

**A History of Boulder's Transportation,
1858 - 1984
Boulder, Colorado
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Young Boulder's economic survival was dependent upon the construction of mountain wagon roads to gold and silver mines. This road, well above timberline, was constructed from the Fourth of July mine, over Arapaho Pass, across the Continental Divide into Grand County for a short way. Grand County was to continue the wagon road but did not find the money to do so. Left at top, Mount Neva with the Dorothy Lake basin below. Note the wagon road line at center background.

These young men have taken off their hats to pose for the camera while clearing an avalanche from the roadway.

photo, western Historical Collections, University of Colorado at Boulder.

Dedicated to O.H. Wangelin, editor Boulder County Herald who, in 1888, while reflecting upon the bellicose nature of Boulder residents, said, "Human nature . . . there is considerable of it in Boulder."¹

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When the first party of gold-seekers entered the Boulder Valley on the afternoon of October 17, 1858, there was no road to guide them, not even a wagon rut through the prairie grasses.

Some settlement had occurred to the north and to the south of the Front Range before this time; however, the lack of navigable rivers and the mountain barrier to the west had isolated the area making it less attractive to homesteading. A string of trading posts up and down the South Platte River had been active years before but, by the time of the gold-seekers' arrival, most forts were abandoned, including Fort St. Vrain.

The would-be miners saw "a landscape exceedingly beautiful; those mountains are so high and steep . . . it will not be safe to venture up till spring, on account of snow slides."²

To their surprise, the winter of 1859 was mild enough to explore what is now Sunshine Canyon; the men looked for "color" in the streams. They did little climbing into what is now Boulder Canyon because "the settlers found Boulder Canyon so difficult of access that a man could not make his way up it by foot."³



Figure 1 - Boulder City in the 1870s. photo A.A. Paddock Collection

In mid-February the weather turned fierce and the gold-seekers were forced to stay in camp; they had time to establish the Boulder City Town Company with a view to divide up into lots the "real estate" along Boulder Creek. They petitioned Nebraska Territory for recognition even though they were, in reality, squatting on lands which belonged to the Arapaho Indian nation.

In March, after writing a constitution and "bye-laws," the fledgling group appointed a three-man committee, John L. Buel, W.B. Moore, and W.S. Buckwalter, to number the blocks and lots and to name the streets that were to be.⁴

A crude street survey was started by J.M. Shaeffer who was charged to "stake off roads from Boulder City to the best points both North and South."⁵ The Company men, however, fought over its results, the newly-elected president of the group, A.A. Brookfield, resigned, and another survey was called for.

The fortunes of the Boulder City Town Company ebbed and flowed with the discoveries of gold in the mountains. Few remained in camp to layout a proper town. The lots not taken up by the first arrivals were priced at \$1,000 each; small wonder they remained unsold when homestead land elsewhere was selling for \$1.25 an acre.

With the establishment of Boulder County in 1862 under the jurisdiction of the newly-formed Colorado Territory, the near-defunct Boulder City Town Company turned over responsibility for the settlement's few roads to county government which immediately issued thirteen road-building permits.

The county was desperate for roads. There was greater interest in carving roads up the canyons, however, and less in improving the town's several dirt lanes. Historian Amos Bixby, writing later in 1880, said, "Few in after years, realize how much of a drain upon the earnings of pioneers is the indispensable expenditure for roads in a rough, roadless mountain region, where, at first, it was difficult to cut a foot-path or a pack-trail."⁶

Somehow, the new settlers had to get supplies up to the miners and, eventually, transport the precious ores down the mountains. They surveyed the canyons. South Boulder Creek Canyon was impregnable and St. Vrain Canyon was considered too far north. Boulder Canyon looked impossible. The remaining possibilities were Left Hand Canyon, Sunshine Canyon, Gregory Canyon, and Bear Canyon, then four miles south of Boulder City.

Late in 1859, the St. Vrain, Altona, Gold Hill, and Gregory Road Company was formed to build a toll road up Left Hand Canyon to Altona (where the Greenbriar Restaurant now stands) and above. The company hoped that use of the road would cause the settlement at Altona to become a business center, but the road failed, and Altona never flourished.

In the early 1860s, the federal government financed the building of a military road up Sunshine Canyon. The road, called the Gordon-McHenry after its two chief engineers, was to cross Arapahoe Pass eventually. It ran to the top of Sunshine Hill and turned down Ritchie Gulch to Four-Mile Creek. Near Orodell, the road turned to the right and went up Sugar Loaf Hill to Gordon Gulch, then to North Boulder Creek. From there it wandered west, where it was abandoned on the flats north of Caribou.

