

Colorado African American Travel and Recreation Resources Survey Plan, 2020

Final



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Prepared for:

Colorado Historical Foundation
P.O. Box 363
Golden, Colorado 80402
303-894-2503

Prepared by:

Thomas H. Simmons, M.A.
and R. Laurie Simmons, M.A.
Front Range Research Associates, Inc.
3635 West 46th Avenue
Denver, Colorado 80211

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COVER: Clockwise from top left: Crestline Motel, Commerce City; Alamo Hotel, Lamar; Prothro Tourist Home, Pueblo; and Wink’s Panorama, Pinecliffe vicinity. The first and third illustrations, Thomas H. Simmons, field photographs, 2020; second and fourth illustrations, Thomas H. and R. Laurie Simmons, historic postcard image collection, Denver, Colorado.

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this project was to develop a statewide historic resources survey plan for resources associated with African American travel and recreation during the era of segregation (through 1965). Project tasks included:

- identifying previously surveyed and designated historic resources
- developing a database of relevant resources using travel guides published for African American travelers and other sources
- completing a limited “windshield” survey of identified resources
- developing a historic overview
- determining potential property types
- conducting outreach concerning the project and participating in public meetings
- compiling survey priorities and costs

Participants

The State Historical Fund (SHF) of History Colorado awarded a grant to the Colorado Historical Foundation (CHF) in February 2020 to create a statewide survey plan for resources associated with African American travel and recreation in the era of segregation. CHF selected Front Range Research Associates, Inc. of Denver to prepare the plan. The company’s principals, historians Thomas H. Simmons and R. Laurie Simmons, identified relevant resources, developed a database, developed a historic overview, engaged in public and professional outreach, undertook a limited windshield survey of selected areas, and recommended future survey projects with estimated costs.¹ Catherine Stroh, Executive Director, and Cindy Nasky, Director, Preservation Programs, oversaw the project for CHF. History Colorado Survey Specialist Jenny Deichman administered the project for SHF.

A number of individuals helped identify potential resources, provided information on specific resources, or otherwise aided the effort. Among these individuals were: Denver County Judge Gary Jackson; Honey Goldberg, Denver, Colorado; Kathy Scranton, Big Timbers Museum, Lamar; Sara Doll, SHF; and Alexis Ehrigott, Clear Creek County Archives and Records.

Funding

This project was funded by a State Historical Fund Grant (number 2020-SP-003) to the Colorado Historical Foundation. The State Historical Fund is administered by History Colorado and receives a part of the state’s gaming tax revenues to award to historic preservation projects throughout Colorado. A competitive process is employed to select projects for funding. Examples of eligible projects include rehabilitation of historic buildings (bricks and mortar projects), historic structure assessments, education and interpretation of historic resources, and preservation planning projects, such as this survey plan.

Project Area

The project area encompassed the entire state of Colorado.

Methodology

This project presented challenges different from that of typical survey plans funded by History Colorado, which generally deal with historic resources concentrated within a city, county, or neighborhood, rather than the entire state. Additionally, often all resources within a particular geographic area are considered rather than scattered resources reflecting a specific historical theme, in this case African American travel during the era of segregation. This section briefly discusses the approach to developing the survey plan.

Identification of Previously Surveyed and Designated Resources

History Colorado Database. The structure of the History Colorado State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) site files database prevents a straight-forward means of identifying previously surveyed resources associated with African American travel or even those assessed as significant generally for Black heritage (or any other type of ethnic heritage).² While this information is collected on survey forms, National and State Register Historian Amy Unger explained: “Unfortunately area(s) of significance is not typically entered into the database for surveyed properties, only for properties that are listed.”³

To assist in identifying resources relevant for the survey plan, Unger provided two custom file searches for properties listed as significant for “Black” (nine resources) or “Ethnic Heritage” (seventy-eight resources). Most of the Black resources were traditional African American churches, but the list included three properties relevant to Black travel. The Ethnic Heritage search mostly included properties associated with Latinos/Hispanos and other non-African American groups. In addition to the resources identified in the Black file search, the Ethnic Heritage search yielded two additional travel-related records (see Table 1). A 2008 OAHF publication discussing resources associated with African American Heritage in Colorado, compiled by the late National Register Coordinator Dale Heckendorn, was consulted, but it added no other properties.⁴

African American Travel Guide Properties. African American travel guides published during the segregation era provide a rich source for identifying relevant properties in Colorado. The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture of the New York Public Library (NYPL) has scanned and placed online a nearly comprehensive archive of these publications. The completion of this project would not have been possible, particularly during a pandemic, if these publications were not readily available via the NYPL website.

The following travel guides were consulted:

- Hackley and Harrison’s *Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers* (1930) and *The Traveler’s Guide* (1931)
- Smith’s Touring Club, *Smith’s Tourist Guide* (1939-40)
- Victor H. Green, *Negro Motorist Green Book* (1936-1966-67)
- US Travel Bureau, *A Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses* (1941, federal government publication)

- Baltimore *Afro-American*, “Afro American Travel Map” (1942)
- *Ebony* (1947-53, vacation section)
- *Travelguide* (1947-63)
- *Go, Guide to Pleasant Motoring* (1952-59)
- Nationwide Hotel Association, *NHA Directory and Guide to Travel* (1959).

The “Afro American Travel Map” did not cover Colorado, focusing on the area east of the Mississippi River. Another guide, the *Bronze American* (published 1961-62), could not be accessed.

Some resources were listed in only one guide, while others appeared in a number of different guides. The Perry Hotel in Pueblo, for example, appeared in five different travel guides, while the Rossonian and Herndon hotels in Denver were listed in four. There was a great deal of overlap among the guides. Some properties appeared year after year, while some facilities were mentioned only once. The bulk of directory listings were for lodgings, such as hotels, guest and tourist homes, rooms, motels, and YMCAs/YWCAs. Other establishments represented in the guidebooks included restaurants, barber and beauty salons, tailors, photographers, doctors and dentists, service stations, mountain lodges, liquor stores and taverns, and organizations. As the civil rights movement gained traction beginning in the mid-1950s, more properties (particularly modern motels) began to appear in the publications. The postwar era also witnessed more persons of all races taking to the highways.

Properties Suggested by Public or Stakeholder Groups or Other Sources. The Colorado Historical Foundation contacted local history museums and groups thought to possess knowledge of resources associated with Black travel in Colorado. CHF staff also worked to publicize the project. This approach produced fewer suggestions of relevant properties than anticipated. Recommended properties were ones already identified through other sources. Front Range also reached out to local museums and historical societies and historic preservation colleagues soliciting their input on potential African American travel resources.

The consultants also drew on their previous work focusing on African American resources. In 2019 the firm produced a National Register district nomination for the Coronado Lodge in Pueblo, which provided background on African American travel guides and comparable motels that welcomed Black travelers. A National Historic Landmark nomination being prepared by the consultants for Wink’s Panorama, a summer vacation facility in Gilpin County, includes a comparative analysis section with research into similar properties in Colorado and other parts of the country. Oral history interviews conducted as part of that NHL project also produced some leads and historical background on relevant properties and segregation in Colorado. In the mid-1990s, the consultants completed Denver Neighborhood History Projects for two neighborhoods with historically large African American populations, Five Points and Whittier, producing historic contexts and identifying significant resources. A 1980s survey project in Boulder exposed the consultants to the history of the city’s Black neighborhood. Newspapers in the Colorado Historic Newspapers Collection and on GenealogyBank were consulted, in particular such African American newspapers as the *Statesman* and *Denver Star*.

Database Creation

The properties identified through this process were entered into a MS Access database that eventually held more than 1,300 records, with one record for each appearance of a property in any of the guides. Each record contained fields for resource name, street address, city, county, type of resource, name of travel guide or other source, years the resource was listed, and general notes (specific information on number of rooms, rates, and so forth). Since there were multiple records for a property, a summary record was created for resources appearing more than once and for multiple businesses located within the same physical building. The summary record consolidated the information from individual records, reflecting a resource's total years of operation, historic names, and uses for the entire period. OAHP's Compass database then was used to search for each resource by street address and/or name to see if it had been previously surveyed. If applicable, information on survey and designation status and state identification number were added to the database.

Google Street View and a limited windshield survey were employed to determine if each resource was still standing and to make a rough, preliminary assessment of its historic integrity. These fields were added to the database. Current digital images, Google Street View images and/or historic images were collected of each resource where possible.

Project Mapping

The 280 summary records were geocoded, permitting them to be mapped as individual points using a geographic information system (GIS).⁵ Where automated geocoding was impossible, locations were manually assigned to records. The GIS points are linked to the database records and permitted creation of a Google Earth file allowing a user to click on a point and see its historical associations.

Historic Context Development

Historic contexts provide background for understanding and evaluating the significance of historic resources. A historic context organizes information about related historic properties by theme, geographic location, and time period. The Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Preservation Planning* explains that "contexts describe the significant broad patterns of development in an area that may be represented by historic properties. The development of historic contexts is the foundation for decisions about identification, evaluation, registration and treatment of historic properties."⁶

The historic overview broadly discusses Colorado African American Travel Resources, 1864-1965. To produce the historic context we drew upon a wide variety of research sources, including: general histories of the state, local histories of counties and cities, previous historic survey forms and reports and nominations, historic photographs and postcards, census data (aggregate data and manuscript returns), newspaper articles, and African American travel guides. Published and audio-visual materials discussing the Green Book, other travel guides, and the challenges of "driving while Black" were also consulted, notably: Gretchen Sorkin, *Driving While Black* (2020); Candacy Taylor, *Overground Railroad* (2020); Lyell Henry, "Accommodations 'For Colored'" (2005); and Smithsonian Institution, "The Green Book: Guide to Freedom" (2019).

Survey Basics

Overview of Surveys

Purpose. The National Park Service in its *Guidelines for Local Surveys* argues that the fundamental rationale for undertaking a historic resources survey

is the growing recognition, by citizens and governments at all levels, that such resources have value and should be retained as functional parts of modern life. The historic resources of a community or neighborhood give it its special character and cultural depth. Some historic resources contain information whose study can provide unique insights into a community's past, and help answer broad questions about history and prehistory. In more utilitarian terms, each historic building and structure represents an investment that should not be discarded lightly; maintaining and rehabilitating older buildings and neighborhoods can mean savings in energy, time, money, and raw materials.⁷

The survey process involves initial planning and background research, fieldwork and photography to collect the survey data, mapping, analysis and systematic organization of the raw data into an inventory of historic resources, and evaluation of eligibility to the National Register and state and local registers for individual resources and historic districts.

Types of Surveys. There are various types of surveys, which differ based on cost, level of effort, the amount of data collected, and how the data is reported. Windshield surveys, like the one undertaken for this project, are the least intensive survey approach, where “surveyors literally drive the streets and roads of the community and make notes, on the buildings, structures, and landscape characteristics they see, and on the general character of the areas through which they drive.”⁸ Typically, no individual survey forms are produced at this level. *Guidelines for Local Surveys* notes that an important role of windshield and reconnaissance surveys is “to identify the boundaries of areas that may become the objects of intensive survey—perhaps potential historic districts, perhaps portions of the community having distinctive architectural, planning, or cultural characteristics.”⁹

A step up from the windshield survey is the reconnaissance survey, which produces an abbreviated survey form with a minimal level of documentation. History Colorado's form 1417 is a two-page reconnaissance form that additionally includes a location map and multiple photographic views of the primary resource and any outbuildings. Such forms contain very limited historical background and typically result in an eligibility evaluation of “Needs Data.” They often are used as a screening tool for classifying resources as to high, medium, or low priority for future intensive survey.

An intensive survey results in more robust data collection on an Architectural Inventory form (form 1403). The four-page-plus form includes a full architectural description, historical background, construction history, integrity, analysis, discussion of significance, and an evaluation of eligibility. Also included are multiple photographs, a sketch map, and a location map. Intensive survey forms are more expensive than reconnaissance forms, as considerably more hours are needed for fieldwork, historical research, and form completion.

For the past several years History Colorado has advocated at “90/10” survey approach, with 90 percent of resources in a project recorded on the shorter 1417 reconnaissance form and 10 percent on the longer 1403 Architectural Inventory form. Surveys may include all resources within a given geographic area (comprehensive) or may document only certain resources (selective), chosen to reflect a specified resource type, known historical associations, or other factors. Selective surveys generally tend to be more expensive per building than comprehensive ones since the resources are geographically scattered. All types of surveys require formal survey reports meeting the requirements of History Colorado and, typically, public meetings introducing the project and reporting on its results.

Uses and Value of Historic Surveys. Historic resource surveys play an integral part in the historic preservation planning process by systematically recording and evaluating historic properties and identifying those potentially eligible for designation to the national, state, and local registers. As the *Guidelines for Local Surveys* observes, survey data can identify “conflicts between development planning and local preservation priorities” to meet environmental review requirements, as well as recognizing the elements on which community development “can build in order to make the most of the community’s unique historic qualities.”¹⁰

Eligibility Assessment

One important goal of historic buildings surveys is to determine if the surveyed resources meet significance criteria making them eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and/or the Colorado State Register of Historic Properties. The criteria for the two registers are broadly similar, including such areas of significance as history, association with a significant person, architecture, or archaeology. The State Register adds geographical significance (see Tables 1 and 2).

The National Register is the official federal list of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture. A property can be significant at the local, state, or national level, with most properties listed at the local level. To qualify for listing in the National Register, properties generally must be at least fifty years old and possess historic significance and physical integrity.

Integrity. Integrity is defined as “the ability of a property to convey its significance,” and the evaluation of integrity “must always be grounded in an understanding of a property’s physical features and how they relate to its significance.”¹¹ National Register Bulletin 15 contains an extensive discussion of the concept and lists seven aspects of integrity that must be considered in assessing a property: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.¹²

Table 1. NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CRITERIA

Criteria for Evaluation

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

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

Criteria Considerations

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties *will qualify* if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

- a.** A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- b.** A building or structure removed from its original location but which is primarily significant for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- c.** A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building associated with his or her productive life; or
- d.** A cemetery that derives its primary importance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or
- e.** A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- f.** A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or
- g.** A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

Table 2. STATE REGISTER OF HISTORIC PROPERTIES CRITERIA

Criteria for Consideration

Criteria for consideration of properties for nomination and inclusion in the Colorado State Register includes the following:

- A. The association of the property with events that have made a significant contribution to history;
- B. The connection of the property with persons significant in history;
- C. The apparent distinctive characteristics of a type, period, method of construction, or artisan;
- D. The geographic importance of the property;
- E. The possibility of important discoveries related to prehistory or history.

RESULTS

Existing Survey Data

Evaluation of Past Survey Efforts

No prior survey effort has attempted to identify resources associated with African American travel in Colorado or even with African Americans in general. By contrast, Multiple Property Documentation Forms addressing aspects of African American history have been produced by other states and municipalities, including: “African American Resources in Portland, Oregon, from 1851 to 1973” (2020, NRIS.MC100005832); “African American Historic and Architectural Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska” (1999, NRIS.64500386); and “African-American Resources in Delaware” (1992, NRIS.64500087).

Once this project had identified resources associated with African American Travel and Recreation, we then performed another search in the Compass database to determine if any had been previously surveyed and found eighty-nine resources, a number that includes the twenty-one designated properties. These resources are identified in the Appendix by the presence of a state identification number in an entry.

The properties were previously recorded in general historic buildings surveys of cities or neighborhoods, transportation projects, or other efforts. Survey forms typically do not explore the properties’ connections to African American travel during the era of segregation. For example, the 2011 Architectural Inventory form for the Alamo Hotel (5PW.223) in Lamar does not discuss its listing in African American travel guides from 1948 through 1966.¹³ Similarly, a 1999 Architectural Inventory form for the Adams Hotel and Chipeta Café in Montrose omitted the fact the businesses appeared in Black travel guidebooks for the same period.¹⁴

Designated Resources

Table 3 includes the twenty-one properties associated with African American travel presently listed in the National or State Registers. The OAHP file search of Black and Ethnic Heritage properties discussed above identified Wink’s Panorama (Gilpin County), the Rossonian Hotel and the Glenarm USO Club in Denver’s Five Points neighborhood, Barney L. Ford’s People’s Restaurant in Denver’s Lower Downtown, and the community of Dearfield (Wiggins vicinity, Weld County) (see Table 4).¹⁵ An additional sixteen properties were included in Table 3 based on information developed by this project revealing African American historical associations.

The nominations for these latter properties rarely, if ever, note their connection to Black travel or Black associations in general. For some resources that appeared in Black travel guides, such as the Boulderado, Oxford, and Brown Palace hotels, Rooney Ranch, and the Denver National Bank Building, the actual Black presence quite possibly was small or incidental. Other properties have stronger African American connections that were not explored in the documentation. For example, Rocky Mountain Lake Park (5DV.5238) in northwest Denver was an important public

**Table 3. Designated Resources
Listed in County and City Order**

State ID Num.	Resource Name	Street Address				City	County	Listed
5BL.240.41	Boulderado Hotel	2115		13th	St	Boulder	Boulder	NR
5EP.183	Alamo Hotel	128	S	Tejon	St	Colorado Springs	El Paso	NR
5EP.198	YWCA	130	E	Kiowa	St	Colorado Springs	El Paso	NR
5.DV.2049	YMCA	25	E	16th	Ave	Denver	Denver	NR
5DV.110	Brown Palace Hotel	321		17th	St	Denver	Denver	NR
5DV.125	National Conference of Christians and Jews (Denver National Bank/Ideal Building)	823		17th	St	Denver	Denver	NR
5DV.2315.1	Horne Rooming House	2105		Lafayette	St	Denver	Denver	NR
5DV.47.62	Oxford Hotel	1612		17th	St	Denver	Denver	NR
5DV.47.66	People's Restaurant	1514		Blake	St	Denver	Denver	NR
5DV.5238	Rocky Mountain Lake Park	3300	W	46th	Ave	Denver	Denver	NR
5DV.5333	Washington Park, Smith's Lake		S	Downing	St	Denver	Denver	NR
5DV.5292	Glenarm USO Club	2563		Glenarm	Pl	Denver	Denver	SR
5DV.5311	City Park Golf Course	3181	E	23rd	Ave	Denver	Denver	NR
5DV.65	Rossonian Hotel and Lounge, YMCA, W. A. Stephens Barber Shop	2640-50		Welton	St	Denver	Denver	NR
5GL.6	Wink's Panorama	213		Winks	Way	Pinecliffe vicinity	Gilpin	NR
5GA.1750	Grand Lake Lodge					Grand Lake	Grand	NR
5JF.196	Pratt Rooney Rec. Ranch	1731	S	Rooney	Rd	Lakewood	Jefferson	NR
5PE.501	New Hotel Vail	217	S	Grand	Ave	Pueblo	Pueblo	NR
5PE.504	YWCA	805	N	Santa Fe	Ave	Pueblo	Pueblo	NR
5PE.8488	Coronado Lodge	2130		Lake		Pueblo	Pueblo	NR
5WL.744	Dearfield			US Highway 34		Wiggins vicinity	Weld	NR

NOTE: NR=National Register of Historic Places. SR=State Register of Historic Properties.

Table 4. Selected Designated Resources



5DV.65, Rossonian Hotel, 2640-50 Welton Street, Denver, listed in the National Register in 1995. Photo: Thomas H. Simmons, November 2020.



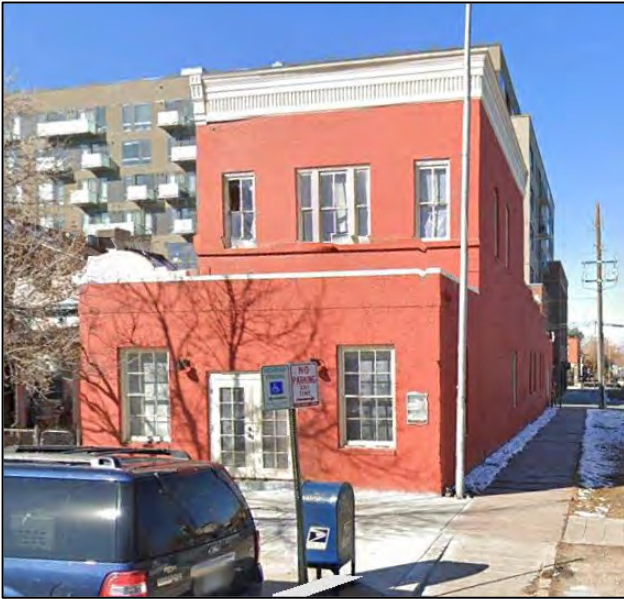
5DV. 47.66, Barney L. Ford's People's Restaurant, 1514 Blake Street, Denver, listed in the National Register in 1976. Photo: Google Street View, November 2019.



5GL.6, Wink's Panorama, 213 Winks Way, Pinecliffe vicinity, listed in the National Register in 1980 (expanded boundary and additional documentation 2014). Photo: Thomas H. Simmons, June 2020.



5WL.744, Dearfield, US 34, Wiggins vicinity, listed in the National Register in 1995. Photo: UNC Special Collections, Greeley, Colorado.



