "With this solution in hand, the city built the center essentially as it has stood since."[341]

In the eighteen months after Speer's "Give While You Live" speech, more than a half-million dollars in gifts to the city poured in.[342] When the United States entered World War I some criticized the mayor for continuing the improvement work while the country's focus lay on the battlefront, but Denver also supported more than four thousand victory gardens and established the first municipal training school for soldiers.[343] The city continued to operate with a surplus during the war, as it did during each year of Speer's tenure.[344] His success in transforming Denver led him to be "known through the United States as the foremost municipal executive in America."[345]

Robert W. Speer died while in office after a brief bout with pneumonia on 14 May 1918. The *Rocky Mountain News* praised him, saying: "He made service to the city his life work. Denver's present commanding place with the outer world is due to his incessant labors for its upbuilding."[346] Charles Johnson wrote: "Speer never displayed personal flamboyance, but his plans for Denver had a certain majestic quality that will forever distinguish his administrations."[347] The city's manager for parks and improvements, William F.R. Mills, succeeded Speer as mayor. When sworn into office on 18 May 1918, Mills pledged to make every attempt to emulate Speer's policies and ideals, and to complete public works plans initiated or contemplated by him.[348] In an October 1918 article reiterating Speer's "Give While You Live" philosophy, the city outlined reasons why it needed to complete Civic Center. Denver saw itself as a municipality that chose aesthetic development over the acquisition of industries due to its history as a tourist destination. In addition, the city wanted to add to the beauty of the world, especially in response to the destruction of places of cultural importance that had occurred during World War I.[349]

Completion of the Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors

The Denver architectural firm of Willis A. Marean and Albert J. Norton (see biographical section) designed the $203,404 Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors in association with Bennett; Edward Seerie served as the builder. Completion of the project took on a patriotic aspect during World War I, when the city advised that in light of the destruction of art in Belgium and northern France residents should provide for compensating pieces in other parts of the world.[350] An additional purpose of the improvement was to create a "local hall of fame" dedicated to those people living or dead who demonstrated their love for the city by presenting it with

[340] *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 December 1921, 8.
[341] Wilson, "A Diadem," 82.
[342] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 60.
[343] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 213; MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 63.
[344] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 60.
[345] Stone, *History of Colorado*, 96.
[346] Ibid., 99-100.
[347] Johnson, *Denver's Mayor Speer*, 224.
[348] *Denver Municipal Facts*, May 1918, 17; MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 67.
[349] *Denver Municipal Facts*, October 1918, 3.
[350] Ibid.

works that increased its beauty or culture "in a dignified, substantial manner."[351] Plans originally called for the inscription of the names of donors on the columns, but in the completed design names were listed on the walls at each end of the colonnade. Donors contributed $600,000 in gifts to the city in the two years after the project was announced.[352] A special fund paid by the Telephone Company also covered costs related to the construction of structure and the decorative balustrades.[353] However, completion of the improvement met delays due to difficulty finding adequate labor to cut the stone during wartime.[354]

The Greek Theater opened in June 1919, with a special program featuring Red Cross units in uniform and an address by the organization's director, Dr. Livingston Farrand, who urged citizens to continue to provide support during the postwar reconstruction process.[355] In August Denver officially dedicated the theater and colonnade with elaborate ceremonies attended by an audience that filled every seat and spread into the surrounding areas. The municipal band and chorus presented patriotic songs, including one composed especially for the occasion, and speakers recalled Mayor Speer's role in the theater's creation.[356] The event tested the theater's popularity as a location for public meetings and entertainment. Attendees judged the acoustical properties of theater "exceptional for an outdoor forum," and the estimated four thousand people in attendance took the opportunity to explore the grounds as well as enjoy the speeches and musical program. Public entertainment occurred almost nightly at the theater thereafter and ranged from plays to vaudeville shows to concerts.[357] Among the theater's functions during its early years was its use as an open forum, with the city allowing any subject discussed except "theology questions involving consideration of the probable end of the world."[358]

The Denver Atelier Forms

According to Denver historians Thomas J. Noel and Barbara S. Norgren: "Between 1910 and 1940 Denver realized the classical ideal of marrying art and architecture to a greater extent than ever before or since."[359] The Denver Atelier represented one expression of the age's artistic spirit. The school traced its origins to the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects founded in New York in 1893 by architects who had studied at the École des Beaux-Arts and wanted to spread and perpetuate its ideas and method of education to North America. In 1916 the group chartered the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design in New York City to facilitate expansion of its program of architectural instruction and competitions based on the curriculum of the Parisian school. The school subsequently added training in mural painting, sculpture, and interior design. In 1919 the Institute of Design chartered the Denver Atelier, which trained young architects and artists with the guidance of practicing professionals and graded competitions. Denver architect Burnham Hoyt, himself a winner of four Society of Beaux-Arts competitions while living in New York, judged the local entries and submitted the best for national appraisal.[360]

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[351] *Denver Municipal Facts*, October 1918.
[352] Ibid.
[353] MacMechen, *Robert W. Speer*, 48.
[354] *Denver Municipal Facts*, November 1918, 16.
[355] *Rocky Mountain News*, 24 June 1919, 3.
[356] *Denver Post*, 5 August 1919, 22.
[357] *Denver Municipal Facts*, September-October 1919, 15.
[358] Controversy over the proper use of Civic Center ensued in 1947 after George Cranmer, the city's Manager of Parks, prohibited labor union members from using the structure to discuss bills pending in Congress. Cranmer asserted the city charter forbid use of the theater for political meetings. *Rocky Mountain News*, 15 June 1920, 16.
[359] Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 139.
[360] Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 139; "Beaux-Arts Institute of Design," New York City Landmark Preservation Commission Landmark Designation Report, accessed 31 January 2011 at http://www.neighborhoodpreservationcenter.org.

In 1922 the *Colorado AIA Bulletin* described the Atelier as "the brightest spot in the art life of Denver." Architects Arthur Fisher, Lester Varian, and Burnham Hoyt, all graduates of Beaux-Arts ateliers in New York, served as the principal instructors for the Denver studio. Ken Fuller, later a leader of the Allied Architects Association which designed the Denver City and County Building, described the Denver school as "the greatest thing for us young architects and artists."[361] Another Denver architect recalled that the studio united its members and "emphasized history and art and beautiful drawing and draftsmanship."[362] Many of Denver's noted twentieth-century artists and architects spent time at the Denver Atelier.

Voorhies Memorial Gateway and Sea Lion Fountain

Several wealthy Denver citizens participated in Mayor Speer's "Give While You Live" program by donating funds for construction of monumental gateways at the entrances to public parks. A posthumous gift by John H.P. Voorhies, an early banker and mining investor who lived opposite the Bates triangle, provided $125,000 for a gateway or entrance to civic center in memory of him and his wife.[363] Originally, the city selected the architectural firm of Marean and Norton to design the gateway. The architects' concept included a waterscape, with an entrance elaborated by two monumental pylons flanked by elevated platforms with seats and backed by a balustrade terminated by podia bearing recumbent sculptured lions. An ornamental pool spanned by a stone bridge featured sculptured fountains and cascades.[364] The city never built the Marean and Norton design, instead it called for new proposals.

Bennett came to Denver to help officials select the best design for the gateway in 1918. He was accompanied by San Francisco sculptor Leo Lentelli, who produced the heroic figures for Denver City Park's Sullivan Gate and planned to submit a new concept for the memorial.[365] The location of the Bates triangle presented difficult challenges. The mayor and the Art Commission requested any plans provide for diversion of West Colfax Avenue around the north end of Civic Center, eliminating the avenue between the triangle and the main part of Civic Center, to create one cohesive area.[366] After further delay, in May 1919 the city announced it would call for new plans in a competitive bidding process.[367] In the autumn, city representatives approved a new design by the architectural firm of William E. and Arthur A. Fisher (see biographical section), which called for the same variety of stone as the Colonnade of Civic Benefactors.[368] The cutting of stone for the structure began the following January. Allen Tupper True painted murals on lunettes inside the gateway.

In 1921 in conjunction with the plans to close West Colfax Avenue between Broadway and Bannock Streets, Mayor Dewey C. Bailey (who served 1919-23) decided to build a curved drive around the Voorhies Gateway on 15th Street to lessen traffic congestion. The city extended 15th Street through the northeast corner of Civic Center Park at Colfax and Broadway to carry traffic heading south on Broadway from downtown.[369]
After the construction of the Voorhies Memorial Gateway, $15,000 of the money contributed by the donor's estate remained. This amount allowed fulfillment of the original Fisher and Fisher design calling for a reflecting pool in the arc formed by the colonnade. The architects contracted with sculptor Robert Garrison (see biographical section) for two bronze groups depicting infants upon sea lions posed at rest on pedestals just

[361] Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 139.
[362] Ibid., 139.
[363] *Denver Municipal Facts*, September-October 1919, 4.
[364] *Denver Municipal Facts*, October 1918, 6.
[365] *Rocky Mountain News*, 31 March 1918, 3.
[366] *Denver Municipal Facts*, October 1918, 6.
[367] *Denver Municipal Facts*, May 1919, 17.
[368] *Denver Municipal Facts*, November 1919, 5 and January 1920, 16.
[369] *Denver Municipal Facts*, April-May 1921, 5.

above the surface of the water. Construction began in the spring of 1921 and ended in May 1922 with the installation of the sculptures.[370]

With the completion of the Voorhies Memorial Gateway and its reflecting pool, the city focused on finding or constructing a suitable art museum and placing within the civic center several sculptural pieces that were already underway. Sculptor Alexander Phimister Proctor (see biographical section) recalled that during a 1917 Denver visit Mayor Speer drove him around the city, revealing how much had changed since the sculptor's childhood. Two Proctor statues executed in plaster for the World's Columbian Exposition (*Equestrian Indian* and *Cowboy*) stood in Denver, but the works had deteriorated. Speer wanted two new pieces for the city, and the artist displayed a small version of his *Broncho Buster*. Then in his third term, Speer contacted two prominent businessmen, J.K. Mullen and Stephen Knight, who agreed to pay Proctor's commission and donate the works to the city.[371] In 1920 the city installed Mullen's gift, *Broncho Buster*, and Knight's donation, *On the War Trail*, was installed two years later. Director Reginald Poland of the Denver Art Museum wrote:

> Art critics have said Denver needed something to typify its underlying spirit…. The two equestrian figures by Proctor are being rightly placed on the Civic Center. There they will be seen by all, among whom are the tourists and transient visitors. Coming to Denver, they will see that which will remain in their memory as the essential spirit of the city and region. These statues satisfy that desire. They will give life to the rather formal, classic architecture.[372]

COLORADO STATE OFFICE BUILDING AND LIKENS FOUNTAIN

State functions and employees continued to grow, with increased duties arising during World War I in association with the Adjutant General and defense programs. In 1912 the Board of Capitol Managers recommended purchase of future building sites north and south of the State Capitol. The legislature authorized funds for such acquisitions in 1917, and three of four sites were obtained. A joint committee investigated spatial needs and the erection of a new building to house state workers. The legislature selected the northeast corner of East Colfax Avenue and Sherman Street for the building site and called for construction to begin immediately so the project would provide jobs to returning soldiers.[373]

The board commissioned respected Denver architect William N. Bowman (see biographical section) to prepare plans for the Colorado State Office Building, with the firm of Seerie and Varnum serving as general contractors. Bowman labeled his design "Roman Corinthian." Construction began in August 1919, with the cornerstone laid in June 1920. The exterior employed Cotopaxi granite, while the interior featured Botticino marble in the lobby and first story and Vermont marble in the remainder of the five-story edifice.[374]

The total cost of the building reached $1,494,375, considerably more than the $750,000 initially budgeted. The *Denver Post* charged Colorado taxpayers were being "mulcted" (extorted or swindled) due to mismanagement of the project by the board. State workers occupied the building in 1921. The following year the state installed two bronze mountain lion sculptures created by Robert Garrison to either side of the main entrance. Tunnels carrying heating pipes and power connected the new building to the Capitol and the Colorado State Museum. In

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[370] *Denver Municipal Facts*, April-May 1921, 5; *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 May 1922, 16.
[371] Alexander Phimister Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin: The Autobiography of Alexander Phimister Proctor*, Katharine C. Ebner, ed., 2nd ed., (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 177.
[372] Poland, "Artistic Expression in Denver," 8.
[373] Pyle, *History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex*, 55-56.
[374] Ibid., 57-61.

the opinion of William R. Pyle, "the newest addition to Colorado's Capitol complex was functional, timely, and majestic."[375]

Lincoln Park gained one small monument in July 1923, with the installation of the Sadie M. Likens Drinking Fountain near the northwest corner. The dark granite pedestal with two drinking fountains honored Likens, who lost her husband and other family members in the Civil War and served as a nurse in the conflict. She came to Denver in 1882, became Denver's first police matron in 1889, and tended wounded soldiers from the Spanish-American War. Likens helped organize the Women's Relief Corps, an auxiliary of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), which erected the water fountain.[376]

STEPS TOWARD CONSTRUCTION OF A CITY AND COUNTY BUILDING

Throughout the 1920s, the *Denver Post* continued to extol the City Beautiful benefits of Civic Center, asserting in 1928: "In summer or winter, spring or autumn, Denver Civic Center fills the purpose of civic recreation, culture, health and happiness and as the years roll around, its place in the hearts of humanity will become more and more monumental."[377] During the decade, consulting landscape architect Saco R. DeBoer played a continuing role in developing and maintaining Civic Center Park, including oversight for the planting of annual flower beds.

Denver leaders focused during the 1920s and early 1930s on acquiring the recommended site for the new municipal building and proceeding with its construction. Robinson's 1906 plan for the civic center had proposed using the existing courthouse location northwest of the Capitol, while MacMonnies suggested a Bannock Street location directly to the west, a choice that subsequent planners including Olmsted, Brunner, and Bennett endorsed.[378] Following the city's acceptance of the Bennett Plan, local officials viewed the location for the building as a settled question, but the owners of several downtown office buildings opposed the site, fearing the relocation of county court functions would negatively influence the business district and damage property values.[379]

In 1921 the University of Denver took advantage of city's lack of action and purchased the Bannock Street property for a new three-story classroom. Local residents criticized the university's action, and concerns about the completion of the civic center increased. In response, the school announced it would sell the lots at cost to the city and supported the project by stating: "We desire to see our Civic Center not only the finest in America, but the finest in the whole world."[380]

Members of civic and commercial groups urged Mayor Bailey to proceed with the concept for the site developed under the Speer administration.[381] Harry W. Bundy, president of the Optimists Club, asserted the city would be foolish to abandon Speer's plans when most people favored them and judged: "When we as a city are stronger financially, we do not want to find our dreams of a better city blotted out by an array of buildings that would cost a small fortune [to obtain]."[382] Advocates reminded residents that the loss of the land envisioned as the site of the municipal building since the MacMonnies Plan would severely tarnish the long-held vision for civic center.[383] However, Mayor Bailey indicated the city would take no definite action on the issue.[384]

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[375] Pyle, *History of the Colorado State Capitol Complex*, 57; *Denver Post*, 22 February 1921, 1 and 2 July 1922, 11.
[376] Murphy, *Geology Tours*, 40-41; *Denver Post*, 8 July 1923, 5 and 29 May 1999, 3B.
[377] *Denver Post*, 31 December 1928.
[378] *Denver Municipal Facts*, January-February 1923, 3.
[379] Denver Planning Commission, *Denver Planning Primer*, vol. 6, rev. (Denver: Denver Planning Commission, 1940, 29.
[380] *Denver Municipal Facts*, November-December 1921, 15.
[381] *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 December 1921, 4.
[382] *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 December 1921, 1.
[383] *Rocky Mountain News*, 11 December 1921, 1.

Those in favor of the Bannock Street site believed the civic center would never be completed unless Denver citizens voted on the issue. A voluntary group of prominent people, calling themselves the Civic Center Extension Committee, formed to push the question to the forefront, with support from a variety of civic, business, and labor groups.[385] In the spring of 1923, *Denver Municipal Facts* featured an artist's visualization of a new city-county building on the proposed Bannock Street site, with the Front Range forming a dramatic backdrop.[386] Three hundred "well known society women" distributed literature prepared by the committee discussing acquisition of the desired land. In May the city asked voters to approve either the purchase of the block on Bannock Street or the use of the existing Courthouse Square for a new building.[387] Local improvement associations and the Denver Art Commission favored the block on Bannock Street, believing it would encourage the construction of a building "in architectural harmony" with the rest of civic center.[388] Mayor Bailey indicated he supported the bond issue, although he viewed either location suitable for the new building. By about a two-to-one margin Denver voters approved the purchase of the Bannock Street property and a bond issue of $500,000 to pay for it.[389]

During the first administration of Mayor Benjamin Stapleton (who served 1923-31) the city moved forward with plans for a new municipal building and purchase of the block of land for the proposed construction. At this time officials reiterated the importance of developing a common plan for the improvement of the land between the new municipal building and the Capitol, and Mayor Stapleton and Governor Teller Ammons cooperated in securing the first joint document expressing this intent. Opening the vista between the Capitol and the city-county building site became a focus of the plans. S.R. DeBoer recorded: "The design of the City Hall was drawn on carefully measured profiles so the mountain view from the Capitol would be visible above the new City Hall."[390] In 1924 DeBoer, working as a consulting landscape architect, submitted the "Civic Center Extension Plan," which contemplated the eventual extension of the civic center west to Cherry Creek. The ambitious new proposal recommended creating a central mall flanked by public buildings, expanding the library, building a courthouse opposite the library, erecting a group of city and county government buildings, constructing an art museum and an opportunity school, and developing a park at the west end facing Cherry Creek.[391] The city presented the scheme in *Denver Municipal Facts* for discussion, but never undertook the suggested improvements.

Allied Architects Association

In 1924 Allied Architects Association, consisting of thirty-nine leading local architects constituting the local AIA membership, submitted a proposal for the design of the city-county building. According to the group's president, Robert K. Fuller, the reasons for its formation as a cooperative venture included completing plans for the development of the civic center and providing architectural services for the proposed municipal building. Given widespread interest in the project within the profession it seemed logical to create such an association, and the importance of the project required the participation of an entity with a "high standard of excellence." The Colorado AIA chapter sponsored the group after becoming convinced it could provide the needed services. Led by a board of directors, Allied Architects established specialized committees to handle specific aspects of the design and solve special problems that arose during the design process. At the outset members were required to submit preliminary drawings for the design of the building, which provided valuable information later during

[384] *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 October 1922, 9.
[385] *Denver Municipal Facts*, May 1923, 4; Carroll, "History and Description," 1.
[386] *Denver Municipal Facts*, March-April 1923, 3.
[387] Carroll, "History and Description," 1.
[388] *Denver Municipal Facts*, May 1923, 4.
[389] Ibid.
[390] DeBoer, "The Denver Civic Center," *The Green Thumb*, 174.
[391] *Denver Municipal Facts*, September-October 1924, 2-3.

the development of formal plans. At the conclusion of the building's construction the association intended to disband and end its experiment in cooperative enterprise.[392] The city selected Allied Architects to prepare plans for the building in the fall of 1924, and by November 1925 it approved preliminary drawings for approximately fifty-five percent of the work.[393] The architects selected George Koyle (see biographical section) as chief designer, with F.E. Mountjoy chosen to perform special services associated with the work.[394]

Envisioning Denver as "America's Paris," Allied Architects sought to create a building that harmonized with its civic center surroundings and produce "one of the municipal beauty spots of the world." Seen as providing balance to the Capitol, the new edifice repeated some of the older building's architectural features, including a monumental pedimented portico and a stately central tower that echoed the older building's dome, while representing a sparer, late version of Beaux-Arts classical design. The architects recommended the same Colorado granite employed for the Capitol and State Office Building be used in the new construction so that the color and materials would create a close connection between the city and state buildings. The architectural elements of the nearby library, particularly the engaged colonnade, reverberated in the scale and curving façade of the new building.[395]

In 1924 preliminary work began with the removal of old structures on the construction site, but progress on the project halted frequently. One delay resulted from a lawsuit over specifications stipulating the use of foreign materials although state law required Colorado materials. Denver's status as a home rule city ended that dispute.[396] Allied Architects submitted a landscape plan for the grounds of the new building and the western portion of Civic Center Park the following year. Some local architects, notably the distinguished J.J.B. Benedict, objected to the selection of the designers and advocated for a more modern design. A court suit challenging the legality of forming a corporation to practice architecture in Colorado resulted in the State Supreme Court voiding the architects' contract. After the ruling Allied Architects disbanded and Robert K. Fuller received appointment as supervising architect, followed by George Gray, and Roland L. Linder, who saw the project to completion.[397]

During the various delays the city made no attempt to control debris at the construction site, which became an eyesore adjacent to the completed grounds of Civic Center Park.[398] By 1926 Mayor Stapleton and a group of prominent Denver citizens wanted to have the building erected as soon as possible. However, when the city was ready to proceed, it did not have available the more than $4 million needed to finish the building.[399] To begin construction the city used funds totaling more than $1.8 million from the Denver Gas & Electric Company and its successor, the Public Service Company. A $2.5 million bond issue and additional appropriations covered the final cost of $5,559,588.[400]

On 26 March 1929, almost six years after the bond issue to purchase the land was passed, the city held a ten-minute groundbreaking ceremony, during which Mayor Stapleton's shovel ironically struck rock. Architect

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[392] Robert K. Fuller, "Office Practice: The Allied Architects Association of Denver," undated reprint from *Architectural Forum* in the clipping files of the Denver Public Library Western History and Genealogy Department.