Bear Canyon (the natural waterway for Table Mesa Drive) was the scene of numerous unsuccessful attempts to construct a wagon road to the mines. Soon after each venture was completed, a cloudburst washed out the road. Even as late as 1885, the Bear Canyon and French Gulch Wagon Road Company tried road-building but, alas, its efforts were washed out, too. (As recently as 1969, Table Mesa Drive was under water because of cloudburst activity.)

A crude attempt at road-building was attempted up Gregory Canyon in 1859. In the late 1860s and 1870s, more men tried for a road through Gregory Canyon. At first, they started a road from up above that descended part way down the canyon, where loaded wagons were dropped by block-and-tackle to a lower level. In 1873, a group started building from Boulder up to Kossler's Lake. This crude road was used until the Flagstaff Road was completed in 1906.

When early financiers James P. Maxwell and Clinton M. Tyler were able to capitalize the Boulder Valley and Central City Wagon Road Company for \$50,000, they received a county building permit on March 11, 1864 to attempt a road through Boulder Canyon. They contributed \$10,000 of their own money; the Wellman brothers, farmers in the valley, subscribed, for they needed the road to sell their produce to the miners above. Boulder's fledgling merchants, Charles Dabney, Anthony Arnett,

Daniel Pound, Jonathan Tourtellot, and Fred Squires, all helped to raise money.

Actual road construction began one year later. It took three months and \$9,000 to get as far as Orodell, near Four-Mile Creek. Construction continued for another year. Maxwell and Tyler chose a route up Magnolia Hill, over to South Boulder Creek, and to the Enterprise Road, which led to Black Hawk. Later on, they constructed a branch road to Ward at an additional cost of \$13,000.

Two toll gates were established on the road, one at the mouth of Boulder Canyon and another at the foot of Magnolia Hill at Eagle Rock. For many years, C.D. Norton collected toll at the lower station; his pet magpie helped by calling to the travelers, "Pay your toll! Pay your toll!" One dollar was charged for each wagon and team (twenty-five cents for each additional animal), seventy-five cents for a carriage, and ten cents a head for loose stock. No toll was charged if a group were going to a funeral or to church.

When silver was discovered at Caribou in 1869, it became imperative to the economic well-being of Boulder City that a good road be built to carry out the riches from the mountains. Wells Fargo became interested in Caribou and planned a route through the mountains. For this reason, Maxwell and Tyler decided to build a road to Nederland by way of the Narrows, the present canyon route. The road-builders solved tricky construction problems by avoiding cliffs and bridging Boulder Creek whenever the mountain formations seemed impassable. By the time they reached Nederland in 1871, they had built thirty-three bridges.

Wells Fargo never fulfilled its promise to run freight lines into Boulder County, but other commercial lines used the canyon road, which now had a branch to Caribou. The men who were employed as freighters were a hardy group, carrying heavy loads on narrow one-way roads --sometimes they were corduroy (a crude road made of logs laid side by side) -- while managing four and six-horse teams. Near the narrows, a way-station called American House gave freighters and stage drivers the opportunity to change horses and rest after a meal of ham and eggs.

Now tallyhos and sturdy carriages carried parties into the mountains for picnics and sightseeing. The Klondike, or storm buggy, an enclosed vehicle, was much favored by doctors and mail carriers. From this time onward, the problems of road-building in the mountains seem to have been solved, for many roads now crisscrossed the area between mining towns and temporary camps, some deteriorating later from disuse and some disappearing altogether from washouts.⁷ (See Figure I.)

In 1873, British Traveler Isabella Bird came through Boulder City and described it as a "hideous collection of frame houses on the burning plain," but she pronounced the new wagon road up Boulder Canyon as "superb."⁸

Back in town, the county "improved" Pearl Street in 1869, which meant grading it in a convex manner so that the water might drain to the street's edge, but the clay soil and deep ruts from heavily-laden ore wagons kept the street from becoming civilized in appearance. By 1870, residents began to set out trees on the "burning plain;" the small seedlings were boxed carefully so that wandering horses and cattle would not browse them to extinction.

Boulder's first street commissioner, Dr. George Chase, appointed⁹ when Boulder City incorporated under Colorado Territory in 1871,

was faced with an almost-impossible task. By ordinance, horses were not supposed to wander down Pearl Street at will nor were they to be raced at an "inordinate" rate of speed, but nobody paid much attention to the new law.

Pearl Street was thick with mud in the winter and unbearably dusty in the summer. The street was so unpleasant that the poetic muse caused one resident to contribute the following verse to the News:

Oh the mud, the miserable mud
 Into its depths you go with a thud
 That causes the sticky, nasty clay
 To slide up your boots in a horrible way!
 Sticky, nasty, filthy stuff!
 Why, the devil! It's enough
 To cause oaths to come from pious saints.
 Everything here is damned with the taints
 of the nasty, adhering real estate,
 That's loafing around your town to date.¹⁰



Figure 2 - Pearl Street. photo, A.A. paddock Collection

Pearl Street had no sewer system. (In fact, Boulder citizens voted against several proposals until 1895.) Garbage and trash abounded, as well as droppings from pigs, chickens, horses, mules, and the mess left from an occasional cattle drive down the canyon.