5DV.5292, Glenarm USO Club, 2563 Glenarm Place, Denver, listed in the State Register in 1998. Photo: Google Street View, November 2019.



5PE.8488, Coronado Lodge, 2130 Lake Avenue, Pueblo, listed in the National Register in 2020. Photo: Thomas H. Simmons, August 2019.

place Blacks used for annual gatherings outside of the northeast area of the city, but this was unmentioned in the nomination. Washington Park (5DV.5333) in Denver was the site of a 1932 attempt by one hundred fifty Blacks and their White political supporters to integrate the lake's bathing beach. Addressing the group, Denver's Safety Manager Carl Milliken conceded that "it is true there is no law to keep you citizens from using this beach, but you have never attempted this before, and you know you are not doing this for any reason in the world except to bring about trouble."¹⁶ A crowd of more than two hundred Whites armed with clubs and rocks drove the African Americans from the water and a riot ensued. The seventeen persons arrested by police included none of the White rioters, and the *Denver Post* placed the blame on the "evil influence of Communism."¹⁷ The 1986 Denver Park and Parkway nomination did not address this incident, which comprised an early, large, nonviolent effort by African Americans to integrate public facilities.¹⁸

Similarly, the 1986 National Register nomination for the San Rafael Historic District (5DV.202) in Denver argued that the area was significant for its architecture as "a well preserved middle-class residential neighborhood dating from the early 1870s to the 1920s," noting in one paragraph that it became increasingly Black in the 1920s.¹⁹ The nomination does not discuss this later period, including the presence of prominent African American residents, the important role played by Black churches, or the many tourist homes operated by Black families and listed in African American travel guides.

In more recent decades National Register designation efforts have begun to tell a more inclusive story increasingly representative of the nation as a whole. As historian David McCullough remarked at the 1991 National Preservation Conference: "Our picture of the past is no longer just a spotlight focused on a few people. The lights on the stage are coming up and those people that have been on the stage all the time are in the light... and we see how many there are, how diverse they are, and how greatly they have contributed to American civilization."²⁰

Identified African American Travel and Recreation Resources

Number of Resources. This project identified 280 properties within Colorado associated with African American travel and recreation.²¹ Appendix 1 presents properties identified using the sources described in the Methodology section and includes all that once existed, not just ones still standing.²² This approach was taken to provide a fuller understanding of the character and geographical distribution of the resources. The overwhelming number of database entries came from listings in African American travel guides. Given the lack of previous research and scholarship on this topic, it is quite likely future projects will identify additional resources. Some businesses provided services to Black travelers but did not appear in the guides, preferring to rely on word-of-mouth to attract potential customers. The strength of each resource's association with Black travel and recreation also varies. Some properties appeared in only one edition of one travel guide, while others appear for many years in more than one guide.

Resource Types. The resources identified were categorized by historical function or use, such as hotel, restaurant, service station, and so forth. Table 5 displays the historical distribution by use as well as those now remaining. Most properties (50.4 percent) associated with African American travel and recreation provided lodging—the most critical need for travelers—

distributed among hotels, motels, lodges, and guest and tourist homes. Eating and drinking establishments and facilities providing various services each accounted for about 13 percent of the listings. Services included personal services, such as barber, beauty, and tailoring, as well as medical, dental, and legal assistance. Retail stores comprised 6.1 percent of travel guide listings, including drug stores, apparel, and liquor stores.

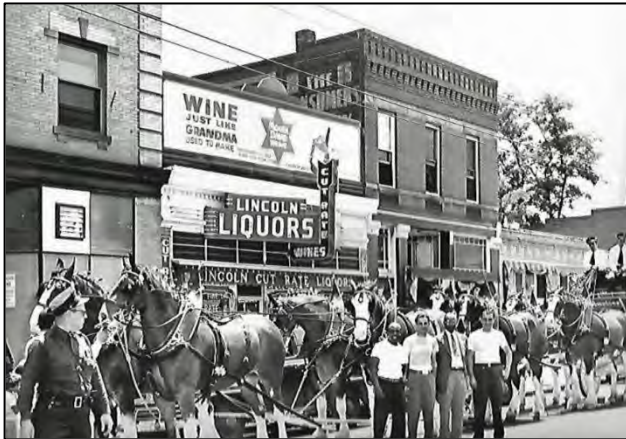


Figure 1. An example of a *Green Book* retail store property was Lincoln Liquors (2634 Welton, Denver; now gone), shown during a visit from the Budweiser Clydesdales in this ca. 1950s photograph. The Jewish owner of the store stands in the foreground with his employees. The two-story building to the right is no longer standing gone, but still extant are the Rossonian Hotel at the far left and the one-story building at the far right. SOURCE: Honey Goldberg, photographic collection, Denver, Colorado.

Automobile-related resources, including service stations and garages, totaled only 5.4 percent of total listings, perhaps reflecting a willingness of many White facilities to sell gasoline to Black customers, a relatively quick and impersonal transaction. A still smaller proportion of listings (4.3 percent) included social and community groups, such as African American YMCA and YWCA chapters, a USO, and fraternal groups. About 3.2 percent of database entries consisted of other organizations, including a union for Black musicians, legal and social action groups (such as the Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the American Civil Liberties Union), and governmental commissions connected with civil rights enforcement. Amusement and recreation resources accounted for just 3.9 percent of listings, with golf courses the leading subcategory. Two larger scale developments (0.7 percent) were identified: the settlement of Dearfield and the Lincoln Hills summer vacation subdivision.

Geographic Distribution. Facilities for African American travelers were not evenly distributed across the Centennial State, but heavily clustered in the most populous cities and along major transcontinental highways. Figure 2 maps the location of the cities with travel-related resources. While many properties were found in large cities, the map graphically illustrates the influence of major highways on the locations of Black travel resources. Particularly notable are those resources along US 50 across the southern part of the state, from Lamar on the east through Pueblo, Cañon City, and Montrose, to Grand Junction on the west. Similarly, a string of resources is found along US 34 in the northern part of the state from Yuma to Greeley. A handful of properties were scattered in mountainous areas, including Pinecliffe, Dumont, Granby, Empire, and the Rocky Mountain National Park vicinity, as well as Mesa Verde National Park in the state's southwest corner.

Table 6 identifies the twenty-nine communities holding resources at some point over the time period studied (generally 1930 through 1966-67). In addition to location on major transpor-

**Table 5. African American Travel Related Resources
Number of Resources by Type**

Resource Type	Historic Number		Extant Today	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
LODGING	141	50.4%	83	51.6%
Hotel	53	18.9%	28	17.4%
Lodge	6	2.1%	2	1.2%
Motel	44	15.7%	28	17.7%
Tourist Home, Guest House, Rooms	35	12.5%	25	15.2%
EATING DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS	37	13.2%	17	10.6%
Restaurant	30	10.7%	13	8.1%
Tavern	7	2.5%	4	2.5%
PERSONAL/PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	35	12.5%	18	11.2%
Barber Shop	5	1.8%	2	1.2%
Beauty Shop	10	3.6%	8	5.0%
Clothes Cleaner	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Mortuary	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
Photographer	3	1.1%	0	0.0%
Health Professional (Medical, Dental, Legal)	8	2.9%	4	2.5%
Shipping	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Tailor	6	2.1%	3	1.9%
RETAIL STORES	17	6.1%	10	6.2%
Apparel	5	1.8%	3	1.9%
Department Store	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Drug Store	7	2.5%	7	4.3%
Liquor Store	4	1.4%	0	0.0%
AUTOMOBILE/TAXI	15	5.4%	8	5.0%
Auto Supply	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Garage	4	1.4%	3	1.9%
Service Station	9	3.2%	4	2.5%
Taxicab Service	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
SOCIAL/COMMUNITY GROUPS AND CENTERS	12	4.3%	7	4.3%
Fraternal/Other Club	2	0.7%	2	1.2%
Community Center	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
USO	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
YMCA/YWCA	8	2.9%	4	2.5%
ORGANIZATIONS	9	3.2%	6	3.8%
Governmental	2	0.7%	1	0.6%
Labor	2	0.7%	1	0.6%
Legal/Social Action	5	1.8%	4	2.5%

Resource Type	Historic Number		Extant Today	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
AMUSEMENT/RECREATION	11	3.9%	8	5.0%
Golf Course	3	1.1%	3	1.9%
Horse Riding/Ranch	2	0.7%	1	0.6%
Municipal Park	2	0.7%	2	1.2%
Resort/Dude Ranch	2	0.7%	2	1.2%
Summer Vacation Camp	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
Theater	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
DEVELOPMENTS	2	0.7%	2	1.2%
Dearfield (Community)	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
Lincoln Hills (Summer Home Subdivision)	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
TOTAL	280		161	

NOTE: Included in the Extant Today numbers are nine resources with unknown status. In instances where the resource held more than one use, it was assigned to the category reflecting its apparent dominant use. Numbers under extant uses indicate the physical building is still standing and does not mean that the historic uses continue.

tation routes, municipality population size and the size of the local Black community appear to be associated with greater numbers of resources. The state's three most populous cities in 1950 accounted for nearly 77 percent of travel resources welcoming Blacks. The City and County of Denver alone contained 136 properties or about half (48.6 percent) of resources identified by the project. Colorado Springs with forty-six properties and Pueblo with thirty-three distantly trailed Denver. Grand Junction tallied nine travel related resources, followed by Cañon City, Montrose, and La Junta with five each.

Fort Collins is notable among the state's larger, freestanding cities in having no facilities in any year in any guidebook, while Greeley held only two examples. Suburban cities surrounding Denver contained small numbers of travel-related resources, despite having relatively long stretches of well-traveled roadways, such as East and West Colfax Avenue, Federal Boulevard, and South Santa Fe Drive, which were lined with motels and associated roadside facilities. Littleton, Englewood, Westminster, Thornton, Arvada, and Wheat Ridge had no known resources, while Lakewood held five and Aurora two.

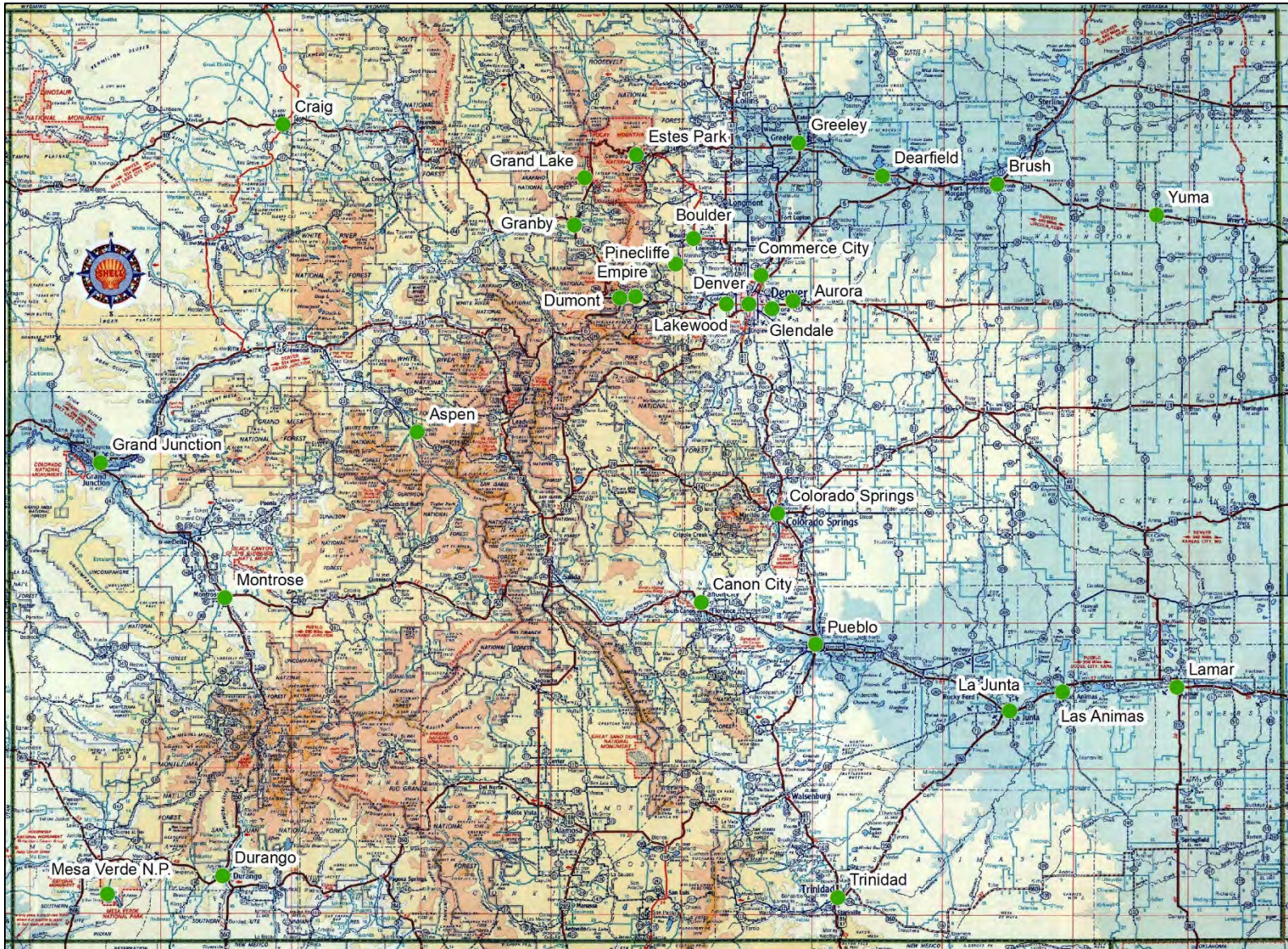


Figure 2. Colorado cities and towns with identified African American travel resources, ca. 1930-67. SOURCE: Base map, Shell Oil Company, Highway Map of Colorado, ca. late 1940s

**Table 6. Number of African American Travel Related Resources
By City Listed in County and City Order**

County	City	Historic Number		Extant Today	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Adams	Commerce City	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
Arapahoe	Aurora	2	0.7%	1	0.6%
	Glendale	1	0.4%	0	--
Bent	Las Animas	2	0.7%	0	--
Boulder	Boulder	3	1.1%	1	0.6%
Clear Creek	Dumont	1	0.4%	0	--
	Empire vicinity	1	0.4%	0	--
Denver	Denver	136	48.6%	78	48.4%
El Paso	Colorado Springs	46	16.4%	23	14.3%
Fremont	Cañon City	5	1.8%	4	2.5%
Gilpin	Pinecliffe vicinity	3	1.1%	3	1.9%
Grand	Granby	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
	Granby vicinity	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
	Grand Lake	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
Jefferson	Lakewood	5	1.8%	4	2.5%
	Unincorporated	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
La Plata	Durango	2	0.7%	1	0.6%
Larimer	Estes Park vicinity	3	1.1%	0	--
Las Animas	Trinidad	2	0.7%	0	--
Mesa	Grand Junction	9	3.2%	5	3.1%
Moffat	Craig	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
Montezuma	Mesa Verde National Park	1	0.4%	0	--
Montrose	Montrose	5	1.8%	4	2.5%
Morgan	Brush	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
Otero	La Junta	5	1.8%	4	2.5%
Pitkin	Aspen	1	0.4%	0	--
Prowers	Lamar	3	1.1%	3	1.9%
Pueblo	Pueblo	33	11.8%	20	12.4%
Weld	Greeley	2	0.7%	1	0.6%
	Wiggins vicinity	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
Yuma	Yuma	1	0.4%	1	0.6%
TOTAL		280		161	

NOTE: The cities listed reflect current municipal boundaries. Meta Park (shown above as Jefferson County, Unincorporated) is described as located in the Platte Canyon. Included in the Extant Today numbers are nine resources with unknown status.

Limited Windshield Survey Results

Of the 280 resources found by the project as historically associated with African American travel and recreation, 161 (57.5 percent) were found to still be standing in 2020, as determined using a combination of in-person windshield survey and Google Street View research.²³ Some Google Street View images are a few years old (especially for non-metropolitan areas), so some resources now may not be extant or have experienced changes to integrity (either positive or negative). The current project tentatively categorized existing resources by integrity status as follows: 70, good; 51, moderate; 30 poor; and 9, unknown. Typically resources displaying greater historic integrity are likely to be better candidates for intensive survey and potential designation.

The percentage of extant properties is higher than that for solely *Green Book* sites examined by historian Candacy Taylor, who estimated “less than 5 percent are still in operation and more than 75 percent are gone.”²⁴ A study completed in 2010 by the Arkansas State Historic Preservation Office, also using only *Green Book* listings, identified 225 properties, of which just 30 were extant (13.3 percent), 150 lost, and 45 undetermined (due to incomplete addresses).²⁵

Characteristics of Extant Resources

Table 5 also shows the breakdown of historic uses for resources still extant. The breakdown is quite similar to that of all resources identified, shown in the same table. Slightly greater percentages of existing resources consist of lodging, amusement/recreation, organizations, and larger development uses, with slightly lower percentages for eating and drinking establishments, personal/professional services, and automobile/taxi functions (see Figure 3).

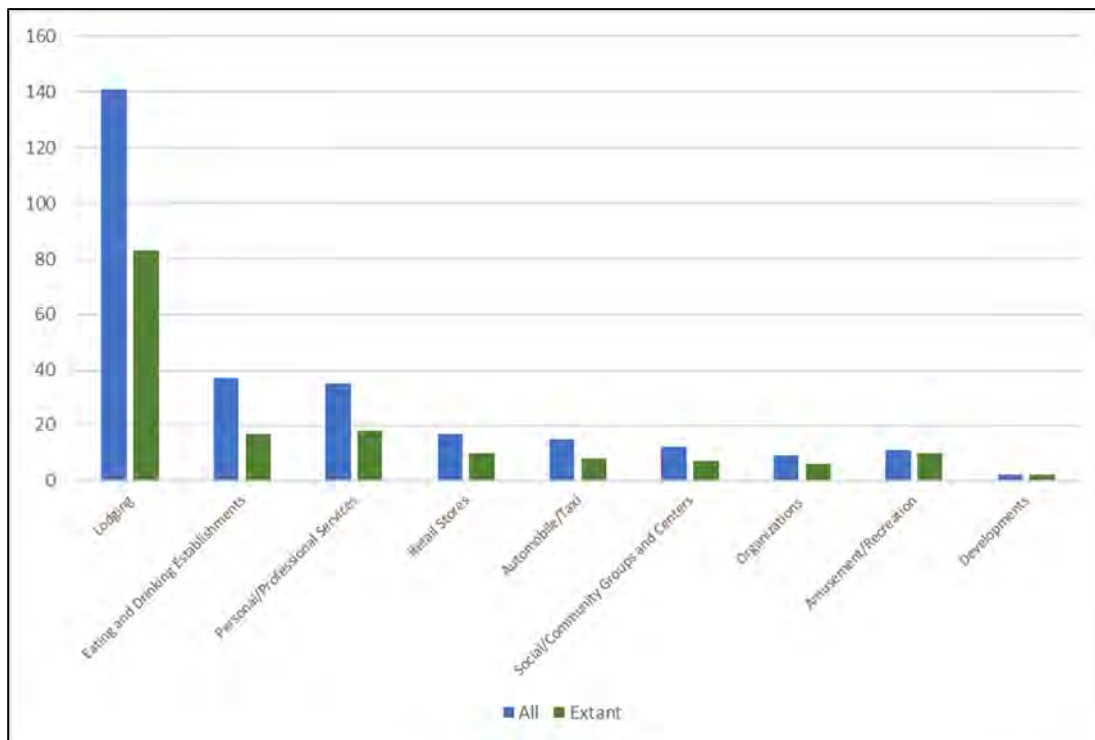


Figure 3. This chart compares the number of all African American travel resources that once existed to those still standing by historical use.

Geographic Clustering of Resources

Areas in Denver and Pueblo have a higher than typical clustering of African American travel and recreation resources. Intact resources in these areas would be suitable candidates for inclusion as part of a statewide survey of African American travel and recreation resources.

Northeast Denver. A portion of northeast Denver holds a sufficient number and clustering of African American travel resources to be recognized as an area meriting special comment. Portions of the Five Points, Whittier, and City Park West Denver statistical neighborhoods hold forty-nine resources (30.4 percent of the present state total) (see Figure 4). This area of Denver contained the largest Black population center and business community in the Rocky Mountain states. It also was the largest cluster of lodging and support services between Black population centers to the east, such as Kansas City, Omaha, Tulsa, and Texas cities, and the West Coast urban areas of Los Angeles and San Francisco.²⁶ It was geographically well-positioned as a place to break a long-distance trip.