[393] *Rocky Mountain News*, 19 November 1925, 18.

[394] Architect F.E. Mountjoy served as general superintendent for the construction, but resigned under pressure in June 1931.[394] *Denver Post*, 12 June 1931, 1.

[395] *Denver Municipal Facts*, November-December 1925, 14.

[396] McConnell, "For These High Purposes," 219.

[397] Carroll, "History and Description," 3.

[398] *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 May 1926, 1. The site evoked such ridicule that the city's auditor suggested dumping sand there for children's play.

[399] *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 May 1926, 1.

[400] Carroll, "History and Description," 3.

Fuller observed: "This event today is significant in that it marks the realization of the Civic Center plan."[401] Local contractors Varnum and Bate and Fleisher Engineering and Construction of Chicago signed a contract pledging to complete the building by April 1932 and later agreed Denver labor would be utilized to erect the building.[402]

Due to slow progress, the laying of the five-foot-long Cotopaxi granite cornerstone didn't occur until 21 February 1931, when ceremonies were held under the auspices of the Masons. While some observers wondered if the city would be able to raise enough money to finish the building, *Denver Municipal Facts* optimistically commented: "In the harmony and perfection of its architectural detail, this building, upon completion, will be one of the most beautiful city buildings in America, while none can boast a more magnificent setting."[403] By April, builders had completed the steelwork and began pouring concrete.[404] Voters approved a bond issue in May, assuring the building's future.[405]

One of the last large granite structures erected in the city, the Denver City and County Building showcased the light gray granite quarried at Cotopaxi in Fremont County, as well as a similar-colored granite from Stone Mountain, Georgia (employed for the columns and upper parts of the building).[406] The source of stone became problematic for Mayor Stapleton, who initially had selected two varieties of Colorado granite presumed to be available in adequate amounts. He then generated controversy at a time of high unemployment in the city and state by determining that the Cotopaxi stone needed to be supplemented by granite imported from Georgia.[407]

Construction of the building provided jobs for nearly 400 men during the early years of the Great Depression.[408] The task required 14,000 tons of stone. Italian-born, master stone carver John B. Garatti of St. Paul, Minnesota, led 250 skilled workmen in preparation of 600 carloads of granite for the building. Garatti's career included carving stone ornaments for a number of buildings in Minnesota, as well as the Wisconsin and Missouri state capitols.[409] He expressed disappointment when the city, as a cost-saving measure, eliminated the depictions of the buffalos, ox-teams, and pioneers originally planned for the east pediment.[410]

The city approved the completed building on 29 April 1932, and it was opened to public inspection on 1 August 1932, a date traditionally celebrated as Colorado Day. Dedication ceremonies began with a flourish of trumpets by the city's Highlander Boys and a rolling back of the monumental bronze doors. Mayor George D. Begole and his cabinet greeted citizens, including former Mayor Stapleton, some of building's architects, and Mayor Speer's widow.[411] All city offices, except the police department, jail, and charities department, moved into the new building, eliminating the necessity of rented quarters and separate locations. The building included space for all civil divisions of the courts. The fourth floor originally housed the Denver Art Museum, which featured twelve galleries and a reference library maintained by the public library.[412] The museum, displaying a new bust completed by Arnold Ronnebeck, became one of the most popular spaces in the building until 1949, when the Schleier Memorial Branch of the Denver Art Museum opened at the northwest corner of West 13th Avenue and

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[401] *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 March 1929, 1.
[402] Ibid.; *Denver Post*, 12 June 1931, 1.
[403] *Denver Municipal Facts*, March-April 1931, 13.
[404] *Denver Post*, 31 April 1931, 3.
[405] *Denver Post*, 17 February 1931.
[406] Murphy, *Geology Tour*, 24.
[407] *Denver Post*, 24 December 1930.
[408] *Denver Post*, 31 December 1931, 14C.
[409] *Denver Post*, 21 December 1931.
[410] Carroll, "History and Description," 1.
[411] Ibid., 1.
[412] Federal Writers Project, *WPA Guide to Colorado*, 142.

Acoma Street.[413] After reviewing the completed construction journalist Lee Taylor Casey expressed his praise for the building:

> It is a building of many superlatives. It is big, in keeping with the bigness of the West. It harmonizes with, rather than dominates, the other structures in what is probably the finest civic center in the nation. It is an enduring monument to the community; to Mayor Speer, who conceived the idea of the civic center and created it in the face of bitter opposition and personal abuse; to his successors who strove against similar objections to fulfill his vision; to the men who designed it; to the thousands of men and women who had the faith that was necessary to see it finished.... It is built to endure. Centuries hence, it may be Denver's sole reminder of the existence of this generation.[414]

The *Rocky Mountain News* emphasized the importance of the building's site in conveying a City Beautiful impression: "Sky and mountains combine to make more attractive the shining whiteness of the new home of the city and county government."[415] With the completion of the building, the newspaper announced that "no city in America, with the exception of Washington, will have a finer grouping and setting of public buildings."[416] Vertical and oblique aerial photographs of the early 1930s show the configuration of the Denver Civic Center following the completion of the city-county building.

The final drawings for the city-county building and its grounds called for the placement of two monumental flagpoles in the forecourt. Camilla S. Edbrooke, widow of Frank E. Edbrooke, died in 1929, leaving $5,000 for the construction of a public drinking fountain. The city determined the erection of flagpoles in front of the building would contribute more to the beauty of the civic center.[417] Roland Linder (see biographical section), the supervising architect who saw the building to completion, designed the massive flagpoles incorporating water fountains into the design.[418] Italian-born stonemason and graduate of the University of Milan Art School, Joseph Rizzi, and his son, Alfred, acquired about one hundred tons of Colorado granite for the bases of the flagpoles in order to match the color and texture of the building's walls. They eventually produced two bases weighing about fifteen tons each. The *Rocky Mountain News* pronounced they "add to the beauty of the building and Civic Center."[419] Veterans' organizations led dedication ceremonies for the flagpoles on Armistice Day in 1935. With the flagpoles in place, the City Beautiful era of improvements on the Denver Civic Center came to an end.

CIVIC CENTER HOSTS PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

As the city and state completed improvements within the civic center, the site hosted a broad range of programs and ceremonies commemorating important events in the nation's history. On the opening night of the Greek Theater in 1919, a somber audience remembered the sacrifices of those who served and died for the country in World War I, viewed a film recording the devastation in Europe, and heard pleas for support of Red Cross reconstruction efforts. The theater frequently served as the venue for concerts, speeches, and plays. At a "Burning Issues Forum" during the summer of 1920, speakers stood on the stage and addressed subjects of their choice. An automobile show took place in Civic Center Park in 1921. In the mid-1930s the site accommodated folk festivals featuring dancing and gymnastics performances traditional to other countries.[420] Denver Civic

[413] *Denver Post*, 1 August 1932, 11; McConnell, "For These High Purposes," 220.
[414] *Rocky Mountain News*, 9 April 1932, 13.
[415] *Rocky Mountain News*, 1 August 1932, 7.
[416] Ibid., 6.
[417] *Rocky Mountain News*, 4 December 1934, 10.
[418] *Rocky Mountain News*, 12 November 1935, 7.
[419] *Rocky Mountain News*, 7 November 1935, 15.
[420] *Rocky Mountain News*, 25 May 1936.

Center served as the locale for holiday celebrations, such as Fourth of July festivities and extensive winter holiday displays and parades.

When Denver celebrated its centennial in 1959 with a "Rush to the Rockies" theme, it established a "Pioneer Village" on the grounds of the civic center, complete with a furnished drugstore, saloon, theater, restaurant, post office, bank, church, school, barber shop, and other facilities. A narrow gauge train traveled through the village, passing an oil derrick on its outskirts. Visitors could pan for gold or observe reenactments of important events. To emphasize America's military strength and Colorado's future, a 90' Titan missile stood upright near the center of Civic Center Park. [421] A variety of annual festivals attracting thousands of people held in recent years include the annual People's Fair and the Taste of Colorado culinary and entertainment event. One of the largest crowds in the center's history participated in a Bronco football team Super Bowl victory celebration in 1998.

National, state, and local political events held in the center included gatherings, speeches, and inaugurations. National leaders visited the civic center to make public addresses, including Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Richard Nixon, John F. Kennedy, Bill Clinton, and, in 2008, Barrack Obama. Continuing in its role as a forum for open discussion of all points of view, the civic center accommodated mass gatherings of persons protesting actions of government. In addition, it fulfilled its intended function as an outdoor center for musical and theatrical entertainment, beginning with performances of the Denver Municipal Band in 1919 and continuing to the present day.[422]

LATER PLANS FOR THE CIVIC CENTER AND DEVELOPMENT IN ITS VICINITY

In the decades following the completion of the Denver City and County Building, the State of Colorado and Denver considered plans to alter the civic center and erected additional governmental and civic buildings in adjacent areas. The new construction buttressed the vicinity's role as the center of state and city and county government, cultural activities, and judicial proceedings, while providing a buffer of generally low-rise buildings separating the historic core of the city from newer commercial development. Ultimately, no new buildings were erected within the civic center.

Planning Proposals. As early as 1936, landscape architect Saco DeBoer developed a detailed plan for changes to the civic center. The concept included opening the vista between the State Capitol and the city-county building; adding a formal garden with circular pools to the west lawn of the Capitol; reconfiguring the walkways in Lincoln Park; adding an oval pool west of the balustrade and a rectangular reflecting pool in the Great Lawn in Civic Center Park; and erecting four new city buildings, including a large art museum south of West 14th Avenue. The city did not implement the plan.[423]

During the 1960s proposals and master plans recommended substantial changes for Civic Center Park. A 1964 scheme envisioned a new eight-story City Hall and a Hall of Justice on the site.[424] Master plans prepared for the city and state in the late 1960s proposed constructing a number of new city and state buildings in and around the civic center; moving, remodeling, expanding, or removing some of the existing resources; redesigning park areas; adding underground parking; and opening symbolic vistas for passing motorists.[425] While new state government facilities and commercial buildings rose on its periphery, proposed construction within the center

[421] *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 April 1959, 6; *Colorado Heritage*, (May/June 2009): 32.
[422] Mundus Bishop Design, *Master Plan*, 21-28.
[423] Saco R. DeBoer, City Planner, Plan for the Development of the State and City Grounds, 10 October 1936, Drawing, S.R. DeBoer Collection, WH1082, FFC5, SF1, FF7, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.
[424] *Denver Post*, 21 June 1964, 34.
[425] *Rocky Mountain News*, 2 July 1967 and 23 July 1972, 44.

itself was not implemented, and the area remained substantially intact. DeBoer, writing in 1967, concluded that since the completion of the city-county building in 1932 "very little work has been done in the center, but much has happened to the surroundings."[426]

The early 1970s saw proactive efforts to protect the Denver Civic Center's setting by placing controls on its surroundings. In 1971 the city adopted a "Capitol Mountain View Ordinance," which preserved the viewshed of the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains as seen from the Capitol steps.[427] In 1973, Denver City Council unanimously passed an ordinance restricting building heights in the area of Civic Center.[428] The height-limitation bill affected lands adjacent to the civic center on the north, south, and east, allowing taller buildings further away. [429] The city hoped the ordinance would "preserve the integrity of the Civic Center to protect the openness of its unique public space as a relief from its intensely developed surroundings."[430] The only departure from this policy, however, was the State's placement of the Colorado Veterans Monument, a tall but narrow obelisk, in the center of Lincoln Park in 1990, a measure which received bi-partisan support in the legislature.

Building Construction. In the vicinity of the Denver Civic Center the state government added two seven-story office buildings, both clad with white marble after the period of significance: the State Capitol Annex at the southwest corner of East 14th Avenue and Sherman Street (1940), followed by the State Services Building at the northwest corner of East Colfax Avenue and Sherman Street (1960). In 1977, the block bounded by Broadway, Lincoln, and East 13th and 14th Avenues received two new state buildings: the gray granite-clad Colorado Judicial Heritage Center to the north and the Colorado History Museum, a three-story wedge-shaped building in charcoal-colored brick. Both were designed by the Denver architectural firm of Rogers, Nagel, Langhart. The state demolished both of these buildings in 2010 to make way for an expanded Ralph L. Carr Colorado Judicial Complex occupying the entire block. The center, now under construction, will include a four-story courtroom section on the north and a twelve-story office tower on the south. In 2005, the state erected a four-story parking garage at the southeast corner of East 14th Avenue and Lincoln Street.

The City and County of Denver also expanded its facilities in the postwar period through new construction and the acquisition of existing buildings. Outgrowing the 1910 library at the northwest corner of Civic Center Park, in 1955 the city erected a four-story, limestone-clad central library to the south on Broadway between West 13th and 14th Avenues. Remodeled, the old library became the office of the Denver Board of Water Commissioners. In 1995 the 1955 library building received an addition in the Postmodern style by New York architect Michael Graves and Klipp Colussy Jenks Dubois Architects of Denver. The resulting seven-story building features a variety of geometrically-shaped components clad in stone and tinted cast stone of varying colors.

In 1966 the city acquired the 1949 four-story International Style University of Denver Classroom Building (abutting the former Bates triangle to the northwest) to house city workers. Clad in Indiana limestone, the building was then known as Annex I. In 2002, Annex I became part of the Webb Municipal Building designed by David Tryba Architects and RNL Design of Denver, with a monumental atrium connecting it to a new twelve-story building featuring walls of concrete and stone. The building consolidated city workers from 40 different agencies and divisions previously housed in leased space.

West of the 1955 Denver Public Library, between Acoma and Bannock Streets, a new Denver Art Museum was built in 1971. Designed by Italian architect Gio Ponti and James Sudler Associates of Denver, the seven-story

[426] DeBoer, "The Denver Civic Center," *The Green Thumb*,174.
[427] *Denver Post*, 9 January 1973, 3.
[428] *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 February 1923, 10.
[429] *Denver Post*, 1 March 1973, 25.
[430] *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 February 1973, 10.

building represented one of the first vertical art museums in the nation. The twenty-four-sided museum featured walls clad in reflective gray glass tiles, a variety of narrow windows, and a pierced roof. To many, it resembled a castle guarding the treasures inside. In 2006 the museum expanded to a site south of West 14th Avenue through construction of a titanium-clad wing designed by Daniel Libeskind and linked to the older building by a skybridge.

CONTINUING VITALITY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The actualization of the Denver Civic Center, from initial planning through completion of the Denver City and County Building and its grounds, extended more than fifty years, reflecting ongoing commitment from a number of mayors and city councils, community organizations, and generations of citizens. The center's continued vitality today testifies to the soundness of the original concept, as well as the willingness of political leaders, public interest groups, and local residents to defend the resource when threatened.

In the early 2000s, the city displayed continuing interest in Denver Civic Center and its future. Mundus Bishop Design of Denver prepared a master plan for Civic Center Park in 2005. A 2006 plan to activate or enliven Civic Center Park prepared by New York architect Daniel Libeskind at the behest of the newly-formed Civic Center Conservancy faced strong opposition from historic preservationists. Opponents argued that the proposed changes, which included towers, new buildings, and long aerial walkways, adversely impacted the original City Beautiful design. The Libeskind Plan never progressed beyond the conceptual stage. Also unsuccessful was a 2007 proposal by the Colorado Historical Society to relocate its museum and offices to a new building on the southwest corner of the park where early planners had anticipated an art museum and construct underground exhibit spaces linking the new museum to the 1910 library building.

A 2007 Denver bond issue provided funds to rehabilitate the principal Civic Center Park structures, including the Greek Theater, Voorhies Gateway, and Broadway Terrace. To ensure future changes to the park's historic fabric receive adequate review, in April 2009 the city's Landmark Preservation Commission adopted design guidelines for Civic Center Park as a supplement to the master plan. A number of State Historical Fund grants have supported rehabilitation of Civic Center resources following the Secretary of Interior's *Standards* since the 1990s.

Denver Civic Center remains a vital historic community resource in the manner intended by its original planners. In his analysis of successful City Beautiful improvements William H. Wilson found they included parks and parkways, tree planting, noble public buildings, and "a few civic centers." He reasoned:

> All of these public works were, and are, important because they were the physical expression of an ideal, because they functioned in a limited way as their proponents claimed that they would, and because they still provide recreation, relaxation, and repose. The public buildings symbolized a coherent architecture, an idea comprehended if not always achieved.[431]

Denver's example represents one of the best-preserved and most complete civic centers of the later City Beautiful era and continues to fulfill all of these functions.

COMPARATIVE PROPERTIES

Although many civic center plans were proposed, Denver is one of comparatively few cities to fully realize such a comprehensive municipal improvement. As Mel Scott observed: "Only a lone city hall or courthouse bears witness to the enthusiasm with which some [civic centers] were begun; and an incalculable number remained

[431] Wilson, *The City Beautiful*, 2.

nothing but architectural drawings."[432] The Denver Civic Center compares quite favorably with significant City Beautiful era civic centers constructed in other American cities in terms of scale, quality, and scope of resources. Comparable civic center districts are discussed below, as well as two individual NHLs, the Nebraska State Capitol and Santa Barbara County Courthouse, which are similarly recognized for their outstanding artistic merit and regional symbolism. Apparent in each of these comparable examples is a common democratic vision and recognition of the role of varying levels of governmental authority in American life. Each reflects the search for a public architecture that reflects a physical as well as symbolic balance between state and local government and is a powerful expression of the values and ideals that are national in scope but regional in character.