When there was sufficient water pressure, Dr. Chase would hose down the streets with water from the town's crude system. Later, in 1883, cobblestone ditches, two feet wide and eight inches deep, were built along several streets downtown. From these ditches, residents took their drinking water, small boys cleaned their feet, and the streets were "washed down" from time to time.

Although the city engineer established grades and drainage specifications for streets, no one was hired to do the work. Chase was given authority to demand two days' work per year from each able-bodied Boulder man or a payment of \$4. (Later, this fee rose to \$6.)

Surveyors were brought in to study the developing streets and make recommendations. Again, Boulder residents complained of their work which "resulted in a botch job of surveys, in grades that a schoolboy might improve upon . . . If only the gentlemen had left the city their maps, so that future engineers might examine them and know what to avoid."¹¹

Telegraph poles were installed on Pearl Street in 1874. They were twenty feet high, trimmed on top in red and black; the papers boasted, "We're in America now!"

Wooden sidewalks were built in 1871. Since each resident or merchant was charged with constructing the walkway in front of his lot and, since not all used the same building specifications, each sidewalk was of a different height; the pedestrian was forced to navigate down Pearl Street in an up-and-down manner. The two-inch wooden plank walks, secured by nails, were described by the Herald as a "woeful state of mantraps."¹²

The nails would give way from time to time, causing injury to passersby, some of whom sued the city. Protruding nails tore the ladies' long dresses. (Boulder women soon learned to wear dark skirts and black stockings so that Pearl Street mud blended with their clothing.)

The only group who enjoyed the wooden sidewalks were Boulder's small boys who fished through the cracks for lost coins and other valuables. By 1886, the sidewalks were torn up on Pearl Street and replaced with stone flagging. In 1898, Council ordered the streets supervisor "to tear up all wooden sidewalks in the city limits."¹³

In 1874, Dr. Chase managed to convince the town trustees that a horse-drawn street sprinkler was a necessity. A year later, the doctor (he was also the town's first health officer) saw that an ordinance was passed requiring that livestock be penned and not allowed to wander down Pearl Street at will, "if offensive."¹⁴ A thoughtful resident was moved to write to the News with a suggestion: if the garbage continued to fly about Pearl Street "and cannot be remedied, we suggest that the swine be turned loose to eat up decaying matters."¹⁵

In 1872, Dr. Chase ordered that Twelfth Street (Broadway) be graded. On April 19 of that year, the Boulder Horse Railroad Company was incorporated but nothing would come of that venture for another nineteen years. Bridges, sturdy enough to accommodate heavy wagons, spanned Boulder Creek by 1873 and were improved upon from time to time. One could cross the creek at Sixth, Ninth, Twelfth (now Broadway), and Seventeenth Streets.

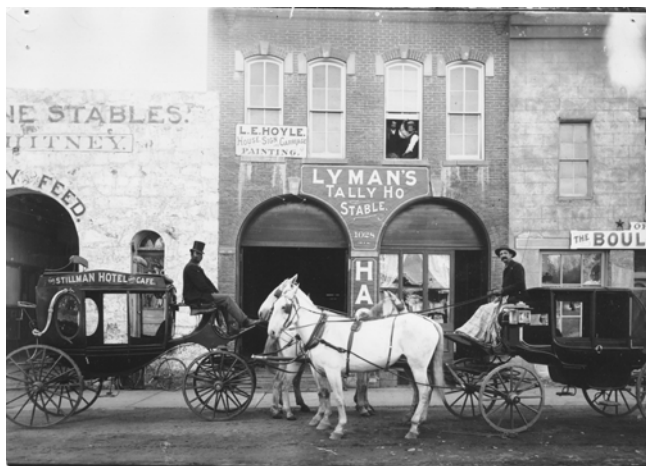


Figure 3 - Lyman's Tallyho Stable at 1000 Pearl Street. photo, A.A. Paddock Collection.

Use of the horse was central to the town's mobility. Pearl Street was lined with blacksmiths, stables, and liverys, a favorite hangout for young boys. Horse-drawn wagons delivered ice, milk, and eggs to Boulder residents.

Doctors made house calls in storm buggies. Horse-drawn open victorias were used by those who wished to be seen, i.e., dignitaries attending the opening of the University in 1877.

Young men continued to race their steeds up and down Pearl Street much to the dismay of the town constable. Early entrepreneur Marinus G. Smith started the Marinus Express and delivered coal chunks to Denver, bringing back with him the settlement's mail. (Marine Street is named for Mr. Smith.)