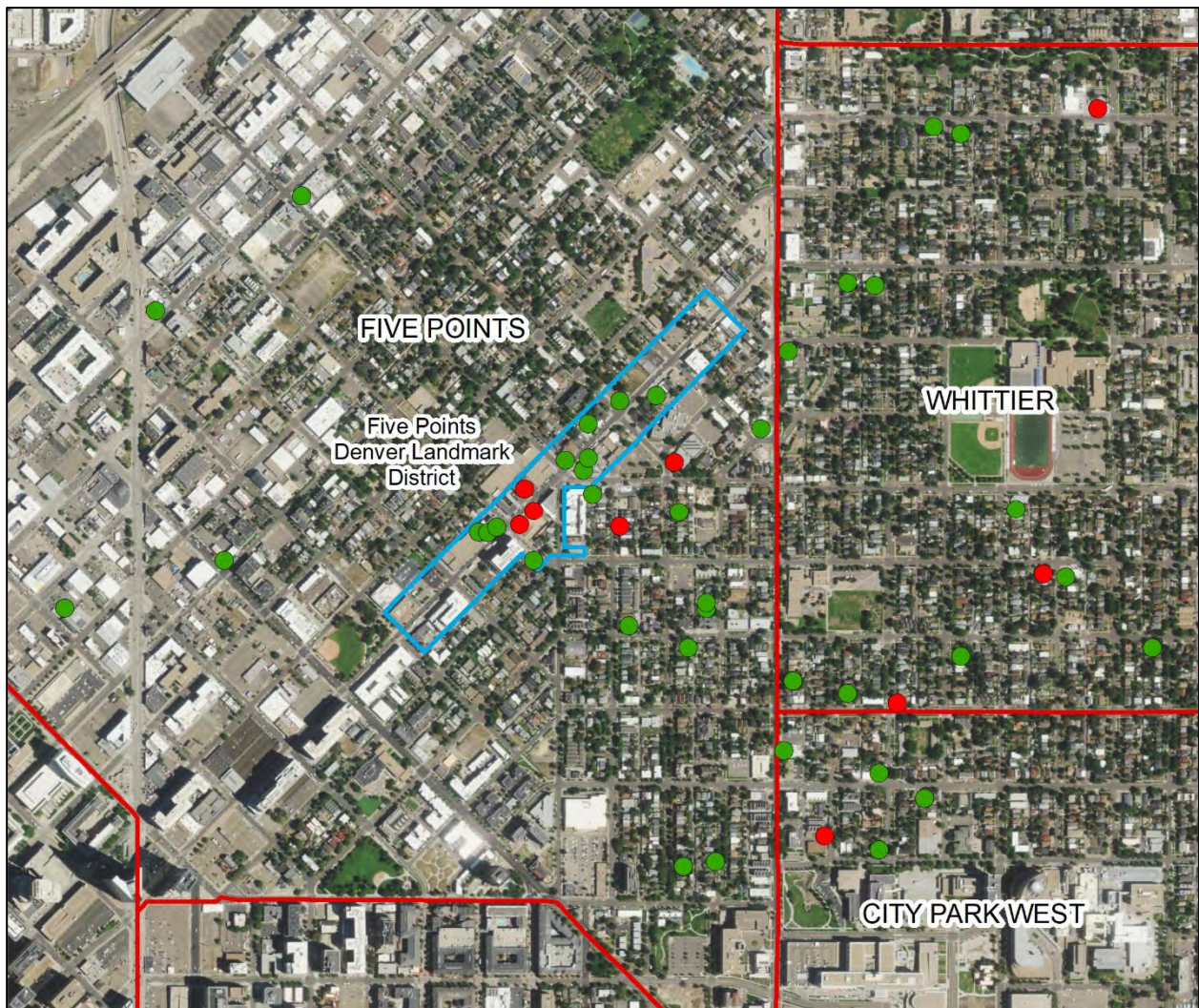


Figure 4. This map of the Five Points area of northeast Denver shows the locations of resources associated with African American travel and recreation with existing properties identified with green dots and no longer standing ones shown as red dots. The red lines are Denver statistical neighborhood boundaries.

Pueblo. During the historic period, Pueblo also was a natural stopping place for travelers, as Colorado’s second most populous city and the largest city on US 50 between Kansas City and Sacramento. A portion of the Bessemer area currently contains nine resources associated with African American travel (see Figure 5). The area lies in the southeast area of the city between Interstate 25 on the east and Orman Avenue and Washington Street on the west. Resource types include two tourist homes, a doctor’s office, a drug store, restaurant, and social club.

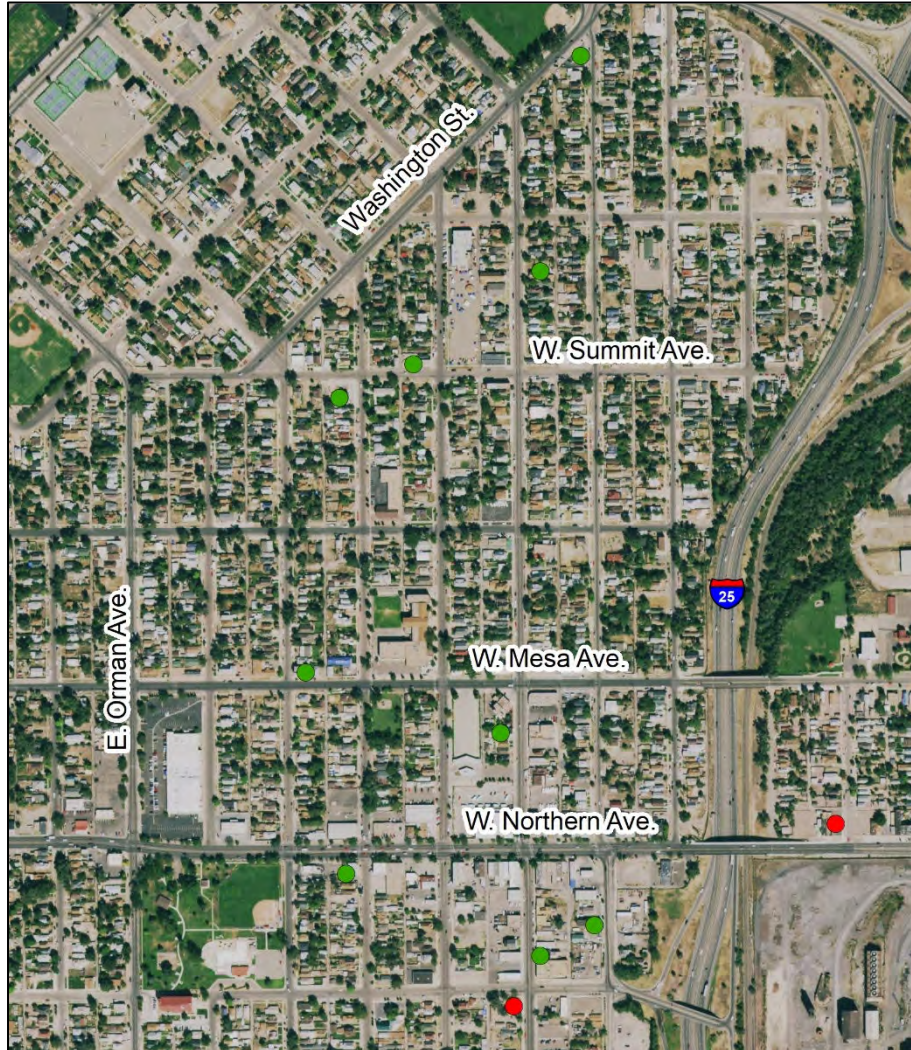


Figure 5. This map of the Bessemer area southeast Pueblo shows the locations of resources associated with African American travel and recreation with existing properties identified with green dots and no longer standing ones shown as red dots.

Colorado Springs. Colorado Springs once boasted a number of African American travel resources clustered in the area between downtown and I-25 to the south. This section of the city has experienced considerable redevelopment that removed many of the earlier resources. The city’s remaining African American travel resources are more dispersed; some of these are evaluated as high priority for inclusion in a scattered intensive survey.

Preservation Goals and Objectives

Factors Impacting the Area. As the survey plan embraces the entire state, factors impacting resources vary greatly. In the Five Points area of Denver redevelopment pressures pose threats to Black travel and recreation resources. Recent construction razed a half block of buildings in the 2600-block of Welton Street, removing two guidebook properties: the dental office of Dr. Clarence Holmes (at 2602) and the Lincoln Liquor Store (at 2636) (see Figure 6). For small towns in outlying areas of the state, such as the lower Arkansas Valley and the Western Slope, lower levels of economic activity may result in a lack of viable uses, vacancies, and abandonment of properties. Lack of information about the potential significant history of resources can result in their under-appreciation and demolition.



Figure 6. The dental office of Denver civil rights leader Dr. Clarence Holmes stood at the corner of Welton and 26th streets until demolished recently for a large residential development. SOURCE: 2602 Welton Street, 5DV.76, survey photograph, 1981.

Organizations. History Colorado, Colorado Historical Foundation, and Colorado Preservation, Inc. possess a statewide focus on preservation issues. History Colorado awards grants for preservation projects, including surveys and nominations, through State Historical Fund and Certified Local Government grants. The Denver Field Office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation has a broader regional emphasis covering several states. Local historical societies concentrate on their geographic area of interest. Groups in Montrose and Pueblo have recently explored Green Book facilities within their communities.

Public Outreach. The Colorado Historical Foundation (CHF) had primary responsibility for public participation and outreach for the project. In order to supplement the information contained in the travel guides, in March 2020, CHF sent out emails seeking “crowdsourced leads to inform future research. Sites might include hotels, lodges, resorts, dude ranches, private guest or tourist homes, restaurants, taverns, theaters, service stations, barber and beauty shops, etc.” The email included a short survey and was sent to the following individuals and groups:

- CHF Board of Trustees
- CHF Revolving loan Fund Board of Directors
- Colorado Historical Foundation email newsletter list (others interested in or involved in Colorado history and preservation)
- Certified Local Government (CLG) contact list
- Rocky Mountain Chapter of Association for Preservation Technology (APT)
- Historical Societies and local museums around the state

- Preservation Policy Committee members
- State Historical Fund staff
- Hart Research Center staff
- Black American West Museum
- History Colorado Executive Team

On August 25, 2020 CHF Executive Director Cathy Stroh appeared on Colorado Public Radio’s “Colorado Matters” program to explain the project and seek public input on properties. She provided similar information on the project during an interview aired by Denver’s Channel 7 television during Black History Month, 2021.²⁷

In June 2020, Front Range reached out to various colleagues in preservation and several local museums: Tim Scanlon, former Colorado Springs planner; Jessy Randall at Colorado College Special Collections (Colorado Springs); Jill Seyfarth, historic preservation consultant and former city planner (Durango); Jackie Powell, former resident and historic preservation consultant (Salida, Fairplay, and Buena Vista); Jerry Davis, local historian and former US Forest Service employee (Park County); Salida Museum (Salida and Buena Vista); Mary Therese Anstey, historic preservation consultant (Pueblo and general state); Kathy Scranton, Curator, Big Timbers Museum, Lamar (Lamar, Las Animas, and La Junta); and San Luis Valley Museum, Alamosa (Alamosa and the Valley generally). Front Range also supported CHF staff in preparing public appearances describing the project.

Statewide Plan Goals. Survey efforts such as those proposed by this plan support policies and actions articulated in History Colorado’s 2020 Colorado Statewide Preservation Plan, including Goal A, “Preserving the Places that Matter,” which embraces “the ongoing identification, documentation, evaluation, protection, and interpretation of Colorado’s irreplaceable historic and cultural resources.”²⁸ The plan noted a need to “select threatened and under-represented property types, specifically calling out “civil rights sites” and “Hispanic resources,” and noting a need to develop historic contexts for “racial tensions and civil rights.” The plan does not specifically address African American resources, but this subject is encompassed by plan objective A2, prepare additional historic contexts, and objective A2c, increase the development of Multiple Property Documentation Forms. The recommendations herein also further goal A3, to conduct survey, inventory, and designation proactively, and strategies A3b, identify underrepresented and threatened resources, and A3c, identify key resources in need of intensive survey.²⁹

A survey of African American travel resources also supports Goal E of the plan: “Weaving Preservation Throughout Education.”³⁰ Publicizing the role played by properties associated with African American travel during the period of segregation will better illuminate the struggle of Black people to fully access and enjoy the breadth of Colorado and supports plan objective E1, “share the stories of designated properties.”³¹

HISTORIC CONTEXT AND PROPERTY TYPES

Historic Context

The Rise of Racial Segregation³²

From the beginning of African slavery in America in 1619 until its final abolition in 1865, enslaved African Americans were prohibited from travelling freely in what became the United States. For this reason, historian Gretchen Sorin argued: “For black people, mobility was always most highly prized because it was often and had historically been an impossibility. Masters confined their enslaved peoples to their property, and free black people found themselves regularly stopped, questioned to determine their status, and sometimes even kidnapped and sold into slavery.”³³ In the North and West, free African Americans possessed the theoretical ability to travel without restrictions, but social customs and physical intimidation often limited it in practice.

Following the Union victory in the Civil War, the US ratified the so-called Civil War Amendments to the US Constitution and enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1866 to create a framework for Black participation in American political life. The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) prohibited slavery or involuntary servitude. The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) established birthright citizenship, prohibited laws abridging the privileges and immunities of US citizenship, and ensured equal protection of the law to all persons. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) guaranteed African American males the right to vote. These measures comprised such a profound change in the original document that Eric Foner deemed the undertaking a “second founding” of the United States.³⁴

Most White inhabitants of the former Confederacy, intransigent in opposition to equal rights for African Americans, employed various tactics to reestablish a social order reflecting the antebellum period, including Black Codes that limited the rights of formerly enslaved people.³⁵ The federal government pursued a policy of Reconstruction in the South from 1865 to 1877, dispatching civilian officials and military troops to the former Confederate states and making readmission to the Union contingent on adoption of new state constitutions that included Black male suffrage and ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. The 1865 federal Freedmen’s Bureau, created in 1865, assisted freed slaves in building new lives, rejoining their families, and obtaining education and land. Approximately two thousand African American men served in local, state, and federal offices during this era (see Figure 7). The creation of the Ku Klux Klan in the South comprised a countervailing force which used violence and intimidation to deter Black men from voting. Historian Henry Louis Gates, Jr. judges Reconstruction “painfully short” in comparison to the long history of slavery in America (1619-1865) and opines that “Reconstruction involved nothing less than the monumental effort to create a biracial democracy out of the wreckage of rebellion.”³⁶

The end of Reconstruction and withdrawal of federal troops in 1877 brought a renewed effort by southern Whites to regain political power. The new Mississippi state constitution of 1890

provided a model for other former Confederate states by effectively eliminating Black participation in elections by adding a poll tax and a literacy test.³⁷ Southern efforts to suppress African American voting met with near total success. By the early twentieth century African American voter registration in Alabama had dropped from a peak of 181,000 to 3,000 and in Louisiana declined from 130,000 to 6,000.³⁸ Often, denial of Black access to the ballot was enforced by violence or the threat of violence, including “racial terror lynchings” and the resurgence in the 1920s of the Ku Klux Klan as a powerful political force in many areas of the country.



Figure 7. During Reconstruction more than two-thousand African American men served in political offices, including these members of the US Congress. SOURCE: Currier and Ives, print, 1872, Library of Congress, Washington.

Memorialization and romanticization of the Confederate cause became another element in the framework of White supremacy and segregation. During 1890-1920, monuments honoring former Confederate military and political leaders were erected throughout the thirteen states of the former Confederacy. Derogatory caricatures of African Americans employed in advertising, blackface performances, and cartoons furthered the agenda of White supremacy.

In 1896, the unequal treatment of African Americans was deemed constitutional by the US Supreme Court in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which upheld the doctrine of “separate but equal” in intrastate railroad transportation. Writing for the seven to one majority, Justice Henry B. Brown rejected Plessy’s argument that the law violated the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments: “We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff’s argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it.”³⁹ Justice John Marshall Harlan, the lone dissenter, responded “Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. ... It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal ... has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.”⁴⁰

In practice, “separate but equal” legitimized a period of institutionalized racial segregation in the United States that relegated African Americans to second-class status within their own

country. Historian Mia Bay argues that “the system of segregated seats, waiting rooms, roadside services, and accommodations that developed along railroad lines also provided the model for segregation that black Americans would later experience when traveling by bus, automobile, and airplane.”⁴¹ During the segregation (or Jim Crow) era, southern states formally adopted legislation mandating racial separation in public accommodations, theaters, education, recreation, housing, hotels, hospitals, swimming pools, parks, toilets, cemeteries, and most other places frequented in daily life.⁴²

While segregation achieved its goal of separating the races, the equal part of “separate but equal” was generally ignored. In rail travel African Americans were consigned to the car just behind the engine and tender, which was smoky, often used for purposes such as storage, and frequently designated as the car for cigar and cigarette smoking. Railroad dining for African Americans involved waiting until White passengers had been served or eating hidden behind a curtain. Civil rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King described the experience: “The first time that I was seated behind a curtain in a dining car, I felt as if the curtain had been dropped on my selfhood. ... I could never adjust to the separate waiting rooms, separate eating places, separate rest rooms, partly because the separate was always unequal, and partly because the very idea of separation did something to my sense of dignity and self-respect.”⁴³ Historian Victoria W. Wolcott argues: “The segregation of public accommodations denied African Americans their right to occupy the same spaces as whites. They could not act as consumers on an equal basis, and they could not fully inhabit the cities and towns in which they lived.”⁴⁴

Northerners also participated in discriminating against African Americans. Historian Jerrold M. Packard notes: “In housing, in education, in the workplace, in the marketplace—everywhere in the North, black Americans were in this period treated with contempt, denied basic liberties, and subjected to lightning fast, white-instigated violence.”⁴⁵ While some jurisdictions enacted overtly discriminatory laws, much northern bias in separating races resulted from custom, social pressure, and de facto government actions, such as the drawing of school attendance boundaries and housing loan availability. Racially discriminatory covenants were commonly included in early twentieth century subdivision plats and were upheld by the US Supreme Court in 1926.⁴⁶

African Americans in Colorado

Discussing Colorado Territory in the early 1860s, historian Duane A. Smith concluded: “Coloradans, never known to be in the forefront of the struggle for racial equality, far too often treated blacks as second-class citizens, both in print and in practice. Occasionally, comments were blatantly bigoted...”⁴⁷ Opposition to Black (male) suffrage constituted one factor in delaying Colorado’s admission to the Union until 1876, with Congress declining to admit a state where equal ballot access was not guaranteed. In 1865 Colorado voters defeated a proposal supporting African American suffrage 4,192 to 476.⁴⁸ An 1860s Black resident of Central City complained that “colored children cannot enter a single school . . . thus we stand, debarred of light, but paying our hard earned money to educate those who, in turn, are willing to expel us from every avenue of learning, and who then stand ready to ridicule and debase us.”⁴⁹

In 1895 Colorado enacted legislation forbidding racial discrimination in public accommodations, providing “that all persons within the jurisdiction of said State shall be entitled to the full and

equal enjoyment of all accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land or water, theaters and all other places of public accommodation and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens.”⁵⁰ The law provided civil and criminal remedies but was widely ignored by business owners and not enforced by local district attorneys. Attorney Dani Newsum found that African Americans “still found themselves excluded from most public businesses, recreational facilities, and entertainment venues,” and noted that downtown Denver businesses displayed signs reading “We cater to white people only” or “Colored trade not wanted.”⁵¹

In his study of lynching in Colorado, historian Stephen J. Leonard noted the existence of separate, parallel White and Black societies in the state by 1900: “In Denver, Pueblo, and Colorado Springs they [Blacks] forged communities that gave them some protection. Few in number, geographically removed from most other Coloradans, and more educated and more prosperous than African Americans in many other parts of the country, Colorado’s blacks could—if they were lucky—avoid the extremes of white racism.”⁵² Leonard’s statistics on lynching found more Italians and “Mexicans” killed by extra-judicial mobs than Blacks.⁵³

The situation showed little improvement by 1918, when historian James Atkins came to Denver from Tennessee. He summarized the treatment of the city’s minority citizens:

The street restaurants did not serve people of color and the hotels did not accommodate them. And this was in spite of the fact that Colorado had a public accommodations law of sorts. ... From what we could plainly see, a majority of the small number of employed Negro men were porters in the stores and banks. ... In general, Negro women were employed as maids, cooks, and laundresses in the homes of the wealthy.⁵⁴

Blacks in Denver also were limited to balcony seating in theaters and could only access public swimming pools and bathhouses on the day before the water was changed.⁵⁵

State African American Population Trends

African Americans always have comprised a relatively small proportion of Colorado’s total population. Only forty-six African Americans were recorded within Colorado Territory by the 1860 Census (see Table 7). Black numbers in the state increased following the Civil War and emancipation, rising to 6,215 by 1890 and to more than 11,000 by 1910, but the community remained small in comparison to other parts of the country. In 1910, 89 percent of African Americans still lived in the states of the former Confederacy, from Texas on the west to Virginia on the east. The western third of the country, encompassing the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states, accounted for just 0.5 percent of the Black population.⁵⁶

Colorado appears not to have been impacted by the Great Migration of African Americans from the South, which began in the late 1910s and resulted in the relocation of millions of Blacks to urban areas in the North and Midwest. The Centennial State’s Black population remained fairly stable at roughly 11,000 to 12,000 persons between 1910 and 1940. A 1940 study of Colorado population trends contained this dismissive comment: “A few Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, and

other racial groups have resided in the State for some time, but they have not increased rapidly, and little conflict has arisen between them and the Americans within the State.”⁵⁷

The disruption of World War II, however, occasioned national shifts in population and increased internal migration. Some of the tens of thousands of servicemen and women, who trained at military facilities or worked in defense industries in Colorado, liked what they saw and relocated here, resulting in a postwar surge in the state’s population. While overall the state grew by 18 percent between 1940 and 1950, the African American population expanded by 65.7 percent, reaching 20,177 persons by 1950. Further large increases in the Black population were recorded by the 1960 census (39,992 persons) and 1970 census (66,411 persons).