San Francisco

In 1959, classical architecture scholar Henry Hope Reed called the San Francisco Civic Center "the greatest architectural ensemble in America."[433] Designated a NHL in 1987, the nominated area embraces roughly thirty-nine acres and includes buildings housing state and city and county functions, both governmental and cultural. The monumental San Francisco City Hall (1916, designed by John Bakewell, Jr., and Arthur Brown) dominates the district, featuring a 307-and-one-half-foot tall dome that is reportedly one of the largest in the world. Other major historic resources within the district include the Exposition Auditorium (1915), Public Library (1916), California State Building (1926), War Memorial Opera House and Veterans Building (1932), and Civic Center Plaza (1915), a two-block open space with a central *allée* flanked by lawns. The *Pioneer Monument* (1894, by Frank Happersberger) is the principal commemorative work within the civic center and includes figures from the Golden State's seal (the Minerva, goddess of wisdom, and two other Roman goddesses) and history (a Spanish mission padre, a *vaquero*, and a Native American). While Fulton Street, which extends east-west through the district, is closed to vehicles, the street grid is present in the remainder. The NHL is significant in the areas of architecture, community planning and development, politics and government, and recreation.[434]

In 1904-05 Daniel Burnham, with Edward H. Bennett as his principal assistant, developed a city plan for San Francisco that included a civic center. Jon Peterson observed:

> San Francisco was a divided city, riven by sharp ethnic and social class conflict and a long history of both municipal penury and graft-ridden politics that augured poorly from the start. The custodial elements who recruited Burnham, known locally as the "dreamers," and those with real power in the city did not know how to work together, only to fight.[435]

Burnham served as the lead designer for the project, while Bennett held responsibility for the day-to-day tasks, reports, and client contacts during his employer's absence. San Francisco did not implement the firm's plan as proposed, despite the opportunity of a clean slate presented by the 1906 earthquake. In 1909, the city asked Burnham to revise his earlier plan, and his associate, Willis Polk, developed a semi-circular civic center design at the corner of Van Ness and Market Streets. A public vote overwhelmingly defeated the proposal.[436]
The question of a civic center revived in 1911 with the election of James "Sunny Jim" Rolph as mayor. Rolph served as vice president of the Panama-Pacific Exposition Company, a firm organized to stage a world's fair in the Bay City. As mayor, he favored continuing reforms and implementing practical city improvements. A 1976 National Register nomination form for the San Francisco Civic Center indicated:

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[432] Scott, *American City Planning*, 62.

[433] Quoted in James H. Charleton, National Park Service, San Francisco Civic Center, National Register of Historic Places district nomination (additional documentation), 9 November 1984.

[434] Charleton, San Francisco Civic Center.

[435] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 189.

[436] Draper stated "Bennett was indirectly connected" with the civic center in San Francisco due to his long promotion of his and Burnham's plan. Draper, *Edward H. Bennett*, 47.

> . . . the idea of a Civic Center, in his [Rolph's] hands, became a catalyst for the rest as a symbol of the new unity of the population under a new and honest political era. He associated the Civic Center with the Exposition; the Civic Center would permanently exhibit the grandeur which the Exposition would only briefly evoke, and it would demonstrate convincingly to the world that San Francisco had not simply recovered from the earthquake but had become a thriving and civilized metropolis of international importance.[437]

Under Rolph, planning for the civic center moved forward, and, in 1912, San Francisco voters approved an $8.8 million bond issue. In July 1912, a somewhat modified version of a 1909 civic center plan developed by B.J.S. Cahill saw implementation, and construction extended from 1913 through 1932 when the War Memorial Complex was completed on the west. The period of significance extends from 1913 through 1951 and encompasses two internationally significant events occurring within the district: the drafting and signing of the United Nations Charter in 1945 and the signing of the Treaty of San Francisco (the peace treaty with Japan) in 1951.

Alterations to the San Francisco Civic Center occurred after its period of significance. The 1984 National Register nomination providing additional documentation noted in reference to Civic Center Plaza "the present landscaping scheme dates from the early 1960s." Two large fountains shown in historic photographs are no longer extant. Further alterations to the plaza appear to have taken place since the 1960s, including installation of a number of small-scale art objects. United Nations Plaza (the block of Fulton Street lying between Hyde and Larkin Streets) was created in 1975. In 1993, the *Pioneer Memorial* was moved about a block northwest to its current location. The city erected a new public library within the district in 1996; the old library now houses the Asian Art Museum. In 1998 the California State Building received a fourteen-story, rear addition in the Postmodern style. The Denver Civic Center, by contrast, contains substantially more park land, presents a more sweeping vista, and has avoided the addition of new construction and loss of primary decorative features within its boundary.

Cleveland

Citizens of Cleveland began discussing the concept of a group plan for public buildings near the Lake Erie waterfront as early as 1895. The Chamber of Commerce endorsed the idea and began a promotional campaign four years later. In 1901 mayoral reform candidate Tom L. Johnson authorized a commission to create a plan. The commission, consisting of Daniel Burnham, John Carrère, and Arnold Brunner, proposed a monumental building corridor with a Court of Honor in the southern part. The scheme envisioned a T-shaped plan with a broad, north-south oriented, formally laid out, grassy mall, around which public buildings would be arrayed. Cleveland, one of the country's largest cities in the early twentieth century, provided an early and influential example for other communities. In the opinion of planning historian Jon Peterson, Cleveland did more to popularize the concept of grouping public buildings as a civic goal than any other city, and the Cleveland improvement "electrified the City Beautiful movement."[438]

The execution of the Cleveland Plan extended from 1903 to 1938. The public buildings representing three levels of governmental functions are situated within the civic center: U.S. Post Office, Custom House, and Court House (1910, by Arnold W. Brunner); Cuyahoga County Court House (1911, by Charles Morris); Cleveland City Hall (1916, by J. Milton Dyer); Cleveland Public Auditorium (1922, by J. Harold MacDowell and Frederic H. Betz with Frank R. Walker); Cleveland Public Library (1925, by Walker and Weeks); and Cleveland Board of Education Building (1930, by Walker and Weeks). The principal buildings vary from four to six stories in

[437] Michael R. Corbett, San Francisco Civic Center, National Register nomination, 22 November 1976.
[438] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 157; Draper, *Edward H. Bennett*, 47.

height and are clad in limestone, granite, marble, and sandstone. A 2005 draft NHL nomination for the Cleveland Mall describes the architectural style as Twentieth Century Revival: Beaux-Arts (American Renaissance). Artistic elements include numerous murals, statues inside several buildings, and sculpture adorning the Cuyahoga County Court House.[439]

The boundary of the draft nomination included an area of twenty-six acres and argued that the district "is the earliest and most completely executed civic center plan for a major city in the United States outside of Washington, D.C.… It is a harmonious grouping of massive and classically inspired civic buildings and open spaces, built to represent the cohesive civic and social progressivism of the City Beautiful Movement."[440] However, the planned buildings along the western side of the mall were not constructed within the period of significance. Alterations within the district include additions to some buildings, as well as the 1964 Cleveland Memorial Fountain (Fountain of Eternal Life), the ten-story 1966 Stokes Wing of the Cleveland Public Library, installation of small art objects, and additions and changes to the landscape design of the central mall. By comparison, the Denver Civic Center was more fully realized during the City Beautiful era and has escaped major building additions and new construction.

Chicago

In the early twentieth century Daniel Burnham and Edward H. Bennett began work on one of their most successful and influential projects, a comprehensive plan for Chicago. Commissioned by the Commercial Club, the Chicago Plan became the elder architect's last major planning project and the task that launched Bennett's career as a consulting city planner. From 1913 through 1930 Bennett served as consulting architect to the Chicago Plan Commission during implementation of the project. The Chicago Plan envisioned public works to modernize and beautify the city, illustrated with maps and drawings prepared by artists under Bennett's direction. The plan considered existing conditions, regional influences, and means of implementation. Proposed elements included a park system, a civic center, reconfiguration of railroad tracks and terminals, reorganization of lakefront facilities, coordination of streets and highways, and the construction of new public buildings. Burnham and Bennett's 1909 *Plan of Chicago* became "the most celebrated" example of a number of comprehensive plans published prior to World War I.[441] More of Bennett's recommendations became reality in Chicago than any other city, and the scale of the effort was immense.[442]

A 1929 study of the plan found that "w*ith the exception of the civic center*, all of the major projects of that early plan have been accomplished" [emphasis added]. The 1909 plan envisioned a Chicago Civic Center at a convergence of radial boulevards at Congress and Halsted Streets, including a massive domed city hall and other governmental buildings facing a broad plaza. Complicating the Burnham-Bennett scheme was a combined Chicago city hall-Cook County building already under construction a mile northeast of the planned location. The civic center proposed in the 1909 plan was never built, and the site now holds a massive highway interchange. In 1949, the Chicago Plan Commission announced a $100 million civic center consolidating federal, state, and local government offices on a forty-one-acre campus on the Chicago River north of Congress Street. The project failed to go forward. In 1965 the Chicago Civic Center (now Daley Center), a thirty-one-story International style building with a plaza containing a large Pablo Picasso sculpture, rose east of the 1911 city-county building.[443] Denver is distinguished from Chicago in that it represents one of the few plans in the

[439] The description of the district is drawn from the draft NHL nomination. Deanna Bremer Fisher, Cleveland Group Plan Historic District, Cuyahoga County, OH, National Historic Landmark Nomination, draft, December 2005, in the files of the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

[440] Fisher, Cleveland Group Plan Historic District.

[441] Wilson, "A Diadem," 75.

[442] Draper, *Edward H. Bennett*, 26.

[443] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 215 and 300; Draper, *Edward H. Bennett*, 30; Chicago Landmarks, City of Chicago, http://webapps.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb (accessed 12 January 2011); Lee Bey, "Lee Bey's Chicago, Unbuilt Chicago: The

nation for a civic center of grouped buildings and structures, landscaped parks, and works of art to actually be funded, executed, and reach a stage of completion.

Pasadena, California

The sixty-three-acre Pasadena Civic Center Historic District is listed in the National Register at a national level of significance. Following the creation of the Pasadena City Planning Commission in 1922, member George Ellery Hale, a California Institute of Technology professor, urged the preparation of a plan to meet the city's pressing need for facilities. The city selected the firm of Bennett, Parsons, and Frost of Chicago to prepare plans for a civic center containing an ensemble of municipal buildings. Led by Edward H. Bennett, the planners envisioned Holly Street as a principal east-west axis terminated by the Pasadena City Hall on the east. Garfield Avenue, the minor north-south axis, featured the public library at its north end and the city auditorium at its south. The plan also addressed street circulation problems in the downtown area. In 1923, Pasadena voters approved a $3.5 million bond issue to implement the plan.[444]

The 1927 Pasadena City Hall, with its towering open dome, dominates the civic center and faces a small plaza to the west. The city council had expressed its desire for "an official building of imposing beauty, massive yet graceful, and suited to a land of flowers and sunshine." Architects John Bakewell, Jr., and Arthur Brown, who earlier designed the San Francisco City Hall, delivered a monumental Mediterranean style building reflecting regional influences. Other principal civic buildings within the district included the Pasadena Public Library (1925, by Myron Hunt and H.C. Chambers), Hall of Justice (1930, by Joseph J. Blick and W.W. Warren), and the Pasadena Civic Auditorium (1932, by Edwin Bergstrom, Cyril Bennett, and Fitch Haskell). A YMCA building (1910, addition 1925) and YWCA (1920) facility (the latter by architect Julia Morgan) and commercial buildings are also present in the district. The planners incorporated the existing U.S. Post Office (1915) into the civic center layout. In contrast to other civic centers, where public buildings were grouped around parkland, in Pasadena the principal open space is Memorial Park in the northwest corner of the area, which contains a bandshell and Civil War monuments.

The preparers of the 1976 National Register nomination concluded that the Pasadena Civic Center "is a nationally significant example of civic art in the 'City Beautiful' style of the 1920's. The main features of the plan were actually executed, and the key buildings actually built, by nationally recognized architects in a homogenous style." The Mediterranean Revival style employed within the district displays such characteristics as smooth stucco walls, arch window and door openings, red tile roofs, and horizontality. In contrast to Denver, the Pasadena area never contained purely governmental and cultural functions, but included commercial and religious buildings as well. Since its designation, a number of buildings within the district have received additions. Substantial infill construction has occurred, particularly in the southern portion. The use of the Mediterranean Revival style in Pasadena stands in contrast to the Beaux-Arts Classicism of the Denver Civic Center improvements.[445]

Nebraska State Capitol

The Nebraska State Capitol ("The Tower of the Plains") in Lincoln, designated an NHL in 1976, replaced an older capitol building. New York architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue won a national competition to design the building with a plan breaking from traditional classical capitol motifs and employing a modernistic, streamlined approach. The building features a 400 foot central skyscraper office tower flanked by low

1949 Civic Center Plan," 1 June 2010, http://www.wbez.org (accessed 12 January 2011); Chicago Civic Center, Chicago, Illinois, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, http://www.som.com (accessed 12 January 2011).

[444] Pasadena Heritage, Pasadena Civic Center District, National Register of Historic Places nomination, 15 September 1978.

[445] Ibid.

horizontal wings that form four interior courtyards (a cross-in-square plan). Construction extended from 1922 to 1932 and cost $9.8 million.[446]

The building displays a high level of ornamentation, with extensive use of regional themes. Sculptor Lee Lawrie's *The Sower*, a monumental nineteen-foot, bronze figure weighing eight and one half tons, caps the dome of the tower, highlighting the major role of agriculture in the history of the state. Lawrie, who began working with Goodhue in 1895, also incorporated sculptural elements into the building's Indiana limestone exterior, including bison, panels illustrating lawgivers and philosophers throughout the ages, and column capitals with corn, sunflowers, and bison images. Artist Hildreth Meiere, who studied in Italy, New York, and San Francisco, crafted the murals and mosaics for the building.

Walkways extend from the building to the street in each cardinal direction. The four-block site has perimeter sidewalks with tree lawns. A lawn with clusters of trees fills the area between the capitol and the sidewalk. The west walkway features a statue of Abraham Lincoln sculpted by Daniel Chester French and installed in 1912 in front of the previous capitol building. French worked with architect Henry Bacon to create the statue's setting, including a Rhode Island granite wall inscribed with the Gettysburg Address. The statue faces west toward the Lincoln Mall, a parkway with a grassy median.[447]

The Nebraska State Capitol is a remarkable individual building with high artistic values on its exterior and interior. The building pays tribute to the Cornhusker State's pioneer history, Native Americans, and agricultural iconography. However, in contrast to the Denver Civic Center, the capitol is a single building and not part of a planned ensemble of government buildings. Although the statehouse was not a direct response to City Beautiful-era planning, it did share the propensity of the Denver center to celebrate its regional heritage and bring together professional designers, from a wide spectrum of the fine arts—painting, sculpture, architecture, and landscape architecture. In comparison, both demonstrate the role that strong state government, regional identity, and artistic excellence played in shaping the urban landscape of the interior West.

Santa Barbara County Court House

Architect Charles Moore described the 1929 Santa Barbara County Court House as "the grandest Spanish Colonial Revival structure ever built." Its 2005 NHL nomination characterizes the resource as "a modified Spanish castle plan." The building includes an administration/court component, a hall of records, a service annex, and a jail on a full city block with terraced lawns and sunken gardens covering four and seven tenths of an acre. The William Mooser Company designed the facility, with William Mooser III, who trained at the École des Beaux-Arts, serving as lead architect. The building, which roughly follows an L-shaped plan, features smooth stucco walls, red clay tile roof, a tall clock tower, galleries, and interconnecting arches and bridges.

The courthouse is lavishly ornamented with murals, decorative tiles, painted ceilings, sculpture, wrought iron gates, and copper panels reflecting regional themes. Artists participating in the project included muralist Dan Sayre Groesbeck, sculptor Ettore Cadorin, metalsmith Albert Yann, and painter John B. Smeraldi. Some of the statuary follows classical themes, while the murals depict scenes from Santa Barbara history, including Native Americans and Spanish missions.[448] Compared to the Denver Civic Center, the Santa Barbara Courthouse does not comprise a civic center, typically defined as a grouping of buildings. Nor does it represent an expression of

[446] Carolyn Pitts, National Park Service, Nebraska State Capitol, National Register of Historic Places nomination, July 1975; Nebraska State Capitol website, http://capitol.org (accessed 21 January 2011).

[447] Nebraska State Capitol, National Register of Historic Places nomination, July 1975; Nebraska State Capitol website, http://capitol.org (accessed 21 January 2011).

[448] Robert Ooley, Santa Barbara County Courthouse, National Historic Landmark nomination, 19 April 2004; Santa Barbara County Courthouse website, http://www.santabarbaracountycourthouse.org (accessed 1 February 2011).

Beaux-Arts design in terms of symmetry, axial arrangement, and classical composition, whereas the architects of Denver Civic Center followed Beaux-Arts concepts favored during the City Beautiful era. Like the Nebraska State Capitol, the Santa Barbara courthouse was not a direct response to the City Beautiful-era planning, but instead it represents a remarkable glorification of regional culture and heritage as expressed in art, architecture and landscape architecture. This common characteristic links these three nationally significant public works together as extraordinary reflections of the NHL theme, Expressing Cultural Value.

ARCHITECTS, PLANNERS, LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS, AND ARTISTS

Eminent architects, artists, landscape architects, and planners contributed to the planning, design, and completion of Denver Civic Center resources. Brief profiles appear below in alphabetical order by last name.

Edward H. Bennett

Nationally recognized architect and city planner Edward Herbert Bennett (1874-1954) developed the 1917 plan that guided the realization of Denver Civic Center. Born in England, Bennett attended the Merchant Venturers' School in Bristol, which emphasized applied arts and sciences through classes such as drawing and modeling and building construction. His father wanted Bennett to become a rancher in California, sending him to San Francisco in 1890. Within two years the young man abandoned ranching and entered the employ of architect Robert White, a designer of houses and small commercial buildings, and also joined the circle of Ralph Bernard Maybeck, becoming acquainted with architects Willis Polk and Arthur Brown, Jr., and philanthropist Phoebe Apperson Hearst. Mrs. Hearst provided scholarships for students inspired by Maybeck to attend the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and Bennett benefited from her largess.[449]

Bennett entered the École in 1895 and studied in the Julien Guadet and Edmond Paulin ateliers. The education, friendships, and experiences of his Paris years influenced him for the rest of his life. During 1897-99 he worked for a London architect before returning to Paris to continue his studies. Bennett received a *diplômé par le gouvernement* (D.P.L.G.) from the École in June 1901.[450] Back in the United States in 1902, he acquired a job in the New York office of George B. Post, one of the country's largest and most respected architectural firms, whose work included the Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. According to Bennett's biographer Joan Draper, "Early in 1903, Post agreed to 'loan' Bennett to Chicago architect Daniel H. Burnham, who had been asked to enter the competition for new buildings at the United States Military Academy at West Point and needed someone to work out his ideas." Bennett became Burnham's protégé and associate for nine years, and the West Point competition provided him with his first opportunity to plan, under Burnham's guidance, a complex of monumental buildings.

Although the firm did not win the West Point contract, Burnham already was engaged in the design of the Cleveland Group Plan. In September 1904, Bennett accompanied his employer to San Francisco to commence research for that city's comprehensive plan and prepared detailed studies, reports, and presentation drawings, as well as coordinating the project, which was completed in September 1905. As with many later assignments, Bennett dealt with a private group of civic leaders who offered their own proposals, transforming a variety of ideas into a comprehensive scheme for the ideal development of the city. As Draper stated, "A new civic center,

[449] Biographical information within this section was extracted primarily from Joan E. Draper's *Edward H. Bennett: Architect and City Planner, 1874-1954*, an exhibition catalogue produced for the Art Institute of Chicago. Draper examined Bennett's papers in the Institute's Burnham Library of Architecture and analyzed his career and its impact on American cities.

