

7. The World Class City—City Planning and Reinvestment, 1983-2014

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7.1. Introduction¹

Denver's most recent era, 1983-2014, presents two sharply contrasting phases—a period of overbuilding, economic collapse, population loss, and slow recovery (1983-90) and a time of substantial population growth, neighborhood revival, and unprecedented civic and private investment (1990-2014). The city lost nearly 50,000 inhabitants between 1970 and 1990 but then added almost 200,000 people between 1990 and 2014. Denver ended the period as the nation's twenty-first most populous city with a population of 663,862 and a rapidly expanding economy. Writing in 1990, historians Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel captured the mood of the era at its fulcrum:

As the 1990s dawned the metropolitan area seemed to be stuck in a nearly motionless car at a low point on the roller coaster. Despite an economy reminiscent of the 1860s, the 1890s, and the 1930s, Denverites hoped to resume their uphill climb. In the 1860s they built railroads to pull them out of their slump; in the 1890s they realized the importance of diversity; in the 1930s they looked to the federal government to bail them out. In the 1990s they dreamed old dreams on a grand scale: They hoped that the government would continue to spend; they expected that a new convention center would lure more tourists; and they started building a great airport.²

To lead the city through this turbulent period, voters elected four Democrats: Federico Peña (1983-91), Wellington Webb (1991-2003), John Hickenlooper (2003-11), and Michael Hancock (2011-present). The era saw an unprecedented expansion in public facilities, including the nation's largest airport, a convention center (subsequently doubled in size), state and city justice centers covering a total of three city blocks, several new or expanded museums, and three new venues for professional football, basketball/hockey, and baseball teams. Denver voters approved billions of dollars in bond measures to support these civic investments. The Mile High City was part of significant events, raising its visibility and its hopes of becoming a world-class city. Denver welcomed the first pope to visit the city, John Paul II, who addressed one of the largest assemblages of people in the state's history in 1993. It served as a venue for a summit of world leaders, including President Bill Clinton, in 1997. Citizens celebrated two Super Bowl football victories by the Broncos in 1997 and 1998. Denver hosted the Democratic National Convention that chose the nation's first African-American presidential nominee in 2008, and in 2012 the city served as the site of one of the presidential debates.

The sites of Stapleton International Airport, Lowry Air Force Base, Elitch Gardens, and the long-neglected Central Platte Valley were re-developed with a mix of residential and commercial uses. City planning assumed greater importance and garnered a greater percentage of the budget, producing a blueprint for future growth and development based upon the first comprehensive rezoning of the city since 1956. Former industrial and warehouse areas were revived and gentrified for housing, services, and entertainment. Residential infill construction grew in importance and significantly changed the character of some inner city neighborhoods. Historic preservation, bolstered by creation of the State Historical Fund, came of age, resulting in new local historic districts and individual landmarks and providing direction and funding for repurposing historic buildings. At the end of the era, legalization of recreational marijuana created a significant, sometimes controversial, new industry and source of tax revenue, whose reuse of historic buildings and attraction of new residents and tourists impacted the city.

7.2. The End of Boom Times and Descent into Recession, 1983-90

Population Growth Slows

The City and County of Denver recorded its first decennial population loss in 1980. The Census Bureau enumerated 492,694 inhabitants in that year, a drop of 22,000 persons (4.3 percent) from its 1970 population of 514,678.³ Denver ranked as the twenty-fourth largest city in the country in 1980. The Census Bureau estimated the city experienced negative net migration of more than 66,000 persons during the 1970s, while surrounding suburban counties posted positive net migration of nearly 143,000 people.⁴

Like other historic urban centers, downtown Denver faced new challenges in the years after World War II as the number of automobiles and the pace of suburban growth accelerated dramatically, offering new opportunities for living, shopping, and working outside the city center. Urban areas experienced disinvestment, encouraged by government policies favoring suburban development. Denver's preeminence as the region's focus of commerce, hotels, and offices diminished. The 1955 completion of Cherry Creek Shopping Center had created strong competition for downtown department stores. Another blow came with the 1962 construction of the Denver Tech Center, which represented an alternative site for a concentration of office buildings. Major hotels located facilities near Stapleton International Airport or along the southeast corridor, and by 1989 downtown Denver contained only seven of the region's top twenty-five hotels.⁵

To stem the loss of downtown business the city hired master architect I.M. Pei to design a 1982 transit/pedestrian mall for 16th Street,(5DV.7044), but even that remarkable urban landscape could not reverse the suburban trend and restore the commercial status of the downtown.⁶ Denver did, however, benefit from the presence of major oil companies such as Gulf, Mobil, Chevron, Phillips, and Amoco. The attendant construction of office space to house them changed the face of downtown.⁷

As a result of these shifts Denver accounted for only 30 percent of the region's population in 1980, compared with 78 percent in 1940. Despite the loss of people to the suburbs in the 1970s, the city remained predominantly white. In 1980 a total of 66 percent of Denverites categorized themselves as white, 19 percent as Hispanic, 12 percent African American, and 2 percent as other races. In 1980 almost a quarter of the county's civilian workers held professional or related positions, while only about 12 percent were employed in manufacturing.⁸ Denver's economy continued to focus on its role as a regional center of services, transportation, processing, business, and government offices.

Racial Discrimination and the Impact of School Busing

Much of the city's 1970s population decline was attributable to families with children leaving the city for suburban counties to avoid the impacts of court-mandated school busing designed to integrate Denver's public schools. In 1969 plaintiffs in the federal court case of *Keyes vs. School District No. 1* alleged Denver Public Schools (DPS) had purposely promoted a system of segregated schools, especially in heavily African-American northeast Denver. The U.S. District Court agreed with the plaintiffs and ordered mandatory busing as a remedy to achieve racial balance. In a 1973 appeal of the case, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the lower court, ordering desegregation of the entire school system and placing the district under federal court oversight. School busing began in 1974 and substantially impacted DPS enrollment. From a peak of 97,781 students in 1970, of whom 54 percent were white, the district lost about 30,000 pupils by 1980 and dropped to approximately 40 percent white.⁹ In 1986 historians Lyle Dorsett and Michael G. McCarthy called the school busing conflict "one of the bitterest in Denver's recent life."¹⁰

As the controversy over school busing raged, a movement to curtail Denver's ability to annex new territory arose. Since any land annexed into the City and County became part of its school district, suburban areas feared being drawn into forced busing. The 1974 "Poundstone Amendment," to the state constitution,

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named after suburban Republican politician Freda Poundstone, effectively ended Denver's ability to gain new territory by requiring countywide voter approval of an annexation, rather than just support of those living in the affected land.¹¹ No new annexations to Denver occurred until 1988.

Economic Boom

Despite the impact of busing and population losses, the city economy boomed during the 1970s. The Arab-Israeli War of 1973 resulted in an Arab oil embargo of the United States, stimulating domestic energy exploration and production. Denver was well-situated geographically to become a major regional headquarters and service center for energy exploration. Thousands of oil and gas exploration and production companies located in the city during the mid- to late-1970s. The economy, buoyed by the flourishing oil industry, supported the redevelopment of Denver's central business district and the expansion of suburban neighborhoods. Historians Dorsett and McCarthy argued that the limit on new annexations by Denver, combined with its need for an expanding tax base, "placed the burden squarely on the only potential growth area left: its downtown. Overnight, the vertical city was born."¹²

Fifty buildings were erected in downtown Denver from 1973 to 1982, with more than \$2 billion invested in skyscrapers between 1979 and 1982 alone. Office space increased by 103 percent in Denver between 1970 and 1978, compared with an average 38 percent rise for twenty large cities across the nation.¹³ Savings and loan institutions advanced millions for additional construction; between 1982 and 1983 Denver-based Silverado Savings (which failed in 1988) more than doubled its outstanding loans from \$51 million to \$105 million.

Considerable activity occurred within the Denver Urban Renewal Authority's (DURA) Skyline Urban Renewal District. Established by the City in 1958 as an independent agency, DURA pursued projects to redevelop and rehabilitate what were considered "blighted" areas.¹⁴ The Skyline Project encompassed twenty-seven city blocks bounded by Speer Boulevard, Market, 20th, and Champa streets. In a process echoed in cities across the country, DURA's project displaced lower income people and razed some of the city's most significant downtown historic buildings in an effort to attract new amenities and development. Some of DURA's noteworthy Skyline projects included the three-block linear Skyline Park (5DV.8274) designed by influential American landscape architect Lawrence Halprin (1973; dramatically altered in 2003); Sakura Square, a multi-use development anchored by the Tri-State Denver Buddhist Temple and featuring Japanese goods and services (5DV.2016, 1973); the Denver Center for the Performing Arts, a complex of theaters for cultural productions (5DV.1900, 1978); and Writer Square (5DV.1904, 1981), a mixed use development by housing builder George Writer at 16th and Larimer streets.¹⁵ Roughly one-third of Skyline blocks remained vacant in 1977, but by 1985 they were transformed with the addition of more than a dozen major new developments.¹⁶

The final years of the energy boom witnessed completion of several large downtown office buildings, many for oil industry workers. City Center 4 (5DV.1802, 1983, later known as 1801 California Street) consisted of two fifty-four-story interlocking octagonal towers clad in panels of granite and concrete aggregate. The firm of Metz Train Youngren designed the building. The fifty-six-story gray granite Republic Plaza Building (5DV.1735), designed by the internationally renowned firm of Skidmore Owings & Merrill (SOM), became Denver's tallest building upon its completion in 1983. SOM was known throughout Colorado for creating the iconic Cadet Chapel and preparing the master plan for the U.S. Air Force Academy campus in Colorado Springs. Only 15 percent of its available space was rented that year. Philip Johnson, considered one of the most influential American architects of the postwar era and famous for his own "Glass House" and the AT&T Headquarters in New York featuring a "Chippendale top," designed One United Bank Center (5DV.1866, later Norwest Tower and Wells Fargo Tower), a fifty-two-story office building completed in 1984 just east of the central business district at East 17th Avenue and Sherman Street. The pink granite building—perhaps the skyline's most recognizable—became known locally as the "cash register building" for its iconic

curving top.¹⁷ The \$330 million Tabor Center (5DV.4214), described as “the last of the great oil-boom projects,” opened in 1984-85 and included a shopping arcade paralleling the 16th Street transit mall, a Westin Hotel, and an office tower. The depressed economy stalled construction of a planned second office tower.¹⁸ The Rouse Company, pioneers in suburban enclosed mall construction in the 1950s and major developer of “urban festival marketplaces” in the 1970s and early 1980s, planned the 110,000-square-foot Tabor Center. The project was viewed as on the “cutting edge of urban retail centers,” featuring many national retailers and becoming one of Colorado’s most popular tourist attractions.¹⁹

While the quantity of high-rise architecture undeniably grew during the period, the quality was open to debate. Architecture and design commentator Michael Leccese judged, “Denver saw its downtown ravaged by a 1970s energy boom, which, over the next decade, resulted in the hasty construction of a banal, Houston-like skyline.”²⁰ He found that as many as eighteen construction cranes at a time worked in downtown, and several major architectural firms, such as Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, opened branch offices in the city.

Economic Collapse

Historians Leonard and Noel observed: “Denver’s economy, like the penny-stock business, resembled a meringue mountain of hyperbole sweetened with greed and blind faith.”²¹ Historically, Colorado’s economy had experienced ups and downs, and the oil crash in the mid-1980s revealed modern times were not immune from characteristic boom-and-bust cycles. Between 1980 and 1986 the price of crude oil dropped from about \$36 per barrel to \$9 per barrel.²² Western Slope shale oil projects shut down, and energy companies went out of business or moved. Downtown Denver had 7.5 million square feet of office space under construction in 1983, but the collapse of the international oil market left few takers. The excess office inventory and depressed economic conditions curtailed high-rise construction for the remainder of the 1980s and well into the 1990s, with planned downtown buildings cancelled or placed on indefinite hold.

The 1980s comprised Denver’s worst economic downturn since the Great Depression. In addition to high levels of downtown office vacancies, the city experienced increasing unemployment, rising business failures, dropping home prices, and soaring home foreclosures. In 1984 Denver’s 28.1 percent downtown office vacancy rate led the nation.²³ In 1985, home prices dropped for the first time since the mid-1960s.²⁴ Colorado led the nation in business failures in 1985.²⁵ Initial foreclosure filings rose from 118 in 1978 to 1,151 in 1981 and topped out at more than four thousand annually in 1987 and 1988. Foreclosure initiations did not drop under a thousand until 1994.²⁶ Annual average unemployment reached a high of 8 percent in 1987, and the total size of the labor force fell from 301,000 in 1983 to 260,000 in 1989, suggesting many had stopped seeking work or moved elsewhere.²⁷

Imagining a Great City: The Peña Administration

In 1983, thirty-six year-old Federico Peña, a northwest Denver Democratic State Representative, challenged seventy-two-year-old incumbent William McNichols, who had entered office in 1968. The 1983 mayoral race mirrored the 1947 contest, when the youthful Quigg Newton ousted long-time incumbent Benjamin Stapleton. Peña exhorted voters to “Imagine a Great City,” pledging greater emphasis on city planning and civic investment. The city’s inadequate response to the 1982 Christmas Eve blizzard, which shut down the city for two days, dashed McNichols’ hopes of reelection.²⁸ The mayor finished third in the general election, and Peña defeated District Attorney Dale Tooley in a runoff vote. Observing that Latinos and African Americans accounted for just 19 percent of Denver’s voting age population, political scientist Rodney B. Hero deemed Peña’s citywide election by a majority white electorate notable as “among the first such outcomes in a major U.S. city.”²⁹

In his inaugural address Peña proclaimed, “The city of Denver has already entered the next stage of its historical development.”³⁰ He expanded the planning staff, encouraged neighborhood organizations to

register with the city, and emphasized good design for new construction projects. To stimulate the lagging economy, rather than returning to large-scale urban renewal, the city embarked on a series of “strategic investments” in major public improvement projects to boost its financial outlook. Ambitious long-term goals included building a convention center and new airport and improving neighborhoods.

The planning and initial construction of Roche Dinkeloo’s Denver Performing Arts Complex (5DV.1900, DCPA) started during the McNichols administration, and a key component, the \$13.2 million Boettcher Concert Hall (5DV.1898), opened in March 1978. The celebrated New Haven, Connecticut, firm founded by Kevin Roche and John Dinkeloo assumed the practice of Eero Saarinen after his death and completed major works he had initiated, as well as thirty-eight corporate headquarters, museums, master plans, and numerous other important projects. During Federico Peña’s first term concepts for completing the facility took shape, and the city issued \$26 million in bonds toward the project in 1984. A final plan for the facility followed in 1987, including reuse of the 1952 Auditorium Arena (5DV.521) with a state-of-the-art interior renovation creating the Buell Theater, which opened in 1991. In addition, Denver’s Semple, Brown, Roberts, noted for their work with historic buildings in the city, renovated the exterior of the 1908 Auditorium Theater, while firms from Cleveland, New York, and Chicago worked on the interior design and acoustics.³¹

Under Peña the city started reclamation of the Central Platte Valley. Removal of the multi-track railyards, relocation and consolidation of the mainline, and environmental remediation began in the mid-1980s. The mayor highlighted the valley’s potential in his 1985 State of the City address:

No other city in America is redeveloping 600 acres of land in the center of the city. The Platte Valley project will do more than offer Denver residents the chance to reclaim the historic roots of the city and the river on whose banks it was founded. This redevelopment offers unique opportunity to provide housing, open space, employment, and new tax revenues that will benefit the city for decades to come.³²

Peña considered his inability to attract a major shopping complex to downtown as his worst economic failure. But he was proud of the impact of the revitalized \$250 million Cherry Creek shopping center, completed in 1990 to help the facility maintain its position as a profitable regional attraction. The project also demonstrated the mayor’s belief in using citizen committees to win neighborhood support for large undertakings.³³

For most of Peña’s larger efforts, such as the Colorado Convention Center, new airport, and acquiring a major league baseball team, the road to completion was bumpy. Voters strongly rejected a plan to create a convention center near Union Station in 1985, leading the mayor to seek citizen input for future projects. In 1986 the *Downtown Area Plan* became a guide for growth, recommending such things as rezoning Lower Downtown (LoDo), ensuring downtown’s place as the regional center, and constructing light rail. Plans for a new Denver airport generated great controversy, coming at a time of declining air-passenger counts at Stapleton, but voters approved the project.³⁴ A 1989 *Comprehensive Plan* promoted improving parks and controlling air pollution, and advocated: “Denver must be built to a human scale, and to inviting standards of attractiveness.”³⁵

Planning for a New Airport

The future of Stapleton International Airport posed an immediate challenge for the new Peña administration. The city had established the airfield in 1929 east of today’s Martin Luther King Junior Boulevard and Quebec Street. Passenger traffic grew rapidly after World War II, and Stapleton expanded its land area and facilities. By 1988 Stapleton ranked as the nation’s fifth busiest airport when thirty million passengers passed through the facility. Residents and travelers found its close-in location

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convenient, but aircraft noise disturbed residents in nearby Park Hill, and its runway alignment was hampered by bad weather operations.