Table 7. Colorado African American Populations Trends, 1860-1970

Year	Colorado Total Population	African American Total Population		Change in African American Population	
		Total Number	Percent of State	Numerical Change	Percent Change
1860	34,277	46	0.1%	--	--
1870	39,864	456	1.1%	410	891.3%
1880	194,327	2,435	1.3%	1,979	434.0%
1890	413,249	6,215	1.5%	3,780	155.2%
1900	539,700	8,570	1.6%	2,355	37.9%
1910	799,024	11,453	1.4%	2,883	33.6%
1920	939,629	11,318	1.2%	-135	-1.2%
1930	1,035,791	11,828	1.1%	510	4.5%
1940	1,123,296	12,176	1.1%	348	2.9%
1950	1,325,089	20,177	1.5%	8,001	65.7%
1960	1,753,947	39,992	2.3%	19,815	98.2%
1970	2,207,259	66,411	3.0%	26,419	66.1%

SOURCE: Frank Wilnot, “A Look at Race and Ethnicity in Colorado (1860-2005): Census Definitions and Data,” 32 *Colorado Libraries* (2006): 16.

Geographic Distribution of African American Population

Denver always has been the focus of the state’s African American population, typically accounting for more than half of the state total (see Table 8). The only other cities reporting African American populations of more than one thousand were Pueblo and Colorado Springs, distantly followed by four municipalities holding more than one hundred Black residents: Trinidad, Boulder, La Junta, and Canon City.⁵⁸ A handful to a few dozen African Americans lived in the other towns and cities listed in Table 8, while small numbers resided in the unincorporated rural remainders of counties.

Colorado contained no confirmed “sundown” towns or counties. Such jurisdictions, mostly outside the South, warned Blacks not to let the sun set on them within the town limits. Historian James W. Loewen describes such areas as “any organized jurisdiction that for decades kept African Americans or other groups from living in it and was thus ‘all-white’ on purpose.”⁵⁹ In 1930 nine of Colorado’s sixty-three counties had no African American residents and an

Table 8
African American Population Trends for Selected Colorado Municipalities, 1890-1970

Municipality	Census Year								
	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Alamosa	--		--	15	37	17	14	49	56
Arvada	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	29
Aspen	67	16	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Aurora	--	--	--	--	--	--	10	284	902
Boulder	48	96	166	128	121	134	113	128	573
Brighton	--	--	--	26	5	4	0	7	9
Canon City	68	117	168	117	151	128	104	194	259
Colorado Springs	439	875	1,107	1,009	965	1,057	1,176	3,172	7,045
Cripple Creek	--	188	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Delta	--	--	--	--	--	0	2	0	1
Denver	3,056	3,928	5,426	6,075	7,204	7,836	15,059	30,251	47,011
Durango	30	17	--	35	18	17	9	23	25
Englewood	--	--	--	29	37	78	96	78	56
Florence	--	22	--	--	--	4	1	0	0
Fort Collins	--	15	--	7	12	16	12	77	250
Fort Morgan	--	--	--	6	2	3	1	2	1
Grand Junction	--	52	106	76	58	68	49	53	90
Greeley	--	12	--	18	20	33	39	81	161
La Junta	--	42	110	93	155	122	149	106	114
Lakewood	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	130
Lamar	--	--	--	16	38	21	18	16	39
Las Animas	--	--	--	--	13	12	6	0	0
Leadville	201	195	--	23	17	4	4	1	6
Littleton	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	45
Longmont	--	--	--	14	2	0	3	2	16
Loveland	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	19
Monte Vista	--	--	--	--	2	0	0	2	7
Montrose	--	--	--	6	4	10	5	2	7
Northglenn	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	133
Ouray	29	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Pueblo	885	1,213	1,496	1,395	1,305	1,381	1,441	2,026	2,068
Rocky Ford	--	--	--	32	14	18	14	14	14
Salida	22	38	--	15	18	16	3	2	
Sterling	--	--	--	24	39	15	8	3	31
Thornton	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	72
Trinidad	164	125	180	141	144	134	102	47	84
Victor	--	43	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Municipality	Census Year								
	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Walsenburg	--	--	--	43	90	100	86	51	42
Westminster	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	27
Wheat Ridge	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	35
<i>Remainder of State</i>	1,206	1,576	2,694	1,975	1,357	948	1,653	3,319	7,116
State Total	6,215	8,570	11,453	11,318	11,828	12,176	20,177	39,992	66,411

SOURCE: US Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1890-1970. Racial breakdowns for less populous jurisdictions are not available in printed census documents.

additional twenty-two contained ten or fewer inhabitants. Municipalities with significant numbers of Blacks during the period are discussed below.

Denver. Denver has formed the heart of Colorado’s Black community since settlement. The number of African Americans in Denver grew throughout the nineteenth century, rising from twenty-three in 1860 to 237 in 1870, followed by a quadrupling to 1,046 by 1880, when the city accounted for 43 percent of the state’s total African American population. In his study of Black residential mobility in Denver, historian Lionel D. Lyles found that the group was quite dispersed throughout the city in the 1870s and 1880s.⁶⁰

The city held 3,056 Blacks in 1890, and the Black population became more segregated early in that decade. By 1893, a majority of “colored” householders lived in what is now the Five Points statistical neighborhood of the city.⁶¹ While the Queen City held some Black entrepreneurs and professionals, nearly three-quarters of Blacks in 1893 worked as porters, laborers, waiters, or janitors.⁶² Further increases in Denver’s African American population took place in the early twentieth century, with the population reaching 5,426 in 1910. A local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) formed in 1915, and the Black community stopped a city ordinance the following year that would have mandated residential segregation in Denver.

By 1920 Denver held 6,075 Blacks or 53.7 percent of the state’s African American population. Writing in the November 1923 issue of the NAACP’s *The Crisis*, Jessie Fauset described race relations in Denver: “Out of the West comes the report of 6,500 colored people who work and play and have their being side by side with 25,000 [sic, 250,000] whites and both races are content and happy.”⁶³ This may have been altogether too rosy a picture of the situation for Denver Blacks. Through the 1920s, Black residents were called out as “col’d” (colored) in city directory listings.

Additionally, the Ku Klux Klan established a strong presence in Colorado in the early 1920s, dominating the Republican Party, controlling the lower house of the legislature, and electing Klansman Clarence J. Morley governor in 1924. Historian David M. Chalmers observed that Colorado was “the success story of the western Klan.”⁶⁴ One out of seven Denverites belonged to the Klan, and the order helped elect Mayor Benjamin F. Stapleton, who appointed fellow Klansmen to important city positions.⁶⁵

From the 1920s through 1950s subdivision plats and property transfers sometimes contained racially discriminatory covenants, a practice upheld by the US Supreme Court in 1926.⁶⁶ After

the creation of Federal Housing Administration in 1934, the agency provided a model restrictive racial covenant for developers.⁶⁷ The FHA also established an appraisal system for home loans through the creation of “residential security maps” of cities throughout the country, using such characteristics as occupation, income, and race/ethnicity of the inhabitants and the age, construction type, price range, sales demand, and state of repair of the housing stock. Four color-coded neighborhood categories were created: green, areas with new buildings and homogenous populations; blue, “still desirable” and stable areas; yellow, “definitely declining” neighborhoods; and red, neighborhoods in decline and not eligible for loans (see Figure 8).⁶⁸

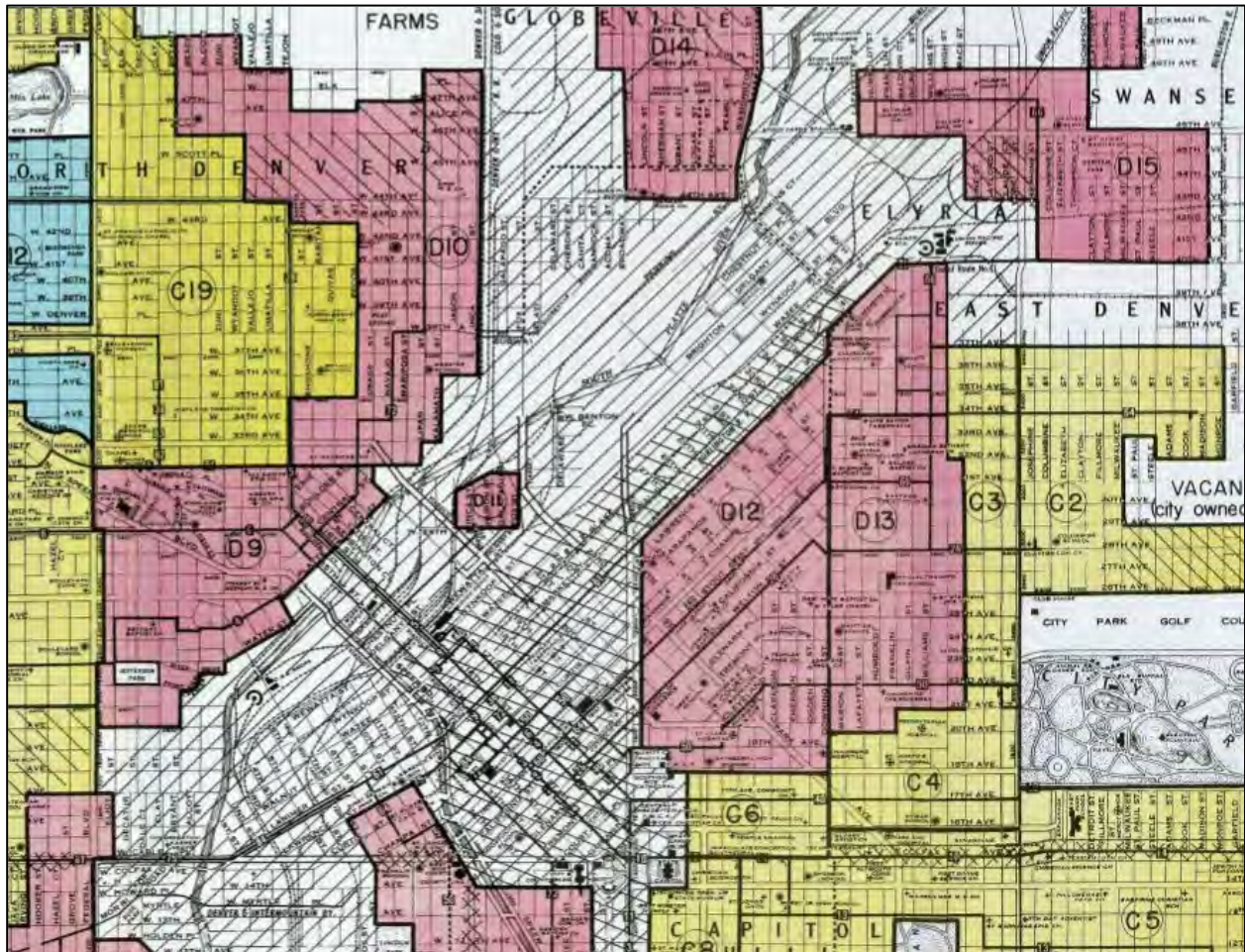


Figure 8. This extract of a 1938 “residential security map” of Denver shows the northeast section of the city, with the Five Points/Whitter areas labeled D12 and D13. SOURCE: Home Owners’ Loan Corporation, Denver Residential Security Map (August 15, 1938) in Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

Neighborhoods with people of color typically were labeled red, and “red-lining” referred to the practice of lenders not approving loans in those areas. The rating system assumed that the presence of non-White people directly contributed to neighborhood decline. Even middle and upper class African Americans were unable to obtain mortgage loans, and many once stable inner-city neighborhoods declined.⁶⁹ As architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright explained: “Explicit endorsement of segregation—by class and by race—was not only an outcome of federal housing policies; it was a stated principle in every government housing program.”⁷⁰

Denver's Black community continued to grow in population, more than doubling from 7,204 in 1930 to 15,059 in 1950, and reached 47,011 in 1970. Denver jazz musician Pernel Steen described East Denver area as "a completely self-contained community of its own," with "every infrastructural entity that was needed."⁷¹ Five Points and adjacent areas included a variety of businesses and services, including doctors, dentists, morticians, restaurants, tailors, drug stores, hotels, guest houses, saloons, pool halls, taxi companies, real estate agencies, and a branch of the American Woodmen Insurance Company.

A reporter for the *Baltimore Afro-American* visited Denver in 1952 and painted a positive picture of race relations, concluding that "fair play reigns" and "the color line does not exist."⁷² Historians Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel reported that many African Americans still worked in low-paying jobs, but that some companies were hiring Blacks. They found some people of color had come to Denver for good-paying jobs at the Air Force Finance Center. Leonard and Noel concluded that Denver "seemed advanced compared to places in the south where blacks were prevented from attending white schools, eating at white restaurants, and drinking from white drinking fountains, but Denver was far from an integrated city."⁷³



Figure 9. Pueblo's Vulcan Social Club and Vulcan Club Café at 1319-21 East Abriendo Avenue provided home-cooked meals, soft drinks, rooms, and smoking supplies. Ed Scott ran the club and Mrs. Laura Roland the café. SOURCE: Thomas H. Simmons, July 2020.

Pueblo. All of Pueblo County contained just twenty-seven African Americans in 1870, but by 1880 the City of Pueblo included 885 Blacks. The population of the group increased to 1,213 by 1900 and fluctuated between 1,300 and 1,500 through 1950. Local historian Dr. Elmer E. Wells reported most Pueblo Blacks came from Missouri, trailed by Tennessee, Alabama, and Arkansas. Wells contended that prior to World War II Steel City Blacks suffered less residential segregation than social segregation, reflected in exclusion from school social occasions and yearbook sections (Blacks were pictured at the end of school annuals) and separation in theaters, hotels, restaurants, and swimming pools.⁷⁴ The 1923 article in *The Crisis* noted that the Colorado Fuel & Iron Corporation employed 162 Blacks at its Pueblo steel plant, 3.5 percent of its total workforce.⁷⁵ African American workers were featured in articles in CF&I's in-house publications, but Wells contended that Black mill workers often trained White workers, only to see the latter promoted to better positions.⁷⁶

African Americans in Pueblo initially settled close to downtown, with many living in the Peppersauce Bottom area (later the Midtown Shopping Center) prior to the 1921 flood. By 1960 about half of the city's Blacks lived in the Bessemer area of southeast Pueblo near the Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation steel mill. The community was served by churches (including St. Paul's AME Church at Pine and Mesa streets), Lincoln Home (a Black orphanage), a succession of Black newspapers, and included professionals, such as Dr. Clarence Holmes, a dentist who practiced in the city before relocating to Denver. Several Black-owned businesses operated, including Arthur Garrett's Building and Wrecking Company, Sam Nelson Furniture, the Perry Hotel, and the A.C. Jones Mortuary. Pueblo possessed the state's second largest Black population until 1960, when it was overtaken by Colorado Springs.⁷⁷

Colorado Springs. Colorado Springs included the state's third largest African American community, with a population varying from 975 to 1,176 between 1910 and 1950. Inspection of circa 1900 city directories indicates that most Blacks lived in the area south of downtown and north of today's Interstate 25. Many households were clustered near the 1897 Payne Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church at 320 South Weber Street.⁷⁸ Three other Black churches were found in that part of the city.

Figure 10. Fannie Mae and Edward Duncan's Cotton Club in downtown Colorado Springs was an integrated venue that featured meals, drinks, dancing, and live jazz. SOURCE: photograph, image number 101-4846, Pikes Peak Library District, Colorado Springs, Colorado.



During the 1920s, Colorado Springs had a very active Ku Klux Klan organization. The political power of the secret group was eventually broken through the tireless efforts of Clarence Hamlin, editor and publisher of the *Gazette-Telegraph* newspaper. According to historian Robert A. Goldberg, "Hamlin and his staff prominently displayed news articles highlighting Klan violence and corruption while maintaining a steady flow of anti-Klan commentary. The newspaper even refused to report information concerning Klan lectures or public meetings."⁷⁹ The city held a number of Black-run tourist homes and other travel guide properties.

A popular downtown venue for many years was Duncan's Café and Bar (later the Cotton Club), established in 1946 by Fannie Mae Duncan and her husband, Edward, an African American couple (see Figure 10). A sign at the restaurant proclaimed "Everybody Welcome." The Cotton Club offered dining, drinks, dancing, and entertainment, including such jazz greats as Duke Ellington and Etta James. An urban renewal project demolished the Cotton Club in 1975. To provide lodging for the performers and other visiting Blacks, Ms. Duncan acquired a large mansion northeast of downtown which she operated as a guest house/apartment.⁸⁰

The African American population of Colorado Springs rose sharply to 3,172 in 1960 and 7,045 in

1970, perhaps due to the upgrading of Camp Carson to Fort Carson in 1954 and an associated expansion of the military installation. In the late-1950 and early 1960s several Pikes Peak area motels appeared in African American travel guides.

La Junta. Census returns from 1910 through 1960 consistently show one hundred or more African American inhabitants in the small Arkansas Valley town of La Junta in Otero County. In 1913 Thomas L. Cate founded the *Megaphone*, an African-American paper, which he published in the town until 1915.⁸¹ The county featured a Black agricultural settlement south of Manzanola (The Dry) founded by settlers from Kansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri. The community, which lasted from about 1917 to 1930, consisted of agricultural homesteads and school and may have contained as many as fifty households.⁸² An examination of 1930 manuscript census returns suggests that most Black residents within La Junta proper worked for the railroad or in hotels. La Junta was on the mainline of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, which had a large railyard and other facilities in the town.



Figure 11. Erected in 1936, the Alamo Hotel in Lamar was listed in Black travel guides from 1948 through 1966. SOURCE: Thomas H. and Laurie Simmons, historic postcard image collection, Denver, Colorado.

Trinidad. Census returns showed more than one hundred Blacks living in Trinidad from 1890 through 1950. The 1910 census showed 180 African American inhabitants. An inspection of the manuscript census returns found most Blacks living in an area southwest of downtown. Although Blacks were employed in Colorado Fuel & Iron Company coal mines in Huerfano and Las Animas counties, Black residents of Trinidad worked in occupations then typical for the group: laborer, cook, servant, housekeeper, porter, and laundress. The number of Black residents dropped sharply between 1950 and 1960, from 102 to 47.

Boulder. From an African American population of forty-eight in 1890, Boulder's Black community increased to 166 by 1910 and remained between 100 and 200 inhabitants through 1960. According to historians Thomas J. Noel and Dan W. Corson, the Black population was dispersed throughout the city in the early years before becoming concentrated by the 1920s in an area east of downtown in the Goss-Grove neighborhood known as "the little rectangle." Ruth Cave Flowers, the first Black graduate of the University of Colorado, came with her family to Boulder in 1917 and found the city "absolutely closed. There was no place we could go."⁸³ The residents supported two Black churches in the city. O.T. Jackson, who later founded Dearfield in Weld County, lived in Boulder from 1892-1907, managing the Chautauqua dining

hall and Jackson's Resort north of the city limits.⁸⁴

Ray's Inn, which opened in the area in 1946, was operated by Delbert and Annie Ray. Employing the motto "a nifty place to eat," the Rays stated their goals: "We will operate a clean, orderly place with the best of foods, not only for the colored people but for the general public."⁸⁵ The restaurant became a popular spot with students attending the nearby University of Colorado.

Figure 12. Delbert and Annie Ray operated Ray's Inn (no longer extant) in Boulder's Goss-Grove neighborhood. SOURCE: Boulder County Assessor, appraisal card, on file Boulder Carnegie Library, Boulder, Colorado.



Early African American Travel and Recreation in Colorado

Leisure travel is associated with the ability to take time from work and adequate disposable income. Given occupational and income disparities, Blacks were disadvantaged in partaking of pleasure trips. No histories or personal accounts of early African American recreational travel to and within Colorado were located. In Denver, Black entrepreneur Barney L. Ford established the People's Restaurant (1514 Blake Street, 5DV.47.66) in 1863 and built the 1873 Inter-Ocean Hotel (no longer extant) in Denver (see Figure 13). Ford advocated for African American civil rights and undoubtedly welcomed Blacks to his establishments.