[450] Marie-Laure Crosnier Leconte, Chief Conservator of Patrimony, Institut national d-histoire de l'art, Paris (*Etats-Unis et École des Beaux-arts: Du modèle théorique a la réalité du terrain*), email to Astrid Liverman, National and State Register Coordinator, History Colorado, Denver, Colorado, 31 March 2011.

over a mile from the retail center, was to be the focus of a network of new diagonal and ring streets."[451] However, the city never executed Burnham and Bennett's plan due to factors such as local political upheaval and the earthquake of April 1906. When a civic center was built during the years 1909 to 1912, local architects ignored Burnham and Bennett's plan. Draper observed: "This frustrating pattern of events was to be variously repeated throughout Bennett's career, albeit without earthquakes."[452]

In 1906, Burnham and Bennett began work on one of their most successful and influential projects, a comprehensive plan for Chicago. Commissioned by the city's Commercial Club, the Chicago Plan became the elder architect's last major planning effort and the task that launched Bennett's career as a city planner, one of the most respected members of the "second generation." Draper found: "the Chicago Plan and the Commission's promotion of it represented the state of the art of city planning for nearly a decade, and Bennett was hired by civic groups which desired a repeat performance by Burnham's protégé."[453]

During the years 1905 to 1911, Burnham assigned Bennett work on the design of field houses and other architectural elements for the South Park District of Chicago, a series of parks laid out by Olmsted Brothers. He also planned the landscaping and architectural ornaments for Grant Park, built between 1916 and 1930. From January 1913 through August 1930 Bennett served as consulting architect to the Chicago Plan Commission, developing important personal connections that would lead to future commissions. Draper assessed the impact of this work: "Whether large or small, every Bennett project displayed the influence of the Chicago Plan."[454] After 1906, Burnham declined requests for city plans and directed all such inquiries to Bennett. As Draper indicated: "From this time on, the young man's practice had less to do with buildings and became increasingly independent of D.H. Burnham & Co., although he continued to work part-time on the firm's jobs . . . ."[455] By 1910, Bennett operated an entirely separate Chicago office from his mentor, establishing a nationwide practice; William E. Parsons and Harry Frost later joined the firm and became partners. The office specialized in city planning and did little design work; for architectural projects its members principally served as advisors. Bennett became a charter member of the American City Planning Institute, predecessor of the American Planning Association.

In 1909 the firm received commissions for city plans for Detroit and Portland, Oregon, followed by Minneapolis in 1910, and Brooklyn and Ottawa in 1912. Hired as a planning consultant, Bennett did not design any buildings, bridges, or parks in these cities. By 1915 the "aura" of Burnham, who had died in 1912, diminished and Bennett gained projects based on his own reputation and connections. Between 1915 and 1919 his office received ten commissions for plans in addition to the Chicago work, including a 1917 request from Denver's Mayor Speer to produce a design for the city's Civic Center. In the 1920s, Bennett, Parsons and Frost prospered through their work for city planning commissions, the federal government, and wealthy patrons. The firm produced seven civic center plans, as well as ten comprehensive plans, and numerous landscape, public building, and subdivision plans.

As the nature of planning work changed following World War I, the products produced by Bennett's firm evolved from City Beautiful to City Functional visions. For example, the 1922 plan for St. Paul contained a modest civic center proposal with statistics regarding floor space and abandoned lavish color renderings of the

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[451] Draper, *Edward H. Bennett,* 11.
[452] Ibid., 13.
[453] Ibid., 26.
[454] After leaving the commission in 1930 Bennett argued against elements of the new direction the group adopted. For example, he spoke out (unsuccessfully) against subsequent changes made to Burnham's plan for a civic center, including the location of the site and placement of buildings. Draper, *Edward H. Bennett,* 13.
[455] Draper, *Edward H. Bennett,* 13.

earlier period for simple line drawings. However, in 1923 Bennett demonstrated his continued adherence to basic City Beautiful principles, stating:

> The finest purpose of city planning is to create a beautiful setting for human life and activities, to plan the setting of everyday life as well as those suited to great public events. . . . In planning our cities it is well always to have in mind the truth of the Greek saying: "To make our city loved we must make our city lovely."[456]

As a leader in city planning, Bennett also contributed to the New York Regional Plan, which "represented the most extensive effort to coordinate development in a metropolitan area yet attempted in the United States."[457] Influenced by the regional approach of the Chicago Plan, the New York document consisted of several volumes published between 1927 and 1931.

During the Great Depression, Bennett, Parsons and Frost received no commissions for civic centers, municipal plans, or zoning studies, and the firm's work on the Chicago Plan also ended. The partners completed several monumental and ornamental projects, and Bennett concentrated on two special jobs in the late 1920s and 1930s. During 1927 to 1937 he served as chairman of the Board of Architects and coordinated the design of the Federal Triangle, a complex of government offices in Washington, D.C., as well as receiving commissions for his firm to design the Apex Building, the Botanic Gardens Conservatory, and landscaping for the triangle and an area between the United States Capitol and Union Station in accordance with the 1901-02 McMillan Plan. In 1928 he became a designer of six major buildings for the planned 1933 World's Fair in Chicago, the Century of Progress Exposition. These two commissions resembled the work of Bennett's early career more than any other projects in intervening years and occupied the firm until its members were ready to retire from active practice.[458] Bennett closed the office in 1944 and spent his time traveling between three residences and pursuing his first love, watercolor painting, until his death in 1954.

William N. Bowman

Denver architect William N. Bowman (1868-1944) designed the 1921 Colorado State Office Building. Born in Carthage, New York, he grew up there and in Jackson, Michigan. After his father's injury in an industrial accident, Bowman left school at age eleven to work in a woolen mill. In the evenings he studied mathematics and drawing, eventually securing employment with an architectural firm in Jackson. He also worked as a carpenter's apprentice and for architects in Detroit and Indianapolis before moving to Denver in 1910. Opening his own practice, Bowman undertook numerous Colorado projects, including the design of ten buildings listed in the National Register, among them the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Building, Norman Apartments, and Montrose and Weld county courthouses. He served as president of the Colorado chapter of the American Institute of Architects (1917-19) and, as a member of the State Board of Architectural Examiners, participated in the Mountain Division of the Architects' Small House Bureau, and joined the Allied Architects Association, which designed the Denver City and County Building (1929-32).[459]

Saco Rienk DeBoer

Dutch-born Saco Rienk DeBoer (1883-1974) studied engineering and landscape architecture in the Netherlands and Germany before opening a landscaping firm in his hometown of Ureterp. Contracting

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[456] Bennett quoted in Draper, *Edward H. Bennett,* 16.

[457] Draper, *Edward H. Bennett,* 34.

[458] Ibid., 34.

[459] Bowman also prepared plans for Mountain States Telephone, and Telegraph buildings in Phoenix, Arizona, and Cheyenne, Wyoming. Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 191-92; *Denver Post*, 29 August 1944, 1; William N. Bowman, Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch, Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 22 January 2008; "William N. Bowman," Portrait and Biographical Memoirs, Indianapolis and Marion County, Indiana, www.countyhistory.com.

tuberculosis in 1908, DeBoer sought a better climate in the United States, living in New Mexico before moving to Denver. After working briefly as a draftsman for an irrigation company, DeBoer secured a position with the Denver Park Department in 1910. He gained Mayor Speer's attention after developing a plan for Sunken Gardens Park on the west bank of Cherry Creek. Following Reinhard Schuetze's death in 1910, DeBoer served as City Landscape Architect until embarking on a career as a consultant with partner Walter Pesman in 1919. The partnership dissolved in 1924, and DeBoer established his own company. In addition to landscape plans for individual houses, the firm developed subdivision plans for Bonnie Brae and Greenwood Village in the Denver area.[460]

As a consultant to the City of Denver, a relationship that lasted until 1958, DeBoer developed planting plans for parks and parkways, designed 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 also worked for the National Resources Planning Board, a New Deal agency. He developed a plan for the first federally sponsored model city in Boulder City, Nevada. In the postwar years, DeBoer resumed an active private consulting business, whose planning projects assisted Colorado cities and several nearby states. He remained active until his death in 1974. Historian Don Etter argued DeBoer's career reflected a personal crusade "to plan for beauty and thus livability; to make the city a garden by weaving public parks and parkways together with private front yards into a floral tapestry; to plant big trees; to preserve urban calm in the face of 'noisy, nerve-racking, ill-smelling, dust-raising automobiles.'"[461]

Frank E. Edbrooke

One of Denver's most successful and respected early architects, Frank E. Edbrooke (1840-1921) supervised the final stages of construction of the Colorado State Capitol (1898-1908) and designed the Colorado State Museum Building (1915). Born in Lake County, Illinois, he grew up in Chicago and learned architecture from his father, an English-born builder. The younger Edbrooke served with the Twelfth Illinois Infantry in the Civil War and then joined his father rebuilding structures after the 1871 Chicago fire. He designed depots and hotels for the Union Pacific Railroad before moving to Colorado in 1879. In Denver Edbrooke supervised construction of two important early buildings, the Tabor Opera House and Tabor Block, designed by his brother Willoughby. He remained to lead a successful architectural consulting business for more than three decades. Edbrooke's designs included commercial, domestic, and institutional buildings displaying a variety of styles. At least sixteen of his buildings are listed in the National Register, including the remarkable Brown Palace Hotel (1892), designed for the donor of the State Capitol site. After his retirement in 1915, Edbrooke lived in Glendale, California, until his death. *The Trail* eulogized him as "Denver's Greatest Builder," and art historian Richard R. Brettell's study of Denver's early architecture found Edbrooke "almost single-handedly responsible for the architectural maturity of Denver's downtown in the late 1880s and 1890s."[462]

Fisher and Fisher

Brothers William E. Fisher (1871-1937) and Arthur A. Fisher (1878-1965) planned the Voorhies Memorial Gateway. Natives of Ontario, Canada, the Fishers came with their father to Denver in 1885. William, the elder brother, worked in the office of Balcomb and Rice before opening his own practice in 1892. After the end of a 1901-05 partnership with Daniel Huntington, Arthur A. Fisher joined his brother's firm and became a full

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[460] Denver Public Library, "S.R. DeBoer Papers Finding Aid," Western History and Genealogy Department, 2009.

[461] Denver Public Library, "S.R. DeBoer Papers Finding Aid;" Bonnie Hardwick, *S.R. DeBoer* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 1983); Don Etter, "S.R. DeBoer," in Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin Karson, eds., *Pioneers of American Landscape Design* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 86.

[462] Frank E. Edbrooke, Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch, Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, revised 10 October 2002; *Rocky Mountain News*, 5 May 1921; Thomas J. Noel and Barbara S. Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects, 1893-1941* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1987), 195-96; Richard R. Brettell, *Historic Denver: The Architects and the Architecture, 1858-1893* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1973), 33; *The Trail*, May 1921.

partner in 1910. Arthur graduated from the Atelier Barber of the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design in New York. The Fisher office received commissions for residences, commercial buildings, and schools, by the 1920s emerging "as one of the largest and most influential architectural firms in the Rocky Mountain region."[463] William, a founder and president of the Mountain Division of the Architects Small House Service Bureau in 1920, served as a regional director of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in 1922. Nine properties designed by Fisher and Fisher listed in the National Register include major commercial buildings in downtown Denver, such as the Neusteter Department Store, the Denver Tramway Building, the U.S. National Bank Building, and the A.C. Foster Building. In 1929 the firm received an AIA Rocky Mountain region medal "in recognition of distinctive achievement in architecture."[464] A profile of the company prepared by the Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation observed that "few families have impacted the look of Denver as the architects of the Fisher family."[465]

Robert K. Fuller

Robert K. Fuller (1886-1966) was the supervising architect for the Denver City and County Building and president of the Allied Architects Association. He grew up in Fort Collins, Colorado, where his father, Montezuma Fuller, was the city's first licensed architect. The younger man received a mechanical engineering degree from Colorado A&M, and after a year in his father's office attended Cornell University, graduating with an architectural degree in 1908. After two additional years working with his father, Fuller entered the office of respected Denver architect Robert S. Roeschlaub. When the elder architect retired in 1917, Fuller established his own firm, receiving contracts for many public buildings across the state. In 1941 he became a Fellow of the AIA, later receiving a Distinguished Service Award from the Colorado chapter. Fuller continued to practice architecture in a firm he created with his sons until his retirement in 1965.[466]

Robert Garrison

Robert Garrison (1895-1945), whom some call "Denver's first important twentieth century sculptor," was born in Fort Dodge, Iowa, and studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and with John Gutzon Borglum, the sculptor of Mount Rushmore.[467] Garrison, who worked in stone and bronze, moved to Denver in 1919 and became a director of the Denver Academy of Applied Art, where he taught modeling, applied design, and drawing. His early work in the city included two pieces for the civic center: the pair of bronze mountain lions for the entrance of the State Office Building and the fountain figures for the Voorhies Memorial pool. Garrison received Denver commissions for many architectural ornaments in the later 1920s, including works for the Ideal Building, Midland Savings Building, National Jewish Hospital's B'nai B'rith Building, Park Hill Branch Library, Denver University's football stadium, and South High School. The artist moved to New York about 1930 and completed projects there and around the country, including three sculptural panels for the RKO Building in New York City's Rockefeller Center, a heroic figure at West Point, and sculptural details for the Boston Avenue Methodist Church, a National Historic Landmark in Tulsa, Oklahoma. A veteran of World War I, Garrison also enlisted during World War II. In 1943 he died in an accident while teaching camouflage painting.[468]

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[463] Rutherford W. Witthus, "The Fisher Architectural Records Collection, 1897-1978" (Denver: Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department, 1983).

[464] Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects*, 200.

[465] "William Ellsworth Fisher, Arthur Addison Fisher, Alan Berney Fisher," Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch, Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado, 11 July 2000.

[466] Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 200-201.

[467] Schlosser, *Modern Sculpture in Denver*, 15.

[468] Ibid.; Glenn B. Opitz, ed., *Mantle Fielding's Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* (Apollo: Poughkeepsie, New York, 1987); Gray, "Stone Carvings," *The Tiger*, 20 November 1931, 4; Diane Wray, "Midland Savings Building Colorado State Register of Historic Properties Nomination Form," 1999.

John D. Howland
John D. Howland (1843-1914) designed the 1909 Colorado Soldiers Monument on the grounds of the Colorado Capitol. Described as a pioneer artist, Captain Howland served with the First Colorado Cavalry in the Civil War, seeing action in the Battle of Glorieta Pass in New Mexico. An Ohio native, he studied art in Europe and Mexico and studied with Armand Dumeresq. Howland became a founder of the Denver Art Club in 1886. His work primarily focused on scenes of the West, including Native Americans, cowboys, and the buffalo.[469]

George Koyle
George Koyle (1885-1975) was the first supervising architect for the Denver City and County Building. He was born in Evanston, Wyoming, lived in Denver with his widowed mother and siblings by 1900. He received degrees in architecture from the University of Pennsylvania and during 1911-14 studied at the American Academy in Rome. Returning to America, he taught architecture at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh and entered the New York City offices of Cass Gilbert and McKim, Mead and White. After establishing his own practice, which included design of the National Register-listed 1928 Milliken Memorial Community House in Elkton, Kentucky, he returned to Philadelphia as the Dean of the School of Fine Arts at the University of Pennsylvania in 1932. Following his retirement from that position in 1950, he served as Professor of Architecture for five years and edited two editions of the *American Architects Directory*. Koyle died in Philadelphia.[470]

Roland L. Linder
Nebraska native Roland L. Linder (1893-1977) was the last supervising architect for the Denver City and County Building. He spent his youth in Colorado and attended the University of Colorado and the University of Michigan. For five years he studied at the Denver Atelier. Following service in World War I, he returned to Colorado and became a licensed architect, working for Eugene G. Groves from 1921 through 1929. After completing his work on the city-county building, he operated his own firm from 1931 to 1951, thereafter working in partnership with other architects.[471] Among the projects Linder designed are wing additions to the Denver Museum of Natural History, Midwest Steel and Iron Works office, and Larimer County Courthouse.[472]

Frederick W. MacMonnies
Internationally recognized painter and sculptor Frederick William MacMonnies (1863-1937) designed *Pioneer Fountain* and a 1907 plan for the Denver Civic Center. Born in Brooklyn Heights, New York, MacMonnies began working in the studio of famed sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens at the age of sixteen, while in the evenings attending the National Academy of Design and the Art Students League.[473] At the age of twenty-one, he departed for study at academies in Munich and Paris. In 1887 and 1888 he won the *prix d'atelier*, the highest award available for foreign students at the École des Beaux-Arts. In 1888 MacMonnies opened a studio and began entering his work for competition in the Paris Salon. In 1889 he gained an honorable mention in

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[469] Nolie Mumey, *The Art and Activities of John Dare (Jack) Howland: Painter, Soldier, Indian Trader, and Pioneer* (Boulder: Johnson Publishing Company, 1973); Thurman Wilkins and Caroline Lawson Hinkley, *Thomas Moran: Artist of the Mountains* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 275; U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, 1900, manuscript returns, Arapahoe County, Colorado.

[470] Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania, "George S. Koyl [sic]: Finding Aid for Architectural Drawings and Papers, 1908-1955," http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org (accessed on 3 January 2011); United States Census, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, www.ancestry.com (accessed on 3 January 2011); Social Security Death Index, www.ancestry.com (accessed on 3 January 2011).

[471] Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful*, 209-210.

[472] Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, "Architects of Colorado Biographical Sketch: Roland L. Linder."

[473] Samuels Peggy and Harold Samuels, *The Illustrated Biographical Encyclopedia of Artists of the American West* (New York: Doubleday, 1976), 299.

sculpture, the highest award yet won by an American. Two years later he received a gold medal, the first awarded to an American sculptor. MacMonnies designed a highly praised allegorical Beaux-Arts fountain for the central lagoon at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, establishing his position as "a world class-sculptor and international celebrity," according to biographer Mary Smart.[474] He then entered a highly productive period that brought him numerous major commissions in America and resulted in dissemination of his work to cities throughout the country. The artist traveled yearly to consult on projects in the United States, returning to France to work. The Gruet foundry cast most of MacMonnies sculptures modeled in France.[475] Smart observed that, as the Beaux-arts style fell out of favor in the late teens and twenties, MacMonnies experienced an associated decline in commissions. Although the sculptor incorporated modernism into the controversial *Civic Virtue* for New York's City Hall Fountains in 1915, he returned to the style that had brought him success with his widely-praised *Battle of the Marne Memorial* (1932).

Marean and Norton

Partners Willis A. Marean (1853-1939) and Albert J. Norton (1867-1944) designed the Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors in association with Edward H. Bennett. Marean, born in Woodhull, New York, attended the State Normal School in Geneseo, worked as a carpenter and joiner, and studied under architects in New York City and Rochester. In 1880 he moved to Denver and secured a position in the architectural office of Frank E. Edbrooke. He remained with the firm until 1895, when he established a practice with Albert J. Norton. Norton, also a native of New York, received a degree in architecture from Cornell University. He worked for architects in New York and Boston before arriving in Denver in 1890 and gaining employment with the prominent firms of Varian and Sterner and Frank E. Edbrooke. The Marean and Norton partnership produced designs for commercial, institutional, governmental, and domestic buildings. Four of their buildings are listed in the National Register, including the Denver Orphans' Home, Denver Chamber of Commerce Building, Cheesman-Boettcher Mansion (now the Colorado Governor's Mansion), and Fort Morgan City Hall. Marean and Norton also prepared the plans for the 1908 Cheesman Park Pavilion erected during Denver's City Beautiful era. The partners were active in municipal planning efforts and both served on the Denver Art Commission; Marean also became a member of the Civic Center and Parks and Parkway commissions. The partnership continued until 1936, when Marean retired.[476]

Elijah E. Myers

Detroit architect Elijah E. Myers (1832-1909) won an 1885 competition to design the Colorado State Capitol. A native of Philadelphia, Myers studied law before taking up carpentry and architecture. He never received formal training in building design, but reportedly apprenticed to Philadelphia architect Samuel Sloan. Myers served as an engineer in the Union army during the Civil War. In 1863 he settled in Springfield, Illinois, and received his first major commission for the Macoupin County Courthouse in Carlinville. In 1872 the architect won a competition to design the Michigan State Capitol and moved his practice to Detroit. He subsequently prepared plans for statehouses in Texas, Idaho (Territorial Capitol), and Utah (Territorial Capitol; unbuilt), as well as several courthouses and city halls, including the 1883 Arapahoe County Courthouse in Denver.[477] According to historical architect Paul Goeldner, Myer had "one of the most geographically extensive architectural practices of the late nineteenth century." Henry-Russell Hitchcock and William Seale paid him tribute, observing that viewing "one of Elijah Myers's capitols from across the open land was to feel the immensity of its scale and the

[474] Smart, *A Flight with Fame*, ix.