Planning for the future of the facility began in 1978 when the city asked the Denver Regional Council of Governments (DRCOG), the regional planning agency, to examine alternatives. DRCOG studied several possible solutions, and in 1983 settled on two options: expansion onto the southern tier of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal to the north or construction of a new airport on the vacant plains to the northeast.³⁶ The arsenal, a 1942 World War II facility that produced incendiary munitions, continued to operate in the postwar era, manufacturing insecticides and rocket fuel and storing nerve gas and mustard agent. Shell Chemical Company production of insecticides ceased in 1982, but the facility's decades-long legacy of ground and water pollution led to its designation as an Environmental Protection Agency Superfund site in 1987. Expanding Stapleton onto the Arsenal raised concerns over the high cost and lengthy time required to remediate pollution to acceptable levels. While their newspapers editorially supported the new airport option, columnists Gene Amole of the *Rocky Mountain News* and Tom Gavin of the *Denver Post* deemed an airfield on the plains less convenient and more expensive than expanding Stapleton. They predicted cost overruns and real estate speculation. Amole alone wrote more than two hundred columns critical of the new airport.³⁷

Peña proposed construction of a new airfield twenty-four miles northeast of downtown—Denver International Airport (DIA)—to replace Stapleton. Voters in Adams County (1988) and Denver (1989) supported Denver's annexation of fifty-three-square miles of Adams County for airport construction, and the city broke ground in September 1989.³⁸ Financing came from city-issued bonds funded by revenues from airport operations. At the peak of construction as many as nine thousand workers labored on the project.³⁹ Tucker Hart Adams, the chief economist at Colorado National Bank, judged the construction of DIA "the most important economic decision taken in this state in this century."⁴⁰

Stimulating the Economy

In the middle 1980s, while the planning process on the airport proceeded, the Peña administration sought other means of stimulating the city economy to stem job losses and reverse negative net migration. Mayor Peña focused on public spending to both stimulate economic growth and improve city infrastructure. Under President Ronald Reagan the federal government encouraged cities to adopt entrepreneurial approaches, informing them: "it is in their interests to concentrate on increasing their attractiveness to potential investors, residents, and visitors."⁴¹

Colorado Convention Center (5DV.6955). Peña proposed construction of a new downtown convention center to generate tourism dollars, boost the economy, and enhance Denver's competitiveness with other major cities. A 1984 action program characterized this endeavor as one of the major economic development projects in Denver during the decade.⁴² The \$126 million Colorado Convention Center opened in 1990 on four city blocks adjacent to Currigan Hall, the city's 1969 convention center. Prolific Denver architect Curtis Fentress designed the facility, which was financed by \$36 million in state money, city bonds, and increased sales taxes on lodging, car rentals, and restaurant meals.⁴³ Fentress Architects worked on Denver International Airport (1995), the Jefferson County Government Center (1993), and the 2013 Ralph L. Carr Colorado Judicial Center, as well as noted buildings throughout the United States. See further discussion under *Convention Center Expansion*, below.

Major League Baseball. Mayor Peña advocated strongly for Denver's acquisition of a major league baseball team, asserting "you have to have all the major sports teams in your city . . . if you're going to compete in the global marketplace."⁴⁴ The National League panel considering sites for major league baseball expansion favored cities with baseball-only, rather than shared, facilities. In response, the state created a stadium district authority that developed a financing plan to issue stadium bonds paid for by a

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0.1 percent sales tax within the six-county region. A majority of voters approved the scheme, but the measure lost in Denver.⁴⁵

Denver Grand Prix. This unusual economic stimulus effort, undertaken in the later years of the Peña Administration (1990-91), proved unsuccessful. Cable television owner Bill Daniels bankrolled the project to stage an Indy car race on the public streets surrounding Civic Center. The city subsidized the proposal on the theory that spending by race patrons would significantly add to city revenues. Race organizers cordoned off the City Beautiful-era landscape with chain link fencing and concrete barriers decorated with a black and white checkerboard design. Looking back on the event in 2001, the *Denver Post* concluded “Denver taxpayers were stuck holding a \$500,000 bill, downtown traffic was slowed for weeks, and Civic Center was trashed.”⁴⁶ In its two years of existence, the race lost \$8 million before filing for Chapter 11 bankruptcy.⁴⁷

Educational Buildings. Aside from the city government, other public entities erected facilities in the 1983-89 period that created jobs. While government budgets were limited, a few education-related buildings were built. Denver Public Schools opened four new schools in 1984: Marrama and Oakland elementary schools and King Middle School in the fast-growing Gateway-Green Valley Ranch neighborhood and Columbian Elementary School, which replaced an 1890s building (5DV.2081) in northwest Denver. The Auraria Higher Education Center completed its large North Classroom Building in 1987 at Speer Boulevard and Lawrence Street. Planned to replace the Tramway Building (5DV.140) on the east side of Speer, the new Hoover Berg Desmond-designed building became the focus of University of Colorado-Denver operations.

Residential Development in the 1980s

Fewer than eight thousand parcels were developed in Denver between 1983 and 1989.⁴⁸ The few concentrated areas of residential construction occurred in subdivisions on the city periphery. In the northeast quadrant of the city, the Montbello and Gateway-Green Valley Ranch neighborhoods experienced development. The southern part of Green Valley Ranch (below Green Valley Ranch Boulevard) saw clusters of parcels developed. In the southeast part of the city, most residential construction occurred in the Indian Creek and Hampden neighborhoods. The southwest corner of Denver, including the Fort Logan (Pinehurst Estates subdivision) and Marston (Glenbrook and Village West subdivisions) neighborhoods, also experienced development. Infill buildings tended to be generally small projects distributed fairly evenly throughout the city, often on vacant lots and displaying designs sympathetic to the existing character of the surrounding neighborhood, with the densest infill taking place in the northern part of the Cherry Creek neighborhood. Ken Schroepel, author of a popular blog about Denver’s infill construction and new development in the city, evaluated the amount of infill during the 1980s as “modest” and found the builders attempted to mimic the historic houses prevalent in the surrounding neighborhoods.⁴⁹

Historic Preservation Re-purposes Older Buildings

Historic preservation through adaptive re-use of historic buildings came of age in Denver in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 created the National Register of Historic Places as a means of recognizing properties for their significance to the nation. Colorado established its own State Register of Historic Properties in 1975. Federal investment tax credits further enhanced the appeal of older buildings to investors. Inspired by Gaslight Square in St. Louis, Dana Crawford became a pioneer in the business of historic preservation with her adaptive re-use of the 1400 block of Larimer Street. She formed Larimer Square Associates and re-made the block into an activity center of shops and restaurants in 1965-66.⁵⁰

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Denver enacted a historic preservation ordinance in 1967, and between 1970 and 1982 the city designated 138 individual buildings and 11 landmark districts, including Larimer Square (5DV.104, 1971) and the large Potter-Highlands residential district (5DV.85, 1979) in northwest Denver. During 1983-89, forty-three individual buildings and three districts became Denver Landmarks. The districts included the small Snell (1986) and Lafayette Street (1987) districts in east Denver, a substantial expansion of the Potter Highlands Historic District in northwest Denver in 1987, and creation of a Lower Downtown Historic District (5DV.47).⁵¹

Designation of the Lower Downtown Historic District in 1988 represented a notable historic preservation achievement of the 1980s. The area, one of the city's oldest neighborhoods, contained warehouses and other commercial buildings, but had fallen into neglect. Tattered Cover bookstore owner Joyce Meskis recalled: "It was quite gritty."⁵² Wynkoop Brewing Company (5DV.47.61), Bradford Publishing (5DV.47.169), and Stuart Buchanan Antiques (5DV.2853) became the first new ventures in LoDo in many years, "daring to open shop in an area of town that had been written off."⁵³ John Hickenlooper, laid off as a petroleum geologist in 1986, joined with partners in opening the Wynkoop, Colorado's first brewpub and Denver's first microbrewery, in Lower Downtown in October 1988. The creation of the historic district, over some owner objections, stimulated investment and adaptive re-use of buildings, and the area increasingly housed a vibrant mixture of restaurants, shops, galleries, small businesses, and urban lofts.

Denver Voters Support Taxes and Bond Issues for Civic Needs

Voters in the six-county region approved creation of the Scientific and Cultural Facilities District (SCFD) in 1988. The measure imposed a 0.1 percent sales tax to support cultural institutions and programs, including art, music, theatre, dance, zoology, botany, natural history, and cultural history. The SCFD continues to support both small and large cultural undertakings, including: the Denver Zoo, Denver Museum of Nature and Science, Denver Art Museum, Colorado Ballet, Denver Botanic Gardens, Denver Urban Gardens, Denver Film Society, Museum of Contemporary Art Denver, Cleo Parker Robinson Dance, and the Cherry Creek Arts Festival. SCFD distributions have grown since its creation, from the dispersal of \$13.8 million in 1989 to \$52 million in 2014.⁵⁴

The Denver electorate also proved generous in supporting bond issues in 1989-90 for many of the public works projects discussed above. In 1989, voters approved a \$242 million bond issue for improvement of streets, parks, Central Platte Valley development, and other city facilities, followed in 1990 by \$91.6 million for new or expanded libraries, \$199 million for public school improvements, and a sales tax for construction of a baseball stadium. In 2009 Denver Auditor Dennis Gallagher remarked that Denver voters have "a tradition of approving capital improvements for infrastructure (streets, sewage, etc.), libraries, municipal buildings, cultural facilities, parks and recreation facilities."⁵⁵ Bonds approved in the 1980s totaled \$182.8 million, followed by \$612.5 million in the 1990s.

Population Loss in the 1990s

The 1990 Census was the second consecutive enumeration to show a decline in Denver's population. The 1990 count was 467,610 persons, down 25,094 from the 1980 tally and 47,068 below that of 1970. Denver comprised 25 percent of the region's total population in 1990, a nearly complete reversal from the situation in 1940 when the city held 72 percent of the region's residents. The large suburban counties of Adams, Arapahoe, and Jefferson also showed the lingering impacts of the region's economic slowdown, posting a growth rate of 20.2 percent for the 1980s versus 56.2 percent for the previous decade. The percentage of whites within the city declined to 61 percent, while the Hispanic share rose to 23 percent. The percentage of blacks stayed the same at 12 percent, and persons of other races accounted for about 3 percent of the population.

7.3. Denver Slowly Recovers and Builds Civic Infrastructure, 1991-2002

Fewer than 300 parcels were developed in Denver each year between 1988 and 1991, levels lower than that recorded at the nadir of the Great Depression in 1934, when 315 parcels were built-out. Construction picked up in 1992, but the number of developed parcels in the city remained under one thousand through 1996. In their 1999 book, *Denver: The Modern City*, architectural historians Michael Paglia, Rodd Wheaton, and Diane Wray reported that “no new office buildings have been added to the downtown’s skyline in more than ten years, though a few small ones are now under construction.”⁵⁶ The number of parcels developed did not regain 1983 levels until 2000.⁵⁷ The large inventory of foreclosed homes and depressed housing prices provided little incentive for new residential construction during the first half of the 1990s. However, such factors did make Denver attractive to people relocating from other parts of the country. According to historian Phil Goodstein, the Denver region drew 100,000 Californians during the 1990-97 period: “Compared to vastly inflated California real estate prices, post-oil bust Denver had numerous housing bargains.”⁵⁸

Political Developments and the Webb Administration

Peña undertook needed planning, established priorities, and set many projects in motion during his first term, but when he ran for re-election in 1987 some voters were disappointed by what they saw as slow progress. Although the Denver Chamber of Commerce supported the mayor in 1987, he finished second in the general election to Republican Don Bain before managing a narrow victory in a runoff. In his second term a number of important projects were initiated or came to realization, including the new airport, Denver Center for the Performing Arts, Cherry Creek Shopping center revitalization, baseball stadium, and historic designation of LoDo. In November 1990, Mayor Peña stunned the city with his announcement that he would not run for a third term in 1991, stating: “We had a very specific and aggressive agenda and strategy from the very beginning, and we stuck to it.”⁵⁹ Considered a virtual certainty for a third term with the accomplishments of his second term, Peña’s withdrawal created an open race for the city’s top office. Many of the projects planned and initiated during the Peña administration were completed under the tenure of his successor.

Observers considered African-American District Attorney Norm Early the frontrunner in the contest, which included Republican businessman Don Bain and Wellington Webb, the African-American City Auditor. While City and County elections are nominally nonpartisan, the city traditionally voted overwhelmingly Democratic, and a Republican had not served as mayor since Will Nicholson left office in 1959. The electorate did not polarize along racial lines in the 1991 election: Republican Bain was eliminated in the general election, leaving Early facing Webb in the runoff. Although outspent more than two-to-one, Webb engaged in a grass-roots walking campaign of the entire city, drawing 58 percent of the vote in the runoff to become Denver’s first black mayor. He served three terms, easily winning re-election in 1995 and 1999.⁶⁰

Once in office, Mayor Webb initially shifted gears from the Peña administration’s planning of visionary “mega projects” to a more businesslike approach of providing basic city services. He stated: “You’ve got to do the fundamentals before you can do the fancy stuff. What people are going to find is I’m very methodical and very pragmatic.”⁶¹ Webb planned to continue some major initiatives, such as revitalizing downtown, but indicated, “I think we have to focus on the people who are already here.”⁶² This approach took the form of concentrating on quality of life issues such as adequate police protection, trash pick-up, and other small things that impacted daily life. The *Denver Post* called the changing of administrations a “transition from glitter and flash to gutters and trash.”⁶³

Webb’s early priorities included increasing spending for Denver General Hospital and the police department, ending court-ordered busing that drove whites to the suburbs, improving preschool and

after-school opportunities, and supporting the city's middle class.⁶⁴ He also inherited the task of completing the new Denver International Airport. Despite his pragmatic goals, Webb also envisioned a City Beautiful approach to creating new parks and open spaces.⁶⁵ During his first years in office, the ailing economy required restricted city budgets and municipal job and program cuts. Factors in the economic decline included the cost of municipal government; inflated prices for gas, utilities, and housing; required expenditures for services around the new airport; expanding social service needs; and increased staffing at newly completed development projects.⁶⁶

In two subsequent terms, as the economy recovered, Webb pursued a building program through bond projects and Denver Urban Renewal Authority (DURA) efforts focused on downtown and the Central Platte Valley. He composed a list of fifty downtown buildings to redevelop.⁶⁷ The Ocean Journey Aquarium, the Pepsi Center sports arena, and the new Six Flags/Elitch Gardens amusement park occupied sites in the Central Platte Valley, where the administration poured \$1 billion into access, parks, water system conservation, and recreation, as well as subsidizing development projects.⁶⁸ The surrounding neighborhood drew condominiums, apartment buildings, and retail and service enterprises. In his inaugural speech at the beginning of his third term in office in July 1999, Webb looked back over his eight previous years and called the 1990s "the Denver Decade," a golden age of development that resulted in completion of numerous major civic projects.⁶⁹

Voters in 1999 continued investing in the city, approving an \$850 million bond issue for improvement of the zoo and expansion of light rail, doubling the size of the convention center, and building a highly anticipated addition to the Denver Art Museum, whose director called it "the most important architectural project in the world today."⁷⁰ Webb also commissioned public sculpture to grace new facilities. The Mayor attributed Denver's growing success to the selection of wise leaders who provided a vision of a better city rather than as simply the by-product of a growing economy; some speculated Denver had "invested its way out of the boom-and-bust cycle that has plagued it for the past 150 years."⁷¹ Webb pushed for minority participation in the city's affairs, yet in his later terms in office some criticized him for ignoring social programs, city services, affordable housing, and the needs of established neighborhoods in favor of upscale new development and redevelopment.⁷² The *Denver Post* judged Denver's days as a "cow town" were over.⁷³ At the end of his tenure in July 2003, Webb was evaluated as having "for better and worse, in ways monumental and mundane . . . transformed the lives and landscape of a city."⁷⁴ The mayor conceded, "It's easier to build football stadiums and baseball parks. The human side is much tougher to do."⁷⁵

The Beginnings of Light Rail, Opening of the Airport, and Library Improvements

Metro Area Connection. Denver Tramway streetcars stopped running over the once extensive network in 1950, with subsequent service provided by trolley-coaches and buses. In 1969 voters created the Regional Transportation District (RTD) to operate a consolidated bus system and address the region's mass transit needs. Under pressure from the state legislature in 1987, RTD developed a demonstration light rail segment. In 1994 it put into service the Metro Area Connection (MAC), the first segment of a projected regional light rail system. The 5.3-mile light rail spine, financed entirely by RTD from use-tax revenues, extended from I-25 and Broadway to downtown and then proceeded northeast along Welton Street to a terminus at Downing Street and East 30th Avenue in the historic Five Points neighborhood.⁷⁶ In 2000 the agency built an 8.7-mile light rail line extending southwest from I-25 and Broadway to the suburban community of Littleton. A 1.8-mile Central Platte Valley light rail spur was completed in 2002, providing access to the Auraria Campus, Invesco Field, Pepsi Center, Union Station, and Coors Field.