There is some early twentieth century evidence for African American tourism and recreation in the state. A circa 1900 photograph shows Black visitors on donkeys at Balanced Rock at the Garden of the Gods in Colorado Springs (see Figure 14). Black groups visited Meta Park in the Platte Canyon southwest of Denver on the line of the Colorado and Southern Railroad in the 1910s. A 1913 advertisement in the *Denver Star* reported a roundtrip cost of \$1.25 for the picnic and barbecue. Labor and Irish groups also visited Meta Park, which included a dancing pavilion and featured such activities as music, dancing, swimming, fishing, and boating.⁸⁶

The Marian Hotel in Denver at 1835-39 Arapahoe Street (gone) opened in a refurbished building in 1914. Manager Tom Lewis described it as "the newest, largest, modern and most up-to-date hotel for the accommodation of colored people in the West between Chicago and Los Angeles" and urged *Denver Star* readers to tell their traveling friends about its handy location and as "a pleasant place to stop while visiting Denver."⁸⁷

Dearfield, a Black settlement established in 1910 in Weld County along today's US 34, included a service station, lunchroom, grocery store, and lodge that provided services to passersby,



Figure 13. In 1873 African American Barney Ford built the Inter-Ocean Hotel at 16th and Blake streets in Denver. SOURCE: Joseph Collier photograph, image number C-175, ca. 1900, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

Figure 14. This group of African American tourists pose in front of Balanced Rock at the Garden of the Gods, Colorado Springs, circa 1900. SOURCE: Paul Goerke & Son, Manitou Springs, Colorado, on file Colorado Historical Foundation, Golden, Colorado.



including African Americans (see Figure 15). Founded by O.T. Jackson of Boulder, the community drew roughly 153 Black families during the 1910-40 period. Jackson promoted Dearfield “as a valley resort, touting the fishing, hunting, dance pavilion, lodge, and camp cottages as an excellent recreational opportunity for African Americans.”⁸⁸

Figure 15. Dearfield, near Wiggins in Weld County, featured a service station for travelers. SOURCE: photograph, ca. 1920s, Special Collections, University of Northern Colorado, image SC 106_02_0199.



The 1920s witnessed the creation of an African American summer resort in the mountains northwest of Denver in Gilpin County near Pinecliffe. The concept and promotion of Lincoln Hills likely was modeled after the similar summer development for Blacks at Idlewild, Michigan, the nation’s largest summer resort for African Americans. Located at an elevation of more than eight thousand feet on the edge of the Arapaho-Roosevelt National Forest, architectural historian Melanie Shellenbarger described Lincoln Hills as “a world away from the city’s bustling urban environs. Billed as a beautiful and healthful mountain locale for a camp or cabin, it hugged the broad meadows and steep hills bisected by South Boulder Creek.”⁸⁹

Lincoln Hills drew national notice. A September 1927 article in the *Chicago Defender* informed readers of the creation of “a great national summer resort in the heart of the beautiful Rocky Mountains” in Colorado.⁹⁰ More than 1,100 of the development’s 1,700 lots were sold, mostly to Coloradans, but to “a surprising number from out of state,” including buyers living in Kansas, Missouri, Wyoming, Nebraska, and more distant places.⁹¹ Interviewed in 2007, former Tuskegee Airman John Mosley of Denver recalled Lincoln Hills as “the *only* place to go” in the Colorado mountains. Denver entrepreneur Obrey Wendell “Wink” Hamlet erected cabins and a lodge (Wink’s Panorama) in the development to accommodate visitors.

Within Lincoln Hills, Camp Nizhoni (the Navajo word for “beautiful”) provided a summer recreational escape for African American girls of Denver’s Phyllis Wheatley Chapter of the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) beginning in 1925 (see Figure 16). At that time the Denver YWCA was segregated and mountain camps available to White girls excluded African Americans. The Phyllis Wheatley Chapter accepted an offer from the developers of Lincoln Hills to operate a camp for three years in exchange for title to land and buildings. By 1935 girls from six states were attending camp, which the branch conducted until 1945, when the YMCA integrated its summer camps.⁹² Marie Greenwood, the first tenured African American teacher in the Denver Public Schools, was associated with the camp from about 1928 through 1943, first as an attendee in high school and later as a counselor. In 2019 Greenwood related she “never had the experience of going to the mountains” before going to Nizhoni and

recalled taking part in hiking, crafts, campfire singing, and “enjoying good food and the companionship of the other girls.”⁹³

Much of Colorado’s Rocky Mountains remained unwelcoming to African Americans throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Accounts note a few Black excursions to Rocky Mountain National Park west of Estes Park, including a sightseeing tour and picnic by the Philomatheims Bridge Club in 1941 and a picnic for Denver Blacks families jointly sponsored by the USO, YMCA, and YWCA in 1943.⁹⁴ The gateway town of Estes Park was less friendly toward Blacks. No facilities in the town were listed in African American travel guides. When interviewed in 2007, John Mosley of Denver related that African Americans could drive *through* Estes Park, but as far as eating or lodging there, he emphatically declared: “I should say not!”⁹⁵



Figure 16. This 1932 photograph shows a group of Camp Nizhoni counselors and attendees enjoying South Boulder Creek. A camp building is in the background. SOURCE: Marie L. Greenwood photograph, image number ARL-95, 1932, Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver, Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

Development of African American Travel Guides

Automobiles became more readily available to African Americans in the 1910s and 1920s, increasing their potential for freedom of movement. Leisure travel was one component of African American travel, but members of the community also traveled for work, either on their own or as White business or family employees, such as chauffeurs or domestic workers. Blacks also traveled to attend family gathering, such as funerals and weddings. The latter undertakings often became more long-distance trips after the Great Migration of the late 1910s which relocated millions of southern African Americans to large northern and midwestern cities.

However, given the widespread presence of racial discrimination and White animus, African American travel and recreation during the Jim Crow era was uncertain, logistically challenging, frequently humiliating, and potentially dangerous. Columnist George Schuyler of the African American *Pittsburgh Courier* asserted that before 1945 “the number of hotels, restaurants, motels, and such establishments that solicited or welcomed Negro patronage outside the south

was infinitesimal.”⁹⁶ Jearold W. Holland, a historian of African American recreation, explained that even African Americans

who could afford to travel for recreation often found themselves significantly hampered. Imagine being able to pay for a service and then not being allowed to obtain the service due to racial segregation and prejudice. Discrimination was endemic in most commercial recreation establishments like hotels and restaurants. The lack of black opportunity was most often attributed to lack of access to transportation and the inaccessibility of housing (hotels and motels) and dining facilities. ... Most Blacks who dared travel outside their immediate communities, especially in the South, had to make arrangements to stay in private homes or black schools because white hotels would not accommodate them.⁹⁷

The inherent uncertainty under segregation posed a particular challenge for Blacks while traveling, since what was permitted varied from town to town and establishment to establishment.⁹⁸ Service stations were generally amenable to African Americans buying gasoline but might deny access to restrooms. Restaurants typically refused sit-down service in dining areas but might permit the purchase of take-out food from the rear of the establishment. Traveling African Americans relied on personal contacts and word of mouth to locate accommodations in distant towns, including rooms with Black professionals, at Black colleges and universities, at Black-run tourist homes, or at segregated branches of YMCAs and YWCAs. Writing in 1933, Alfred Edgar Smith discussed the need for a nationwide “authentic list” of establishments welcoming Black travelers. Smith believed such facilities existed: “If we just knew where they were, what a world of new confidence would be ours.”⁹⁹

Although the automobile was lauded as liberating Blacks from the humiliations of Jim Crow commercial transportation, social scientist Cotton Seiler observed: “Yet it was precisely in the act of driving through unfamiliar territory that the inescapability of race became, for so many African Americans, apparent.”¹⁰⁰ Some men vacationing with their families carried a chauffeur’s cap in the back seat as a tactic for avoiding difficulties. Cultural historian Candacy Taylor explains: “During the Jim Crow era, the chauffeur’s hat was the perfect cover for every middle-class black man pulled over and harassed by the police. If [the driver] ... had told the sheriff the truth—that he was driving his own car and that they were a family on vacation—the sheriff would not have believed him. He would have assumed the car was stolen.”¹⁰¹

Existing travel guides were oriented toward middle-class, White Americans whose travel and accommodation choices were not hindered by the barriers of segregation. As Historian Gretchen Sorin explained: “None of the traditional mainstream travel guides held much interest or value for African American travelers, who knew these books could not be trusted to help black motorists negotiate travel in a segregated society.”¹⁰²

To ease the burdens and uncertainty of travel, an array of guidebooks targeting African Americans were published from the 1930s through 1960s to provide assistance in navigating the nation’s roadways (see Figure 17). The publications were modeled after earlier guidebooks that enabled Jewish Americans to locate accommodations welcoming them. Collectively, the guides were not a comprehensive compendium of all locations open to Black travelers. Sorin



Figure 17. The *Green Book* and *Travelguide* were two of the guides African Americans used to find roadside accommodations during the era of segregation. SOURCE: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, New York.

opines that there were hundreds of additional Black establishments “known only through advertisements in newspapers or word of mouth.”¹⁰³

Edwin Henry Hackley and Sarah D. Harrison explained in their 1930 guide for Black travelers that cross country and resort travel’s “greatest inconvenience and annoyance has been its lack of knowledge of desirable and hospitable hotel and apartment accommodations, *enroute* and at the journey’s end.”¹⁰⁴ Their *Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers* (reissued in 1931 as *The Traveler’s Guide*) was one of the earliest publications marketed for systematically identifying lodging places welcoming African Americans throughout the country. In a comment equally applicable to later guidebooks, historian Mia Bay observed that the “listings further underscored how difficult it was for black travelers to find accommodations. National in scope, the *Guide* lists comparatively few hotels or other easily identifiable commercial establishments. Instead, the predominant form of accommodation for black travelers in many towns would have been difficult for any stranger to find without local assistance,” mostly guest rooms in private residences.¹⁰⁵

The *Negro Motorist Green Book*, the most well-known and longest-lived of the Black travel guides, first appeared in 1936. Developed by New York City postal employee Victor H. Green and his wife Alma, the *Green Book* began as a travel planner for the New York region but quickly expanded to include the entire country. Memoirist Earl Hutchinson, Sr. described the publication as “the bible of every Negro highway traveler in the 1950s and 1960s.”¹⁰⁶

In 1949 the *Green Book* added a special section for vacation and resort destinations and began offering a booking and reservation service. Green admonished purchasers to always carry their guide while traveling, because “you may need it.” The Greens worked with Standard Oil’s Esso service stations to widely distribute the guide, with its number of copies growing from more than a million in 1954 to over two million in 1962. The *Green Book* continued publishing through 1966-67, and the guides expanded to cover other roadside facilities, including service stations and garages, restaurants and bars, beauty salons and barber shops, and resorts.

Other guides soon followed the *Green Book*. In 1939-40 Smith’s Touring Club, an African American automobile association, produced *Smith’s Tourist Guide* with the cooperation of the Esso service station company.¹⁰⁷ The federal government attempted to assist African American travelers in 1941 with the publication of the US Travel Bureau’s *A Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses*. The introductory material stated the guide was created to provide “a reliable source of information for Negro travelers through the United States. It is believed that the Directory will facilitate the promotion of travel to the extent that only the assurance of adequate accommodations can effect.”¹⁰⁸ The eighteen-page guide was far from comprehensive. In 1942 the Baltimore *Afro-American* newspaper published the “Afro American Travel Map,” a folded large-format map listing hotels and guest houses in states east of the Mississippi River.¹⁰⁹

Additional travel and vacation assistance for Black travelers emerged in the post-World War II period. *Ebony* first published a guide to summer vacation resorts in 1947. Its 1952 and 1953 guides were organized by types of vacations, such as mountain resorts, beach facilities, or package tours. Three other nationwide guides to accommodations welcoming African Americans were published in the post-World War II era: *Travelguide* (1947-63); *Go, Guide to Pleasant Motoring* (1952-59); and *Bronze American* (1961-62). Black musician William “Billy” Butler created *Travelguide* to assist African American performers in finding accommodations while on the road. Sorin concluded that agents for the publication “located some ‘mainstream’ or ‘white’ hotels, motels, and restaurants that did not discriminate against people of color. Most of the listings were for the same African American boarding houses and hotels found in other travel guides.”¹¹⁰ The Nationwide Hotel Association published the *Go, Guide to Pleasant Motoring*. The guide attempted to include high-end facilities that could accommodate lodging for large groups.¹¹¹

Such guidebooks were useful not only in the South, but throughout much of the country. Studying Route 66 from Chicago to Los Angeles, Candacy Taylor observed: “When the *Green Book* was first published, roughly half of the eighty-nine counties on Route 66 were sundown counties. By the 1950s, about 35 percent of the counties didn’t allow black motorists after six PM. And although the road was open to black travelers, it was unknown where they could find a meal or a place to rest because six of the eight states that lined the Mother Road as far west as Arizona had segregation laws.”¹¹² Sorin offers this blunt assessment: “In the end, keeping African Americans from being killed on the road constituted the overarching, if unstated, goal of all these travel guidebooks.”¹¹³

African American Travel in Colorado, 1930-1965

The travel guides discussed above provided African American travelers with some degree of certainty over where and what type of accommodations would welcome them along Colorado roadways. Some resources in the state were listed in only one guide, while others appeared in a number of different guides. The Perry Hotel in Pueblo appeared in five different travel guides, while the Rossonian and Herndon hotels in Denver were listed in four. There was a great deal of overlap among the guides. Some properties appeared year after year, while some facilities were mentioned only once. The bulk of directory listings were for lodgings, such as hotels, guest and tourist homes, rooms, motels, and YMCAs/YWCAs. Other establishments represented in the guidebooks included restaurants, barber and beauty salons, tailors, photographers, doctors and dentists, service stations, mountain lodges, liquor stores and taverns, and organizations. As the civil rights movement gained traction beginning in the mid-1950s, more properties (particularly modern motels) began to appear in the publications.

As the discussion in the Results section elaborates, facilities welcoming Black travelers were not evenly distributed throughout the state, with few if any in the state's northeast plains or northwest plateau regions. When asked about recollections of Trail's End Lodge dude ranch near Granby, a person who grew up in the area "reported she did not see a person of color until she left Grand County. It was explained that it was too cold here for people of color."¹¹⁴ US 85/87 along the Front Range of the Rockies, through Trinidad, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, and Denver, featured perhaps the densest and most convenient number of facilities for Black travelers. US 50 from Lamar on the east to Grand Junction on the west provided similar but more widely spaced accommodations for African Americans.

African Americans continued to encounter prejudice in the postwar period. In 1952 the *Pittsburgh Courier* reported incidents of racial discrimination against African American travelers in Colorado and other western and northern states, concluding: "It has not been all sunshine and flowers for colored travelers and vacationists during the summer months. Many have been jim crowed, segregated, insulted and rebuffed as they sojourned across the fair land of this country."¹¹⁵ Travel guide listings reveal that the number and geographic range of facilities open to African Americans grew over the 1930-1965 period. This may reflect the emerging legal reality following the US Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*, which struck down the separate but equal doctrine enshrined by *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. Many more modern roadside motels were first listed in the guides in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Colorado passed a strong public accommodations law in 1959, and some facilities may have sought listing in the *Green Book* and other guides to demonstrate compliance. However, an account in the *Chicago Defender* concerning the Stanley Hotel in Estes Park provides a counter example. Travel editor Fred W. Avendorph reported that a sales representative had approached the *Defender* in 1960 about marketing the Stanley to individual Blacks and convention groups. An hour after making his sales pitch, the salesman called to say that he had made an error and that "the manager of the Stanley Hotel still enforced racial bias against Negroes and none would be accepted without protest."¹¹⁶

Potential Property Types

Potential property types were developed based primarily on common functional uses for their role with African travel and recreation during the era of segregation. The analysis is based only on currently extant resources (161 properties), rather than including resources no longer standing. Property types help link concepts in historic contexts with actual historic properties that illustrate those ideas. As statewide and community surveys including such resources are undertaken, the information collected helps refine and expand historic contexts. Given the lack of surveys targeted at African American travel resources (or even African American-related resources generally), the discussion of potential property types herein is somewhat tentative. Representative examples identified during the project are discussed within each subtype.

Lodging Facilities

Finding lodging on automobile trips particularly was problematic for Black travelers. Alfred Edgar Smith wrote in 1933 of “a small cloud” hanging over Black motorists, which “casts a small shadow of apprehension on our hearts and sours us a little. ‘Where,’ it asks us, ‘will you stay tonight?’”¹¹⁷ Colorado examples of these resources include hotels, motels, and guest or tourist homes.

Hotels. Hotels welcoming African Americans tend to be located in the downtown areas of cities and towns. Several examples of this type of lodging place are found in Denver in areas historically occupied by African Americans, including the Rossonian, Herndon, Hildreth/Bean, and Simpson’s hotels. The Perry Hotel in Pueblo is located near the city’s Union Depot. Some of the state’s smaller cities also contain hotels that welcomed Blacks: the Alamo Hotel in Lamar, the Strater in Durango, and Adams in Montrose.

Some travel guides listed some of the state’s most prestigious hostelrys, including the Brown Palace, Boulderado, Oxford, and Broadmoor. It is difficult to interpret the inclusion of these facilities in the guidebooks in terms of how often and under what circumstances African Americans were provided lodging. It may be that a small number of nationally prominent Blacks were infrequently accommodated, with the imposition of such limitations as using a secondary entrance to the facility, not appearing in common areas, and keeping a low profile during their stay.¹¹⁸

Motels. As highways improved and the number of motor vehicles rapidly increased, roadside accommodations adapted and grew more numerous. First appearing as collections of roadside cabins or tourist courts in the 1920s, by the 1940s motels evolved into connected units in linear, L-, or U-shaped layouts. Early examples of motels appearing in African American travel guides include the Davis Court near Montrose, the Coronado Lodge in Pueblo, the Westerner in Granby, and the Crestview Motel in today’s Commerce City. Many additional motels appeared in the travel guides published in the late 1950s and early 1960s, including examples in Colorado Springs, Grand Junction, Lakewood, Aurora, Cañon City, and Pueblo.

Guest or Tourist Homes. Guest or tourist homes or rooms were found from small towns to the state’s largest cities. This type of accommodation typically consisted of rooms available for nightly rental in a freestanding dwelling, most often operated by African American women. Several examples operating for a decade or more are found in Denver’s Five Points

neighborhood , including lodgings operated by the Graham, Stell, McClure, Fisher, and Anderson families. Pueblo had two long-term tourist homes, one operated by the Thomas Protho family from 1930 (or earlier) until 1962 and by the Charles Forehand family from 1930 to 1952. Other examples of this resource type were discovered in Colorado Springs, La Junta, and Greeley.

Vacation Destinations and Other Recreational Facilities

Vacation Destinations. The *Green Book* featured different sections for destination vacation facilities versus more common roadside lodging facilities. Wink’s Panorama (discussed above) at Lincoln Hills in Gilpin County is the foremost example of this type of accommodation and the only extant one of its kind in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states. Mountain Studio Lodge in Dumont (Clear Creek County) was another example of a destination vacation facility (see Figure 18). Owned by African Americans John and Ledell T. Robinson of Fort Worth, Texas, the facility consisted of a large log lodge and advertised “fishing, mountain climbing, etc. Television & modern conveniences.”¹¹⁹ Listed in travel guides and *Ebony* magazine, the Mountain Studio operated from circa 1952 until at least 1961. It was destroyed by fire in 2009.¹²⁰

The Trail’s End Lodge northwest of Granby promoted itself in a 1956 *Denver Star* advertisement as a dude ranch offering “something new, novel and exclusive, mountain seclusion for colored people in the heart of the Arapahoe [sic] National Forest.” Activities included fishing, hunting, trail rides, fun, and relaxation. The lodge and cabins operated under the American plan (meals included). The facility does not appear to have operated for any length of time.¹²¹

Lincoln Hills itself comprised a Black summer home development, with parcels owned by Denverites and out-of-state residents. Some distant owners traveled to stay at their properties during summer months. Dearfield in Weld County (ca. 1910-40) also was promoted by O.T. Jackson as a resort for African Americans as well as an agricultural settlement.

Figure 18. The Mountain Studio Lodge at Dumont appeared in the *Green Book* and *Ebony*. SOURCE: Clear Creek County Assessor, appraisal card photograph, undated, Clear Creek County Archives and Records, Georgetown, Colorado.



Other Recreational Facilities. Identified general recreational facilities in guidebooks were relatively few in number. Listed resources included municipal golf courses, a municipal park, a theater, Rooney Ranch in Jefferson County, and Camp Nizhoni, the girls summer YWCA facility at Lincoln Hills. No information was found on the policies regarding accepting Blacks at Denver area amusement parks, including Elitch’s, Manhattan Beach, and Lakeside.

Eating and Drinking Establishments

Black families typically packed food for consumption while on the road, aware that finding welcoming roadside dining places might be difficult. Seventeen eating and drinking establishments shown in travel guides are still extant in Colorado, including thirteen restaurants and four taverns. Most of these restaurants are located in Denver's Five Points area, but Jo's Restaurant in Lamar, the Copper Kitchen in Lakewood, Ma Bees in Pueblo, and Sali's Club Paradise in Cañon City were listed in travel guides. Taverns included Archie's and the 715 Club in Denver and the Mecca Grill and Vulcan Club in Pueblo.