[475] "Frederick MacMonnies," accessed at 222.bronze-gallery.com on 19 June 2008.

[476] Willis A. Marean, Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch, Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, revised 31 October 2003; Albert J. Norton, Colorado Architects Biographical Sketch, Colorado Historical Society, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, revised 31 October 2003; "Willis Adams Marean," *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Company, 1904), 322; Noel and Norgren, *Denver: The City Beautiful and Its Architects*, 211 and 214; *Denver Post*, 20 February 1939, 36 and 12 February 1944.

[477] Denver served as the county seat of Arapahoe County until 1902.

vigor of its decoration." However, his career was tinged with controversy, with some projects creating cost overruns that led to the architect's dismissal.[478]

Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.

Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. (1870-1957), representing the firm of Olmsted Brothers, prepared a 1913 plan for the Denver Civic Center with New York architect Arnold Brunner. Son of the distinguished father of American landscape architecture, Frederick Law Olmsted, he was born in New York and attended the Roxbury Latin School in Boston. Before attending college the younger Olmsted worked in his father's office in Brookline, Massachusetts, gaining experience on projects such as the World's Columbian Exhibition and the landscape of the Biltmore estate in Asheville, North Carolina. After graduating from Harvard, he entered his father's office in 1895 with little formal training in landscape architecture, but there received intensive instruction. In 1898 Frederick, Jr., became a partner in Olmsted Brothers with his stepbrother John Charles Olmsted, who had joined his father's firm in 1875 and became a senior partner in 1895. John bore immense responsibility for park planning during the final decade of his father's career.

In 1899, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., became a founding member of the American Society of Landscape Architects and served as its president for two terms. His first important appointment was to the Senate Park Commission Plan for Washington, D.C. in 1901. This work stimulated interest in municipal planning and improvement and enhanced the firm's profile. Olmsted Brothers engaged in landscape design and city planning throughout the nation, and Frederick, Jr., served as president of the National Conference on City Planning (1910) and participated in the organization of the American City Planning Institute (1917). His city plans included projects for Newport, Rhode Island; Boulder, Colorado; Rochester, New York; New Haven, Connecticut; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He advised the National Park Service for three decades for such parks as Acadia, Everglades, and Yosemite, and consulted on various state park systems. He served as senior partner in Olmsted Brothers from the time of John's death in 1920 until 1950 and died in 1957. Susan L. Kraus observed that "for over half a century Olmsted had been a preeminent practitioner and spokesman for landscape architecture and comprehensive planning, both interested in the interrelationship of people and their environment."[479]

Preston Powers

Preston Powers (1843-1931), while an art instructor at the University of Denver, created *The Closing Era* (1893), which received praise at the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago and now stands on the State Capitol grounds. Born in Florence, Italy, Powers pursued other occupations and served in the U.S. Navy before returning to Florence to study under his father, noted sculptor Hiram Powers. The younger Powers focused mostly on portraits, including many busts executed in marble. Among his best-known works are a statue of Senator Jacob Collamer of Vermont in the National Statuary Hall Collection and busts of Charles Sumner, Ulysses S. Grant, Louis Agassiz, Emanuel Swedenborg, and John Greenleaf Whittier. His depiction of Job M. Nash is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The *Boston Transcript* observed in the late 1870s: "Powers' style of work reproduces that of his father, and is remarkable for delicacy and finish."[480] Denver art specialist Elizabeth Schlosser has identified Powers as "Denver's first important resident sculptor."[481]

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[478] Everett, *The Colorado State Capitol*, 37-39; Paul Goeldner, "The Designing Architect: Elijah E. Myers, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 92 (October 1988): 271; Henry-Russell Hitchcock and William Seale, *Temples of Democracy: The State Capitols of the U.S.A.* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); Ronald D. Rarick, "A Michigan Architect in Indiana: Elijah E. Myers and the Business of Public Architecture in the Gilded Age," *Michigan Historical Review* 26 (Sept. 2000): 148.

[479] Susan L. Klaus, "Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.," National Association for Olmsted Parks, http://www.olmsted.org (accessed 10 January 2011); Beveridge and Rocheleau, *Frederick Law Olmsted*, 266; Rolf Diamant, "Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.," National Park Service: The First 75 Years, Biographical Vignettes, http://www.nps.gov (accessed 10 January 2011); Susan L. Klaus, "Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.," in Birnbaum and Karson, *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, 273-76.

[480] Quoted in Clara Erskine Clement and Laurence Hutton, *Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works*, vol. II (Boston:

Alexander Phimister Proctor

Alexander Phimister Proctor (1862-1950), who produced *On the War Trail* and *Broncho Buster* for the civic center, specialized in painting and sculpture of animals and western figures. As western art scholar Peter Hassrick explained: "Early on he pledged himself to the highest professional standards as an artist, and in his sixty years of creative practice, Proctor attained national and international fame."[482] Born in Canada, Proctor traveled with his family to the United States by covered wagon, moving to Denver in 1871 and spending summers camping, hunting, and trapping in the Rocky Mountains while developing skills at sketching western subjects. As a youth he met trappers, prospectors, and cowboys in the still-developing state, reporting: "I was born during the frontier period of the United States and grew up in Colorado in the best of it. It colored my life and influenced me greatly."[483] Proctor's father encouraged his early interest in art and arranged lessons from professionals living in Denver. In 1887 he left for New York City to receive training at the National Academy of Design and the Art Students League, where he "really began to learn how to draw" and further developed his interest in depicting animals and American Indians.[484] To pursue his artistic career and fulfill his need for the wilderness, he studied in New York during the fall and winter, traveling to Colorado and other western states in the spring and summer.[485] His sculpture attracted the attention of painter and sculptor Frank Millet, who commissioned Proctor to create life-size wild animal statues to decorate bridges at the World's Columbian Exposition. Proctor's plaster exposition sculptures, *Indian* and *Cowboy*, received attention across the country. Daniel H. Burnham also admired the young man's work and introduced him to other notable mentors, including architect Charles McKim and sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens. In 1893 he studied at the Académie Julien, receiving an award in its annual competition.

Saint-Gaudens asked him to return to New York to create models of the horses for the elder sculptor's statues of General Logan and General Sherman. Proctor also began making small animal bronzes that provided a steady income and increased interest in his work. In 1896 he again studied in Paris at the Académie Julien and Académie Colarossi. In 1900 he received a commission to produce the Quadriga for the American Pavilion at the Paris International Exposition. Returning to New York, the artist completed a tremendous amount of work, including pieces for the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo in 1901, the McKinley Monument marble lions in 1903, the 1904 St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition griffins and Louis Joliet statue, and the Princeton Tigers in 1908. The Pendleton Round-up in Oregon adopted a modified figure of the cowboy in Denver's *Broncho Buster* as its official symbol. Western art collector Franz R. Stenzel observed: "During his lifetime, there were few major cities which did not have Proctor's life-sized bronze figures," and historian J. Frank Dobie called the artist "the nation's master sculptor of horses.[486]

Charles Mulford Robinson

In 1906 journalist and planner Charles Mulford Robinson (1869-1917) prepared Denver's first formal plan for the civic center. Robinson emerged in the early twentieth century as "the nation's foremost expounder of the

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Houghton, Osgood, and Company, 1879), 190-91.

[481] Schlosser, *Modern Sculpture in Denver*, 11; Ann Lee Morgan, *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 391; *Justin Smith Morrill*, Smithsonian American Art Museum, http://www.americanart.si.edu/collections (accessed 4 October 2010); *Job M. Nash*, Works of Art, American paintings and Sculpture, Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org/Works_Of_Art (accessed 19 June 2008).

[482] Peter H. Hassrick, "Foreword," in Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin*, vii.

[483] *Rocky Mountain News*, 5 January 1922, 5; Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin*, 216.

[484] Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin*, 76-78.

[485] Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin*, 78.

[486] Central Denver Park District Points of Interest, denvergov.org (accessed 20 June 2008); "Alexander Phimister Proctor," www.proctormuseum accessed (accessed 25 October 2010); *An Art Perspective of the Historic Pacific Northwest: From the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Franz R. Stenzel, Portland, Oregon* (Helena, Montana: Montana Historical Society and Spokane, 1963); Vivian A. Paladin, "Phimister Proctor: Master Sculptor of Horses," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 14(1964)1: 18.

City Beautiful and its most prolific maker of City Beautiful plans, chiefly for small and mid-sized cities." Born in Rochester, New York, he worked as a newspaperman there and in Philadelphia. In 1893, he attended the pivotal World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and published an illustrated guide to the event, *The Fair of Spectacle*. Robinson subsequently produced a number of early, influential books on municipal planning, including *The Improvement of Cities and Towns* (1901) and *Modern Civic Art or The City Made Beautiful* (1903), in which he espoused the cause of comprehensive planning in improving cities. Other books followed, including *The Width and Arrangement of Streets* (1911) and *City Planning* (1916). He actively consulted in city planning, creating for many communities what historian Jon Peterson labeled a "civic vignette plan, an artfully worded form of City Beautiful planning that only Robinson, as the master scrivener of the beautification movement, could have produced." He undertook projects in Detroit, Los Angeles, Honolulu, Colorado Springs, Oakland, Cedar Rapids and Dubuque, Iowa, and El Paso. In 1913, the University of Illinois-Urbana/Champaign appointed Robinson the first Professor of City Planning in the country. He died of influenza in 1917 at age forty-nine.[487]

Albert Randolph Ross

Albert Randolph Ross (1869-1948) designed the Denver Public Library. He apprenticed in his father's architectural firm from 1884 to 1887 and with Buffalo architect Charles D. Swan from 1889 to 1890. Ross was then employed by the prestigious New York firm of McKim, Mead and White from 1891 to 1897. He co-founded Ackerman & Ross, which operated from 1898 to 1901. Ross designed twelve Carnegie libraries, the Milwaukee County Courthouse (1927), and the Daughters of the American Revolution Memorial (1929) in Washington, D.C.[488] The architect lived in Maine from 1901 until his death in 1948.

Rheinhard Schuetze

Rheinhard Schuetze (1860-1910) prepared landscape plans for the Colorado State Capitol grounds and Lincoln Park in the Denver Civic Center. Schuetze, born in Bothkamp, a German-speaking Danish duchy, trained at the Royal Prussian Horticultural School (Sanssouci) and at the Royal Forestry Academy at Eberswalde.[489] He immigrated to the United States in 1889 and formed an association with Robert C. Greiner in Denver. Schuetze's first major commission in the city was development of a landscape plan for Fairmount Cemetery in east Denver. In 1891 the cemetery employed Schuetze as its landscape architect. Historians Don and Carolyn Etter asserted Schuetze's plan for Fairmount "had a seminal impact on how the people of Denver saw their city and in turn how the city itself was shaped in the decades following 1890."[490] In 1893, the recently-created Denver Park Commission engaged Schuetze as the city's first landscape architect. In that position he developed plans for City, Washington, and Congress (later Cheesman) parks, as well as smaller municipal green spaces. He also engaged in private consulting, creating garden and landscape plans for a number of prominent citizens. Schuetze served on the committee appointed by Mayor Speer to assist in planning for the Denver Civic Center project. He died of tuberculosis in April 1910.[491]

J. Otto Schweizer

Using drawings created by John D. Howland, Philadelphian J. Otto Schweizer (1863-1955) sculpted the Colorado Soldiers Monument (1909). Born in Zurich, Switzerland, Schweizer studied art at the Industrial Art School in Zurich and the Royal Academy of Art in Dresden and spent five years in Florence. He immigrated

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[487] Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning*, 119 and 190-97.

[488] Historical Society of Washington, D.C., "Carnegie Library," www.historydc.org (accessed 28 September 2010); Columbus Metropolitan Library, "Columbus in Historic Photographs, http://digital-collections.columbuslibrary.org (accessed 28 September 2010).

[489] Etter and Etter, *Forgotten Dreamer*, 1. Much of the information in this section is derived from *Forgotten Dreamer*.

[490] Etter and Etter, *Forgotten Dreamer*, 8.

[491] *Denver Municipal Facts*, September 1920, 9; Don Etter, "Reinhard Schuetze," in Birnbaum and Karson, *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, 332-35.

to the United States in 1894 and the following year settled in Philadelphia, where he worked for a lithographic company until 1906. In addition to the statue at the Colorado State Capitol, Schweizer produced many others related to the Civil War, including seven bronze figures at the Gettysburg Battlefield, more than any other sculptor represented there. Some of Schweizer's other notable works include: *Baron von Steuben* (1914); *Molly Pitcher* (1916); Heinrich Muhlenberg Memorial (1917); Fort Stevens Monument (1920); *Confederate Mother* (1913); and All Wars Memorial to Colored Soldiers and Sailors (1934).[492]

Allen Tupper True

Denver artist Allen Tupper True (1881-1955) created murals at five locations in the Denver Civic Center: the Greek Theater, Voorhies Memorial Gateway, Colorado State Capitol, Denver Public Library (murals no longer extant), and Denver City and County Building. True, whose work is described as "clearly American and decidedly Western in inspiration," was born in Colorado Springs. He graduated from Manual Training High School in Denver and attended the University of Denver and Corcoran Art School in Washington, D.C., where he came under the tutelage of illustrator Howard Pyle. While a student, True became an illustrator for such publications as *Saturday Evening Post* and *Scribner's Magazine*. In 1908 he entered an apprenticeship in London with celebrated British oil painter and muralist Frank Brangwyn. Back in Colorado, True had a solo exhibition at the Denver library in 1910, and in 1912 sold his first mural, *Free Trappers.* His work increasingly addressed the influence of the West on American identity.[493] In 1912-13 True produced several murals for branch libraries in Denver and assisted Brangwyn in London with works for the Panama Pacific Exposition.

Exhibitions of True's art appeared in major cities across the country during the first half of the twentieth century. He produced murals and paintings for numerous significant public and private buildings in Denver, including the National Register-listed Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Building and Colorado National Bank. Commissions in other states included murals for the Wyoming and Missouri state capitols and design of the bucking bronco logo for the Wyoming license plate. True supplied magazine illustrations that often depicted Colorado scenes and served as a color consultant in the design of new buildings. During 1934-42 the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation employed him to create color schemes and ornamentation for several dams and associated powerhouses, including Hoover Dam. In 1955 he completed his last mural, *Native American Eagle Dance*, for the University of Colorado Student Union in Boulder. True's work reflected his thorough knowledge of western history, especially pioneer, cowboy, and American Indian cultures and lifestyles. According to Peter H. Hassrick, director of the Petrie Institute of Western American Art at the Denver Art Museum, True's "mural and decorative embellishments for monumental architecture projects throughout the West affirm his role as an artist of profound importance and extraordinary breadth of vision."[494]

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[492] David F. Cross, "A Tale of Two Statues: The William Wells Statues at Gettysburg and Burlington, Vermont," *Vermont History* 73 (Winter/Spring 2005):54-55; Ernst Jockers, *J. Otto Schweizer: The Man and His Work* (Philadelphia: International Printing Company, 1953); Andrea Gomez, "Valley Forge National Historical Park: von Steuben Monument," 14 August 2008, http://www.nps.gov/vafo/historyculture/steubenmonument.htm (accessed 7 December 2010).

[493] Blake Milteer, Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center Director, quoted in "*Colorado Springs Independent* Coverage of Exhibit Opening," accessed 31 January 2011 at allentuppertrueanamericanartist.com.

[494] True and Kirby, *Allen Tupper True*, xix, et passim; Doris Ostrander Dawdy, *Artists of the American West: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3 (Chicago: Sage Books,1985).

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
___ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
___ Local Government
___ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository): Denver Public Library, Western History and Genealogy Department

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 33 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	13	500744	4398797
B	13	501483	4398797
C	13	501483	4398400
D	13	500744	4398400

The coordinates above (in NAD 27) describe bounding polygon ABCD, wherein the boundary of the nominated area is contained (see USGS Location Map).

Verbal Boundary Description

The nominated area, delineated on the accompanying sketch map (drawn to scale), is situated in the central part of the City and County of Denver, immediately south of the central business district. The boundary is described as follows: beginning at the intersection of East Colfax Avenue and Grant Street; thence south along the west edge of Grant Street to its intersection with the north edge of East 14th Avenue; thence west for approximately 169' to the east property line (extended) of 200 East 14th Avenue (the former State Museum Building); thence south and west along the property line of that building to its intersection with the east edge of Sherman Street; thence north along Sherman Street to the north edge of East 14th Avenue; thence west along the north edge of 14th Avenue to its intersection with the east edge of Cherokee Street; thence north along Cherokee Street to its intersection with the south edge of West Colfax Avenue; thence east along the south edge of West Colfax Avenue to Cheyenne Place; thence northeast along the south edge of Cheyenne Place to the west edge of Broadway; thence south along the west edge of Broadway to its intersection with the south edge of West Colfax Avenue; thence east along the south edge of East Colfax Avenue to its intersection with the east edge of Sherman Street; thence north along Sherman Street to its intersection with the north property line of 201 East Colfax Avenue (the State Office Building, excluding the parking lot to north); thence east and south along the property line to its intersection with the south edge of East Colfax Avenue; and thence east along the south edge of East Colfax Avenue to the point of beginning at Grant Street.

Boundary Justification

The boundaries of the Denver Civic Center encompass the public landscape and related government buildings that were developed between 1890 and 1935 and form the core of Denver's center of state and local government. Although other government buildings lie outside the proposed boundaries, the boundaries are

drawn to include only those that reflect the City Beautiful origins of the civic center, historic plans dating from 1885 to 1932, and unifying influence of Beaux Arts design.