Denver International Airport. Denver International Airport (DIA), Peña's legacy to Webb, originally was scheduled to open in October 1993 but began operations in February 1995. An automated baggage system, the prime reason for the late opening, was scrapped after repeated malfunctions. At the time,

the 53-square-mile facility represented “the largest piece of real estate dedicated to commercial aviation on earth.”⁷⁷ The cost of the facility rose from \$1.5 billion to \$5.3 billion, even though planners scaled back the size of the airport, from 6 runways to 5 and 120 gates to 88. DIA opened with one hub airline (United) rather than the anticipated three. Projections of 55 million passengers in 1995 proved “wildly optimistic,” as less than 31 million travelers moved through the airport that year.⁷⁸ The airport’s Jeppesen Terminal (5DV.4790), designed by Denver architects C.W. Fentress, J.H. Bradburn and Associates, features an iconic tent-like roof composed of white Teflon-coated fiberglass suspended on steel cables, which Denver historian Thomas J. Noel compared to “both the snow-capped Rockies and Indian tipis that once occupied the site.”⁷⁹ New York architecture critic Herbert Muschamp judged, “This Big Top of an airport delivers the oohs and aahs.”⁸⁰ An American Institute of Architects survey placed the terminal as “number four on its list of favorite American architectural landmarks.”⁸¹ The terminal is linked to the airport’s three concourses by a subway, as well as a skybridge to the first concourse. DIA included numerous publicly financed artworks, including a massive blue stallion with glowing red eyes that greets travelers along Peña Boulevard. DIA ranked as the nation’s fifth busiest airport in 2014, when it served 53.4 million passengers.⁸²

Libraries. Mayor Webb also completed improvements to the public library system authorized by a \$91 million 1990 bond issue, another example of Peña-era civic construction planning. The bonds funded expansion of the Central Library, as well as new and renovated branch facilities.⁸³ Although once considered a candidate for demolition, Denver’s 1955 noted International-style Central Library, a design of Burnham Hoyt and Fisher and Fisher, instead received a Postmodern-style \$71 million addition in 1995. A competition among leading architects around the world culminated in the City’s selection of Michael Graves and the local firm of Klipp Colussy Jenks Dubois for the project. Graves was considered a founder of the Postmodern school of architecture, which abandoned “modern skyscrapers for the classical forms, natural materials, and colors of centuries past.” His designs included Walt Disney Corporate Headquarters in Burbank, Disneyworld’s Swan and Dolphin hotels in Orlando, and The Portland Building in Oregon.⁸⁴

The resulting 540,000-square-foot addition attaches to the south and west walls of the original library and displays an exterior of natural stone and precast concrete in pastel hues and copper ornamentation in a composition with components of various shapes and heights. *New York Times* architecture critic Herbert Muschamp analyzed that Graves was confronted with the challenge of “reconciling the classical formality of Civic Center with the architectural jumble around it.” He described the architect’s work as breaking down the seven-story building into fragments, including a square tower with a pyramidal top, a cylindrical turret and a central rotunda capped with a gutsy, copper-clad, Gehryesque crown.⁸⁵ Denver architecture critic Mary Voelz Chandler called the library “very much a Graves building, where postmodernism and whimsy meet . . .”⁸⁶ The interior contains a central three-story maple-paneled atrium, three large public reading rooms, a children’s room on the main floor, and a variety of other special-use spaces and amenities.

In order to break down the scale of the addition, Graves created a design with blocks that gave people a sense of leaving one space and arriving at another.⁸⁷ Architectural historians noted the building was part of the nationwide trend of “third wave” library construction, with the first represented by Denver’s Neoclassical 1910 building (5DV.161.4) in Civic Center Park, and the 1955 building (5DV.3520) a product of the second wave.⁸⁸ Neighborhood libraries also received restorations, upgrades, and additions, and the system received new branches, including Virginia Village (1993), Valdez-Perry (1995), and Pauline Robinson (1995).

The 1998 election once more included several bond issues for public projects, and again Denver voters readily supported the measures. The \$98 million city bond issue included funds for three police

substations, a branch library in the Lowry redevelopment area (Schlessman Family Library, opened in 2001), a recreation center for Green Valley Ranch, citywide curb and gutter improvements, parking improvements at City Park, and an indoor swimming pool at Ashland Recreation Center.⁸⁹ Denver Public Schools won approval for a \$305 million bond issue for construction of six elementary and three middle schools, additions and renovations to twenty-eight other schools, computer magnet centers at two high schools, and replacement of the school bus fleet. Mayor Webb supported both measures, remarking: “The safe political thing would have been not to take a position. But I’ve always taken risks. I think that’s how you get things done.”⁹⁰

New Professional Sports Venues

New venues for professional sports, a focus initiated under Mayor Peña, culminated in major achievements of the Webb administration. Clearing the existing sites of these stadiums and arenas removed some historic fabric, which was replaced with expansive new facilities designed by leaders in the creation of sports complexes. The new venues brought large numbers of people into central Denver and contributed to the attraction of new businesses and residents in their vicinities.

Baseball. Mayor Peña’s efforts to secure a major league baseball team for Denver were realized under Mayor Webb. In 1991, Major League Baseball awarded Denver a National League expansion franchise, and the Colorado Rockies played their first two seasons at Mile High Stadium in 1993-94. A seventy-six-acre site at 20th and Blake streets in LoDo became a new Neo-Traditional baseball park for the team. Coors Field (5DV.6952), completed in 1995, contained 50,200 seats (later increased) and became the second purpose-built baseball stadium erected in the country since 1962.⁹¹ More than \$200 million was expended to create a ballpark that recalled the golden days of the sport, displaying hand-laid red brick, terra cotta columbine plaques, a clock tower, centerfield fountains, other special features, and views of the Rocky Mountains. Architect Brad Schrock of HOK Sports Facilities Group, who also designed the 1992 Camden Yards stadium in Baltimore, planned the Denver facility with a similar nod to traditional ballpark design.

New York Times architecture critic Herbert Muschamp called it “the latest of the new breed of ballpark that is supposed to recall such sporting classics as Wrigley Field and Fenway Park.”⁹² Architecture critic Mary Voelz Chandler noted the venue harmonized with the surrounding historic warehouse district: “The field is sunk deep, so that the surrounding walls can be tall enough to contain the game but stay at a par with surrounding structures.”⁹³ The Colorado Rockies defeated the New York Mets at the first official game in the facility on April 26, 1995. The ballpark provided further economic stimulus to the surrounding neighborhood and resulted in rehabilitation of a number of the area’s historic buildings for new businesses, including numerous sports bars and restaurants.

Basketball and Hockey. Residents approved tax increases during the 1990s to ensure that existing professional sports teams remained in Denver. The city’s Denver Nuggets basketball team and the Colorado Avalanche hockey team received a new shared home in the city center.⁹⁴ Groundbreaking for the facility occurred in 1996 to replace McNichols Arena (1975) on the west side of I-25. A site encompassing almost forty-five acres of land in the Central Platte Valley, previously declared an Environmental Protection Agency contaminated Superfund Site, was acquired from the Southern Pacific Railroad. Ascent Entertainment Group constructed the 675,000-square-foot, five-level arena designed by HOK Sports. The \$180 million project required twenty-one months to complete using private funds and \$36.5 million in tax increment financing (TIF) assistance.⁹⁵ Mary Voelz Chandler judged the arena’s designer attempted to create a connection with the area’s historic red brick structures “while adding a floating roof and a fair amount of glass.” She also found that “a group of area architects worked as consultants on the project, insisting on treating all sides of the structure with features that kept it from being just one big red wall.”⁹⁶ Known as “Pepsi Center” (5DV.6951), the arena opened on October 1,

1999 with a Celine Dion concert. The facility hosts more than two hundred events each year, including sports, concerts, ice skating, and family entertainment.⁹⁷

Football. In November 1998 voters in the six-county region approved extending the 0.1 percent sales tax approved in 1990 for Coors Field to fund a new stadium for the Denver Broncos professional football team. Proponents of the measure spent \$2.3 million on the campaign, which was buoyed by the Broncos second consecutive Super Bowl victory earlier in the year.⁹⁸ Supporters “emphasized Denver’s uniqueness in having four major league franchises within the city limits and frequently drew comparisons between Denver and other midwestern cities that were decidedly minor league.”⁹⁹ The \$400.7 million Invesco Field at Mile High (5DV.7046, later called Sports Authority Field) opened in 2001, 75 percent financed by public funds and 25 percent by the team’s owners. The five-level stadium covered 89 acres and contained 76,125 seats. Planned by HNTB Architects in collaboration with Fentress Bradburn Architects and Bertram A. Bruton Architects, the design consists of a bowl topped by an undulating framework that architectural critic Mary Voelz Chandler compared to a roller coaster.¹⁰⁰

Athletic Successes. The city’s professional sports teams began to gain national recognition in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The Colorado Avalanche won the Stanley Cup championship in hockey in 1996. The Denver Broncos clinched back-to-back Super Bowl victories in 1998 and 1999. The February 1999 celebration for the team filled Civic Center from the State Capitol to the City and County Building, drawing an estimated crowd of 375,000.¹⁰¹ The Colorado Rockies reached the World Series for the first time in 2007 but were swept in four games by the Boston Red Sox.

New Urbanism and Residential Growth

By the mid-1990s, Denver residential growth began a slow recovery that accelerated as large tracts within the city became available for development. During the 1990s and early 2000s the closure of former military, amusement, and transportation facilities—including Stapleton International Airport, Lowry Air Force Base, and Elitch Gardens—made large-scale redevelopment projects possible. The Central Platte Valley opened to re-development after consolidation of the railroad mainline, removal of multi-track railyards and associated facilities, and environmental remediation. The city adopted a *Comprehensive Plan* in 2000, followed by *Blueprint Denver* in 2002. The latter comprised an integrated land use and transportation document, which identified areas of stability and change to guide future growth. The plan aimed to maintain the character of areas of stability while permitting some new development and redevelopment to prevent stagnation. By contrast, “the vast majority of new development will be funneled to areas [of change] that will benefit from and thrive on an infusion of population, economic activity and investment.”¹⁰²

Major Redevelopment Projects and New Urbanism

Redevelopment of large pieces of land in the city into new neighborhoods generally followed the principles of New Urbanism, a movement with origins in the work of architects such as Robert A.M. Stern beginning in the 1970s and fully expressed in Seaside, Florida, planned by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and constructed in 1978-83. The latter project, based on concepts of design from eighteenth century towns, created villages that lessened the importance of automobiles and strengthened pedestrian opportunities, paid attention to the existing landscape, incorporated codes for planning and architecture, increased density to encourage human interaction, and specified traditional construction materials and design elements. Other architectural observers, such as Peter Calthorpe, expanded the New Urbanism concept to embrace diversity through housing types and mixed-use development and provisions for abundant landscaping. Primary characteristics of New Urbanist communities include: a mixture of housing types (single-family, duplex, and apartment), with detached homes often based on traditional architectural styles; social diversity, including a range of housing

prices; narrow roads to calm traffic, small parking lots, and elimination of cul de sacs; smaller lawns, trees planted along curbs to form street canopies, and open space to balance development; garages moved to the side or rear of houses; centrally located stores, services, and public facilities; and convenient access to mass transit.¹⁰³

Highlands' Garden Village. The old site of Elitch Gardens Amusement Park at West 38th Avenue and Tennyson Street became Highlands' Garden Village, described as "one of the earliest and most successful new urbanist communities in Denver" and "a model for sustainability and integration into the surrounding neighborhood."¹⁰⁴ The 1990s award-winning \$105 million development created 1,306 mixed-income residential units, as well as commercial, civic, and open space. The developers, HGV Land and Perry Rose companies, notably utilized recycled construction materials, such as thirty tons of concrete from the amusement park employed in new roadbeds. The house designs incorporated elements echoing the historic neighborhoods with Late Victorian and Craftsman style dwellings, such as hipped and gabled roofs, projecting front porches, double-hung sash windows, columns, and horizontal siding.

Lowry Air Force Base. The closure of Lowry Air Force Base in 1994 provided an opportunity for redevelopment of the 1,866-acre site occupying land between Monaco, Alameda Avenue, Dayton Street, and 11th Avenue. Denver and Aurora approved creation of a "Reuse Plan," and the Lowry Redevelopment Authority (LRA) produced a master plan for a mixed-use development with tree-lined thoroughfares and quiet residential streets. LRA developed the site at a cost of \$1.3 billion, with DURA issuing \$72.6 million in TIF bonds. The new mixed-use master-planned community anticipated 4,500 houses, 1.8 million square feet of office space, 130,000 square feet of retail space, schools, and 800 acres of parks and open space. Some of the historic buildings of the post, designated as part of a local historic district, became part of the project and received adaptive reuse. The redevelopment was cited as "one of the earliest and most successful base closure reuse efforts," and it received many awards and became a model for other redevelopment communities.¹⁰⁵

Stapleton International Airport. The 1995 opening of the new Denver International Airport (DIA) resulted in closure of Stapleton. Legal actions by Park Hill residents and Adams County led to agreements that blocked aviation use of the old airport once DIA began operation. In 1989 thirty-five citizens began a planning exercise, Stapleton Tomorrow, which studied public opinion about how to redevelop the site; the committee found job creation, open space, and culture and recreation uses were major concerns. In 1990 businesspeople and civic representatives organized the Stapleton Redevelopment Foundation (SRF), a nonprofit group designed to work with Denver to "maximize the public benefits from redevelopment of the Stapleton site."¹⁰⁶ Denver entered into a partnership with SRF to pay for and guide a Citizens' Advisory Board-led development plan. The "Stapleton Development Plan," also known as "the Green Book," became part of the City's Comprehensive Plan in 1995.