Personal and Professional Services

Listings for personal and professional services was the third largest use type found in travel guides. Colorado reflects the national trend of listings for beauty shops and barbers. Examples include the Dunbar and Roxy barber shops in Denver and the beauty shops of Gloria's, Myrtle's, and Ford in Denver and the Ace in Montrose. Some Black women operated beauty shops in their homes. Offices of doctors, dentists, and lawyers also appeared in guidebook listings. Never numerous, only a few are still extant, such as Dr. J.S. Cobb's office in Pueblo. Colorado listings included one funeral home, Jones Mortuary in Pueblo.

Retail Stores

Retail stores comprise about 6 percent of extant Black travel resources. Most of these are drug stores, including a number of good examples in Denver's Five Points area, including the Radio, Atlas, and Ideal establishments and the Alamo in Pueblo. Three apparel store buildings still exist, including Waymire's and Kaufman's in Colorado Springs and The Sharp Shop (haberdashery) in Denver.

Automobile/Taxi

Relatively few service stations and garages were listed in travel guides and only eight now remain. Denver's Five Points area contains two good service station examples, the Da-Nite and White facilities, which appear to also have functioned as garages. Establishments formally categorized as garages included the Gilbert Motor Company in Montrose and Victor J. Herbert, Jr.'s business in Denver.

Social/Community Groups and Centers

Chapters of YMCAs and YWCAs are the largest subgroup in this category. The group had been segregated with separate Black chapters, but the organization opened to African Americans in the post-World War II era, providing services and lodging for traveling African Americans at facilities in Denver, Colorado Springs, and Pueblo. Within Denver, travel guide listings included the Glenarm USO Club, the Ex-Servicemen's Club, and the Fraternal Club of Dining Car Waiters-Local 465, all in the Five Points area.

Organizations

Most organizations in the guides were local chapters of such national groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP, in Colorado Springs, Denver, and Pueblo) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in Denver. Professional musicians in

Colorado had segregated chapters, and the Black group, Local 623, American Federation of Musicians, operated a facility in northeast Denver.

SURVEY PRIORITIES

Identification of Survey Priorities

Using the database of African American travel and recreation, the results of the limited windshield survey, background provided by the historic overview, and public input, we developed survey priorities. The results of the evaluation for all resources are presented in the Appendix, providing a priority ranking for future surveys and a preliminary assessment of historic integrity. The survey priorities were informed by potential significance, a desire to include a variety of resource types, and preliminary assessments of historic integrity.

Generally in assessing survey priority, historic integrity is given significant weight. In this case integrity was not determinative for resources with somewhat diminished integrity that may have a significant story to tell of the African American experience in Colorado. A recent article on efforts by the National Trust to preserve African American resource explained this difficulty:

One of the criteria for preservation is architectural significance, meaning that modest buildings like slave cabins and tenement houses were long excluded from consideration. By the time preservationists took notice of structures like those, many lacked the physical integrity to merit protection. Destruction abetted decay, and some historically black neighborhoods were actively erased—deliberately targeted by arson in the years after Reconstruction or displaced in later decades by highway construction, gentrification, and urban renewal.¹²²

A lower priority was assigned to an organization occupying a small space in a large office building, since we reasoned that the level of association with African Americans would likely be low. Large, mainstream hotels, such as the Brown Palace and the Broadmoor, also received a lower ranking, as Black patronage in the historic period was likely small and incidental. History Colorado and CHF may want to weigh other factors, such as perceived development threat and/or substantial citizen interest, in utilizing these priority rankings.

In order to provide additional background for the Multiple Property Documentation Form, the survey project should precede preparation of the MPDF or be the first component of a combination project. The estimated costs for each component are presented in Table 9.

Potential Projects

Multiple Property Documentation Form and Two Individual Nominations

Completion of a National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) is an appropriate means of addressing Colorado resources associated with African American travel and recreation and is a logical extension of this survey plan. The National Park Service (NPS) explains that an MPDF is “a cover document and not a nomination in its own right, but serves as a basis for evaluating the National Register eligibility of related properties. It may be used to

nominate and register thematically-related historic properties simultaneously or to establish the registration requirements for properties that may be nominated in the future. The nomination of each building, site, district, structure, or object within a thematic group is made on the National Register Registration Form.”¹²³ The NPS requires that at least one nomination be submitted to accompany the MPDF; we are proposing that two individual nominations be prepared. In this case the cover document would address “Colorado African American Travel and Recreation Resources, 1863-1965.”

Scattered Individual Surveys

A statewide selective survey is proposed, consisting of twenty intensive survey forms (1403 forms) and sixty reconnaissance forms (1417 forms). While History Colorado’s suggested approach is to follow a 90 percent reconnaissance/10 percent intensive mix of survey forms, we recommend increasing the number of intensive survey forms to 25 percent to capture a fuller range of resource types. Increasing the percentage of intensive survey even higher might be warranted since the 1417 forms capture very little history.

This project evaluated the 161 extant resources in terms of priority for intensive survey as follows: high priority, 63; medium, 35; low, 27; and unknown, 9. Many of the resources in Northeast Denver are located in the Five Points Historic Cultural District, a Denver landmark district.¹²⁴ The 2002 landmark application is only sixteen pages, and documentation on individual buildings is minimal. Given the significance of the area to Colorado’s African American history, the resources deserve more thorough historical and architectural research.

Criteria for selecting properties for intensive survey include: good examples of diverse travel resource types (restaurants, guest houses/tourist homes, motels, hotels, and so forth); properties with earlier or longer historical associations with African American travel; and properties dispersed geographically. In regard to the second point, a property that welcomed Blacks earlier in the segregation period (1930s-1940s) generally would be viewed as possessing a higher priority for survey compared to one that first appeared in the early to mid-1960s.

Lincoln Hills Analysis and Assessment

Lincoln Hills, established as a summer home development for African Americans in 1925, contains summer homes, resources associated with Camp Nizhoni, and Wink’s Panorama. A 2009 survey of resources in Gilpin County documented selected properties in Lincoln Hills and found a potential core area National Register historic district containing six contributing resources and one noncontributing resource. The survey report elaborated:

Because this core area contains only a fraction of the acreage belonging to the original Lincoln Hills subdivision, it is strongly recommended that additional survey take place within the boundaries of the original Lincoln Hills platted subdivision. This additional survey would help identify any previously unidentified historic buildings that would contribute to an expanded potential historic district. It will also identify any non-contributing buildings, such as the above-mentioned newly built house, within the original Lincoln Hills platted subdivision. Based on the results of future surveys, new potential historic district boundaries could be identified for Lincoln Hills if all NPS and COAHP

requirements are met. At this time, a number of buildings that could be considered to be contributing to an enlarged historic district have been identified, but these do not lie within the core area mentioned above and have been excluded until further work can be completed.¹²⁵

This may be a worthwhile undertaking, although given our work in the area on another project, the number of altered buildings and resources constructed after the period of significance may be more numerous than the report suggests. We do not feel sufficient information presently exists to prepare a cost estimate for the proposed undertaking.

Table 9. Estimated Costs for the Survey Plan Recommendations

Project/Area	Task	Cost
Multiple Property Documentation Form and Two Individual Nominations		
<i>Multiple Property Documentation Form</i>	Production of a MPDF, including fieldwork, photography, research, creation of a document with all required components, and attendance at Review Board meeting	\$8,000
	Expenses (lodging, meals and incidentals, and mileage), dependent on location of selected resources for nomination	\$150
<i>Two Individual National Register Nominations</i>	Production of two National Register individual nominations, including fieldwork, photography, research, creation of nomination with all required components, consultations, and attendance at Review Board meeting	\$13,000
	Expenses (lodging, meals and incidentals, and mileage), dependent on location of selected resources for nomination	\$150
	PROJECT SUBTOTAL	\$21,300
Scattered Resources Survey		
<i>Selective Survey of Scattered Resources Located Throughout the State</i>	Production of 20 Architectural Inventory forms (form 1403) with all required attachments (@ \$800/form)	\$16,000
	Production of 60 Reconnaissance forms (form 1417) with all required attachments (@ \$325/form)	\$19,500
	Kickoff meeting with History Colorado and stakeholder groups, finalizing the survey list, public meetings (2), and draft and final survey reports	\$3,200
	Expenses (lodging, meals and incidentals, and mileage). Dependent on final resources selected and their geographic distribution.	\$450
	PROJECT SUBTOTAL	\$39,150
GRAND TOTAL		\$60,450

Other Recommendations

As noted earlier, some presently designated resources possess African American historical associations that went unremarked or inadequately explored for that area of significance in the original nominations. In some cases such omissions may reflect the era in which they were prepared when documentation standards are not as exacting as they are today. Other instances may reflect effects of the National Register’s “fifty-year rule” for assessing significance, where Black association with a property or area came in more recent times vis-à-vis the date the nomination was prepared. In addition, the fault may lie in some instances with now outmoded ways of equating “historically significant properties” with White, male, straight undertakings and ignoring contributions of a broader racial, economic, and social spectrum. History Colorado

should make an effort to identify designated resources of this sort and submit amended nominations where appropriate.

Potential Funding Options for Survey Efforts

History Colorado. Colorado cities and counties use two primary sources for funding historic surveys, both administered by History Colorado: State Historical Fund (SHF) and Certified Local Government (CLG) grants. Awards for both programs are competitive, so applicants are advantaged if they can demonstrate wide community support and/or provide partial project funding from municipal or private sources. Generally, given its more limited pool of funds, CLG grants are utilized for smaller projects, typically under \$25,000. There is one opportunity each year (in January) to apply for CLG grants.

SHF is funded by tax money raised from limited stakes gaming in the mountain towns of Central City, Black Hawk, and Cripple Creek. SHF funds various types of grants, with those for historic resource surveys falling under the category of Survey and Planning grants, for which applicants must provide a minimum 25 percent cash match of the total project cost. The fall in gaming revenues due to the Covid-19 pandemic has disrupted the SHF grant schedule. The following grant rounds are currently planned: a general grant round (requests over \$50,000) in August 2021 and a mini grant round (requests up to \$50,000) in February 2022.

In January 2021, SHF began offering a new non-competitive planning grant for nominations and historic contexts. This type of grant is for a maximum \$15,000 and requires a 10 percent cash match for non-profit/governmental owners and a 25 percent cash match for private owners; however, cash match waivers can be requested. The grants have a rolling deadline. This survey plan project was funded this type of SHF grant.

National Park Service. Another potential source of funds is the National Park Service's Historic Preservation Fund, which has two grant programs applicable to African American resources: the African American Civil Rights Grant Program (AACR) and the History of Equal Rights Grant Program (HER). Both are competitive and national in scope. The AACR program

documents, interprets, and preserves sites and stories related to the African American struggle to gain equal rights as citizens. The 2008 NPS report *Civil Rights in America, A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* serves as the foundation reference document for the grant program and for grant applicants to use in determining the appropriateness of proposed projects and properties. . . . This competitive grant program provides grants to states, tribes, local governments (including Certified Local Governments), and nonprofits. Non-federal matching share is not required, but preference will be given to applications that show community commitment through non-federal match and partnership collaboration. Grants will fund a broad range of planning, development, and research projects for historic sites including: survey, inventory, documentation, interpretation, education, architectural services, historic structure reports, preservation plans, and "bricks and mortar" repair.

HER grants are funded by the Historic Preservation Fund and are targeted at

sites related to the struggle of all people to achieve equal rights in America. The History of Equal Rights grants are not limited to any specific group and are intended to include the broadest possible interpretation of sites associated with efforts to achieve equal rights. This program funds physical preservation work and pre-preservation planning activities for sites that are listed in or determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places or as a National Historic Landmark. Should a site not be listed, or not listed for its association with equal rights, then a new nomination or amendment must be created as part of the grant project.

The HER program emphasizes physical preservation work and has broader scope, including, for example, women's suffrage resources. Therefore, the AACR may be a more viable possibility for future work proposed by this survey plan.

National Trust for Historic Preservation. Established in 2017, the National Trust for Historic Preservation's African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund provides grants to public agencies and nonprofit organizations for projects focusing on African American cultural heritage. No matching funds are required, but projects that leverage additional funds are strongly preferred. Eligible grant requests include capital projects, organizational capacity building, project planning, and programming and interpretation.¹²⁶

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APPENDIX

COLORADO RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN TRAVEL DURING SEGREGATION

APPENDIX
COLORADO RESOURCES ASSOCIATED WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN TRAVEL AND RECREATION
DURING SEGREGATION: SORTED BY COUNTY, CITY, AND RESOURCE NAME

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	Adams	Commerce City	NL	Crestline Motor Hotel, 7330 Highway 85	1961-66	Yes	Moderate	H
	Arapahoe	Aurora	NL	Chris Maurer's Town House, 12100 E Colfax Ave	1962-63	No	None	NA
	Arapahoe	Aurora	NL	Glisan Manor Motel and Apartments, 11800 E Colfax Ave	1962-63	Yes	Good	M
	Arapahoe	Glendale	NL	Denver Riding Academy, 4301 E Kentucky Ave	1949	No	None	NA
	Bent	Las Animas	NL	Palace Hotel, 502 Bent Ave	1950-56	No	None	NA
	Bent	Las Animas	NL	Park Hotel, 236 6th St	1949-51	No	None	NA
5BL.240.41	Boulder	Boulder	NR	Boulderado Hotel, 2115 13th St	1953-54	Yes	Good	HS
	Boulder	Boulder	NL	Glacier View Motel, 2830 Arapahoe St	1953-54	No	None	NA
	Boulder	Boulder	NL	Ray's Inn, 2038 Goss St	1951-59	No	None	NA
	Clear Creek	Dumont	NL	Mountain Studio Lodge, Mary's/May's Mountain Lodge	1952-60	No	None	NA
	Clear Creek	Empire	NL	Berthoud Falls Inn, US 40	1949-51	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	18th Avenue Liquor Store, 1108 E 18th Ave	1947-52	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	18th Avenue Liquor Store, 1314 E 17th Ave	1953-55	No	None	NA
5DV.77	Denver	Denver	NE	20th Century Barber Shop, Ritz Cab Co., 2727-33 Welton St	1940-55	Yes	Poor	L
5DV.202.4	Denver	Denver	NRD	Abigail's Home for Guests, 2036 Emerson St	1957	Yes	Good	H
5DV.32389	Denver	Denver	NL	Ace (tailor), 2220 Downing St	1947-55	Yes	Good	H

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
5DV.493	Denver	Denver	OE	ACLU, 820 16th St	1953-62-63	Yes	Good	HS
	Denver	Denver	NL	Adams Hotel, 535 18th St	1953	No	None	NA
5DV.514	Denver	Denver	NL	Albany Hotel, 1720 Stout St	1955-62-63	No	None	NA
5DV.2372	Denver	Denver	NE	Anderson (Mrs. George L.) Tourist Home, 2119 Marion St	1947-61	No	None	NA
5DV.202.53	Denver	Denver	NRD	Anderson (Mrs. R.B./R.B.) Tourist Home, 2421 Ogden St	1930-52	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Anderson, H. (tailor), 517 28th St	1947	No	None	NA
5DV.4548	Denver	Denver	NE	Anderson's Tavern, 715 Café and Grill, 715 E 26th Ave	1941-48	Yes	Moderate	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Arapahoe Hotel, 2247 Arapahoe St	1939-41	No	None	NA
5DV.4547	Denver	Denver	NE	Arcade Tavern/Tailor, 739 E 26th Ave	1947-55	No	None	NA
5DV.5004	Denver	Denver	NL	Archie's Tavern, 2449 Larimer St	1947-55	Yes	Poor	L
	Denver	Denver	NL	Aristocrat Liquor Store, 3101 Williams St	1947-55	No	None	NA
5DV.4148	Denver	Denver	NE	Atlas Drug Store/Restaurant/Snack Bar, Hawkins, Dr. C.L., 2701 Welton St	1947-54	Yes	Moderate	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Auditorium Hotel, 14th and Stout	1949-62-63	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Auto Service (Service Station), 817 E 26th Ave	1939-41	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Awahnee Motel and Lodge, 8500 E Colfax Ave	1953	Yes	Moderate	H
5DV.7031	Denver	Denver	NE	B & B (tailor), 1710 E 25th Ave	1947-52	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	B & E Restaurant, 2847 Gilpin St	1947-56	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Blair (Mrs. Harney E.) Tourist Home, 2936 Gaylord St	1954-61	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Blue Parrot, 1718 Broadway	1949	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Boggio's Rotisserie, 1747 Tremont Pl	1949	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Bohn's Pig and Whistle Village, 4801 W Colfax Ave	1953	No	None	NA

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	Denver	Denver	NL	Broadway Plaza Motel, 1111 Broadway	1962-63	Yes	Poor	L
5DV.110	Denver	Denver	NR	Brown Palace Hotel, 321 17th St	1953-62-63	Yes	Good	HS
	Denver	Denver	NL	Burton (Mrs. Ila G.) Tourist Home, 3430 Race St	1954-56	Yes	Moderate	M
5DV.32464	Denver	Denver	NL	C & P Restaurant, 2201 Lafayette St	1957	Yes	Moderate	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Campbell, Thomas (lawyer), 509 E 17th Ave	1947	Yes	Poor	L
	Denver	Denver	NL	Case Municipal Golf Course, 4999 Vrain St	1949	Yes	Moderate	M
5DV.5311	Denver	Denver	NR	City Park Golf Course, 3181 E 23rd Ave	1949	Yes	Poor	L
5DV.7130	Denver	Denver	OE	Colonial Manor Motel, 2615 E 46th Ave	1957-58	No	None	NA
5DV.1870	Denver	Denver	NRD	Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission, 1525 Sherman St	1962-63	Yes	Good	HS
	Denver	Denver	NL	Community Barber Shop, 1335 E 24th Ave	1947	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Compass Motor Lodge, 8675 E Colfax Ave	1962-63	No	None	NA
5DV.511	Denver	Denver	NL	Cosmopolitan Hotel, 1760 Broadway	1955-62-63	No	None	NA
5DV.32465	Denver	Denver	NL	Da-Nite Restaurant, 1430 E 22nd Ave	1947-56	Yes	Poor	L
5DV.202.97	Denver	Denver	NRD	Da-Nite Service Station, 728 E 26th Ave	1947-55	Yes	Moderate	H
5DV.71	Denver	Denver	NE	Delux Hotel, Ex-Servicemen's Club, Mac's Restaurant, 2625-35 Welton St	1947-61	Yes	Moderate	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Dew Drop Inn Restaurant, Ritz Hotel, 2715-21 Welton St	1939-52	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Down Beat Restaurant, 609 27th St	1947-53	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Driftwood Motel, 1443 Oneida St	1962-63	Yes	Good	L

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
5DV.82	Denver	Denver	NE	Dunbar Barber Shop, 2741 Welton St	1947-52	Yes	Moderate	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Durham's Sinclair Service, 2400 E 8th Ave	1957	Unk.	Unknown	U
	Denver	Denver	NL	East Denver Chicken Inn, 2008 E 28th Ave	1957	Yes	Moderate	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	Edelweiss Restaurant, 1644 Glenarm Pl	1949	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	FEPC (state) Industrial Comm, 1065 Broadway	1955-57	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Fisher (Mrs. A. S.) Tourist Home, 2355 High St	1947-50	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Fisher (Mrs. A.L.) Tourist Home, 2356 Humboldt St	1930-41	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Ford Beauty Parlor, 2527 Humboldt St	1947-55	Yes	Moderate	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	Givens (Mrs. Hattie) Tourist Home, 3052 Humboldt St	1950-55	Yes	Poor	M
5DV.5292	Denver	Denver	SR	Glenarm USO Club, 2563 Glenarm Pl		Yes	Good	HX
	Denver	Denver	NL	Gloria's Beauty Salon, 2542 Franklin St	1947	Yes	Moderate	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	Golden Lantern Restaurant, 1265 Broadway	1949	No	None	NA
5DV.202.81	Denver	Denver	NRD	Graham (Mrs. William/W.) Tourist Home, 2544 Emerson St	1930-47	Yes	Moderate	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	Graves (Mrs. H.) Tourist Home, 3059 Humboldt St	1956	Yes	Good	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	Green Lantern Restaurant, 2859 Tremont Pl	1947-56	No	None	NA
5DV.507	Denver	Denver	FE	Harris Hotel, 1544 Cleveland Pl	1949-57	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Hawkins, Dr. C.D. (MD), 434 26th St	1949-51	No	None	NA