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
March 16, 2012

Photograph 1. Denver Civic Center. View east toward Colorado State Capitol from Civic Center Park with the Colorado Veterans Monument (obelisk) in the middle ground. Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 2. Denver Civic Center. View west toward Denver City and County Building from the west front of the Colorado State Capitol with the *Colorado Soldiers Monument* (1909) in the foreground. Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 3. Civic Center Park. View overlooking Broadway Terrace with its wooded upper terrace at right, sunken garden, and cross-axial promenade connecting the Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors (in the foreground) and Voorhies Memorial Gateway (at upper left). Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 4. Civic Center Park. View north along paved promenade that forms the transverse (north-south) axis and connects the Greek Theater (foreground) and Voorhies Memorial Gateway (center). Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 5 (left). Colorado State Capitol. View northeast showing gilded dome and southwest corner of stathouse. Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 6 (right). Colorado State Capitol. View northeast showing recently constructed granite walkway with tooled sandstone stairs on the south side of the west lawn. Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 7. Colorado State Capitol. View north toward west portico with tympanum sculpture in bas relief and *Colorado Soldiers Monument* in the foreground. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 8. Colorado State Capitol. View toward east-facing portico with *The Closing Era* (cast 1893, installed 1898) by sculptor Preston Powers in the foreground. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 9. Colorado State Capitol. View south overlooking tree park and recently constructed memorial alcoves on the east grounds. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 10. Colorado State Capitol. View of south-facing elevation of the statehouse. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 11. Colorado State Museum (1915). View southeast showing front (north) elevation facing the statehouse. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 12. Colorado State Office Building (1921). View northeast showing west and south elevations. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 13. Colorado State Office Building. South entrance facing the statehouse with pedimented doorways, sculptural relief, and bronze mountain lion figures. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 14. Lincoln Park. View east from the paved central walkway toward the 1990 Colorado Veterans Monument (center) and statehouse. Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 15. Lincoln Park. View northeast toward center of park showing tree park with original but newly paved curving walkway. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

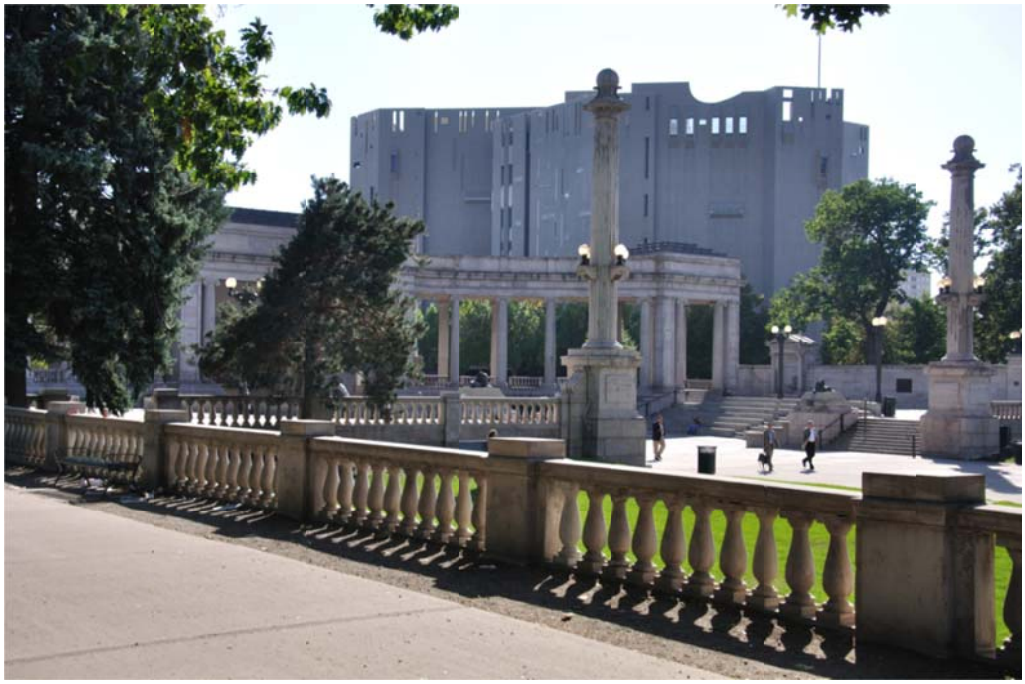
Photograph 16. Civic Center Park. View west toward the Denver City and County Building (1932) from Broadway Terrace with the balustrade wall (foreground) and Denver Public Library (at right). Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 17. Civic Center Park. View northwest showing cross-axial promenade with equestrian statues and the Great Lawn. Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 18. *Pioneer Monument* (1911). View of fountain by Frederick MacMonnies with equestrian statue of Kit Carson and other sculpture depicting Colorado's heritage. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 19. *Pioneer Monument* (1911). View of bronze sculpture, *The Trapper/Hunter*, modeled after famous Colorado scout Jim Baker. Photograph Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 20. Denver Public Library (1910). View southeast showing front (north) and west elevations. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.



Photograph 21. Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors (1919) with neoclassical balustrade walls, columnar pylons, and stairsways of Turkey Creek sandstone. Denver Art Museum (1971) is visible in background. Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 22. Greek Theater and Colonnade of Civic Benefactors (1919). View of *The Prospector* by muralist Allen Tupper True on the east wall of the theater pavilion. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 23. Civic Center Park. View west showing *Broncho Buster*, an equestrian sculpture byAlexander Phiminster Proctor which was installed in 1920. Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 24. Civic Center Park. View west showing *On the War Trail*, an equestrian sculpture by Alexander Phiminster Proctor which was installed in the park in 1922. Photograph by Roger Whitacre.

Photograph 25. Voorhies Memorial Gateway. View northwest showing bronze fountains depicting sea lions and infants by sculptor Robert Garrison. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 26. Voorhies Memorial Gateway. The *Bison*, by muralist Allen Tupper True, as it appears in the east lunette. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

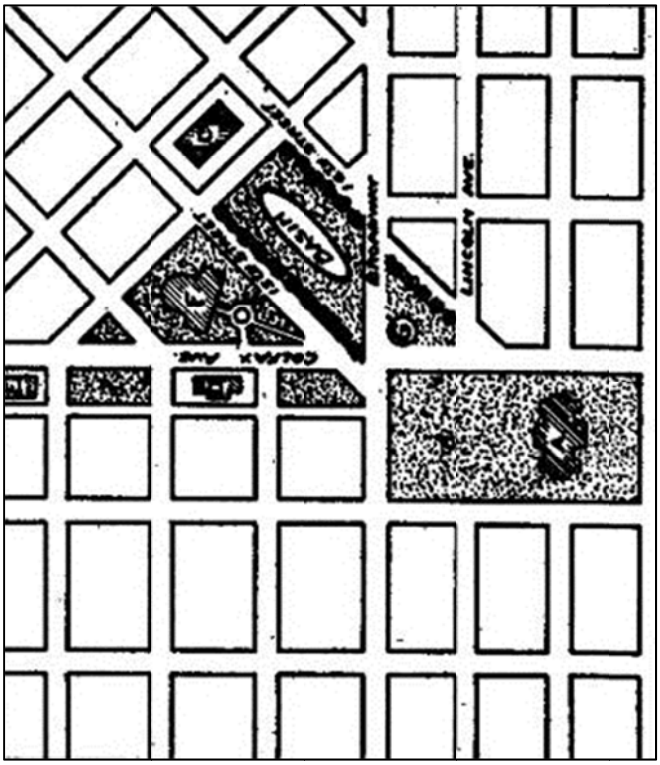
Photograph 27. Denver City and County Building (1932). View of the front (east) elevation looking west from the Great Lawn of Civic Center Park. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 28 . Denver City and County Building. View northwest toward east-facing portico and clocktower. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 29. Denver City and County Building. View northeast toward rear (west) elevation. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 30 (left). Grounds of the Denver City and County Building (1935). View north across forecourt with Camilla S. Edbrooke Memorial Flagpole (center) and Colorado blue spruce (right). Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.

Photograph 31 (right). Lincoln Park. View northeast with 1988 statue honoring World War II Medal of Honor recipient Joe P. Martinez. Photograph by Thomas H. Simmons.



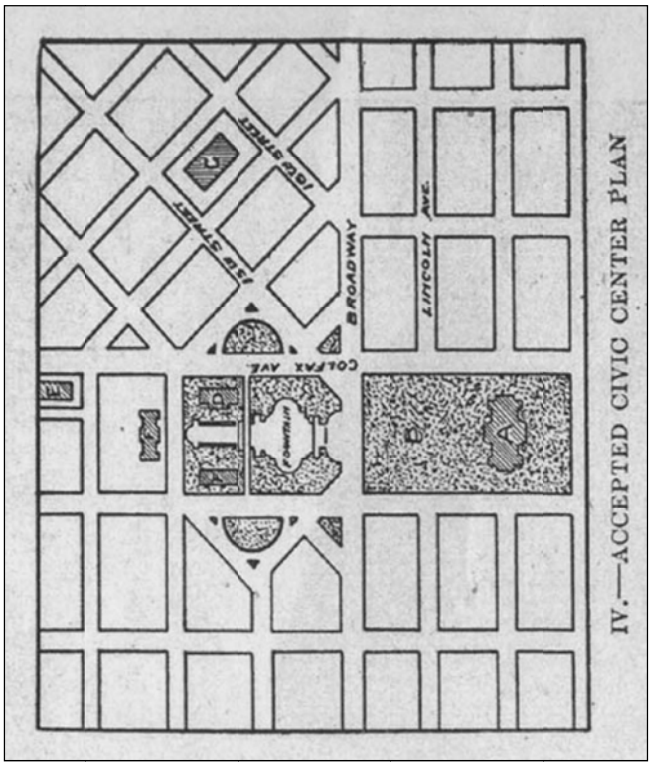


Figure 1 (left). The 1906 Robinson plan connected the Colorado State Capitol (center right) to the former Arapahoe County Courthouse (upper left) using a northwest axis and placed the *Pioneer Monument* north of the Denver Public Library (center left). SOURCE: *Denver Municipal Facts*, 14 May 1910. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library.

Figure 2 (right). The MacMonnies 1907 plan proposed a symmetrical layout with a strong east-west axis linking the Colorado State Capitol (center right) and a new municipal building (center left) and a secondary north-south axis linking semi-circular areas to the north and south. SOURCE: *Denver Municipal Facts*, 14 May 1910. Courtesy of the City and County of Denver and Mundus Bishop Design, Inc.

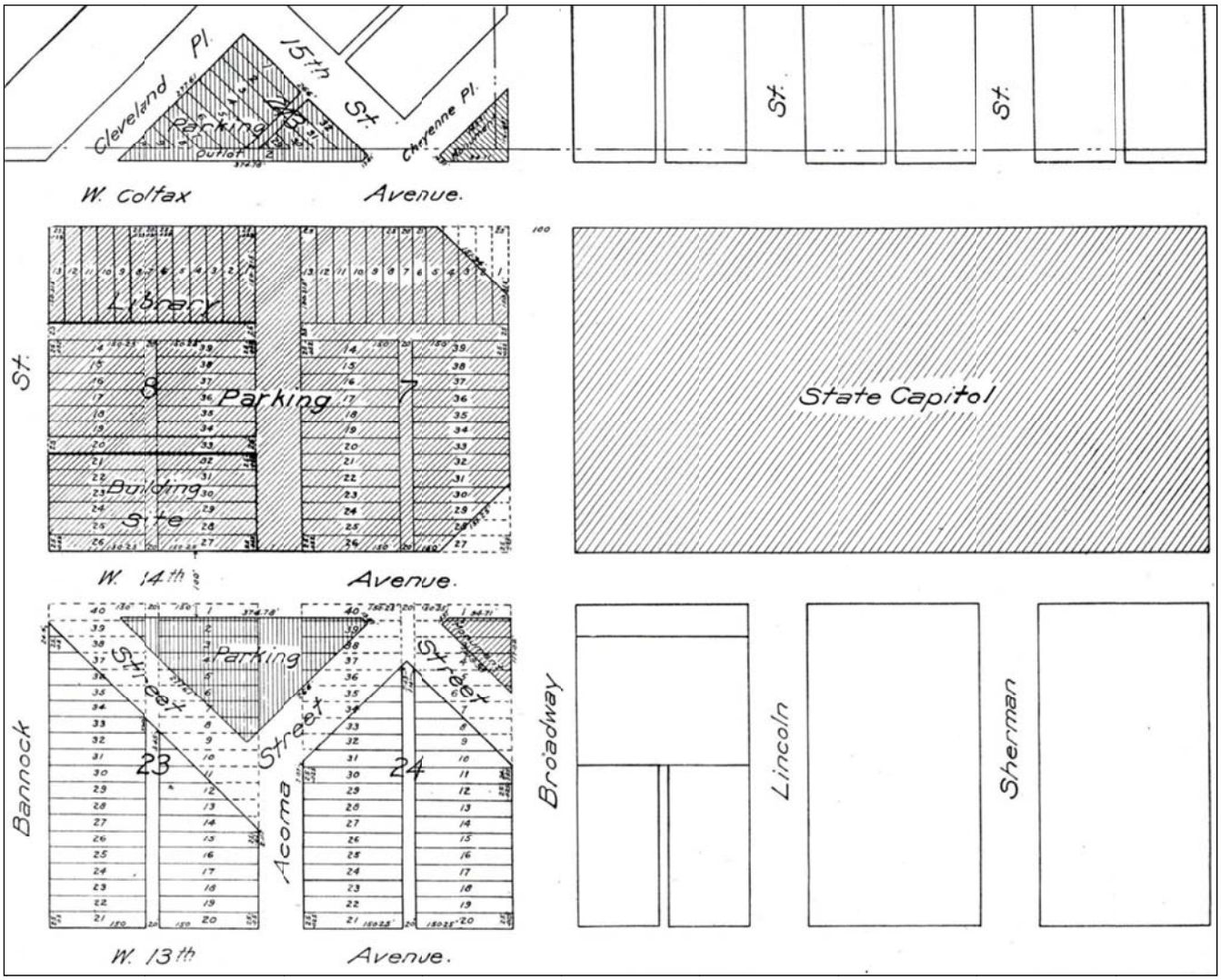


Figure 3. This map appeared in *Denver Municipal Facts*, July 1909, depicting the lots that would likely be used for the proposed civic center project. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library.

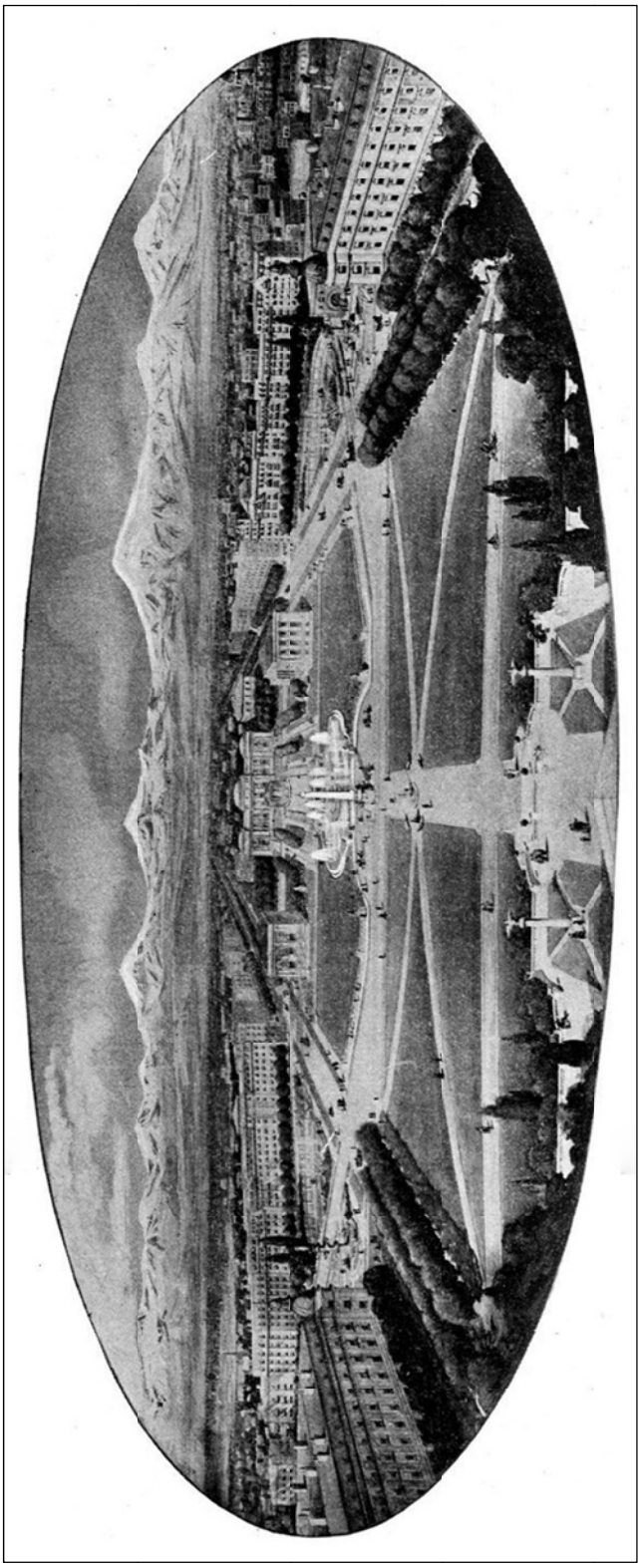


Figure 4. Denver architects Maurice B. Biscoe and Henry H. Hewitt prepared this perspective view interpreting the 1907 MacMonnies plan. SOURCE: *Denver Municipal Facts*, 11 March 1911. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library.

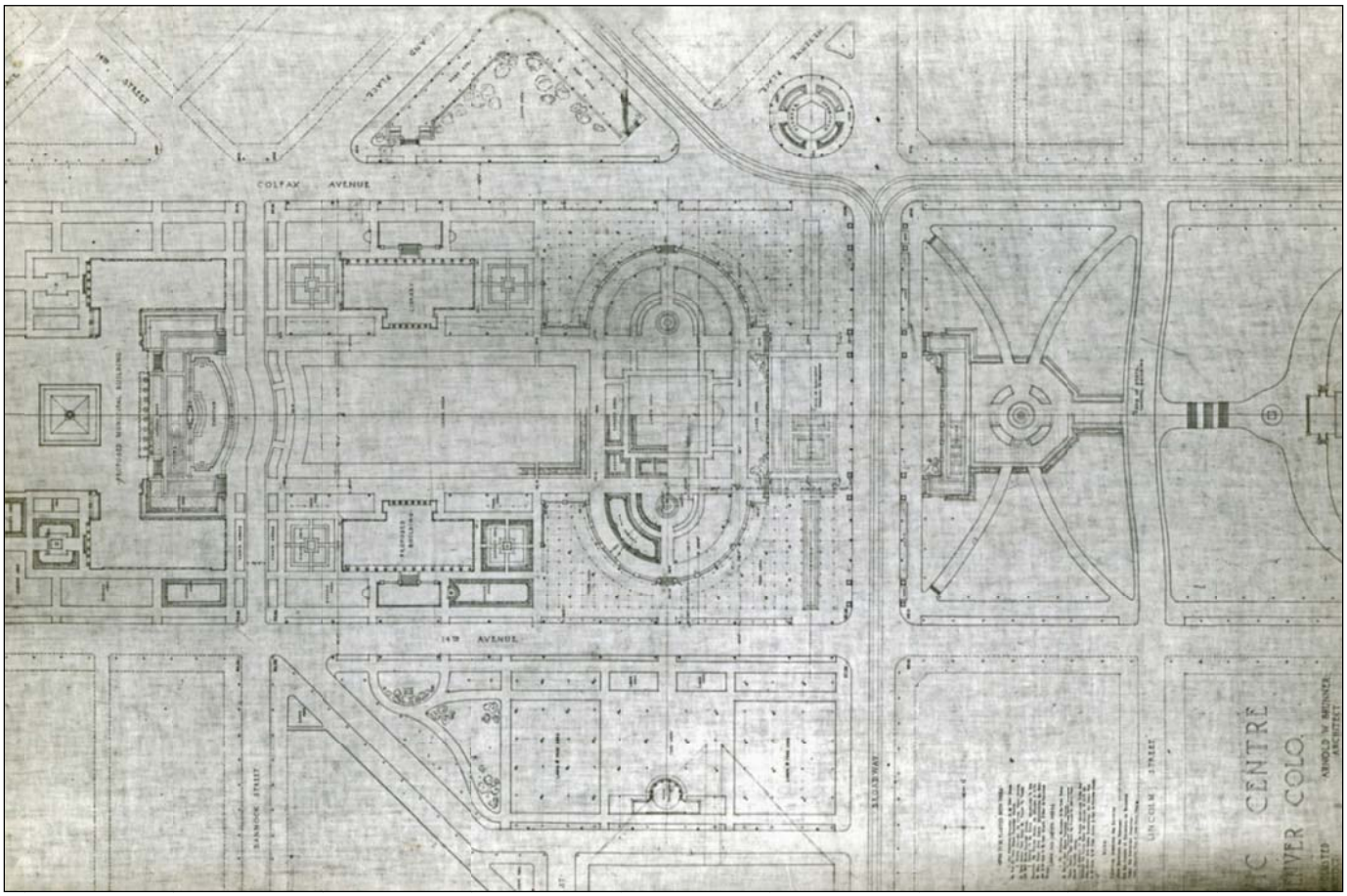


Figure 5. The 1912 plan by Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and Arnold W. Brunner proposed formal groves of trees west of Broadway (center right), a balustrade wall and sunken garden (center left), a new building opposite the library, a municipal building in the westernmost block (center left), and a wooded concert grove (lower center). Source: Original plan from Engineer's Office, City and County of Denver reproduced in Gillis, "A History of the Civic Center of Denver. Courtesy of the University of Northern Colorado, Greeley.