The non-profit Stapleton Development Corporation (SDC) received authority to lease and sell property on the former airport. The SDC selected a master developer for the entire site, Forest City Enterprises, Inc., a national real estate development and management firm with headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio. The company agreed to buy all of Stapleton's developable land, for which Denver's Aviation and Public Works agencies provided environmental remediation, rezoning, and necessary demolitions of most of the built environment, including concourses, terminal, parking garage, runways, taxiways, and paved parking. The most notable historic resource saved was the control tower, which was planned for reuse as a dining, entertainment, and corporate office facility.¹⁰⁷ A public-private partnership financed and constructed infrastructure, parks, schools, and community facilities. Of the old airport structures, only the main airport control tower was preserved. The new 4,700-acre mixed-use New Urbanist-style development, including houses, parks, schools, retail centers, offices, and open space, constituted the

largest in-fill redevelopment project in the nation, with construction beginning in 2001 and the first residents moving in the following year. The total project cost was about \$3.4 billion, with DURA issuing about \$286 million in TIF bonds. Stapleton received national and international attention and served as a model for other redevelopment communities.¹⁰⁸

Other Residential Development

In addition to residential construction in the large New Urbanist developments discussed above, subdivisions on Denver's periphery displayed more intense building activity than the city as a whole. In the northeast, subdivision development occurred in the Montbello and Gateway-Green Valley Ranch neighborhoods as they expanded with new housing projects. Subdivisions in the Indian Creek and Windsor neighborhoods in east Denver also grew with new construction activity. In southwest Denver, three neighborhoods saw higher amounts of new housing development: Marston (the Villages at Raccoon Creek subdivision), Fort Logan (the Greens and Fairways at Pinehurst and Westbridge subdivisions), and Harvey Park South (Bear Creek subdivision). In northwest Denver, the four square blocks of the former National Asthma Center (long a vacant site) were redeveloped as the East Bay subdivision. According to historian Phil Goodstein, the developer, Village Homes of Colorado, likened the homes "to what residents might find in the east bay of Boston," calling the traditional frame, two-story dwelling with gabled roofs and large front porches its "cottage collection."¹⁰⁹

Infill Construction of the 1990s and Early 2000s

The 1990-2002 period saw more infill development in established Denver neighborhoods than the 1980s, as fewer large undeveloped tracts remained in the city. For the first time, the infill projects resulted mostly from scraping off older buildings to secure a site for new construction. Single-family infill houses often reflected Neo-Eclectic and Neo-Revival influences.¹¹⁰ Neighborhoods with high levels of infill included the northern and eastern portions of Cherry Creek, the southern part of University Park, the west-central part of Hilltop, and the west part of College View-South Platte. The general level of infill activity would greatly increase in the 2003-14 period.

Major Commercial Development

Adams Mark Hotel (5DV.1854). Construction of a new downtown convention center led to Denver's desire for a convention headquarters hotel to accommodate visitors. The 1993 closure of the May D&F department store vacated a city block (site of Denver's former Courthouse Square) and presented a development opportunity. The following year the firm of HBE started planning a convention center hotel that would reuse the former Hilton/Radisson Hotel and also redevelop the May D&F and Zeckendorf Plaza site, including demolition of I.M. Pei's iconic hyperbolic paraboloid and changes to the hotel and department store.¹¹¹ The paraboloid represented an integral part of the first American city project to combine the design and construction of a hotel, department store, parking, and public space in 1956-60 and had won several major awards. Alterations to the component parts of the Pei-designed complex resulted in the 1996 Adams Mark Hotel, which encompassed 1,230 rooms, 16,000 square feet of banquet and meeting rooms, and 17,000 square feet of restaurant and retail space on the first story when completed in 1997. For the \$135 million project DURA issued \$33 million in TIF bonds.¹¹²

Architecture critics were less than enthused with the redesign, with Mary Voelz Chandler writing, "Billed as the answer to the city's need for a convention center hotel, the new complex instead meant the destruction of a unique design and construction of a new structure that was dated by the time it opened."¹¹³ Paglia, Wheaton, and Wray found the Hilton Hotel building the only component to have survived the redesign, noting that despite the loss of its companion elements and other insensitive alterations, "it remains one of the best mid-century buildings downtown."¹¹⁴

Pavilions (5DV.5994). The return of retailers and construction of a galleria-type shopping complex were important goals of Denver's 1986 *Downtown Area Plan*, formulated by the Peña administration.¹¹⁵ Mayor Peña failed to secure a major department store downtown, but a large downtown retail development finally opened in November 1998 under Mayor Webb: Entertainment Development Group and its partners' \$107.5 million Pavilions shopping, restaurant, and entertainment complex on the upper end of the 16th Street Mall.¹¹⁶ Although lacking an anchor department store, the center, designed by the Berkeley, California firm of ELS/Elbasani & Logan Architects, was considered an important effort in revitalization of the downtown shopping district and was "one of the first urban retail/entertainment centers" built in the nation (Miami's 1990 CocoWalk is often cited as the pioneer).¹¹⁷ The complex covers two city blocks and included 350,000 square feet of commercial space, eight hundred below-ground parking spaces, and second and third floors spanning Glenarm Place above the traffic below.¹¹⁸ In addition to a fifteen-screen movie theater the facility originally housed such tenants as the Hard Rock Café, Wolfgang Puck Café, Virgin Megastore, and Nike Town. Pavilions was an early activity center in attracting people back downtown for recreation and entertainment. In 2001 the Pavilions won an International Council of Shopping Centers Design Award. An \$800,000 trademark sign reading "Denver" in letters forty feet tall quickly made the complex a downtown landmark.¹¹⁹

Preservation Funding and Landmark Designation

In 1990 Colorado voters approved limited stakes gambling in the historic mining towns of Central City, Black Hawk, and Cripple Creek. A portion of the gambling tax revenues benefitted the newly created State Historical Fund (SHF) to provide monies for historic preservation projects around the state, including "restoration and rehabilitation of historic buildings, architectural assessments, archaeological excavations, designation and interpretation of historic places, preservation planning studies, and education and training programs."¹²⁰ SHF, administered by the Colorado Historical Society (now History Colorado) provided \$72.6 million to 625 projects within the City and County of Denver between 1993 and 2014.¹²¹ A further boost toward preserving Colorado's historic fabric came in 1991, when the state approved an income tax credit for historic preservation. Many projects included a variety of grants and tax credits.

In 1993-94 the Denver Planning Department used SHF funds to conduct Denver Neighborhood History Projects for seven central area neighborhoods, producing a historic overview and reconnaissance survey with extensive photographic documentation for each neighborhood and completing a few individual landmark designations. Writing a foreword to a 1996 publication describing Denver's landmarks, Mayor Wellington Webb remarked: "I have supported designations because they stabilize and enhance Denver's older neighborhoods. Landmarking is a great way to establish deeper roots and a sense of place for this growing city, which is now welcoming a wave of newcomers."¹²²

Designation of significant historical and architectural sites continued during the 1990s and early 2000s, including 122 individual landmarks and 23 districts. New residential districts included Country Club (1990), Quality Hill (1992), Witter-Cofield and Wyman (1993), the first of several Curtis Park districts (1995), Pennsylvania Street and Sherman-Grant (1997), Swallow Hill (1999), Alamo Placita and Baker (2000), and Country Club Gardens (2001). The city also designated three districts composed mostly of commercial resources: the Downtown Denver, containing some of the city's most architecturally and historically significant buildings (2000); Welton Street Commercial Corridor Cultural (2002); and the Ballpark Neighborhood (2002). The Downtown district was innovative in its discontinuous assemblage of specific significant buildings whose land parcels define the district. As Historic Denver Executive Director Annie Levinsky observed, "The downtown resources we'd been working to save for thirty years were protected all at once. It was seen as a national, innovative model for protecting resources in dense

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urban environments.”¹²³ Other local districts included two at the former Lowry Air Force Base (1995) and the Clayton College campus (1999).¹²⁴

Although a number of important historic buildings—such as the May D&F hyperbolic paraboloid, the *Denver Post* building, and Boettcher School—were lost to new development during the 1990s, the City also supported rehabilitation and adaptive reuse of significant buildings. DURA acquired the historic Denver Dry Goods (5DV.135) building at 16th and California streets and found a developer willing to restore and reuse it. Completed in 1992, the mixed-use, mixed-income building became “a pioneering project that helped catalyze the preservation and revitalization of upper downtown.”¹²⁵ In 1998 Recreational Equipment, Inc. (REI) purchased the massive 1901 Denver Tramway Power House (5DV.541), then the home of the Forney Museum of Transportation in the Central Platte Valley. REI renovated the 90,000-square-foot building at a cost of about \$30 million for a flagship store that opened in 2000, with Denver Urban Renewal Authority providing \$5 million through reimbursed sales taxes.¹²⁶ Both projects also received SHF grants.

New Governmental and Educational Buildings Rise

University of Denver Campus. In the southern part of the city, the University of Denver began an ambitious plan, led by Chancellor Dan Ritchie and campus architect G. Cabell “Cab” Childress, to reshape its campus. Many of DU’s buildings had suffered from years of deferred maintenance. Pointing to the University of Bologna, Ritchie articulated a philosophy for new campus construction: “Buildings built of stone and built to last, from the copper roofs down to the foundations, as well as not being something that’s expendable in twenty-five to fifty years. For us, it’s a philosophy of quality and honesty that these buildings need to express.”¹²⁷ New campus buildings added during the 1990s and early 2000s totaled at least \$344 million and included: F.W. Olin Hall, the Daniels College of Business, Nelson Hall, Nagel Hall, Ritchie Center (an athletic arena and recreation center), Newman Center (a performing arts center), Ricketson Law Building, Chambers Center, and the School of Hotel, Restaurant, and Tourism Management.

As Mary Chandler described, these buildings were “big, elaborate structures that used materials of quality, in quantity—setting the tone of the campus for years to come.”¹²⁸ The university demolished some existing buildings to make way for the new construction, and invested millions to extensively rehabilitate others. Ritchie Center, with its 215-foot gilded tower, became a prominent landmark visible throughout a good part of the city.

Denver Public Schools. Denver Public Schools undertook a modest building agenda during the 1990s. Three elementary schools were added to the school system: Castro (1993) and College View (1995) in southwest Denver and Harrington (1993) in northeast Denver.

Webb Municipal Office Building. To provide a central location for the public to access numerous city departments and agencies, Denver completed a \$132 million construction project during 2000-02. The Wellington E. Webb Municipal Office Building, an elliptical office tower encompassing 700,000 square feet at 201 W. Colfax Avenue, was built as an addition to the acclaimed International-style City and County Annex No. 1 (5DV.1855).¹²⁹ The twelve-story LEED-certified curving office tower, designed by RNL Design and Tryba Architects, was named in honor of the city’s first African American mayor.

There are four LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) certification levels for new buildings: Certified, Silver, Gold and Platinum, which “correspond to the number of credits accrued in five green design categories: sustainable sites, water efficiency, energy and atmosphere, materials and resources and indoor environmental quality.”¹³⁰ The Webb Building’s limestone and granite exterior featured glass curtain wall glazing, while interior spaces included granite, wood panels, and \$1.2 million worth of public art. Denver Planning Director Peter Park judged, “From an urbanistic perspective the

building does what all great civic buildings do, it has the enduring features of an iconic civic object, and it's supportive of the urban fabric."¹³¹ Michael Paglia included the Webb Municipal Office Building in his list of "Ten Best 21st Century Buildings in Downtown Denver" in 2015.¹³² The City and County Building continued to serve as the political and judicial center of the city.¹³³

Alfred A. Arraj U.S. Courthouse. The federal government expanded its complex in downtown Denver during the early 2000s. The 2002 Alfred A. Arraj U.S. Courthouse on a 2.5-acre block at 19th and Champa streets provided additional offices and fourteen courtrooms for the federal judiciary and was the latest component of the four-block Federal District. Hellmuth Obata + Kassabaum designed the building, composed of a two-story glazed entrance pavilion and a ten-story tower with fourteen courtrooms.¹³⁴ The tower rose above a three-story base of granite and limestone and was clad in light buff brick, aluminum, and glass. The courthouse occupied less than 35 percent of the site to allow for future expansion and was built to have a one-hundred-year lifespan. The plaza was paved with Lyons red sandstone and flagstone set in sand beds to absorb water and included xeriscape plantings and a water feature symbolizing streams of the desert. Most of the interior floor and wall panels were composed of Indiana limestone. The courthouse received a LEED silver rating through incorporation of green technologies. The building housed the U.S. District Court for the District of Colorado and the U.S. Marshals Service.¹³⁵

Entertainment Venues in the Central Platte Valley

Joining the Pepsi Center sports arena in the Central Platte Valley were two other developments long planned for the Central Platte Valley. These projects helped revitalize the area, with the city providing an additional \$1 billion in improvements, including access, parks, water system conservation, and recreation, as well as subsidizing development projects.¹³⁶

Elitch's Amusement Park (5DV.6249). After closing its century-old park in North Denver, Elitch's Amusement Park relocated in 1995 to the former Colorado & Southern Railway's Rice Yard in the Central Platte Valley. DURA provided TIF funds to support the \$95 million remediation and redevelopment of the site on the south bank of the river. The sixty-eight-acre location was transformed from an EPA Superfund site into what was then one of the few downtown amusement parks in the country.¹³⁷ The ca. 1926 carousel, manufactured by the Philadelphia Toboggan Company for the old North Denver site, was moved to the new one. The twelve-sided Elitch carousel house remains at the original site, now known as Highland Garden Village. The new amusement park was renamed Six Flags Elitch Gardens in 1999. The original Elitch carousel, also created by the Philadelphia Toboggan Company and replaced by the ca. 1926 carousel, was moved to the town of Burlington in 1928 and is listed as a National Historic Landmark.

Ocean Journey Aquarium. The Central Platte Valley gained a \$93 million aquarium in 1999. Ocean Journey, the work of Denver architects RNL Design and Anderson Mason Dale, was intended as an important component of Wellington Webb's area revitalization plan. The aquarium, the largest between Chicago and California, opened on seventeen acres adjacent to the South Platte River in June 1999. Initially operated by a nonprofit organization, the brick and glass aquarium building was considered one of a "new breed" of such facilities, created around a theme or journey and including mammals and freshwater fish. The *Denver Post* judged: "to see the finished aquarium is to witness the completion of Denver's own difficult winding journey, from a city struggling with its future to a metropolis that turned its dreams into realities."¹³⁸ Declining revenues resulted in a bankruptcy filing and the property's sale for \$13.6 million to Landry's Restaurants in 2003. That company began renovation and redesign of the facility to create an aquarium, restaurant, and events center renamed Downtown Aquarium and exhibiting five hundred species of animals.¹³⁹

Denver on the National and World Stage

World Youth Day. In August 1993, Pope John Paul II visited Denver for five days as part of the Catholic Church's World Youth Day. The gathering drew 225,000 registrants, and the pontiff celebrated mass at Cherry Creek State Recreation Area in southeast Denver before a crowd variously estimated at between 300,000 and 375,000.¹⁴⁰ Sister Mary Ann Walsh, who managed communications for the group, remarked: "Imagine Woodstock with all of the good and none of the bad."¹⁴¹ The pope also met with President Bill Clinton at Regis University, visited St. Vincent's Orphanage, and addressed a mass gathering at Mile High Stadium, all in northwest Denver.

Group of Eight (G8). The successful visit of the pope possibly contributed to the city's selection as the site of the first meeting of the Group of Eight (G8) in June 1997. Formed in 1976, the Group of Seven (G7) included the world's leading industrialized nations. In 1997 the group invited the Russian Federation to participate for the first time and became known as the G8. Denver's first summit of world political leaders included President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The group held discussions at the new central Denver Public Library, amid high security, including eight-foot chain link fences and concrete barriers. The summit occurred a week after a Denver federal jury imposed the death sentence on Timothy J. McVeigh, a domestic terrorist convicted of the 1995 bombing that killed 168 people in Oklahoma City.¹⁴²

Population Rebounds

After showing population losses in 1980 and 1990, the 2000 Census reported a 19 percent increase in population for Denver since 1990. The city contained more than a half-million residents (554,636) for the first time since 1970 and ranked as the twenty-fourth most populous city in the United States. Denver's share of the region dropped to 23 percent.¹⁴³ The trends in racial and ethnic composition noted in the 1980s continued into the 1990s. The proportion of whites within the city dropped to 52 percent, while the Latino percentage surged to 32 percent (from 23 percent in 1990). The city's percentage of African Americans dropped slightly to 11 percent, and other races (or two or more races) increased to nearly 6 percent.