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
5DV.10273	Denver	Denver	NE	Herbert, Victor J. Jr., Garage, 3660 Downing St	1947	Yes	Moderate	M
5DV.4542	Denver	Denver	NE	Herndon Hotel, 2716 Welton St	1930-47	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Hildreth/Bean Hotel, 2152 Arapahoe St	1947-61	No	None	NA
5DV.1854	Denver	Denver	FE	Hilton Hotel and La Petite Dining Room, 1550 Court Pl	1962-63	Yes	Good	HS
5DV.6969	Denver	Denver	LL	Holmes, Dr. Clarence (cabins), 2330 Downing St	1949	Yes	Good	HX
5DV.76	Denver	Denver	NE	Holmes, Dr. Clarence F (DDS), 2602 Welton St	1947-51	No	None	NA
5DV.2315.1	Denver	Denver	NR	Horne Rooming House, 2105 Lafayette St	1947	Yes	High	HX
	Denver	Denver	NL	Ideal Drug Store, 2760 Downing St	1947-55	Yes	Moderate	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	Inter-Ocean Hotel, 16th 1480 St		No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	John and Betty's Beauty Mart, 2421 E 28th Ave	1959-61	Yes	Moderate	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	King's Restaurant, A&A Restaurant, 2359 Marion St	1947-48	Yes	Good	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	Landers Beauty Parlor, 2460 Marion St	1947-55	No	None	NA
5DV.4144	Denver	Denver	NE	Lincoln Liquor Store, 2636 Welton St	1947-55	No	None	NA
5DV.202.57	Denver	Denver	NRD	Local 623, American Federation of Musicians, 2530 Clarkson St	1950-51	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NRD	Local 623, American Federation of Musicians, 914 E 24th Ave	1949	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Mac's Garage/Service Station, Mattherson's Garage, 2637 Welton St	1947	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Mal's Cleaners, 1626 E 25th Ave	1957	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Manchu Grill, 1956 Larimer St	1949	No	None	NA

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	Denver	Denver	NL	Marian Hotel, 1835-37 Arapahoe St	1914	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Mary's Restaurant, 714 E 26th Ave	1947-52	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	May's Mountain Lodge, 2308 Marion St	1961	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Mayflower Hotel, 1710 Grant St	1953-54	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	McCloud, Burnis (photographer), 2634 Gilpin St	1947	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	McClure (Mrs. Jennie/J.) Tourist Home, 2849 Lafayette St	1930-41	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Meals at Blair House Restaurant, 3435 E 28th Ave	1959-61	Yes	Poor	L
5VD.202.60	Denver	Denver	NRD	Myrtle's Beauty Parlor, 2404 Clarkson St	1947-52	Yes	Good	H
5DV.125	Denver	Denver	NR	National Conference of Christians and Jews, 823 17th St	1955-62-63	Yes	Good	HS
	Denver	Denver	NL	Nu Way Restaurant, 1025 21st St	1947-52	Yes	Poor	L
5DV.49	Denver	Denver	NE	Olin Hotel, 1420 Logan St	1955-62-63	Yes	Good	HS
	Denver	Denver	NL	Overland Court Motor Hotel, 1660 S Santa Fe Dr	1957-58	No	None	NA
5DV.47.62	Denver	Denver	NR	Oxford Hotel, 1612 17th St	1953	Yes	Good	HS
	Denver	Denver	NL	Park Lane Hotel, 450 S Marion Pkwy	1957	No	None	NA
5DV.47.66	Denver	Denver	NR	People's Restaurant, 1514 Blake St	1863	Yes	Moderate	HX
	Denver	Denver	NL	Pierre's Drive-in Barbecue, 2849 Tremont Pl	1959-61	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Plazer Service Station, E 22nd Ave & Humboldt St	1947-55	No	None	NA
5DV.70	Denver	Denver	NE	Radio Drug Store, 2601-03 Welton St	1947-57	Yes	Moderate	L
	Denver	Denver	NL	Red Rooster Café, 2622 Welton St	1947-48	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Reese Houses, 405 17th	1949-51	No	None	NA
5DV.8182	Denver	Denver	FE	Reese Houses, 440 Colfax	1949-51	Yes	Moderate	M

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	Denver	Denver	NL	Reese Houses, 500 15th St	1949-51	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Reese Houses, 913 15th	1949-51	Yes	Poor	L
5DV.4928	Denver	Denver	NL	Rocky Mountain Drug Store, 2301 Champa St	1947-48	Yes	Poor	L
5DV.5238	Denver	Denver	NR	Rocky Mountain Lake Park, 3300 W 46th Ave	1930s	Yes	Good	H
5DV.65	Denver	Denver	NR	Rossonian Hotel and Lounge, YMCA, W. A. Stephens Barber Shop, 2640-50 Welton St	1930-56	Yes	Good	HX
	Denver	Denver	NL	Roxy Barber Shop, 2559 Welton St	1947-55	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Roxy Theatre, 2549 Welton St	1947	Yes	Moderate	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Royal Restaurant, 2536 Washington St	1947-50	No	None	NA
5DV.4848	Denver	Denver	NE	Ruth's Ladies' Apparel, DeLux Barber Shop, Fraternal Club of Dining Car Waiters - Local 465, 2619-21 Welton St	1947-61	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Shirley Savoy Hotel, Broadway	1953-1955-57	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Shorty (Mrs. Juliann) Tourist Home, 2035 Ogden St	1957	Yes	Good	H
5DV.11457	Denver	Denver	ND	Simpson's Hotel, Rice's Dining Room, 2801 Welton St	1947-57	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	St. Louis Restaurant, 2856 Welton St	1941-52	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Starks (Mrs. Myrtle) Tourist Home, 2717 Gaylord St	1957	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Stell (Mrs. M. Flora) Tourist Home, 2427 Ogden St	1930-40	Yes	Moderate	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Stell (Mrs. M.) Tourist Home, 2850 Marion St	1941	Yes	Good	H

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	Denver	Denver	NL	Sugar Bowl Restaurant, 2832 Welton St	1947-52	Yes	Poor	M
5DV.8209	Denver	Denver	FE	T. K. Drug Store, 2700 Larimer St	1947-55	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	N	The Sharp Shop (haberdashery), 2452 Washington St	1947	Yes	Poor	L
	Denver	Denver	NL	Two Friends/Warners Restaurant, 1857 Champa St	1947	No	None	NA
5DV.11455	Denver	Denver	ND	Unique Beauty Parlor, 2547 Welton St	1947-48	Yes	Poor	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	Up-to-Date Beauty Shop,	1948	Unk.	Unknown	U
	Denver	Denver	NL	Urban League of Denver, 314 14th St	1949-57	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	V. H. Meyers Drug Store, 22nd and Downing St	1947-55	Unk.	Unknown	U
	Denver	Denver	NL	Walton Bros. Express Co., 915 E 26th Ave	1947	No	None	NA
5DV.5333	Denver	Denver	NR	Washington Park, Smith's Lake, S Downing St	1932	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Welton Wearing Apparel, 2643 Welton St	1947	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	Westward-Ho Motel, 1744 S Santa Fe Dr	1953	No	None	NA
	Denver	Denver	NL	White House (tailor), 2863 Welton St	1947-55	Yes	Moderate	M
	Denver	Denver	NL	White Service Station, 2655 Downing St	1947-55	Yes	Good	H
	Denver	Denver	NL	Williams Standard Service Station, 2300 Lafayette St	1957	No	None	NA
5DV.33	Denver	Denver	OE	YMCA (Glenarm Branch), 2800 Glenarm Pl	1930-57	No	None	NA
5DV.2049	Denver	Denver	NR	YMCA, 25 E 16th Ave	1956-57	Yes	Good	HS
5DV.505	Denver	Denver	NL	YWCA, 1545 Tremont Pl	1953-57	No	None	NA

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	Denver	Denver	NRD	YWCA, 230 Bannock St	1949-52	Yes	Good	M
	Denver	Denver	OE	Zepha Grant's Beauty Salon, 2130 Downing St	1957	No	None	NA
5EP.724	El Paso	Colorado Springs	OE	Acacia Hotel, 104 E Platte Ave	1949-63	Yes	Good	HS
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Acme Motel, 4200 N Nevada Ave	1953-1962-63	Yes	Moderate	H
5EP.183	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NR	Alamo Hotel, 128 S Tejon St	1953-54	Yes	Moderate	HS
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Albert Pick Motel, 5700 N Nevada Ave	1962-63	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Alford (L.C.) Tourist Home, 509 N Royer St	1941-49	Yes	Moderate	M
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Ambassador Motel, 1022 S Nevada	1954-55	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Anderson, L.M. (tailor), 424 S El Paso St	1947	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Antlers Hotel, 4 S Cascade Ave	1953-54	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	N	Arrowhead Court, Western Hills Motel, 1623 S Nevada Ave	1953-56	Yes	Poor	L
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Barnett (Mrs. W.) Tourist Home, 410 S Wahsatch Ave	1930-39	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Bel-Air Lodge, 4000 N Nevada Ave	1956	Yes	Moderate	H
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Bonny Acres Motel, 4100 N Nevada Ave	1962-63	No	None	NA

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Boyd, Dr. William (dentist), 202 N Cascade Ave	1947-51	No	None	NA
5EP.368	El Paso	Colorado Springs	FE	Broadmoor Hotel, 1 Lake Ave	1949-1962-63	Yes	Good	HS
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Caldwell, Robert G. (barber), 640 E Maple Ave	1947	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Calloway (Mrs. Ethel) Rooms, 329 S Weber St	1930	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	City Community Center and Snack Bar, 13 W Colorado Ave	1947-51	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	City Golf Course, 900 E Espanola St	1947	Yes	Good	H
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Collins (T. Roosevelt) Hotel, 733 N Corona St	1947-50	Yes	Good	H
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Duncan's Café and Bar, Cotton Club, 25 W Colorado Ave	1946-75	No	None	NA
5EP.793	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Duncan's Guest House/ Apartments, 615 N Corona St	1955-63	Yes	Good	H
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Dale Motel, 620 W Colorado Ave	1956	Yes	Moderate	H
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	N	Dan-D Motel, 2930 N Nevada Ave	1953-54	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Daniels, Cady L. (garage), Weber and Kiowa	1947	Unk.	Unknown	U
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Dawson (Mrs. E.F.) Guest House, 606 E Vrain St	1941	Yes	Moderate	M
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	DeVille Motel, 1411 S Nevada Ave	1962-63	Yes	Poor	L

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Dusty, Ben (Tailor), 308 E Pikes Peak Ave	1947	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Erby, Robert C. Mrs. (beautician), 740 E Cucharras St	1947	Yes	Moderate	H
5EP.5069	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NE	French (Mrs. L.C.) Rooms, 831 S Weber St	1930	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Hamilton (Mrs. N.)/Lindsey (Mrs. Pearl) Hotel, 717 N Corona St	1930-50	Yes	Good	H
5EP.731	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NE	Kaufman's Inc., Payton Studio, 28-30 S Tejon St	1947	Yes	Good	M
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Moore (Dr. I.)/Childress (Mrs. Blanche) Tourist Home, 738 N Spruce St	1947-50	Yes	Good	H
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NRD	NAACP, 314 W Willamette Ave	1951-55	Yes	Moderate	H
5EP.728	El Paso	Colorado Springs	OE	Quine, Jr., James F. (attorney), 6 S Tejon St	1947-51	Yes	Good	H
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	N	Range View Court, 2712 E Highway 24	1953-54	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Roberts (Mrs. George/George)Tourist Home, 418 E Cucharras St	1930-63	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Schwab, Irvin H. M.D., 30 E Pikes Peak Ave	1947-51	No	None	NA
5EP.1416	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NE	Simpson, James (photographer), 825 S Weber St	1947	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Slumber Lodge, 5250 N Nevada Ave	1957	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Strange's Garage, Nevada Ave at Kiowa St	1947	No	None	NA

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Sweetbriar's Apparel, 118 E Pikes Peak Ave	1947	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Wallace (Mrs. T.) Tourist Home, 314 E Costilla St	1930-39	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Waymire's Clothing Store, 24 S Tejon St	1947	Yes	Good	H
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Woolworth 5 and 10 cent Store, 18 S Tejon St	1947	No	None	NA
	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NL	Yucca Lane Lodge, 3627 W Colorado Ave	1956	Yes	Good	H
5EP.198	El Paso	Colorado Springs	NR	YWCA, 130 E Kiowa St	1956-57	Yes	Good	HX
5FN.2184	Fremont	Canon City	NE	Court Daisy Motel, 201 Main St	1953-54	Yes	Moderate	M
	Fremont	Canon City	N	El Canon Lodge, 2102 Main St	1953-54	No	None	NA
	Fremont	Canon City	N	Knotty Pine Motel, 2990 E Main ST	1953-54	Yes	Poor	L
	Fremont	Canon City	N	Sali's Club Paradise, 807 Cyanide Ave	1962-63	Yes	Good	H
5FN.2163	Fremont	Canon City	NE	Triangle Auto Court, 1502 Main St	1953-54	Yes	Poor	L
5GL.1742	Gilpin	Pinecliffe	N	Camp Nizhoni, 103 Phyllis Wheatley Way	1925-45	Yes	Moderate	M
5GL.**	Gilpin	Pinecliffe	N	Lincoln Hills, Pactolus Lake Rd	1925-present	Yes	Moderate	M
5GL.6	Gilpin	Pinecliffe	NR	Wink's Panorama, 213 Winks Way	1949-53	Yes	Good	HX
	Grand	Granby	N	Westerner Motel, 875 W Agate Ave	1956-1959	Yes	Moderate	H
	Grand	Granby vicinity	N	Trail's End Lodge (dude ranch), 11845 Hwy. 125	1956	Unk.	Low	L
5GA.1750	Grand	Grand Lake	NR	Grand Lake Lodge,	1959	Yes	Good	HX
	Jefferson	Lakewood	N	Copper Kitchen, 8591 W Colfax Ave	1962-63	Yes	Moderate	M
	Jefferson	Lakewood	N	Mesa Motor Inn, 5600 W Colfax	1962-63	Yes	Good	M
5JF.196	Jefferson	Lakewood	NR	Pratt Rooney Rec. Ranch, 1731 S Rooney Rd	1949	Yes	Good	HS

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	Jefferson	Lakewood	N	Rockin' R Motel, 6051 W Alameda Ave	1962-63	Yes	Poor	L
	Jefferson	Lakewood	N	Sunset Village Motel, 5830 W Colfax	1950-52	No	None	NA
	Jefferson	Unincorporated	N	Meta Park, Platte Canyon	1909-15	Unk.	Unknown	U
5LP.304.9	La Plata	Durango	NRD	Strater Hotel, 699 Main Ave	1962-63	Yes	Good	HS
	La Plata	Durango	N	Sunset Motel, 2855 Main Ave	1962-63	No	None	NA
	Larimer	Estes Park	N	Brinwood Hotel and Ranch,	1956-1959	No	None	NA
	Larimer	Estes Park	N	Jack Woods Cottages, Bear Lake & Morraine Park	1956-1957-58	No	None	NA
5LR.1859	Larimer	Estes Park	OE	Sprague's Lodge,	1956-1957-58	No	None	NA
	Las Animas	Trinidad	N	Brooks (Mrs. C.) Tourist Home, 114 W 3rd St	1930-50	No	None	NA
	Las Animas	Trinidad	N	Daniels (Mrs. Hattie) Rooms, 305 Church St	1930	No	None	NA
	Mesa	Grand Junction	N	Bar X Motel, 1600 North Ave	1962-63	Yes	Poor	M
	Mesa	Grand Junction	N	El Palomino Motel, 2400 North Ave	1962-63	Yes	Moderate	M
5ME.14932	Mesa	Grand Junction	FE	Frontier Motel Lodge, 1940 North Ave	1956	Yes	Poor	L
	Mesa	Grand Junction	N	La Court Motel, Main and 2nd	1962-63	No	None	NA
	Mesa	Grand Junction	N	Morton (Mrs. M.) Rooms, 235 E Ouray Ave	1930	No	None	NA
	Mesa	Grand Junction	N	Motor Inn Lodge, 2812 North Ave	1962-63	No	None	NA
	Mesa	Grand Junction	N	Royal Motel, 1810 North Ave	1956-1962-63	Yes	Poor	L
	Mesa	Grand Junction	N	S & M Motel - Grocery, 901 N 1st	1955-56	No	None	NA
5ME.8460	Mesa	Grand Junction	NE	Silver Spur Motel, 555 North Ave	1962-63	Yes	Moderate	M
	Moffat	Craig	N	El Rancho Motel, 627 Victory Way	1962-63	Yes	Poor	L

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	Montezuma	Mesa Verde National Park	N	Spruce Tree Lodge	1953-66	No	None	NA
5MN.1806	Montrose	Montrose	NE	Ace Beauty Shop, 306 Main St	1948-55	Yes	Moderate	M
5MN.1691	Montrose	Montrose	NE	Adams Hotel, Chipeta Café, 448 E Main St	1948-66	Yes	Moderate	H
	Montrose	Montrose	N	Davis Auto Court	1948-60	Unk.	Unknown	U
5MN.1686	Montrose	Montrose	NE	Gilbert Motor Co., 540 E Main St	1948-55	Yes	Poor	L
	Montrose	Montrose	N	Sorenson Sinclair Station, N 1st and Townsend	1948-55	No	None	NA
5MR.512	Morgan	Brush	OE	Hotel Carroll, 418 Edison St	1954	Yes	Moderate	H
	Otero	La Junta	N	McDonald Hotel, W 1st St	1950-51	Unk.	Unknown	U
	Otero	La Junta	N	Mitchell (Mrs. R./Mrs. Ralph) Tourist Home, 322 W 1st St	1930-52	No	None	NA
	Otero	La Junta	N	Moore (Mrs. Mary) Tourist Home, 301 Lewis Ave	1930-61	Yes	Moderate	H
	Otero	La Junta	N	Powell Hotel, 112 1/2 W 1st St	1950-51	Yes	Moderate	M
	Otero	La Junta	N	Tittsworth (Mrs. Hattie) Tourist Home, 325 Maple Ave	1930-53	Yes	Moderate	H
	Pitkin	Aspen	N	Prospector Lodge, 301 E Hyman Ave	1962-63	No	None	NA
5PW.223	Prowers	Lamar	NE	Alamo Hotel, 322 S Main St	1948-66	Yes	Good	H
	Prowers	Lamar	N	Grand Restaurant	1948-50	Unk.	Unknown	U
5PW.348	Prowers	Lamar	NE	Jo's Restaurant, 106 W Olive	1948-55	Yes	Moderate	H
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Alamo Drug Store, 600 W Northern Ave	1950	Yes	Moderate	H
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Al-Re-Ho Motor Hotel, 2424 N Santa Fe	1956-57	No	None	NA
5PE.562	Pueblo	Pueblo	OE	Bellenger, Clarence (attorney), 503 N Main St	1947-50	Yes	Good	HS
5PE.589	Pueblo	Pueblo	NE	Blue Bird Tavern, 705 N Main St	1953-55	No	None	NA
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Blue Viall Hotel	1952-53	Unk.	Unknown	U

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Bussey's Court, 1809 Santa Fe Dr	1953	Yes	Moderate	M
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Cobb, J.S. M.D., 1213 E Evans Ave	1947-51	Yes	Poor	M
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Congress Hotel, 710 N Santa Fe Dr	1953-54	No	None	NA
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Continental Motor Hotel, 2001 N Hudson St (at U.S. 50 Bypass)	1962-63	Yes	Moderate	M
5PE.8488	Pueblo	Pueblo	NR	Coronado Lodge, 2130 Lake Ave	1946-66	Yes	Good	HX
5PE.1538	Pueblo	Pueblo	NE	DeLux Studio (photographer), 1142 E Evans Ave	1947-49	No	None	NA
5PE.4142	Pueblo	Pueblo	NE	Fisher Barber Shop, 1401 E Evans Ave	1947-49	No	None	NA
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Forehand (Charles) Tourist Home, 1003 Spruce St	1930-52	Yes	Moderate	H
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Grand Tavern, 114 W 4th St	1953-55	No	None	NA
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Jones Mortuary, 945 E Routt	1950	Yes	Poor	L
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Ma Bees Restaurant, 1332 E Evans Ave	1947	Yes	Good	H
5PE.2252	Pueblo	Pueblo	NE	Mecca Grill, 719 N Main St.	1953-54	Yes	Good	H
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	NAACP, 613 W Mesa Ave	1951-55	Yes	Good	H
5PE.501	Pueblo	Pueblo	NR	New Hotel Vail, 217 S Grand Ave	1952-1962-63	Yes	Good	HS
5PE.2275	Pueblo	Pueblo	NE	Owens Rooms, 105-09 Central Plaza	1947-50	Yes	Good	H
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Perry Hotel/Rooming House, 231 S Victoria St	1930-51	Yes	Poor	M
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Protho (Mrs. T./Mrs. Thomas) Tourist Home, 918 E Evans Ave	1930-62	Yes	Moderate	H
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Protho House, 188 Central Main St	1930-41	No	None	NA
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Reed (Mrs. William) Rooms, 125 E 1st St	1930	No	None	NA
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Spitzer Auto Supply, 601 W Northern Ave	1947-51	No	None	NA