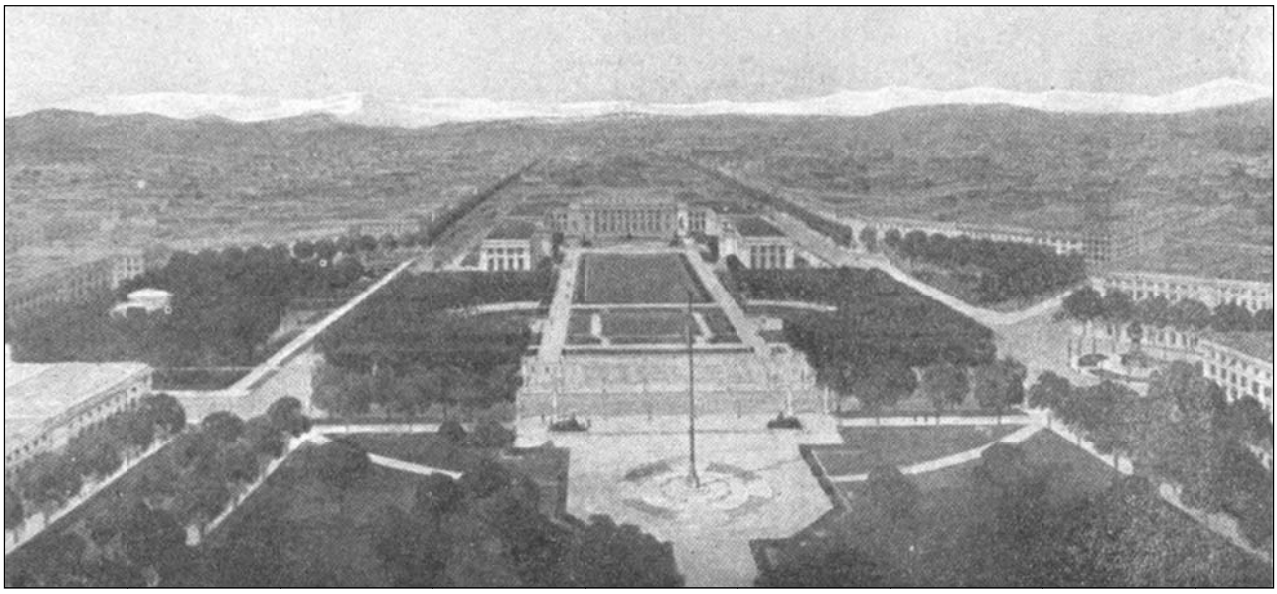


Figure 6. A 1913 perspective view depicting the Olmsted-Brunner plan. SOURCE: *City of Denver*, 14 June 1913. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library.

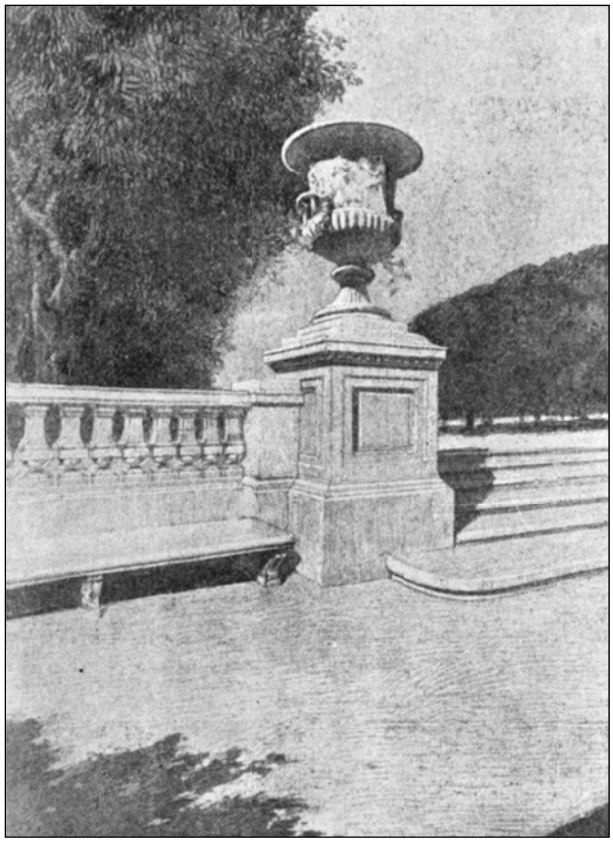


Figure 7. Olmsted and Brunner proposed using a low wall topped by a balustrade to separate the upper wooded terrace of Civic Center Park from the open sunken garden to the west. Although the design changed, the basic concept of the balustrade wall was retained in subsequent plans. SOURCE: *City of Denver*, 14 June 1913. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library.

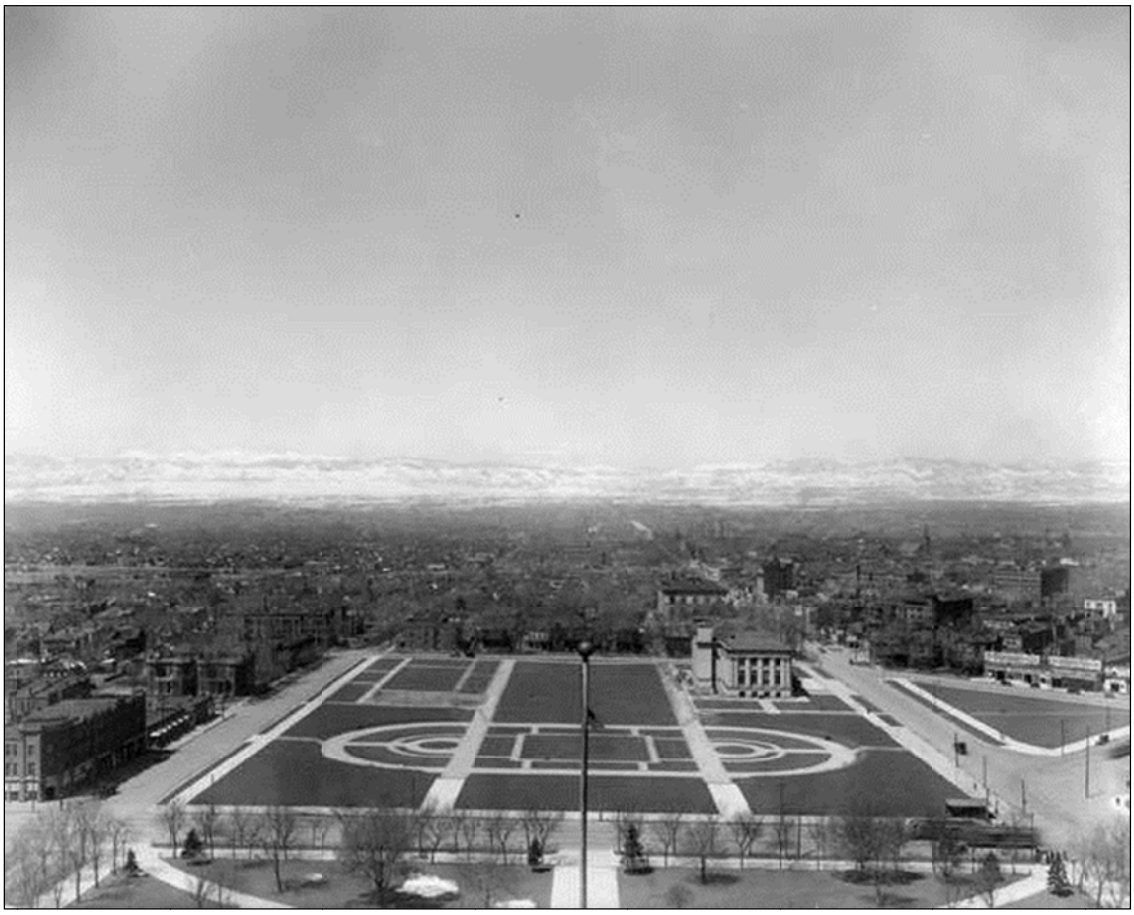


Figure 8. This 1913 view west from the Colorado State Capitol shows the influence of the Olmsted-Brunner plan in the earliest design of Civic Center Park (center). SOURCE: George L. Beam photograph, image number GB-7492, 1913. Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

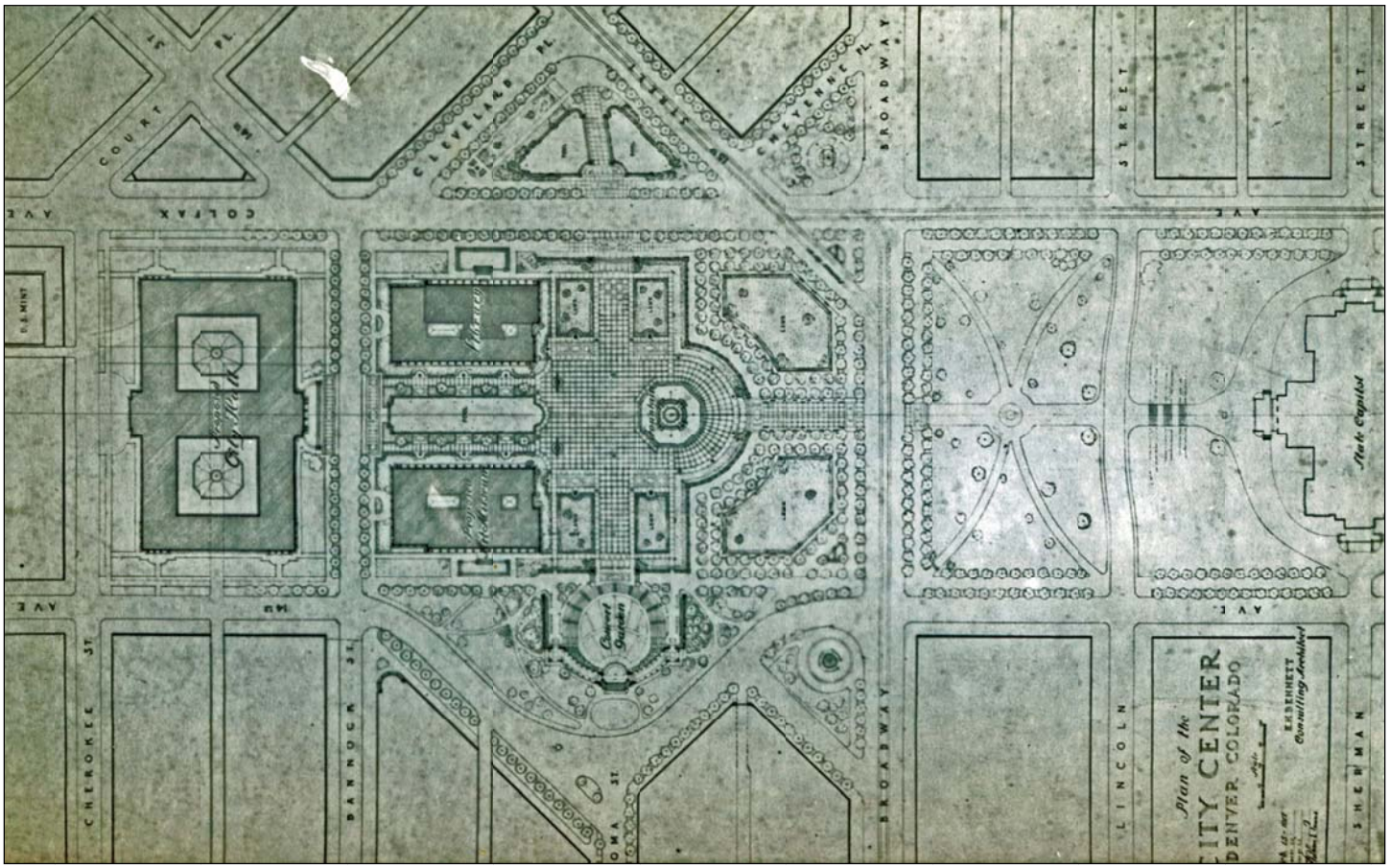


Figure 9. Bennett's 1917 plan for Civic Center Park included the principal east-west axis (left to right), a secondary north-south axis (lower center to upper center), a central monumental fountain, a concert garden in the semi-elliptical extension to the south, an enlarged public library with a building opposite to the south, a rectangular reflecting pool, and a large municipal building to the west (center left). SOURCE: Original plan from the Engineer's Office, City and County of Denver, reproduced in Gillis, "A History of the Civic Center of Denver." Courtesy of the University of Northern Colorado, Greeley.

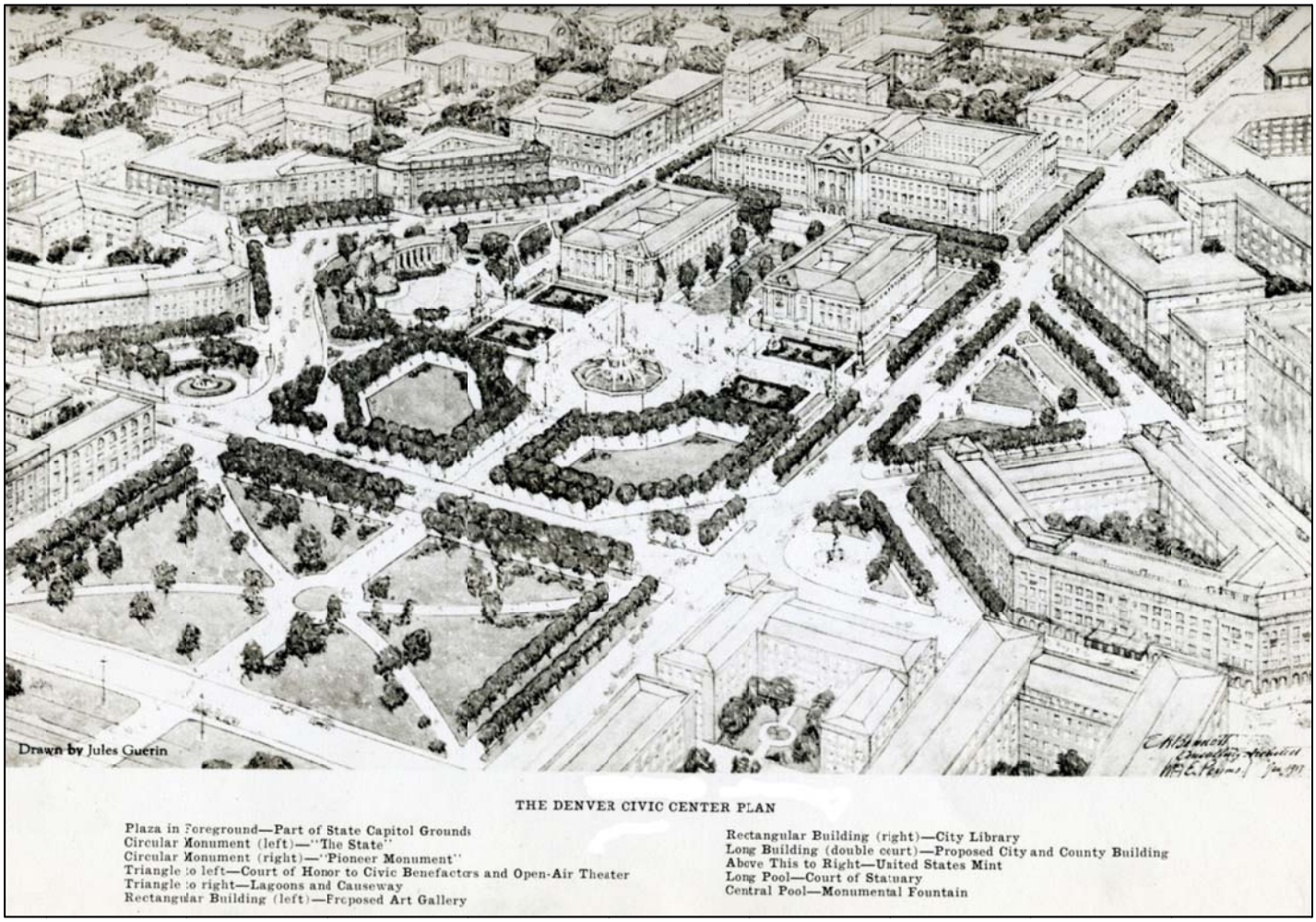


Figure 10. Bennett engaged Jules Guérin to produce this perspective drawing (view west-southwest) depicting his 1917 Plan. SOURCE: Original from the Engineer's Office, City and County of Denver, reproduced in Gillis, "A History of the Civic Center of Denver." Courtesy of the University of Northern Colorado, Greeley.

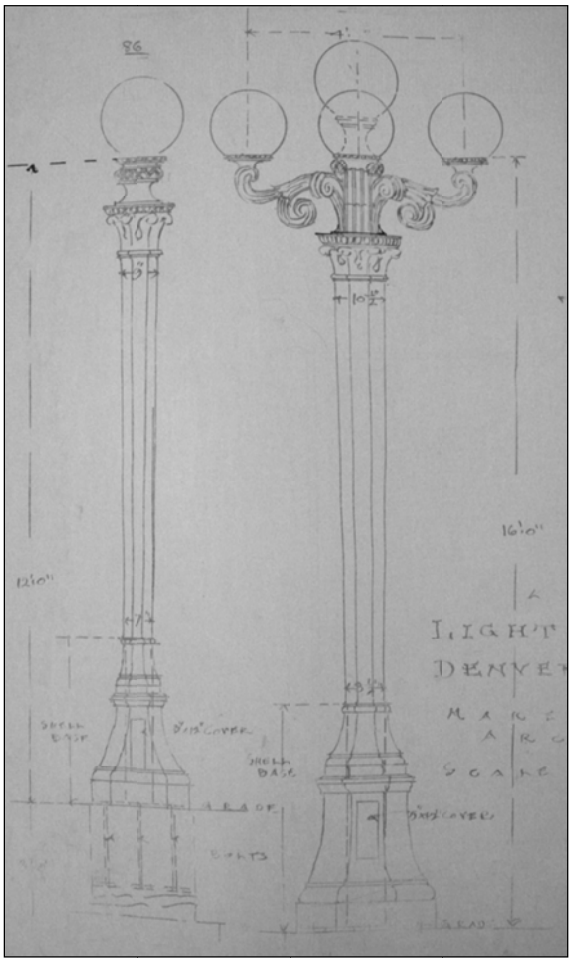


Figure 11 (left). Denver architects Marean and Norton designed the metal lampposts for Civic Center Park. SOURCE: Marean and Norton, architects, Lighting Fixtures, Denver Civic Center, Drawing, Denver Parks Department Collection, WH1316, OVFF248, Range FFC17, Shelf 5. Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

Figure 12 (right). Frederick MacMonnies's *Pioneer Monument* (1911) with the Denver Public Library (1910) to the southwest (at left). SOURCE: Rocky Mountain Photo Company photograph, undated (ca. 1911), image number X-28771. Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

Figure 2. Ca. 1910 view of the recently completed Colorado State Capitol and Lincoln Park showing borders of deciduous trees, the terraced west lawn (center), and the 1898 Colorado Volunteers Flagpole (at right). SOURCE: L.C. McClure photograph, image number MCC-1015, ca. 1910. Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

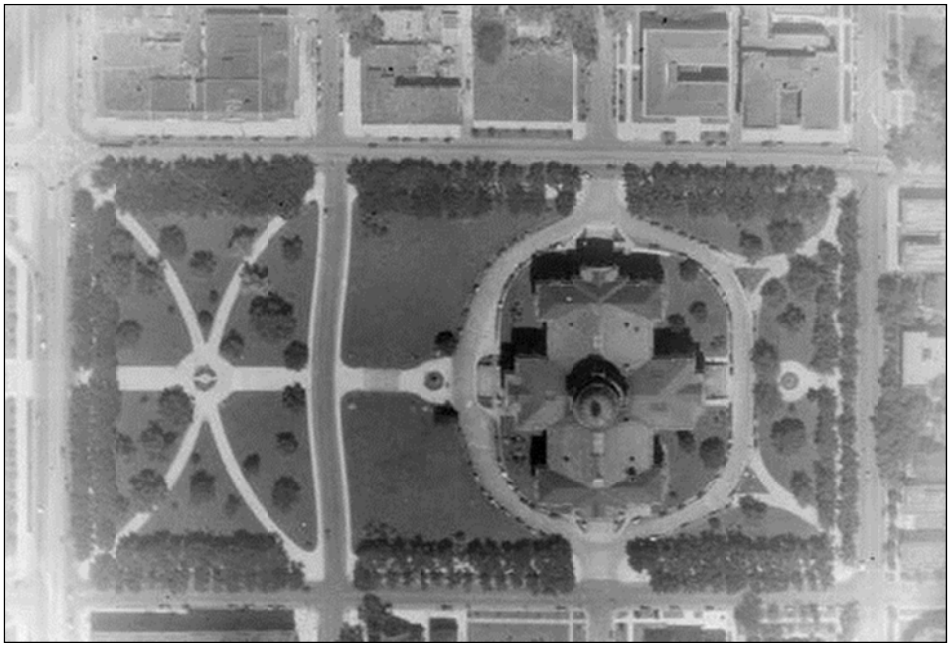


Figure 14. This early 1920s aerial view shows the layout of the Colorado State Capitol grounds (at right) and Lincoln Park (at left). SOURCE: Harry H. Buckwalter photograph, image number CHS-B1957. Courtesy of History Colorado, the Colorado Historical Society.