7.4. A Confident and Growing Denver, 2003-2014

The national economy influenced Denver's prospects in the early twenty-first century. Construction remained strong in Denver during the first part of the 2003-14 period, although unemployment began to rise. From lows of 4 percent or less during 1997-2000, unemployment started increasing in the early 2000s, and state population estimates showed negative net migration for the city during the early 2000s. The Great Recession of 2007-09 more than doubled the unemployment rate in Denver, which increased from 4.1 percent in 2007 to 9.1 percent in 2010. By 2014 the annual average unemployment rate dropped back to 4.9 percent.¹⁴⁴ A 2014 study found Denver had the fourth best recovery from the Great Recession of the nation's 150 largest cities. Denver ranked first for income and earning opportunities and for its inflow of college-educated workers.¹⁴⁵ The 2003-14 period saw 21,665 parcels of all types developed (45 percent of the 1983-2014 total).

The Hickenlooper Era and Denver's Democratic Convention

Former geologist and brewpub owner John Hickenlooper, a pioneer of Lower Downtown's renaissance, topped a field of six other candidates in the 2003 general election. He led his closest challenger, Donald Mares, the City Auditor and a former state legislator, by a two-to-one margin and won the office in the runoff with 65 percent of the vote. Hickenlooper had never held elected public office, but his quirky campaign style and clever television commercials appealed to the electorate.

Mayor Hickenlooper dealt with shortfalls in the city's budget during the Great Recession by instituting furloughs, cutting jobs, and increasing revenues while trying to maintain city services. Instead of ambitious development projects, he created Denver's Road Home, a ten-year plan to end homelessness in the city.¹⁴⁶ In 2005 Hickenlooper established a greenhouse gas reduction goal, and in 2007 *Greenprint Denver* completed an inventory of greenhouse gas emissions within the city, established a goal to reduce emissions below 1990 levels by 2020, and proposed encouraging energy conservation, enhancing recycling, boosting alternative transportation, and supporting additional population growth around transit stations. Hickenlooper enjoyed high approval ratings throughout his tenure, and in 2005 *Time* magazine named him one of "The 5 Best Big-City Mayors."¹⁴⁷ He handily won re-election in 2007.

The Democratic Party had staged its national convention in Denver's new Municipal Auditorium and selected Williams Jennings Bryan as its standard bearer in 1908.¹⁴⁸ A century later the party returned to the Queen City to choose Illinois Senator Barack Obama as its nominee. Announcing the selection of Denver as the host city in January 2007, Democratic National Chairman Howard Dean explained geopolitical factors tipped the choice to Denver over New York City: "If we're going to have a national party, we're going to have to have Westerners vote for us on a consistent basis."¹⁴⁹ The convention met in the Pepsi Center, but Obama delivered his acceptance speech outdoors at Invesco Field at Mile High. In late October the candidate returned to Denver to address a political rally at Civic Center. The crowd of "well over 100,000" extended three blocks from the City and County Building east to the State Capitol steps, forcing police to close Lincoln and Broadway streets to vehicles. Obama went on to carry the state and nation in November 2008 and again in 2012.¹⁵⁰

Pointing to his achievements in Denver, John Hickenlooper successfully ran for governor in 2010, becoming only the second Denver mayor to serve in that office.¹⁵¹ He left office in January 2011, and voters chose Michael Hancock to succeed him.¹⁵² Hancock, a city councilman, became Denver's second African American mayor to be elected in a majority-white city. In 2010 African Americans accounted for less than 10 percent of the city's population.

DIA, the Expanded Light Rail Network, and Transit Oriented Development

DIA Expansion. DIA's sixth runway, part of the airport's original plan, opened in September 2003. At sixteen thousand feet in length, it became the longest commercial runway in North America and permitted takeoffs of fully-loaded jumbo jets. Planners hoped the runway would motivate airlines to offer more international flights from DIA.¹⁵³ In 2013 construction began on the south end of the Jeppesen Terminal at DIA, to accommodate a 519-room Westin Hotel and Conference Center and a commuter rail station for the FasTracks line to downtown Denver.¹⁵⁴

RTD's FasTracks. RTD greatly expanded the region's light rail system in the first two decades of the twenty-first century. The T-REX project to rebuild and widen I-25 from Broadway south to Lincoln Avenue in Douglas County included a 19.1-mile light rail line with a spur along part of the I-225 corridor. Voters approved T-REX in 1999, and the southeast line opened in 2006.

Seeking to dramatically enlarge the region's transit system in one comprehensive project, in 2004 the RTD proposed the \$4.7 billion FasTracks project. FasTracks included 121 miles of new light rail and commuter rail lines linking downtown Denver to suburban areas, including an East Line to DIA, West Line to Golden, Gold Line to Arvada and Wheat Ridge, North Line to Thornton and Northglenn, extensions of the Southwest and Southeast lines, and an extension of the I-225 Line north along that corridor to link with the East Line. Other components of the plan involved fifty-seven transit stations and more than 21,000 park and ride spaces. Financing came from increasing RTD's sales tax from 0.6 percent to 1 percent. RTD anticipated beginning operations on all lines during the 2012-14 period.¹⁵⁵ Denver

7. The World Class City—City Planning and Reinvestment, 1983-2014 Page 21

Mayor John Hickenlooper supported the plan, and the FasTracks tax increase drew the support of 58 percent of voters in the seven-county region in 2004.

The Great Recession of 2007-09 impacted FasTracks, creating “a number of challenges outside of RTD’s control, namely a significant increase in the cost of construction materials and a significant decrease in sales tax revenues.”¹⁵⁶ The West Line to Golden began operating in 2013, but by 2014 the projected cost of the system rose to \$7.8 billion and opening dates for some lines were delayed.¹⁵⁷ The East, Gold, I-225, and Northwest lines are now scheduled to open in 2016. While the proportion of total trips (mode share) for transit still remains low, a 2014 *Atlantic* article describing FasTracks noted “many argue it will turn Denver into the West’s most advanced transit city, vaulting it beyond better-known peers Portland, Los Angeles, and Vancouver, British Columbia.”¹⁵⁸

Transit-Oriented Development. As the centerpiece of the expanded transportation network, Denver Union Station (originally built in 1912) opened in May 2014 as an intermodal hub for the radial rail system. The public-private project transformed the upper floors into the luxury Crawford Hotel, named after Denver developer and preservationist Dana Crawford, plus ground level retail shops, restaurants, a hall for commuter rail passengers, a station for light rail and the 16th Street Mall shuttle, a regional bus facility, a stop for cross-country passengers, and public spaces.¹⁵⁹ Urban Station Alliance, a consortium of architects and builders, real estate developers, designers, and hospitality and retail experts, prepared a plan to combine preservation and revitalization of the building based on the theme “Welcome to the American West.” The State Historical Fund provided money for a Historic Structure Assessment to identify the station’s key characteristics and systems. The National Park Service and State Historic Preservation Office reviewed interior and exterior changes as the project used federal preservation tax credits. The building received a LEED Gold certification. The area around the station experienced considerable new development activity and continued rehabilitation of historic buildings. Two five-story office buildings, the IMA Financial Center and One Union Station (both erected in 2012), now flank Union Station, and a number of offices, condominiums, townhomes, apartments, and restaurants have risen between the station and the South Platte River.

In 2015 architecture critic Michael Paglia observed:

The development of the Platte Valley over the past couple of years—with RiNo [the shorthand for River North, an area just north of downtown Denver] as its northern extension—has been nothing short of shocking. It’s like a decade’s worth of growth has happened in just a year or two. The area behind Union Station, made up of high-rise and mid-rise buildings, is pretty impressive, with several notable structures and an overall sense of urban coherence.¹⁶⁰

Large-scale office buildings in this area include the ten-story Legacy Plaza (2003, 1551 Wewatta Street), home of the Gates Corporation, eighteen-story 1900 16th Street (2009), and the fifteen-story DaVita World Headquarters (2012, 2000 16th Street). Numerous residential high-rise buildings have risen here, including Riverfront Tower (2002, 1590 Little Raven Street, a thirteen-story building with seventy condominium units and ground-floor retail) and Glass House (2007, 1700 Bassett Street, twin twenty-three-story towers with 390 condominiums, parking, and retail). The area also features the twenty-acre Commons Park (2000) and the Millennium Bridge (2002) over the railroad mainline.¹⁶¹

In addition to Union Station, transportation planners envisioned the system’s other stations as nodes of transit-oriented development (TOD), and the city developed strategic plans for TOD in 2006 and 2014.¹⁶² TOD is typically defined as “more compact development within easy walking distance of transit stations (typically a half mile) that contains a mix of uses such as housing, jobs, shops, restaurants and entertainment.”¹⁶³ Locations of other transit stations within the City and County have also been the

focus of development. According to RTD's manager of transit operations Bill Sirois, dozens of projects were in development around stations by 2014. Near the 40th and Colorado station the Urban Land Conservancy is building 156 units of affordable housing on nine acres. A transit plaza next to the Alameda Station includes 275 new apartment units. Adjacent to the 10th and Osage Station an eight-story senior housing building is under construction.¹⁶⁴

One major developing TOD node is the former Gates Rubber Company factory (5DV.48) at South Broadway and Louisiana Avenue. The eighty acres formerly occupied by the Mile High City's largest heavy industry included both sides of South Broadway, a parcel at the southwest corner of Broadway and Mississippi Avenue, and a tract along South Santa Fe Drive on the west side of the railroad and light rail tracks. Lying between the Southeast and Southwest light rail lines adjacent to the Broadway transit station, the site is superbly situated for TOD development. Although Gates ceased manufacturing operations at the property in 1991, environmental contamination stalled re-development for several years. Buildings on portions of the property were demolished, including the significant historic factory complex and several associated historic buildings, and environmental remediation completed in the 2007-13 period. The block-long four-story 1000 South Broadway Apartments line the east side of Broadway providing extreme contrast in scale, style, and materials to what previously occupied the area. Windsor Broadway Station's five-story apartments and ground floor retail occupies the southwest corner of the property.¹⁶⁵

Other transportation initiatives to reduce motor vehicle dependency and total vehicle miles traveled included the city's B-Cycle program. Introduced in 2010, the city now includes eighty-seven B-Cycle stations and seven hundred bicycles, which can be rented and returned at another station. The popularity of biking caused changes to the urban landscape through creation of features such as protected bike lanes, stations, signals, and paths. A 2013 analysis by the U.S. Census Bureau found "Millennials—workers under age 35—show lower rates of driving to work and sharper declines in auto commuting."¹⁶⁶ Car sharing has also grown in popularity within Denver. In 2013 Car2Go began offering its car sharing services, with 450 Smart Fortwo vehicles available throughout the central part of the city to users via a smartphone app. Zipcar, Enterprise Car Share and eGo Car Share have since begun operations.¹⁶⁷

New Civic Facilities of the Twenty-First Century

Blair-Caldwell Library. The Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library opened on Welton Street in Five Points in 2003. Named for two African-American community and political leaders, the push to build the facility came from Mayor Wellington Webb and his wife, Wilma, who "envisioned a research library and museum to preserve and showcase the many contributions of African-Americans to Colorado and the West."¹⁶⁸ OZ Architecture designed the two-story \$16 million brick building which includes exhibition and meeting space as well as research materials.¹⁶⁹ The city also gained three new police substations in 2003, to serve the northwest, northeast, and southeast districts.

Convention Center Expansion. The Colorado Convention Center more than doubled in size in 2004. By the late 1990s the city judged the 1990 center too small, and in 1999 voters approved bonds for its expansion, paid for by increased lodging and car rental taxes. To provide room for the enlargement, the city demolished the 1969 Currigan Exhibition Hall, a Brutalist-style building constructed of concrete and Cortran steel. Designed to provide convention and exhibition space for the city by Muchow, Ream & Larson, the architecturally significant building was described by one critic as "chaste and elegant in its simplicity, straightforward in design and materials."¹⁷⁰ Currigan was innovative in its use of a space frame to provide clear-span exhibit space. After its demolition, the new and expanded facility covered nine city blocks and contained 2.7 million square feet, including a five-thousand-seat auditorium and an integrated light rail station on Stout Street. The original design received a lukewarm reception from architecture critics such as Mary Chandler.

The architect of the 1990 building, Curtis Fentress, produced a transformative design for the \$311 million center that doubled its size, added green elements, and featured a soaring 600-foot long roofline and a glazed curtain wall giving the facility a bold new look.¹⁷¹ Artist Lawrence Argent's forty-foot-tall Blue Bear peering into the center on 14th Street became an instant icon when installed in 2005 and is an example of public art included in the project.¹⁷² Local development commentator Ken Schroepel judged that the expanded convention center and the Hyatt Hotel built in conjunction increased private-sector investment in the area and "greatly contributed to the overall revitalization of Downtown Denver."¹⁷³

EPA Regional Headquarters. The federal government added a significant new building to Lower Downtown in 2006 with the completion of the Environmental Protection Agency Region 8 Headquarters. Situated at the corner of Wynkoop and 16th streets, the building occupies the former site of the U.S. Post Office Terminal Annex. Designers of the building saw it as a bridge between the historic low-rise buildings of Lower Downtown and the high-rise commercial buildings and modern lofts to the north, while also being a landmark on its own. They created two L-shaped wings with a central atrium and glazed curtain walls varied on each façade. Appropriately for an EPA facility, the headquarters earned a Gold LEED rating through such sustainable features as a green roof system and canvas sails that direct or limit light to the atrium. The government selected Portland, Oregon, architects Zimmer Gunsel Frasca (ZGF) and Opus A&E, Inc., to design the building.¹⁷⁴

New Bond Elections. In 2007 Denver voters approved the Better Denver Bond program, a massive \$550 million package of 319 projects to maintain, construct, and improve municipal facilities. The measure resulted from recommendations by Mayor Hickenlooper's 2004 and 2006 task forces. The eight bond measures funded projects in several functional categories: \$27.5 million for maintenance of city facilities; \$48.6 million for Health and Human Services improvements, including a new municipal animal shelter and an eastside human services building; \$51.9 million for Denver Public Library maintenance and construction of three new branch libraries (Green Valley Ranch, 2010, Sam Gary, 2011, and Rudolfo Gonzales, 2015); \$149.8 million for streets and public works improvements, including a Cherry Creek Solid Waste facility; \$93.4 million for park and recreation improvements including a recreation center for the Stapleton neighborhood; \$10.4 million for repairs to address deferred maintenance on the City and County Building and the Permit Center; \$60.5 million for improvements and repairs to cultural facilities, such as the Botanic Gardens, Boettcher Concert Hall (5DV.1898), and the Denver Museum of Nature and Science (5DV.6081); \$70 million for construction of cultural facilities, including reconstruction and expansion of Boettcher Concert Hall and construction and remodeling at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science; and \$65.2 million for public safety facilities, including a new police crime lab, renovation of six fire stations, and construction of a new fire station at Lowry.¹⁷⁵

In 2008 Denver Public Schools won approval for a \$454 million bond measure, the "largest school bond in Colorado's history."¹⁷⁶ Maintenance and capital improvement projects on existing schools, many of which were historic, included work on roofs, boilers, and fire systems, accounted for 60 percent of the total (\$273 million). The bonds were also committed to build two new schools in northeast Denver, a preschool through middle school facility and a high school. About \$37.6 million was allocated for the restoration and renovation of historically significant 1911 North High School (5DV.89), a major landmark in that quadrant of the city. The work included restoration of murals adorning the main entrance.¹⁷⁷