State ID Num.	County	City	Listed	Name and Street Address	Listed Years	Extant Today	Integrity	Survey Priority
5PE.7378	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Steel Service Station, 807 E Abriendo Ave	1947	Yes	Poor	L
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Sunset Motel, 2124 Lake	1957	Yes	Good	L
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	The Roneoak Tourist Home, 121 E Northern Ave	1930-41	No	None	NA
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Vulcan Club, 1319 E Abriendo	1950	Yes	Moderate	H
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	Whitman Hotel, 830 N Main	1962-63	No	None	NA
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	YMCA, 112 W 8th	1956-57	No	None	NA
	Pueblo	Pueblo	N	YMCA-Steelworks, 301 Canal	1930	No	None	NA
5PE.504	Pueblo	Pueblo	NR	YWCA, 805 N Santa Fe Ave	1949-57	Yes	Good	HX
	Weld	Greeley	N	Alexander (Mrs. E.) Rooms/ Tourist Home, 106 E 12th St	1930-66	Yes	Good	H
	Weld	Greeley	N	Mance (Rev. W.H.) Tourist Home, 104 E 12th St	1930-41	No	None	NA
5WL.744	Weld	Wiggins	NR	Dearfield, US Highway 34	N/A	Yes	Poor	HX
	Yuma	Yuma	N	Supreme Court, 708 S Cedar	1956-59	Yes	Poor	L

NOTES FOR TABLE COLUMNS:

LISTED:

N = Not listed

NR = Listed in the National Register of Historic Places

NRD = Within a National Register historic district

OE = Officially not eligible to the National Register

FE = Field eligible to the National Register

NE = Not eligible to the National Register

SR = Listed in the State Register of Historic Properties

ND = Needs data

SURVEY PRIORITY:

H = High

HS = High based on integrity but questionable association

HX = High but already listed

M = Moderate

L = Low

NA = Not applicable; resource is not extant

U = Unknown; resource not locatable

Endnotes

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- ¹ A windshield survey is a systematic examination of an area completed by automobile.
- ² “*Washington Post Announces Writing Style Changes for Racial and Ethnic Identifiers*,” *Washington Post* PR Blog, July 29, 2020. This survey plan capitalizes Black and White as adopted by the *Washington Post* in 2020. Usage in direct quotations varies and is reproduced as it appears in the original.
- ³ Amy Unger, National and State Register Historian, History Colorado, Denver, Colorado, email to Thomas H. Simmons, March 11, 2020.
- ⁴ Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *African American Heritage Sites Listed in the Colorado State Register of Historic Properties* (Denver: Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, January 2008). Although History Colorado has published this document, it apparently was an unfinished work by Heckendorn.
- ⁵ Street addresses were uploaded and geocoded using the online matching service offered by Texas A&M University. Unmatched records or records assigned general location points were manually edited in the project GIS to correct locations. A few records had no location information or insufficient information to be accurately located.
- ⁶ US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Secretary of Interior’s *Standards for Preservation Planning*, www.nps.gov/history/local-law/arch_stnds_1.htm; Anne Derry, H. Ward Jandl, Carol D. Shull, and Jan Thorman, *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*, National Register Bulletin 24 (Washington: National Park Service, 1977, revised by Patricia L. Parker, 1985), 14.
- ⁷ Derry, et al, *Guidelines for Local Surveys*, 3.
- ⁸ Derry, et al, *Guidelines for Local Surveys*, 35.
- ⁹ Derry, et al, *Guidelines for Local Surveys*, 35.
- ¹⁰ Derry, et al, *Guidelines for Local Surveys*, 65.
- ¹¹ Patrick W. Andrus, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Bulletin 15 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1997), 44.
- ¹² Andrus, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, chapter VIII. See, https://www.nps.gov/NR/PUBLICATIONS/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_8.htm. Cemeteries, birthplaces, grave sites, religious properties, moved buildings, reconstructed properties, commemorative properties, and properties that have achieved significance within the last fifty years are considered ineligible for listing in the National Register unless they satisfy specified criteria considerations.
- ¹³ T.A. Hoehn and K.L. Hoehn, Alamo Hotel, 5PW.223, Architectural Inventory form, November 2011, on file at History Colorado, Denver, Colorado.
- ¹⁴ R.L. Simmons and T.H. Simmons, Adams Hotel and Chipeta Cafe, 5MN.1691, Architectural Inventory form, May 1999, on file at History Colorado, Denver, Colorado.
- ¹⁵ Curiously, the Rossonian Hotel in Five Points appeared in the “Ethnic Heritage” file search but not the “Black” one.
- ¹⁶ *Rocky Mountain News*, August 18, 1932, 1.
- ¹⁷ *Denver Post*, August 18, 1932, 4; R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, *East Washington Park*, Denver Neighborhood History Project (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., 2000), 38-39. An extended discussion of the riot is included in the East Washington Park report.
- ¹⁸ Don Etter, Denver Park and Parkway System (Theme Resource), National Register of Historic Places nomination, March 1986.
- ¹⁹ Barbara Norgren, San Rafael Historic District, 5DV.202, National Register of Historic Places nomination, December 26, 1985 (listed 1986), on file at History Colorado, Denver, Colorado.
- ²⁰ Quoted in Heather Lynn McDonald, “The National Register of Historic Places and African-American Heritage,” MA thesis, University of Georgia, May 2009, iv.
- ²¹ Jenny Deichman, State Historical Fund, History Colorado, email to Thomas H. Simmons, October 18, 2020. In her review of the draft survey plan, Deichman commented: “Because of the need to protect from discrimination in almost all aspects of daily life, historic properties related to African American travel appear to encompass places that, on the surface, one might not directly associate with travel. It’s interesting to think of comparing the types of

services and resources represented in African American travel guides and how this likely differs from the guides utilized by white travelers.”

²² Duplicate travel guide records for multiple years or publications were consolidated into one record.

²³ The nine resources whose status could not be determined were included with the 152 known to still be standing for a total of 161. The remaining 119 resources are no longer extant.

²⁴ Candacy Taylor, *Overground Railroad: The Green Book and the Roots of Black Travel in America* (New York: Abrams Press, 2020), 24. Her estimate was based on three years of visiting the locations of more than five thousand locations listed in the *Green Book*.

²⁵ Ralph Wilcox, “*The Negro Motorist Green Book in Arkansas*,” Society for Commercial Archeology, Zoom presentation, February 10, 2021.

²⁶ Tulsa, Oklahoma, dropped in importance after a 1921 White riot and massacre destroyed much of the city’s Greenwood business district.

²⁷ Colorado Public Radio, “Ensuring History’s Not Overlooked,” “Colorado Matters,” August 25, 2020; “Saving Colorado Black History: Historians Working to Preserve Places and Stories,” <https://www.thedenverchannel.com/>, February 1, 2021.

²⁸ Astrid Liverman, comp., *The Power of Heritage and Place: A 2020 Action Plan to Advance Preservation in Colorado*, 2020 Colorado Statewide Preservation Plan (Denver: History Colorado, 2010), 22. Work is underway to produce an updated 2030 statewide plan.

²⁹ Curiously, the term “African American” does not appear in the document. “Black” appears only in reference to the Black American West Museum as a preservation partner.

³⁰ Liverman, *The Power of Heritage and Place*, 35.

³¹ Liverman, *The Power of Heritage and Place*, 37.

³² This section is an abridged version discussing the transition from slavery to segregation found in Thomas H. Simmons and R. Laurie Simmons, Wink’s Panorama, Gilpin County, Pinecliffe vicinity, National Historic Landmark nomination, revised draft (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., December 9, 2020).

³³ Gretchen Sorin, *Driving While Black: African American Travel and the Road to Civil Rights* (New York: Liveright Publishing Company, 2020).

³⁴ Eric Foner, *The Second Founding: How the Civil War and Reconstruction Remade the Constitution* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2019).

³⁵ A small minority of southern Whites were Unionists. Known by their fellow southerners as scalawags, more than 100,000 served in the Union Army.

³⁶ Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *Stony the Road: Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and the Rise of Jim Crow* (New York: Penguin Press, 2019), 7.

³⁷ John W. Winkle III, “Constitution of 1890,” July 10, 2017 (updated June 8, 2018), Mississippi Encyclopedia, <https://mississippiencyclopedia.org>.

³⁸ Gates, *Stony the Road*, 186-87.

³⁹ *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 US 537 (1896), 551.

⁴⁰ *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 559.

⁴¹ Mia Bay, “Traveling Black/Buying Black: Retail and Roadside Accommodations during the Segregation Era,” in *Race & Retail: Consumption across the Color Line*, eds. Mia Bay and Ann Fabian (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2015)

⁴² “The Origins of Jim Crow,” Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia, Ferris State University, Big Rapids, Michigan, ferris.edu. The term “Jim Crow” derives from the name of a racist comedy character created in the 1830s by Thomas D. Rice, a White man who appeared in blackface and acted “like a buffoon, and spoke with an exaggerated and distorted imitation of African American Vernacular English,” while performing the song “Jump Jim Crow.” The term later came to be applied to the era of segregation.

⁴³ Martin Luther King, Jr., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. Clayborne Carson (New York: IPM, Inc., 2001), chapter 1.

⁴⁴ Victoria W. Wolcott, *Race, Riots, and Roller Coasters: The Struggle Over Segregated Recreation in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 3.

⁴⁵ Packard, *American Nightmare*, 64.

⁴⁶ Nancy H. Welsh, “Racially Restrictive Covenants in the United States: A Call to Action,” 2018, University of Michigan, deepblue.lib.umich.edu. The US Supreme Court upheld racially restrictive covenants in *Corrigan v.*

Buckley in 1926 as a form of private contract, but overturned that decision in 1948 in *Shelley v. Kramer*, holding that the courts cannot constitutionally enforce such racially discriminatory contracts.

⁴⁷ Duane A. Smith, *The Birth of Colorado: A Civil War Perspective* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 122. A search of the Colorado Historic Newspaper website found 8,511 occurrences of the word “nigger” from 1859 through 1939, with highest numbers appearing in Aspen, Denver, Pueblo, Breckenridge, Telluride, and Golden publications.

⁴⁸ Jerome B. Smiley, *History of Denver* (Denver Times-Sun Publishing Co., 1901; Reprint, Denver: Old Americana Publishing Co., 1978), 495.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Smith, *The Birth of Colorado*, 237.

⁵⁰ *Colorado Statutes Annotated*, Chapter 35, Section 1 (1935), cited in Dani R. Newsum, “Cold War Colorado: Civil Rights, Liberals, and the Movement for Legislative Equality, 1945-1959,” MA thesis, University of Colorado Denver, 2012, 51.

⁵¹ Newsum, “Cold War Colorado,” 53.

⁵² Stephen J. Leonard, *Lynching in Colorado, 1859-1919* (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2002), 130.

⁵³ “Mexican” apparently was used in contemporary press accounts to describe a Hispano or Latino/a and not necessarily Mexican nationals.

⁵⁴ James A. Atkins, *The Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Vantage Press, 1964), 159-60.

⁵⁵ *Rocky Mountain News*, October 14, 1993, 4A; *Denver Post*, May 18, 1994, 1F.

⁵⁶ US Census Bureau, *Census of Population*, 1910.

⁵⁷ R. W. Roskelley, *Population Trends in Colorado 1860 to 1930*, Bulletin 462 (Fort Collins, Colorado: Colorado Agricultural Experiment Station, Colorado State College and Rural Section, Division of Research, Federal Work Projects Administration, September 1940), 47. For Roskelley, “Americans” appeared to mean White, native-born citizens.

⁵⁸ The relatively large number reported for the small town of Cañon City results from Blacks held as prisoners at the State Penitentiary there.

⁵⁹ James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: The New Press, 2005), 4; *Loveland Reporter-Herald*, July 5, 2016. Loewen’s website lists eleven “possible” sundown towns in the state (Brush, Burlington, Cedaredge, Cherry Hills Village, Colorado Springs, Craig, Delta, Durango, Evans, Fruita, and Longmont), but the evidence provided is slim to nonexistent. However, Loveland once featured a billboard at the town limits noting “We observe the Jim Crow Laws here.”

⁶⁰ Lionel D. Lyles, “An Historical-Urban Geographical Analysis of Black Neighborhood Development in Denver, 1860-1970,” MA thesis, University of Colorado, Boulder, 1977.

⁶¹ R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, *Five Points Neighborhood*, Denver Neighborhood History Project, prepared for Denver Landmark Preservation Commission and Office of Planning and Community Development (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., January 1995), 24. This conclusion is based on a tabulation of individuals identified as “colored” in the 1893 city directory.

⁶² Simmons and Simmons, *Five Points Neighborhood*, 24. This conclusion is based on a tabulation of occupations from the 1893 city directory.

⁶³ Jessie Fauset, “Out of the West,” 27 *The Crisis* (November 1923): 11. *The Crisis* served as the official magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The published 1920 census figures for Denver were 6,075 African Americans and 249,644 Whites.

⁶⁴ David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976), 126.

⁶⁵ Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 127.

⁶⁶ Welsh, “Racially Restrictive Covenants in the United States.”

⁶⁷ Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 218 and 247.

⁶⁸ Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 207, 197.

⁶⁹ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 197.

⁷⁰ Wright, *Building the Dream*, 218 and 247.

⁷¹ Pernell Steen, Denver, Colorado, interview with Thomas H. Simmons, April 22, 2019.

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- ⁷² Quoted in Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel, *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 373.
- ⁷³ Leonard and Noel, *Denver*, 373-74.
- ⁷⁴ Dr. Elmer E. Wells, ed., *The Pueblo Black Directory with Historical Digest Spanning over 100 Years, 1870-1970* (Pueblo, Colorado: Colorado Ethnic Communities, 1979), 5.
- ⁷⁵ Fauset, "Out of the West," 13.
- ⁷⁶ Wells, *The Pueblo Black Directory*, 5.
- ⁷⁷ Wells, *The Pueblo Black Directory*, 9, 11, and 13; Joanne West Dodds, *They All Came to Pueblo: A Social History* (Virginia Beach, Virginia: Donning Company, 1994), 138.
- ⁷⁸ Jean Messinger and Mary Jane Massey Rust, *Where Thy Glory Dwells: A Guide to Historical Churches of Colorado Springs*, (Manitou Springs, Colorado: TextPros, 1998), 24-26; Manley Dayton Ormes and Elanor R. Ormes, *The Book of Colorado Springs* (Colorado Springs: Dentan Printing Company, 1933), 192 and 212.
- ⁷⁹ Goldberg, *Hooded Empire*, 52-53; Thomas H. Simmons and R. Laurie Simmons, Dodge-Hamlin House, Colorado Springs, El Paso County, Colorado, 5EP1515, National Register of Historic Places nomination, May 30, 2014. Hamlin's role in opposing the Klan is discussed at length in the cited National Register nomination.
- ⁸⁰ *Colorado Springs Gazette* (Fannie Mae Duncan obituary), September 18, 2005; Fannie Mae Duncan, article, www.wikipedia.com, accessed January 8, 2021; Rocky Mountain PBS, "Fannie Mae Duncan," Colorado Experience. video documentary (Denver: Rocky Mountain PBS, 2018).
- ⁸¹ Craig W. Leavitt, "Colorado Newspapers: A History & Inventory, 1859-2000," MA Thesis, University of Colorado, Denver, 2014, 981.
- ⁸² Michelle Slaughter, "History of the Dry," The Dry Archaeology website, <https://thedryarchaeology.wordpress.com/a-history-of-the-dry/>.
- ⁸³ Christine Whitacre and R. Laurie Simmons, *1985/1986 Boulder Survey of Historic Places*, conducted for the City of Boulder Department of Planning and Community Development (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., December 1986), 19; Carol Taylor, "Ray's Inn Was Boulder's Only Listing in the Green Book," *Boulder Daily Camera*, February 25, 2019.
- ⁸⁴ Thomas J. Noel and Dan W. Corson, *Boulder County: An Illustrated History* (Carlsbad, California: Heritage Media Corporation, 1999), 54-55.
- ⁸⁵ Taylor, "Ray's Inn Was Boulder's Only Listing in the Green Book."
- ⁸⁶ *Denver Star*, August 16, 1913, 4. The exact location of Meta Park could not be determined. Accounts of the resort also appeared in the *Statesman* and *Denver Labor Bulletin*.
- ⁸⁷ *Denver Star*, May 9, 1014, 4.
- ⁸⁸ Karen Waddell Dixon, Dearfield, Wiggins vicinity, Weld County, Colorado, 5WL.744, National Register of Historic Places nomination, May 15, 1994, 30, on file at History Colorado, Denver, Colorado.
- ⁸⁹ Melanie Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers: The Early Second Homes of Colorado, 1880-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 126.
- ⁹⁰ *Chicago Defender*, September 3, 1927, 4.
- ⁹¹ Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 136.
- ⁹² *Chicago Defender*, August 10, 1935, 20; Marcia Tremmel Goldstein, "Breaking Down Barriers: Black and White Women's Visions of Integration, The Young Women's Christian Association in Denver and the Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 1915-1964," MA thesis, University of Colorado at Denver, 1995, 77-78.
- ⁹³ Marie L. Greenwood, Denver, Colorado, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, August 23, 2019; Marie L. Greenwood, *By the Grace of God: The True Life Journey of 100 Years* (Denver, Colorado: Greenwood & Associates, 2013), 45.
- ⁹⁴ Beth Erickson, Corey W. Johnson, and B. Dana Kivel, "Rocky Mountain National Park: History and Culture as Factors in African-American Park Visitation," 41 *Journal of Leisure Research* (2009): 533. The authors also cite a 1910 visit by Zion Church members to Glacier Lake, but this was actually a location in Boulder County on the Denver & Northwestern Railway.
- ⁹⁵ John and Edna Mosley, Denver, Colorado, interview by Gary Jackson and Judy Scott, October 5, 2007.
- ⁹⁶ George Schuyler, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 1956, quoted in Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 151.
- ⁹⁷ Jearold W. Holland, *Black Recreation: A Historical Perspective* (Chicago: Burnham Inc., 2002), 156.
- ⁹⁸ Mark S. Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow': Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945," *Journal of Negro History* 84 (Spring 1999): 141.
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- ⁹⁹ Quoted in Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 163.
- ¹⁰⁰ Cotton Seiler, *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 114.
- ¹⁰¹ Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 10.
- ¹⁰² Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 162.
- ¹⁰³ Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 216.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hackley and Harrison, *Hackley & Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers* (Philadelphia: Hackley & Harrison Publishing Company, 1930).
- ¹⁰⁵ Bay, "Traveling Black/Buying Black."
- ¹⁰⁶ Earl Hutchinson, Sr., *A Colored Man's Journey Through 20th Century Segregated America* (Los Angeles: Middle Passage Press, ca. 2000), 86-87.
- ¹⁰⁷ Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 168.
- ¹⁰⁸ US Travel Bureau, *A Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses* (Washington: US Department of the Interior, 1941).
- ¹⁰⁹ Baltimore Afro American Newspaper, "Afro American Travel Map" (Baltimore: Afro American Newspaper, 1942).
- ¹¹⁰ Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 172.
- ¹¹¹ Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 168.
- ¹¹² Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 203.
- ¹¹³ Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 165.
- ¹¹⁴ Shanna Ganne, Executive Director, Grand County Historical Association, Hot Sulphur Springs, Colorado, email to Thomas H. Simmons, December 16, 2020.
- ¹¹⁵ Joseph D. Bibb, "Service Refused: Color Lines Drawn on Vacationers of the Darker Minority," *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 6, 1952. The other states mentioned were Michigan, Minnesota, Arizona, and Nevada.
- ¹¹⁶ *Chicago Defender*, April 22, 1961, 12.
- ¹¹⁷ Alfred Edgar Smith quoted in Lyell Henry, "Accommodations 'For Colored,'" *23 Society for Commercial Archaeology* (Fall 2005): 5.
- ¹¹⁸ Books on the Broadmoor and Brown Palace were consulted but contained no information on accommodation of Blacks.
- ¹¹⁹ *Ebony*, June 1961, 96.
- ¹²⁰ *Denver Post*, November 26, 2009.
- ¹²¹ *Denver Star*, June 2, 1956. Rolland E. Owen, the manager of the ranch was White. Trail's End Lodge did not advertise in any of the African American travel guides. The location recently operated as the King Mountain Ranch guest facility and appears substantially altered.
- ¹²² Casey Cep, "The Fight to Preserve African-American History," *New Yorker*, January 27, 2020.
- ¹²³ Antoinette J. Lee and Linda F. McClelland, *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form, Part B, Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places* (Washington: National Park Service, 1991, revised 1999), 2.
- ¹²⁴ Welton Street Historic/Cultural District, Denver Landmark historic district application, 2002. The district was later renamed the Five Points Historic Cultural District.
- ¹²⁵ Kathleen Corbett, Sean Doyle, Daniel Shosky, and Thomas Witt, *Documentation of Historic Properties in the Gilpin Tunnel District, Gilpin County, Colorado* (Broomfield, Colorado: SWCA, 2009), 51, on file with History Colorado, Denver. COAHP refers to the Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.
- ¹²⁶ African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, National Trust for Historic Preservation, <https://forum.savingplaces.org/build/funding/grant-seekers/>.