Figure 15. 1920s view of the *Colorado Soldiers Monument* (1909) and a pair of Civil War–era cannons on the west lawn of the Colorado State Capitol with the Colorado State Office Building in the distance (at right). SOURCE: L.C. McClure photograph collection, image number MCC-2873, undated (ca. 1920s). Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

Figure 16. Late afternoon shadows cross the gravel paths in Civic Center Park in this late 1920s view. Set upon granite pedestals, *Broncho Buster* and *On the War Trail* (at right) mark opposite sides of the transverse north-south axis. To the east, the balustrade of Broadway Terrace (center right) and the Colorado State Capitol (center left) are visible. SOURCE: L.C. McClure photograph, image number MCC-3024, ca. 1929. Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

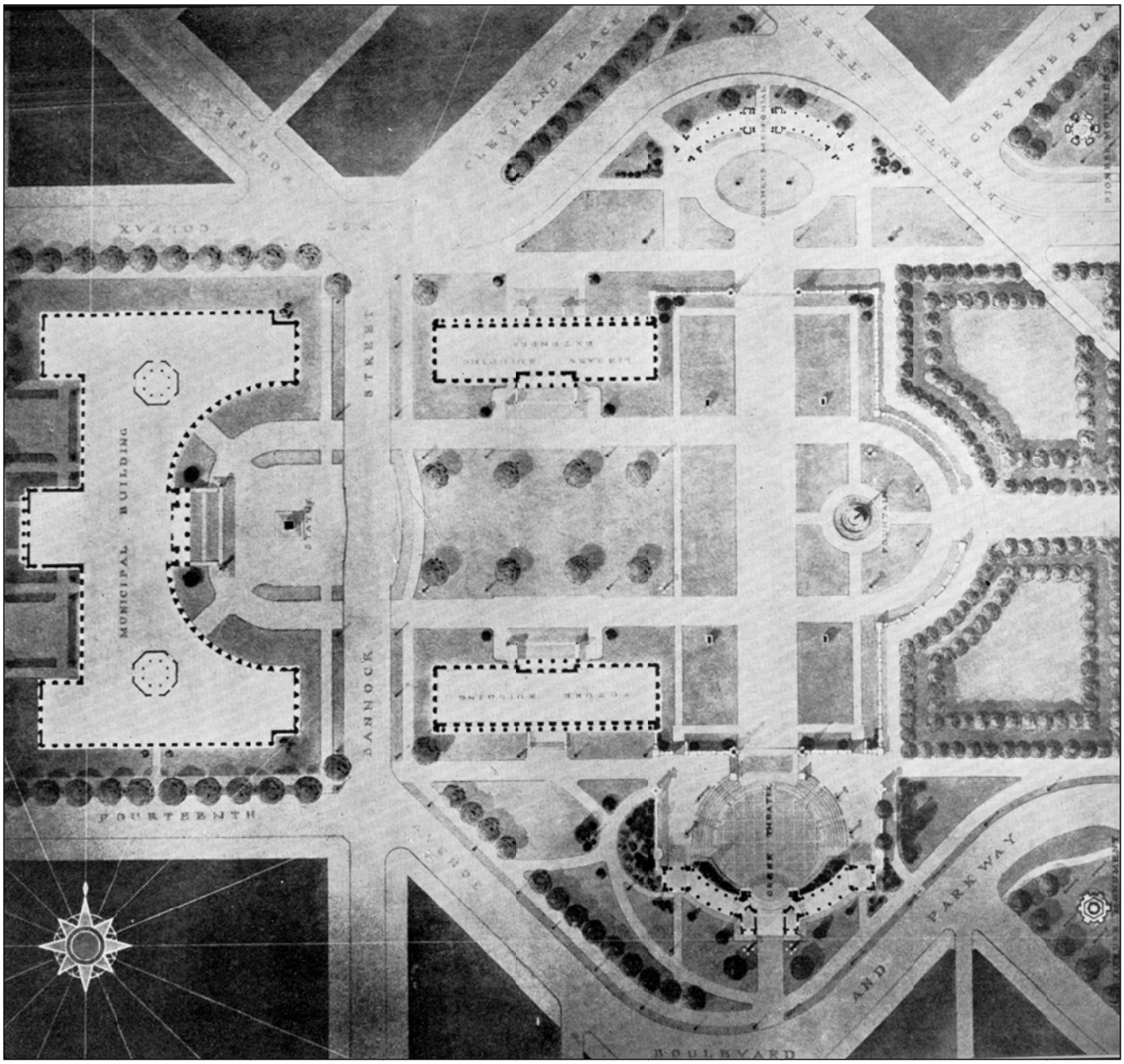


Figure17. The 1925Allied Architects Association plan for the western portion of the Denver Civic Center proposed a curvilinear entrance court and an open view across the Great Lawn framed by two rows of deciduous trees. SOURCE: Original plan from the Engineer's Office, City and County of Denver, reproduced in Gillis, "A History of the Civic Center of Denver." Courtesy of the University of Northern Colorado, Greeley.

Figure 18. This oblique aerial view northwest shows the Denver Civic Center as it was realized by the early 1930s. Colfax Avenue extends from the upper left to lower right north of the city-county building (upper left) and statehouse (lower right). Broadway cuts diagonally from the lower left to upper right forming the boundary between Lincoln Park and Civic Center Park. SOURCE: Denver Photo Company photograph, image number X-23989, ca. 1931-35. Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

Figure 19. This oblique aerial view shows the west end of the Denver Civic Center in the early 1930s . Aligned with the principal east-west axis, it extends from Lincoln Park (at lower center), through Civic Center Park with its north-south transverse axis (in the center), to the Denver City and County Building (at upper center). SOURCE: Denver Photo Company photograph, image number Z-2089. Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

Figure 20. From its completion, the Greek Theater hosted concerts, plays, political speeches, religious observances, and other activities. Shown here is a 1920s band contest sponsored by the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. SOURCE: George L. Beam photograph, image number GB-5115, ca. 1920s. Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

Figure 21. The completed Denver City and County Building is shown here from the Broadway Terrace balustrade, with the *Broncho Buster* statue (at left). SOURCE: Image number X-20525, undated (ca. late 1930s), WHC album #111. Courtesy of the Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library.

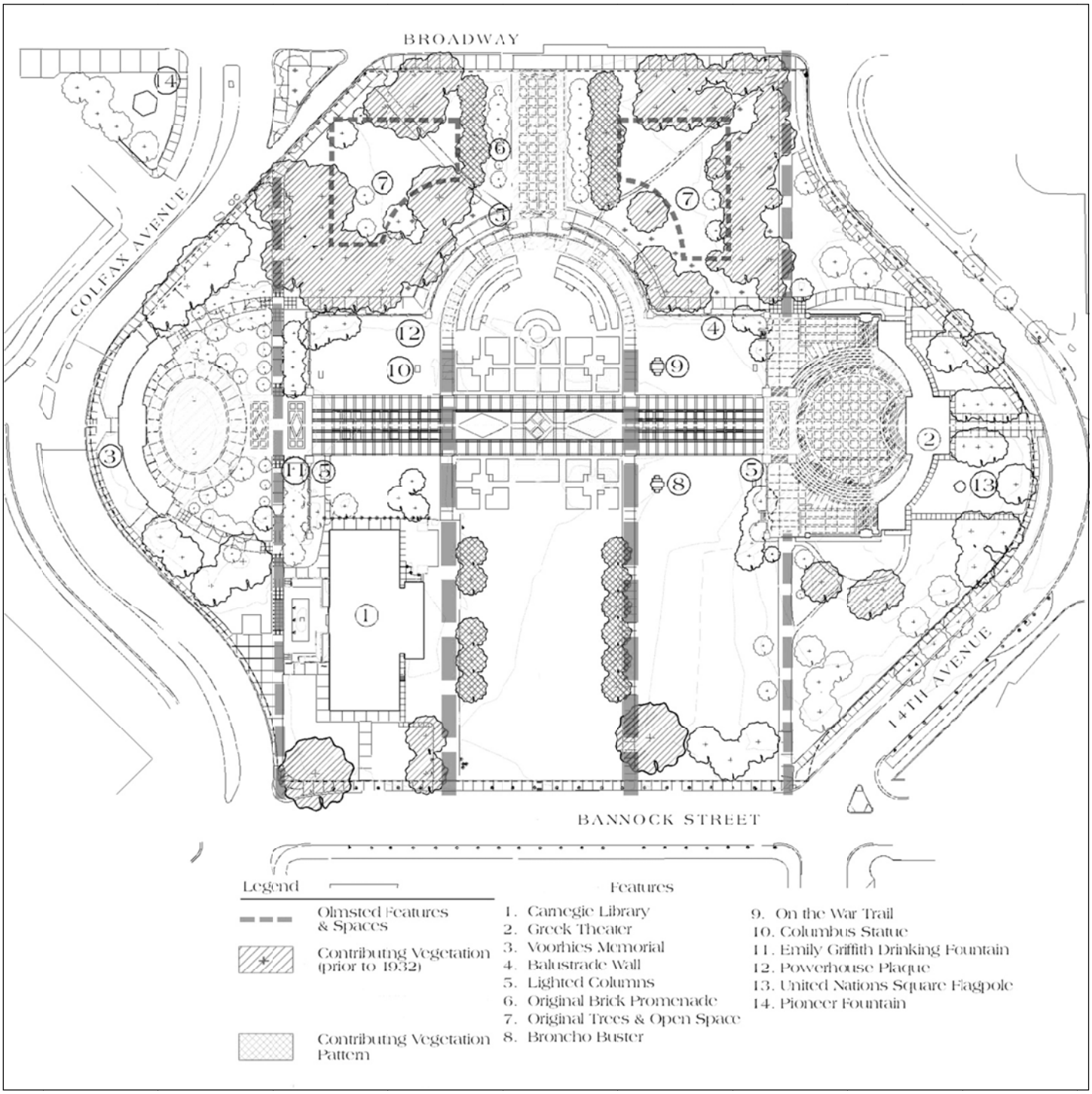
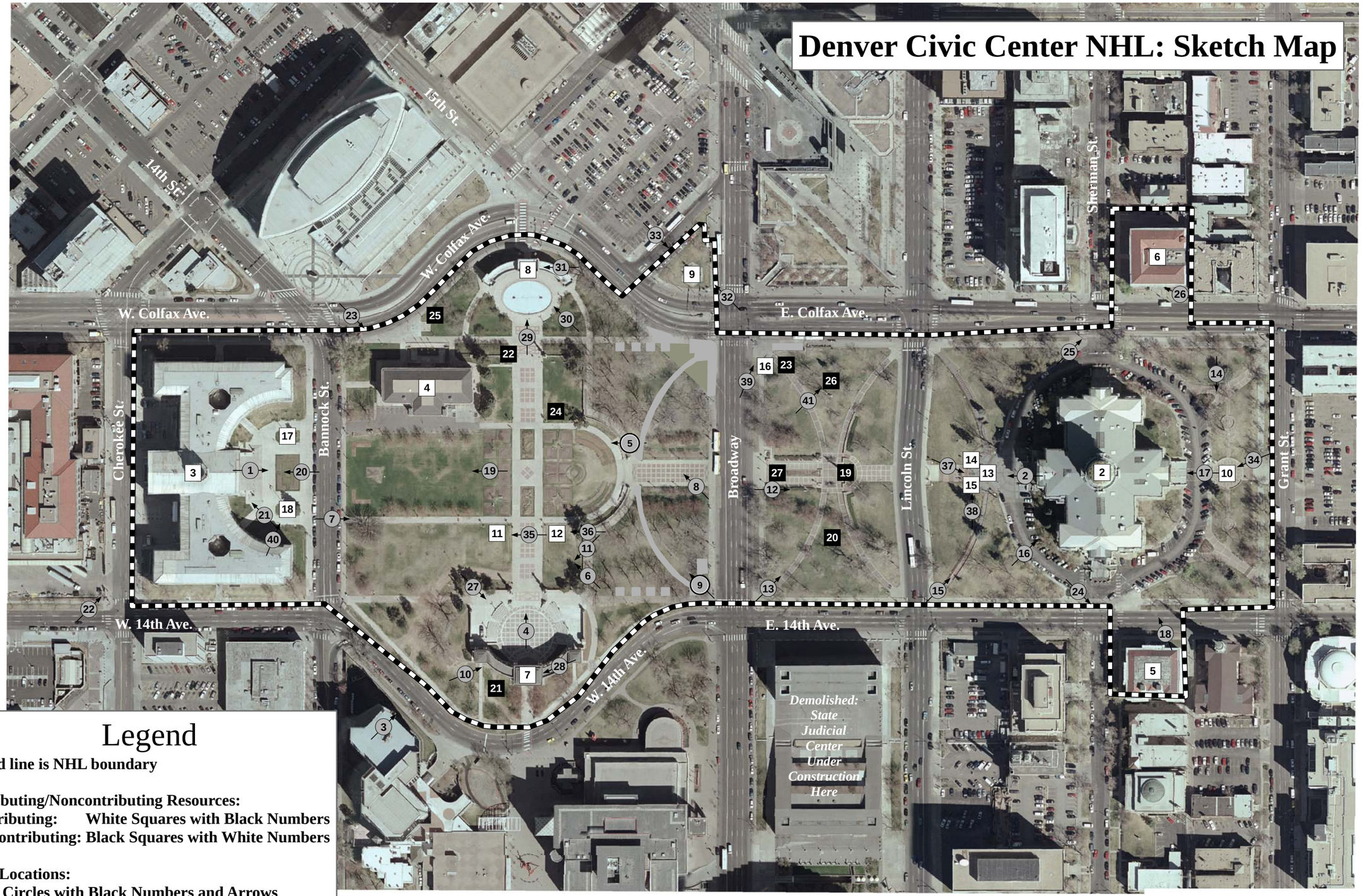


Figure 22. The 2009 *Design Guidelines* for Civic Center Park identified trees present in 1932 (hatched) and contributing patterns of trees found in the same locations as the pre-1932 trees (cross-hatched). The north-south axis runs left to right. SOURCE: *Denver's Civic Center Design Guidelines*, 2009 (simplified and converted to black and white). Courtesy of the City and County of Denver and Mundus Bishop Design, Inc.

Denver Civic Center NHL: Sketch Map



Legend

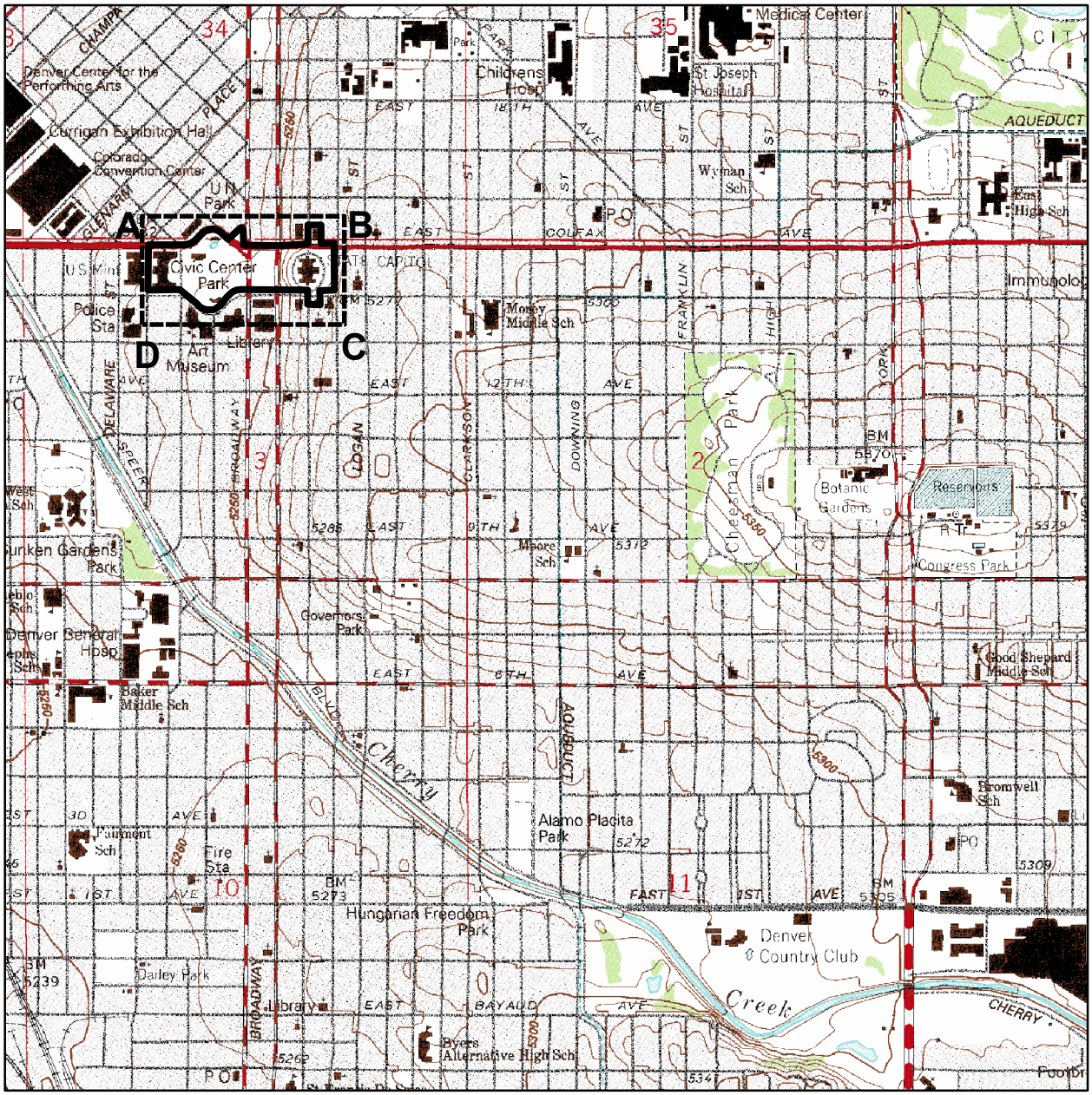
Dashed line is NHL boundary

Contributing/Noncontributing Resources:
Contributing: White Squares with Black Numbers
Noncontributing: Black Squares with White Numbers

Photo Locations:
Gray Circles with Black Numbers and Arrows

Base: DenverMaps GIS, aerial orthophoto, 2004.
Edited to reflect 2011 changes.

Denver Civic Center NHL: USGS Location Map



USGS Location Map. This extract of the Englewood, Colorado, 7.5' USGS quadrangle map shows the boundary of the Denver Civic Center NHL district (solid black line) and its bounding polygon ABCD (dashed black line).

0 1,000 2,000 Feet