Denver Justice Center Complex. In 1924 Denver landscape architect and city planner Saco R. DeBoer had proposed a "Civic Center Extension Plan" to the city. The plan envisioned the expansion of Denver Civic Center west to Cherry Creek and included a central mall flanked by public buildings.¹⁷⁸ DeBoer's vision for an expanded Civic Center moved a step closer to realization in 2010 with the completion of the Denver Justice Center Complex, a municipal facility covering two city blocks bounded by West 14th and West Colfax Avenues between Delaware and Fox streets. Planning for the complex began in 2005 under

the direction of New York-based architect Steven Holl. Holl, named America's best architect by *Time* magazine in 2001, resigned from the project in October 2006, "shocking the city's architectural community" by indicating the project budget was not adequate for him to design a building "consistent with his design philosophy."¹⁷⁹ The completed complex included two limestone-clad buildings facing a landscaped plaza. Anchoring the justice center was the Lindsey-Flanigan Courthouse to the west, a five-story, 317,000-square-foot building by Klipp Architecture and Ricci Greene Associates. According to the latter's website, "The design approach maximizes cost and functional efficiency by organizing the building with eight courtrooms per floor paired around holding cells and a secure elevator."¹⁸⁰ The \$159 million Van Cise-Simonet Detention Center to the east, a 1,500-bed facility for pre-sentenced inmates, was designed by Hartman-Cox Architects, OZ Architecture, and Ricci Greene Associates. The Denver Sheriff's Department commended the architects for their "diligent budget and schedule control." The new buildings created a pedestrian mall that connected the Central Business District and the Golden Triangle neighborhood.¹⁸¹

State Judicial Center. The State of Colorado expanded its judicial facilities with the dedication of the Ralph L. Carr Colorado Judicial Center in May 2013. The center, designed by Fentress Architects, occupies the entire block between Broadway and Lincoln and East 13th and East 14th avenues that formerly held two 1970s state buildings—the Colorado Historical Society's Colorado Heritage Center and a building housing state appellate courts and the state law library. Named for Colorado Governor Ralph L. Carr, who opposed the forced relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II, the new \$250 million complex includes a four-story gray granite domed component adjacent to Denver Civic Center housing the Colorado Supreme Court and Court of Appeals and a twelve-story granite and precast concrete office tower to the south holding judicial department offices. Speaking at its dedication, U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Sonia Sotomayor judged the center "a magnificent tribute by the people of Colorado to the rule of law that the building embodies."¹⁸²

New Museums

Denver Art Museum. The new century brought significant additions to Denver's cultural venues. In the an area known as the Golden Triangle (bounded by Speer Boulevard, Colfax Avenue, and Lincoln Street), the Denver Art Museum (DAM) selected celebrated Polish-American architect Daniel Libeskind to design the Hamilton Wing addition to its 1971 building. Libeskind indicated the dramatic and innovative design was composed of "a series of geometric volumes inspired by the peaks and valleys of the mountain range."¹⁸³ The museum, which opened in October 2006, reminded some of a rock crystal with numerous jutting angles and a prow extending north over West 13th Avenue.

The design, Libeskind's first completed American commission, was not without controversy, and reviews were mixed. Nicolai Ouroussoff of the *New York Times* deemed the building "a maddening bundle," while Robert Ivy in *Architectural Record* judged it as "both fulfillment and vindication for Daniel Libeskind."¹⁸⁴ The new wing increased exhibition space by 40 percent, permitting permanent collections to "find a sense of balance with their galleries" and provide adequate room for traveling exhibitions.¹⁸⁵ The Hamilton Wing cost \$110 million, derived from bond funding approved in 1999 and private donations.¹⁸⁶ In front of the building the Acoma Plaza of the Arts was filled with public artworks. Completion of the addition infused new vitality in the art museum and attracted other art museums and housing in the vicinity. The architect's career skyrocketed in subsequent years; his World Trade Center master plan, Ohio Statehouse Holocaust Memorial, and other projects around the world resulted in numerous noteworthy buildings and other resources.

Other Art Museums. In 2007 the Museum of Contemporary Art opened at 15th and Delgany streets. Founded in 1996, the organization received a donation of land in the Central Platte Valley that permitted it to erect a building designed by British architect David Adjaye. Denver bested several other

cities in a bid to house the Clyfford Still Museum. The will of the abstract impressionist painter specified “his estate be given in its entirety to an American city willing to establish a permanent museum dedicated solely to his work, ensuring its survival for exhibition and study.”¹⁸⁷ Brad Cloepfil of Allied Works Architecture designed the \$29 million cast-in-place concrete building that opened in 2011, west of DAM’s Hamilton Wing.¹⁸⁸ South of the Still Museum, DAM completed an administration building in 2014 to provide space for its staff, library, and art storage. Jeff Sheppard of Denver’s Roth Sheppard Architects designed the privately-funded \$11 million two-story 50,000-square-foot glass and stone building.¹⁸⁹

History Colorado Center. Requirements for additional space for Colorado state courts and the judicial department forced the Colorado Historical Society (now known as History Colorado) to relocate from its building at 13th and Broadway. In 2012 the History Colorado Center opened a block south at 1200 Broadway. The four-story \$111 million limestone-clad LEED Gold building was designed by Denver architect David Tryba and funded by certificates of participation (COPs) paid for by State Historical Fund revenues. The center included more space for museum exhibits, educational programs, a research library, staff offices, and public events. The atrium floor featured a forty-foot by sixty-foot topographical map of the state crafted by artist Steven Weizman.¹⁹⁰

Large-Scale Office Buildings, Hotels, and Condominiums

For the first time since the early 1980s, significant construction of large-scale high-rise offices, hotels, condominiums, and apartments resumed in the 2003-14 period, and numbers of construction cranes once more nested in downtown Denver. According to the Downtown Denver Partnership, between January 2008 and April 2014, \$3 billion dollars of investment enriched downtown, with \$1.8 billion underway. The projects included 2.7 million square feet of office space, nearly 2,300 hotel rooms, and 5,688 residential units.¹⁹¹ Notably, several of the projects pursued LEED certification, and a number included a mix of uses, such as a building containing a hotel with separate floors of condominiums.¹⁹²

A 2013 study of the nation’s largest cities found Denver ranked fourteenth for construction of buildings eighteen stories and higher during the 2000-13 era.¹⁹³ *Property Management Insider* noted an increased pace for high-rise developments in 2014: “The renaissance of downtown living in cities across the U.S. is on, like it was in 2005 when smaller urban footprints like those in Denver, Seattle, Milwaukee and Las Vegas began building towers that pushed skylines upward.” The study noted “the properties are marketed toward the 21-35 age group as well as empty nesters that prefer an urban, more pedestrian lifestyle compared to suburban living” and access to entertainment infrastructure.¹⁹⁴

Downtown. Ken Schroepel of the *Denver Infill* blog deemed downtown infill the top urbanism trend of the 2000s, explaining that by the late 1990s the central business district was

running out of historic buildings to convert and yet the demand for being in or near Downtown Denver was stronger than ever, so ‘infill’ became the ‘in’ thing. One by one, weedy vacant parcels and barren surface parking lots were transformed into condos and hotels and offices and apartments and shops and everything in between, and by the time our big Sesquicentennial rolled around [2008], infill was everywhere.¹⁹⁵

New downtown office towers included 1800 Larimer Street (2010), a twenty-two-story LEED Platinum building by RNL Design that is home to Xcel Energy. The 16M building at 1350 16th Street, completed in 2014, features a mix of apartments, offices, and retail. Although the new buildings represented the latest trends in architectural design and technological innovation, many of the buildings were planned with recognition of the surrounding neighborhoods and intended as links between historic and more recent areas of construction.

Downtown gained a number of new hotels during the last decade. The 2005 Hyatt Regency at the Convention Center (650 15th Street) included thirty-eight stories and cost \$285 million. In 2010 the \$350 million Four Seasons Hotel and Residences opened at 1111 14th Street. The forty-five-story glass and concrete tower with a 75' mast housed a hotel on its lower sixteen stories, while the upper stories contained condominiums. Carney Architects prepared the plans for what was reportedly the most expensive privately owned building ever built in Denver. Other recent downtown hotels include the Residence Inn Denver City Center (2006), Hilton Garden Inn (2007), and Embassy Suites (2010). The new construction also embraced downtown condominiums, such as One Lincoln Park (East 20th Avenue and Lincoln Street), a thirty-one-story building with a swimming pool and fitness center designed by Buchanan Yonushewski Group and completed in 2008. The 2009 Spire, rising forty-one stories at 891 14th Street, was planned by RNL Design and included floors of parking and ground-story retail.¹⁹⁶

Outside of Downtown. Many neighborhoods outside of downtown and the Central Platte Valley received mid- to high-rise offices, residential buildings, and other facilities during the 2003-14 period.¹⁹⁷ In the Denver Tech Center the twenty-three-story Postmodern Penterra Residential Tower/Penterra Plaza opened in 2003 at 8100 East Union Avenue. The Pinnacle at City Park South rose at 1650 Fillmore Street in 2009; the Buchanan Yonushewski Group designed the twenty-seven-story Postmodern condominium. The Civic Center neighborhood (Golden Triangle) gained several multi-family residential buildings: the Prado (2002, 300 West 11th Avenue, eighteen stories), the Boulevard (2005, 150 West 9th Avenue, a four-story building covering an entire city block), and the Acoma Apartments (2005, 816 Acoma Street, sixteen stories and 223 units), while the Beauvallon (2005, 925-75 Lincoln Street) with two fifteen-story towers is situated to the east in the Capitol Hill neighborhood. The five-story Line 28 at LoHi was completed in 2014 at 1560 Boulder Street in the Highland neighborhood. In the Berkeley neighborhood, Tennyson Street between West 44th and West 46th avenues received several condominiums and apartments. The U-MX-3 zoning applied to the corridor in 2010 stimulated construction.

A number of mixed-use buildings (those integrating more than one function, such as residential, commercial, cultural, etc., often allowing for compact development in areas of high density) with condominiums and apartments have risen along East Colfax Avenue since 2001. Chamberlain Heights (1489 Steele Street), a five-story fifty-six-unit condominium building completed in 2001, became “the first residential development on Colfax in more than eighty years.”¹⁹⁸ The 1953 Moderne-style Lowenstein/Bonfils Memorial Theater (5DV.4045) on East Colfax found new life in 2005. The theater closed in 1986 and remained vacant until the St. Charles Town Company acquired the property, listed it on the National Register, and found a tenant—the Tattered Cover Bookstore—for its adaptive reuse.

The \$15 million project also added 25,000 square feet of new retail space and a parking structure, turning the spot into a heavily used center for entertainment (the Sie Denver Film Center), shopping (the Twist and Shout music store), and restaurants outside downtown. In 2006 Colfax Avenue from the State Capitol east to Colorado Boulevard received “Main Street Zoning,” an effort to create a desired form and feel along the corridor. The Renaissance Uptown Lofts (1509 Pearl Street), apartments for low income and formerly homeless people, opened in 2010. The five-story ninety-nine-unit building cost \$12 million and includes retail. Farther east, at 7171 East Colfax Avenue, the five-story Phoenix on the Fax (2012) cost \$10.5 million and features fifty apartments and ground-floor retail.¹⁹⁹

According to architecture critic Mary Voelz Chandler, improvement and expansion of the Cherry Creek Shopping Center in 1990 impacted the surrounding neighborhood: “a boom economy produced a new wave of development and new plans that recognized the neighborhood as an area of change. . . . Cottages disappeared, some replaced by mega-townhomes and residential clusters.”²⁰⁰ The 2005 mixed-use Clayton Lane development on the north side of East 1st Avenue featured retail, office,

condominiums, and a J.W. Marriott hotel. Tryba Architects received the Mayor’s Design Award, AIA Denver Design Award, and AIA Colorado Honor Award for the project.²⁰¹

Re-Zoning and Neighborhood Residential Construction

In the first comprehensive re-zoning of the city since 1956, Denver enacted a form-based zoning code in 2010. Planner Ken Schroepel asserted the old code “encouraged the destruction of historic neighborhoods through incompatible development, required new development to be designed around the automobile, and generally dehumanized our built environment.”²⁰² Identified neighborhood contexts formed the basis for zoning districts. The Community Planning and Development Department indicated: “A context-based approach sets standards for compatible development. The neighborhood contexts are distinguished from one another by their physical and functional characteristics,” including such features as street, alley and block patterns; building placement and height; diversity, distribution and intensity of land uses; and diversity of mobility options.²⁰³ Neighborhood categories within the city include urban, general urban, urban edge, urban center, downtown, suburban, and special context districts. In the wake of the adoption of the new code, controversies arose in some established neighborhoods, with residents discovering incorrect zoning and battling subsequent rezoning requests from developers.

Residential building continued in the New Urbanist developments of Stapleton, Lowry, and Highlands’ Garden Village, described earlier. The bulk of Stapleton’s growth occurred after 2003. Lowry gained additional residential areas in its northwest corner and at the northeast edge. The Globeville neighborhood received a small New Urbanist development in Snavely’s Addition at East 51st Avenue and Sherman Street in 2003-05. Outside of these areas, other than continued development in the Gateway-Green Valley Ranch neighborhood, there were no other significant concentrations of new subdivision-level construction.

Instead, a significant amount of single-family and duplex construction completed during 2003-14 period consisted of demolition and infill on parcels in selected neighborhoods, typically characterized by a larger new building displacing a smaller, older dwelling. Residential infill tended to be concentrated in certain neighborhoods rather than evenly dispersed throughout the city. An examination of Denver Assessor data revealed a dense clustering of residential infill development in southeast Denver in an area roughly bounded by Broadway on the west, Colorado Boulevard and Quebec Street on the east, East 6th Avenue on the north, and Yale on the south. Included within this area were the neighborhoods of Cherry Creek, Belcaro, Hilltop, Montclair, Cory-Merrill, University Park, University, Washington Park, Washington Park West, and Platt Park. Other areas with markedly higher clusters of infill included the east part of Highland, central West Highland, west Berkeley, Five Points, Westwood, and the west part of College View-South Platte.

Historic Preservation Gains

Denver gained thirty-one additional individual landmarks and nine new historic districts between 2003 and 2014.²⁰⁴ Notably, three large residential areas were designated as Denver Landmark Districts: Driving Park (2003) in the Country Club neighborhood and Wolff Place (2006) and Allen M. Ghost (2010) in the West Highland neighborhood. Residents embraced local historic districts as vehicles for recognizing the historic significance of neighborhoods and preserving their character in an era of rapid infill development. In 2012 the City Beautiful-era Denver Civic Center (5DV.161) became the city’s first National Historic Landmark.

In another major historic preservation milestone, in 2013 Historic Denver, Inc., in partnership with the Community Planning and Development Department launched Discover Denver, an ambitious project to complete a historic building survey of the entire city. The initial phase developed project methodology

and software, which were tested and refined in pilot surveys of selected areas within the city. A second phase developed historic contexts and theme documents organized by eras and rolled out the first of the formal surveys of neighborhoods. Grants from State Historical Fund have supported the Discover Denver project.²⁰⁵

State Historical Fund (SHF) grants provided significant monetary backing for restoration and rehabilitation of historic buildings in Denver. Major grant awards went to preserve resources such as St. Cajetan's Church (5DV.702), Colorado State Capitol (5DV.6000), Molkery/Montclair Civic Building (5DV.848), Denver Municipal Auditorium (5DV.521), Ideal Basic Cement Company Corporate Hangar (5DV.9446), Matthews-Gotthelf House (5DV.103.1), Daniels and Fisher Tower 5DV.118, and Colorado Governor's Mansion (5DV.169). SHF financial resources helped Emerson School (5DV.1495) in Capitol Hill become a demonstration project for historic preservation techniques and energy savings. The building now houses the offices of Historic Denver, Inc., the Mountain and Plains Office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Colorado Preservation, Inc. The FasTracks project and a private-public partnership restored life to Denver's Union Station (5DV.114), listed on the National Register and as a Denver Landmark. State Historical fund grants made possible restoration and repair of dozens of other buildings throughout the city.

The New Green Economy

During the early twenty-first century a large and growing marijuana industry emerged in Denver, supported by a framework of local and state laws and tolerance from the federal government. Colorado voters approved legalization of medical marijuana in 2000, spurring the creation of dispensaries within the City and County. In 2005 Denver voters backed decriminalizing the possession of small amounts of marijuana for recreational uses. In 2012, Colorado voters endorsed a citizen initiative to legalize the sale of marijuana for recreational use, and in January 2014 recreational marijuana outlets opened in Denver. In late 2013 the *Denver Post* added its first marijuana editor and launched "The Cannabist" website.

Nationwide, comedians and other commentators found much humor in these events. By September 2014 the city boasted 273 medical and/or recreational licensees, operating out of more than two hundred locations. Large numbers of marijuana facilities opened along Broadway, Colfax Avenue, Federal Boulevard, and the I-70 corridor.²⁰⁶ The city also attracted warehouse-based facilities for growing marijuana, known as "grow houses." During 2014 statewide sales totaled \$700 million with \$76 million going to state and local taxes.²⁰⁷ The *Washington Post* concluded "the first year of legal weed in Colorado went about as well as anyone could hope," noting the number of fatal car accidents remained flat and crime was down in the Denver area.²⁰⁸

7.5 Conclusion

Denver displayed strong growth in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The 2010 Census reported a population of 600,158, an 8.2 percent increase from 2000, although Denver's share of the seven-county region's population dropped to 22 percent. It was then the twenty-sixth largest municipality in the country. The 2010 Census documented a continuation of the racial and ethnic trends discussed earlier: whites comprised 52 percent of the population in 2010, Hispanics 32 percent, African Americans 10 percent, Asians 3 percent, and all other 3 percent. Nearly 43 percent of Denverites possessed a Bachelor's degree or higher in 2010, a much greater percentage than for the state or nation. In terms of housing tenure, Denver households were evenly divided between owners and renters. The strong growth continued in subsequent years. Denver's pace of growth quickened in the 2010s, increasing 10.6 percent between 2010 and 2014, boosting the city to the twenty-first most populous city in the nation with 663,862 residents.

By the mid-2010s debate grew over how to best accommodate this rapid growth. A 2014 “Housing Denver” plan included ideas for encouraging affordable development, although much new construction was designed for prosperous young professionals. The cost of homes and apartment rentals has risen dramatically. Developers were forced to search farther from the city center for building opportunities.²⁰⁹ Infill construction within established neighborhoods continued, and discontent grew over higher density changing their character, increasing traffic and congestion, and increasing housing prices.²¹⁰ At-large city councilwoman Robin Kniech believed, “Redevelopment areas . . . are our best chance to really plan for and absorb large numbers of new homes in a way that can relieve some of the pressure for growth within existing neighborhoods.”²¹¹ Examples of sizable new redevelopment areas included the former St. Anthony Hospital acreage south of Sloan Lake, the University Hospital site at East 8th Avenue and Colorado Boulevard, and the River North (RiNo) former industrial area northeast of downtown. Hotel and office construction also increased in the city as did building permits.

The City also planned ambitious new civic projects, including redesigning the Denver Performing Arts Complex to “make it more relevant,” improving and adding downtown parks and creating green space in association with new developments, and transforming the 16th Street Mall into a place where people would spend more time.²¹² The Colorado Department of Transportation continued moving ahead with plans to replace the elevated portion of I-70 east of I-25 through the Elyria-Swansea neighborhood. At the beginning of his second term in July 2015, Mayor Hancock called on the city to spend \$15 million a year on affordable housing, capitalize on its attractiveness to young professionals, and invest in alternative transportation options. His building program sought to reinvigorate downtown areas, make the National Western Stock show site a year-round venue for events and entertainment, and open land at Denver International Airport for new commercial construction.²¹³ The Mayor’s Design Awards, created in 2005, presented local citizens with recognition for “creative contributions to the public realm through innovative design.” A category of these awards was for buildings reflecting preservation and adaptive reuse of historic buildings.

As Denver moves beyond the sesquicentennial of its settlement, its early days as a fledging mining settlement at the confluence of the South Platte River and Cherry Creek become increasingly distant reminders of where we came from. Mayor John Hickenlooper once remarked: “Denver is a city that will be far more defined by its future than its past.”²¹⁴ Yet many of the events, movements, buildings, and enterprises from Denver’s history still resonate and continue to influence the shape and direction of today’s city. The city’s history contains lessons still relevant today, including the vagaries of a boom and bust economy. Writing in 1986, historians Lyle Dorsett and Michael McCarthy advised Denverites

to understand what their city is and what they want it to be. Then, with a mixture of caution and boldness, they must proceed. Above all, they must remember that bigger buildings do not and will not make a great city, nor will sprawling suburbs or mindless boosterism. What will make it great are people who care about other people and about the delicate and irreplaceable landscape they inhabit together.²¹⁵

Endnotes

¹ This context provides information for evaluating resources thirty years of age and older, the minimum age for Denver Landmark designation without possessing exceptional significance.

² Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 427.

³ Furthermore, legal challenges settled after 1980 reversed several Denver annexations on its southwest border, removing population and reducing the area of the City and County to roughly 111 square miles by the early 1980s.

⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Gross Migration for Counties: 1970 to 1980* (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, March 1984), 135-36.

⁵ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 411-15.

⁶ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 409.

⁷ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 419.

⁸ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 416.

⁹ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 379.

¹⁰ Lyle Dorsett and Michael G. McCarthy, *The Queen City: A History of Denver* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing, 1986), 281.

¹¹ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 293-94; Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 323.

¹² Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 323.

¹³ Dennis R. Judd and Randy L. Ready, "Entrepreneurial Cities and the New Politics of Economic Development," in *Reagan and the Cities*, eds. George E. Peterson and Carol Lewis (Washington: Urban Institute, 1986), 219.

¹⁴ DURA, *50 Years of Revitalizing Denver*, 2008, www.renewdenver.org/assets/files/50thAnniversaryReport.pdf (accessed 19 August 2015).

¹⁵ Writer Square received a Colorado American Institute of Architects 25 Year Award.

¹⁶ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 411; Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 324.

¹⁷ Michael Paglia, Rodd L. Wheaton, and Diane Wray, *Denver: The Modern City* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1999), 76-81.

¹⁸ Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 324. The second tower remains unbuilt in 2015.

¹⁹ *Denver Business Journal*, 24 July 2013, www.bizjournals.com (accessed 20 August 2015). Competition from Cherry Creek Shopping Center and the closure of downtown department stores caused Tabor Center's popularity to diminish. In 2000-02 it received a \$26 million renovation.

²⁰ Michael Leccese, "Rocky Mountain High," *Architecture* (July 1998): 32.

²¹ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 416.

²² Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 423.

²³ Judd and Ready, "Entrepreneurial Cities and the New Politics of Economic Development," 219.

²⁴ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 425.

²⁵ *Denver Post*, 12 April 1998.

²⁶ City and County of Denver, Public Trustee, Historical Statistics, 1978-2009, <https://www.denvergov.org> (accessed 10 August 2015). Between 1981 and 1993 foreclosure filings totaled 31,732; at least 18,748 public trustee deeds were issued, indicating owners lost their properties.

²⁷ "Historic Unemployment Rates: Denver, Colorado," unofficial data, Susan Campolongo, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Local Area Unemployment Statistics, Washington, DC, email to Thomas H. Simmons, 7 July 2015.

²⁸ *New York Times*, 31 May 1997.

²⁹ Rodney B. Hero, *Latinos and the U.S. Political System: Two-Tiered Pluralism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 116.

³⁰ *Denver Post*, 23 June 1991, 1-A.

³¹ *Denver Post*, 27 October 1991, 2-D.

³² Federico Pena, "State of the City Address, 1985," in the files of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

³³ *Denver Post*, 23 June 1991, 1A.

³⁴ Leonard and Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, 438.

³⁵ Quoted in *Denver Post*, 13 August 1991, 7B.

- ³⁶ Denver Regional Council of Governments, *Shaping the Region with One Voice* (Denver: Denver Regional Council of Governments, 2005).
- ³⁷ Paul S. Dempsey, Andrew R. Goetz, and Joseph S. Syliowicz, *Denver International Airport: Lessons Learned* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1997), 125.
- ³⁸ Dempsey, et al, *Denver International Airport*, 16.
- ³⁹ Mark Samuelson, ed., *Denver International Airport, Official Souvenir Program and Art Guide* (Westminster, Colorado: The Publishing House, Spring 1994), 32.
- ⁴⁰ *The Independent* (London, United Kingdom), 15 May 1994.
- ⁴¹ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *The President's National Urban Policy Report, 1982* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982), 14.
- ⁴² Quoted in Judd and Ready, "Entrepreneurial Cities and the New Politics of Economic Development," 226.
- ⁴³ *Rocky Mountain News*, 17 June 1990, 2C; Phil Goodstein, *DIA and Other Scams, Denver in Our Time*, vol. 2 (Denver: New Social Publications, 2000), 257-58.
- ⁴⁴ Quoted in Michael N. Danielson, *Home Team: Professional Sports and the American Metropolis* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 108.
- ⁴⁵ Christopher Gregory, "The House that Joe Taxpayer Built: Preserving the Role of Baseball Stadiums without Providing Distorted Public Subsidies," *Willamette Sports Law Journal* 1 (Winter 2004): 4-5.
- ⁴⁶ *Denver Post*, 22 February 2001.
- ⁴⁷ *Denver Post*, 22 February 2001. Remarkably, the city permitted a revived grand prix in the vicinity of the Pepsi Center in 2001 and 2006.
- ⁴⁸ Only 7,970 parcels of all types were developed in Denver between 1983 and 1989, about 17 percent of the total for the 1983-2014 period.
- ⁴⁹ Ken Schroepel, "Denver's Single-Family Homes by Decade: 1980s," 15 July 2012, denverurbanism.com (accessed 4 March 2016).
- ⁵⁰ Thomas J. Noel, *Denver's Larimer Street: Main Street, Skid Row, and Urban Renaissance* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1981), 38-39.
- ⁵¹ These numbers only include resources within the territorial limits of Denver; the eight Curtis Park districts are tabulated separately.
- ⁵² *Denver Business Journal*, *Journal of a Century* (Denver: Denver Business Journal, 1999), 59.
- ⁵³ *Denver Business Journal*, *Journal of a Century*, 59.
- ⁵⁴ Scientific and Cultural Facilities District, *SCFD: 2014 Report to the Community* (Denver: Scientific and Cultural Facilities District, 2014), 2.
- ⁵⁵ Dennis J. Gallagher, *Building a Great City with Borrowed Money: An Historical Overview of Denver's General Obligation Debt* (Denver: City and County of Denver, Office of the Auditor, 2009).
- ⁵⁶ Michael Paglia, Rodd Wheaton, and Diane Wray, *Denver: The Modern City* (Denver: Historic Denver, Inc., 1999), 76.
- ⁵⁷ For the entire 1990-2002 period 18,201 parcels of all types were developed, 38 percent of the 1983-2014 total. These figures are based on an analysis of the Denver Assessor parcel file.
- ⁵⁸ Phil Goodstein, *Big Money in the Big City, Denver in Our Time*, vol. 1 (Denver: New Social Publications, 1999), 35.
- ⁵⁹ *Denver Post*, 23 June 1991, 1A.
- ⁶⁰ Deborah L. Tucker, *To Make a Mayor* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1995).
- ⁶¹ *Denver Post*, 19 June 1991, 14A.
- ⁶² *Denver Post*, 19 June 1991, 14A.
- ⁶³ *Denver Post*, 19 June 1991, 14A.
- ⁶⁴ *Denver Post*, 19 June 1991 and 13 July 2003.
- ⁶⁵ *Denver Post*, 13 July 2003, 1A.
- ⁶⁶ *Denver Post*, 28 October 1991, 1B.
- ⁶⁷ *Denver Post*, 13 July 2003, 1A
- ⁶⁸ *Denver Post*, 13 July 2003, 1A.
- ⁶⁹ *Denver Post*, 26 November 1999, 1B1.
- ⁷⁰ *Denver Post*, 13 July 2003, 1A.
- ⁷¹ *Denver Post*, 26 November 1999, 1B.

⁷² *Denver Post*, 26 November 1999 and 13 July 2003.

⁷³ *Denver Post*, 26 November 1999, 1B.

⁷⁴ *Denver Post*, 13 July 2003, 1A.

⁷⁵ *Denver Post*, 13 July 2003, 1A.

⁷⁶ Paul G. Lewis, *Shaping Suburbia: How Political Institutions Organize Urban Development* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 158-59.

⁷⁷ Dempsey, et al, *Denver International Airport*, xi.

⁷⁸ Dempsey, et al, *Denver International Airport*, xii and 20.

⁷⁹ Thomas J. Noel, *Buildings of Colorado* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 99.

⁸⁰ Herbert Muschamp, "Architecture View," *New York Times*, 7 May 1995.

⁸¹ Fentress Architects, "Denver International Airport," fentressarchitects.com (accessed 9 March 2016).

⁸² *Denver Business Journal*, 20 February 2005.

⁸³ Michael Leccese, "Rocky Mountain High," *Architecture* (July 1998): 33.

⁸⁴ Denver Public Library, "Michael Graves," <https://www.denverlibrary.org/contentmichael-graves> (accessed 3 March 2016).

⁸⁵ Muschamp, "Architecture View," *New York Times*, 7 May 1995.

⁸⁶ Mary Voelz Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum, 2013), 111.

⁸⁷ "20th Anniversary Denver Central Library," *Life on Capitol Hill*, May 2015, 1 and 3.

⁸⁸ *Denver Post*, 19 March 1991, A1 and 2 November 1995, A1; Paglia, et al, *Denver: The Modern City*, 84.

⁸⁹ *Denver Post*, 25 October 1998, E9.

⁹⁰ *Denver Post*, 5 November 1998, A1.

⁹¹ "Coors Field," Ballparks of Baseball, www.ballparksofbaseball.com (accessed 19 August 2015).

⁹² Muschamp, "Architecture View," *New York Times*, 7 May 1995.

⁹³ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 66.

⁹⁴ The city gained a professional basketball team in 1967 with the Denver Rockets of the American Basketball League; the name changed to Denver Nuggets in 1974 and the team became part of the National Basketball League after the two leagues merged in 1976. The Colorado Avalanche (originally the Quebec Nordiques) began playing in Denver in 1996 following their purchase and relocation from Quebec City.

⁹⁵ Denver Urban Renewal Authority explains: "When DURA partners with a private developer and provides assistance to help finance redevelopment of a blighted property in Denver, the principal tool it uses is tax increment financing or TIF. TIF is a mechanism to capture the net new or incremental taxes that are created when a vacant or underutilized property is redeveloped and use those revenues to help finance the project." The city demolished McNichols Arena in 1999 during construction of a new football stadium. DURA, "How Tax Increment Financing (TIF) Works," www.renewdenver.org (accessed 18 August 2015).

⁹⁶ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 141.

⁹⁷ DURA, "Pepsi Center," www.renewdenver.org (accessed 11 August 2015); Leccese, "Rocky Mountain High," 33; "Pepsi Center," www.pepsicenter.com (accessed 7 August 2015). The Colorado Crush and the Colorado Mammoths also use the arena.

⁹⁸ *Denver Post*, 4 November 1998, A1.

⁹⁹ Kevin J. Delaney and Rick Eckstein, *Public Dollars, Private Stadiums: The Battle Over Building Sports Stadiums* (Piscataway, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 118.

¹⁰⁰ "Sports Authority Field at Mile High," www.sportsauthorityfieldatmilehigh.com (accessed 19 August 2015); Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 110. Popular sentiment pushed for retention of "Mile High" in the name. In 2011 the stadium became known as Sports Authority Field at Mile High.

¹⁰¹ *Denver Post*, 1 February 1999.

¹⁰² Denver Community and Planning Agency, *Blueprint Denver: An Integrated Land Use and Transportation Plan* (Denver: Denver Community and Planning Agency, 2002), 5.

¹⁰³ This discussion of New Urbanism is drawn primarily from Leland M. Roth, *A History of American Architecture* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2001), 537-541.

¹⁰⁴ DURA, *50 Years*, 20.

¹⁰⁵ DURA, *50 Years*, 24.

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- ¹⁰⁶ Stapleton Development Corporation, “The Stapleton Story,” <http://222.sdcdenver.org> (accessed 7 August 2015).
- ¹⁰⁷ Laura Kenney, “Former Stapleton Airport Control Tower to Become Punch Bowl Social,” *Denver Post*, 9 March 2015, www.denverpost.com (accessed 3 March 2016).
- ¹⁰⁸ “Our Story-Stapleton Denver,” <http://www.stapletondenver.com> (accessed 7 August 2015); Ken Schroepfel, “#8: Stapleton Redevelopment,” <http://denverinfill.com/blog> (accessed 7 August 2015); DURA, “Stapleton,” www.renewdenver.org (accessed 11 August 2015).
- ¹⁰⁹ Phil Goodstein, *North Side Story* (Denver: New Social Publications, 2011), 357. East Bay is bounded by Lowell Boulevard, Julian Street, West 19th Avenue, and West 21st Avenue.
- ¹¹⁰ Ken Schroepfel, “Denver’s Single-Family Homes by Decade: 1990s,” denverurbanism.com (accessed 4 March 2016).
- ¹¹¹ The Denver Eye, www.thedenvereye.com (accessed 14 August 2015); Tyler Sprague, “Hyperbolic Paraboloids and Northwest Modernism,” University of Washington Arch [Be]log, <http://uwarch-belog.com> (accessed 29 August 2015). The Zeckendorf Plaza development was the first in the nation to combine a hotel, department store, and public plaza. A type of thin-shell concrete construction, a hyperbolic paraboloid is “a doubly curved geometric shape created from the rotation of only straight lines—generating a ‘twist’ of an otherwise flat plane.”
- ¹¹² DURA, “Adams Mark Hotel,” www.renewdenver.org (accessed 13 August 2015).
- ¹¹³ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 29.
- ¹¹⁴ Paglia, Wheaton, and Wray, *Denver: The Modern City* (Denver: Historic Denver, 1999), 34.
- ¹¹⁵ DURA, “Denver Pavilions,” www.renewdenver.org (accessed 14 August 2015).
- ¹¹⁶ Denver Urban Renewal Authority (DURA) issued \$31.5 million in tax increment financing bonds to provide adequate funding for the project.
- ¹¹⁷ ELS Architecture, “Denver Pavilions,” elsarch.com (accessed 12 August 2015).
- ¹¹⁸ DURA, “Denver Pavilions,”
- ¹¹⁹ *Denver Post*, 1 and 15 November 1998.
- ¹²⁰ History Colorado, State Historical Fund, <http://www.historycolorado.org> (accessed 15 July 2015).
- ¹²¹ History Colorado, State Historical Fund, “All Grants Awarded through Fiscal Year 2014” (Denver: History Colorado, 2014). See also, Thomas J. Noel, *Guide to Colorado’s Historic Places: Sites Funded by the State Historical Fund* (Boulder: Westcliffe Publishers, 2007).
- ¹²² Thomas J. Noel, *Denver Landmarks & Historic Districts: A Pictorial Guide* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1996), xi.
- ¹²³ *Historic Denver News*, Winter, 2011, 1.
- ¹²⁴ In March 2015 the City Council approved renaming the Welton Street Historic Commercial Cultural District to the Five Points Historic Cultural District.
- ¹²⁵ DURA, *50 Years*, 16.
- ¹²⁶ *Denver Post*, 1 March 1999, C-01; Forney Museum, “History of the Forney Museum,” www.forneymuseum.org (accessed 11 August 2015).
- ¹²⁷ Carol Farnsworth, ed., *Built for Learning: A Unified Architectural Vision for the University of Denver* (Denver: University of Denver, 2008), 37.
- ¹²⁸ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 329.
- ¹²⁹ Annex I, a 1949 National Register-listed building erected originally as classrooms for the University of Denver, received a full renovation as part of the project.
- ¹³⁰ National Resources Defense Council, “Building Green—LEED Certification Information,” www.nrdc.org/buildinggreen/leed.asp (access 9 March 2016).
- ¹³¹ Sarah Goldblatt, “Civic Lesson: Wellington E. Webb Municipal Office Building,” *Colorado Architect*, Spring 2011, 28.
- ¹³² Goldblatt, “Civic Lesson,” 28.
- ¹³³ *Denver Post*, 25 July 2000 and 27 September 2002; “Wellington E. Webb Municipal Office Building,” www.milehighdevelopment.com (accessed 5 August 2015); “Wellington Webb Municipal Building,” <http://www.emporis.com> (accessed 3 August 2015).
- ¹³⁴ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 35.

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- ¹³⁵ U.S. District Court, District of Colorado, “About the Alfred A. Arraj Courthouse,” <http://www.cod.uscourts.gov> (accessed 4 March 2016).
- ¹³⁶ *Denver Post*, 13 July 2003, 1A.
- ¹³⁷ *DURA*, 50 Years, 17.
- ¹³⁸ *Denver Post*, 21 June 1999, B-11.
- ¹³⁹ *Denver Post*, 13 June 1999, LFS-D-01 and 21 June 1999, B-11; www.aquariumrestaurants.com (accessed 11 August 2015); Leccese, “Rocky Mountain High,” 33. The aquarium project received \$57 million Housing and Urban Development revenue bonds. The venue also featured Sumatran tigers and “Mystic Mermaids.”
- ¹⁴⁰ *Denver Post*, 16 August 1993.
- ¹⁴¹ *National Catholic Register*, 23 August 2013.
- ¹⁴² *New York Times*, 19 June 1997. The custom-made wood table around which the leaders met is now in the Library Commissioners room at the library.
- ¹⁴³ Between 1990 and 2000 Broomfield became the state’s second city and county, increasing the region’s counties from six to seven.
- ¹⁴⁴ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, “City and County of Denver Local area Unemployment Statistics, 1990-2015,” www.bls.gov (accessed 7 July 2015).
- ¹⁴⁵ *Denver Post*, 28 July 2014.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Denver Post*, 15 November 2010, 21A.
- ¹⁴⁷ Maximillian Potter, “The Happy Shrewdness of John W. Hickenlooper,” 5280, August 2012.
- ¹⁴⁸ Bryan won Colorado’s five electoral votes in November but lost the election to William Howard Taft.
- ¹⁴⁹ *New York Times*, 12 January 2007.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Denver Post*, 27 October 2008.
- ¹⁵¹ Mayor’s Office, About the Office of the Mayor, History of the Office, www.denvergov.org (accessed 17 July 2015). No other politician directly ascended as mayor to governor. John L. Routt served as Colorado’s first governor (1876-79) before becoming Denver mayor (1883-85) and then winning a second term as governor (1891-93).
- ¹⁵² Bill Vidal, Manager of Public Works, served the remaining months of Hickenlooper’s term.
- ¹⁵³ *BizWest*, 5 September 2003.
- ¹⁵⁴ Tom Clark, “Top Five Largest Real Estate Projects in Metro Denver,” Metro Denver Economic Development Commission, www.metrodenver.org (accessed 17 August 2015).
- ¹⁵⁵ *Denver Post*, 29 February 2004, 17A.
- ¹⁵⁶ Regional Transportation District, “FasTracks Program Schedule,” <http://www.rtd-fastracks.com> (accessed 21 August 2015).
- ¹⁵⁷ Taras Grescoe, “How Denver Is Becoming the Most Advanced Transit City in the West,” *The Atlantic*, 24 June 2014.
- ¹⁵⁸ Grescoe, “How Denver Is Becoming the Most Advanced Transit City in the West.”
- ¹⁵⁹ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 42. The hotel’s name honors Dana Crawford, longtime developer and historic preservationist.
- ¹⁶⁰ Michael Paglia, “The Ten Worst 21st-Century Buildings in Downtown Denver,” *Westword*, 8 July 2015.
- ¹⁶¹ Denver Infill, www.denverinfill.com/blog (access 16 August 2015); Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 102-07.
- ¹⁶² City and County of Denver, *Transit Oriented Denver: Transit Oriented Development Strategic Plan, 2014* (Denver: City and County of Denver, 2014), 9.
- ¹⁶³ Reconnecting America and the Center for Transit Oriented Development, *Why Transit-Oriented Development and Why Now?* (Oakland, California: Reconnecting America, 2007).
- ¹⁶⁴ Grescoe, “How Denver Is Becoming the Most Advanced Transit City in the West.”
- ¹⁶⁵ R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, “Gates Rubber Company Plant (5DV.48), Colorado OAHF Level II Historic Resource Documentation, Final” (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., 2014), 55; Carol Carder, “Cherokee and Lionstone,” *Building Design + Construction*, 28 July 2008; Chad Reischl, “Gates Redevelopment: A Refresher,” 3 February 2014, Denver Infill Blog, <http://denverinfill.com/blog> (accessed 24 August 2015). Buildings were demolished in the central portion of the former plant in 2014 and environmental remediation is underway.

- ¹⁶⁶ Caitlin Hendee, “Millennials in Denver, Nation Trending away from Commuting by Car, Report Finds,” *Denver Business Journal*, 14 August 2015. William Strauss and Neil Howe are credited with coining the term “Millennials” and define it as including birth years from 1982 through 2004. See, William Strauss and Neil Howe, *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation* (New York: Vintage Original, 2000).
- ¹⁶⁷ Cathy Proctor, “Car-Share Popularity Growing in Denver,” *Denver Business Journal*, 8 May 2015.
- ¹⁶⁸ Denver Public Library, “About the Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library,” <https://history.denverlibrary/about-blair> (accessed 7 March 2016).
- ¹⁶⁹ “About Blair-Caldwell AARL,” www.denverpubliclibrary.org (accessed 7 August 2015).
- ¹⁷⁰ *Symposia*, 4(December 1969):18; *Architectural Record*, 148(December 1970):81-86; *Rocky Mountain News*, 23 November 1969.
- ¹⁷¹ *Rocky Mountain News*, 27 November 2004, 1D; Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 26; Panache Partners, Inc., *City by Design: An Architectural Perspective of Denver* (Plano, Texas: Panache Partners, 2010), 122 and 124.
- ¹⁷² City and County of Denver “Lawrence Argent, the Man behind the Blue Bear,” www.denvergov.org (access 29 August 2015). Lawrence Argent executed the sculpture which is officially titled “I See What You Mean.”
- ¹⁷³ Ken Schroepel, “#9: Convention Center Expansion and Hotel,” *Denver Infill*, 17 January 2010, denverinfill.com/blog (accessed 8 March 2016).
- ¹⁷⁴ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 49; Panache, *City by Design*, 234.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Denver Post*, 7 October 2007, E1; Dennis J. Gallagher, *Still Building a Better City with Borrowed Money: Better Denver Bond Program Citizen Update, 2013* (Denver: City and County of Denver, Office of the Auditor, 2013); Shirley Amore, “Budget Update: Building for the Library’s Future,” 3 May 2011, www.denverpubliclibrary.org (accessed 7 August 2015). The Boettcher Concert Hall construction was contingent on raising matching private funding, which has yet to transpire.
- ¹⁷⁶ *Denver Post*, 22 September 2008, A16.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Denver Post*, 7 August 2008, B4.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Denver Municipal Facts*, September-October 1924, 2-3.
- ¹⁷⁹ *Denver Post*, 5 October 2006, A-1.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ricci Greene Associates, “Featured Projects,” www.riccigreene.com (accessed 8 March 2016); *Denver Post*, 15 April 2010; OZ Architecture, ozarch.com (accessed 8 March 2016).
- ¹⁸¹ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 74-75; *Denver Post*, 15 April 2010. The courthouse honors Denverites Judge Benjamin B. Lindsey, a juvenile justice reformer, and James C. Flanigan, a pioneering African American lawyer and judge. The detention center is named for Philip Van Cise, Denver District Attorney in the 1920s, and John Simonet, a former Corrections Department manager.
- ¹⁸² *Denver Post*, 2 May 2013; Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 81.
- ¹⁸³ Studio Libeskind, “Projects,” libeskind.com (accessed 8 March 2016).
- ¹⁸⁴ *New York Times*, 28 March 2007.
- ¹⁸⁵ Panache Partners, *City by Design*, 149.
- ¹⁸⁶ *Rocky Mountain News*, 6 October 2006.
- ¹⁸⁷ Clyfford Still Museum, “About the Museum,” www.cliffordstillmuseum.org (accessed 17 July 2015).
- ¹⁸⁸ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 80.
- ¹⁸⁹ *Denver Post*, 17 August 2014; Denver Art Museum, Denver Art Museum Administration Building Fact Sheet, 16 April 2014, www.denverartmuseum.org (accessed 18 August 2015).
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- ¹⁹¹ Downtown Denver Partnership, “Downtown Denver Developments, 2008-2014,” map (Denver: Downtown Denver Partnership, 2014).
- ¹⁹² Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) is a set of standards for evaluating and independently certifying buildings in terms of energy use and sustainability. The U.S. Green Building Council developed the program to produce “greener” buildings. LEED certifications range from “certified” (the lowest acceptable ranking) to silver, gold, and platinum (the highest). U.S. Green Building Council, “What Is Green Building?,” <http://www.usgbc.org> (accessed 20 August 2015).

¹⁹³ David Holmes, "Trends in American High-Rise Construction," 20 August 2013, www.Urbanophile.com (accessed 2 September 2015).

¹⁹⁴ Tim Blackwell, "High-Rise Apartments See Surge in Mid-Sized Cities," 26 February 2014, www.propertymanagementinsider.com (accessed 2 September 2015).

¹⁹⁵ Ken Schroepfel, "#1: Downtown Denver Infill Boom," 9 February 2010, www.denverinfill.com/blog (accessed 22 March 2015).

¹⁹⁶ The discussion is drawn from a variety of sources, including Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, Denver Infill blog, www.denverinfill.com/blog, and Denver listings in the SkyscraperPage, www.skyscraperpage.com.

¹⁹⁷ Loren E. Keim, *The Fundamentals of Listing and Selling Commercial Real Estate* (West Conshohocken, Pennsylvania, 2007), 31-32; Frederick R. Steiner and Kent Butler, *American Planning Association Planning and Urban Design Standards* (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, 2007), 126-27; Fire and Rescue Departments of Northern Virginia, *Mid-Rise Building Fires*, 1st ed. (N.p.: Fire and Rescue Departments of Northern Virginia, 2013), 2. Definitions of what constitutes a mid- or high-rise building varies. Since so much construction activity occurred during this period, the buildings discussed are illustrative and intended to provide a feel for the nature and geographic range of development.

¹⁹⁸ *Westword*, 5 September 2005.

¹⁹⁹ Deana Swetlik, "Colfax: The West's 'Golden Road' Regaining Lost Luster," *Urbanland*, 11 October 2012; *Denver Post*, 22 May 2007, B3.

²⁰⁰ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 199.

²⁰¹ Chandler, *Guide to Denver Architecture*, 203.

²⁰² Ken Schroepfel, "Denver Approves New Zoning Code," 21 June 2010, denverinfill.org (accessed 11 March 2016).

²⁰³ City and County of Denver, Zoning, "Neighborhood Context," www.denvergov.org (accessed 20 July 2015).

²⁰⁴ In addition to the nine "new" districts, three additional parts of Curtis Park were also designated as districts.

²⁰⁵ Historic Denver, Inc., "Discover Denver," www.historicdenver.org (accessed 10 August 2015).

²⁰⁶ Denver City and County, "Marijuana Facilities: Retail Marijuana Stores and Medical Marijuana Centers," September 2014, data.denvergov.org (accessed 29 July 2015).

²⁰⁷ Ricardo Baca, "Chart: Colorado Marijuana Sales Hit \$700 Million for 2014," 12 February 2015, <http://www.thecannabist.co> (accessed 29 July 2015).

²⁰⁸ Christopher Ingraham, "Colorado's Legal Weed Market: \$700 Million in Sales Last Year, \$1 Billion by 2016," *Washington Post*, 12 February 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com> (accessed 29 July 2015).

²⁰⁹ *Denver Post*, 22 March 2015, 1A.

²¹⁰ *Denver Post*, 22 March 2015, 1A.

²¹¹ *Denver Post*, 22 March 2015, 1A.

²¹² *Denver Post*, 2 June 2015, 1A.

²¹³ *Denver Post*, 21 July 2015, 7A.

²¹⁴ Quoted in Ted A. Stedman, "Denver: The Good Life," *Global Traveler* (September 2009).

²¹⁵ Dorsett and McCarthy, *The Queen City*, 344.