Boulder residents longed for train service that would link the town with Denver, points east, and would make the mining and transport of gold and silver ores more economically feasible. Freightng of goods on the mountain roads was expensive and dangerous.

It was the development of the coal industry in the eastern part of the county, however, that would eventually bring railroad service to Boulder. In the late 1870s, Boulder residents were forced to take a carriage to Erie, the end of the Denver Pacific line, to meet their visitors. Other passengers could hire a hack to get into town. In 1871, Boulder City trustees offered to build a railroad bed from Erie to Boulder as an inducement to bring the Denver Pacific's Denver and Boulder Valley Railroad to Boulder. By 1873, not only did the Denver and Boulder Valley build a line to town on September 2, but also the Colorado Central Railroad had completed a line from Golden north to Boulder earlier on April 22 with a Boulder County contribution of some \$200,000.

The depot for these lines was still located out-of-town, however -- out-of-town meaning Twenty-first Street between Spruce and Pearl Streets -- and consisted of an engine house, water tank, and wind mill. A wooden sidewalk was constructed along Pearl Street from the depot to downtown Boulder.

The Golden, Boulder and Caribou Railroad, completed in 1878, brought coal to Boulder from Marshall. These tracks, which ran through the University grounds, were used by successive railroad companies, many of them later absorbed by the Union Pacific.

By this time, a number of businessmen were exploring the possibility of building a narrow gauge railroad into the mountains. Narrow gauge rails measure three feet apart; standard gauge rails measure four feet, eight and one-half inches apart. Four such plans were advanced, but only Union Pacific carried out the construction of its Greeley, Salt Lake and Pacific Railroad (an ambitious business title) from Boulder to Sunset, a distance of fourteen miles.

Construction started in 1881 with the importation of a group of black Kansans, a novelty for almost-pure-white Boulder. The tracks from Denver were "three rail," meaning that both standard gauge and narrow gauge engines could use them. Starting from Denver, the narrow gauge train was pulled by a standard gauge engine by means of an idler car which was inserted between the standard engine and the narrow gauge cars. When the train pulled into town at Fifteenth and Water (Canyon Boulevard) Streets, the narrow gauge engine took over.



Figure 4 - Narrow gauge railroad moves down Boulder Canyon. photo, A.A. Paddock Collection

On April 6, 1883, the little train had its first run from Denver to Boulder, through the University campus, crossing Arapahoe Avenue at Eleventh Street by trestle, up Water Street to Fourth Street where it crossed Boulder Creek, again by trestle, up Arapahoe Avenue and into the mountains to Four-Mile, Salina, Wallstreet, and Sunset, 8,000 feet above sea level.

Billed modestly as the "grandest route in the world," the line avoided special construction problems by spanning Boulder Creek with sixty-six bridges. At first, there was no way to permit the train to turn around so the little engine backed down the canyon into the Union Depot at Tenth and Water Streets. Both depot and railroad cars were painted "railroad vermilion."

The narrow gauge could more efficiently bring down the precious ores that mountain freighters had struggled earlier to deliver over bad roads. In addition to taking up supplies for the mining camps, the little railroad had another cargo going into the mountains -- tourists.

It became fashionable to go for a day's outing to Sunset on the narrow gauge for a picnic, wild flower gathering or, perhaps, a snowball fight. A little bulldog attached itself to the train and made almost all the runs; the railroad men named him Grover Cleveland.

Since all Boulder's trains came downtown now, at a Council-decreed speed of six miles per hour, the Twenty-first Street depot was abandoned.

Boulder's spring flood of 1894 knocked out twelve miles of narrow gauge track as well as the Fourth Street trestle and other bridges. The train's little engine was sunk in the mud near Ninth Street. By 1898, however the line was rebuilt, this time on higher ground and with fewer bridges, in order to avoid the floodwaters.

Now called the Colorado and Northwestern, the railroad built a new line to Ward in June 1899, an additional mileage of 12.8 miles up steep grades to 9,450 feet.

Now the train was advertised as the "Switzerland Trail of America" and experienced a tremendous increase in tourists. By 1904, another branch had been built to Eldora. Despite the tourist trade, profits did not materialize, however; the line went into receivership in 1907. Forced to recapitalize in 1909, the line

became the Denver, Boulder and Western, Sometimes called the "drink beer and wine line," a good hint of the railroad's clientele.



Figure 5 - Chautauquans watch a snowball fight at a stop along the Switzerland Trail. J.B. Sturtevant photo, A.A. Paddock Collection.

As more and more tungsten was mined in the mountains, the little train brought loads of that ore down to Boulder until shortly after World War when the bottom fell out of the American tungsten market. (China dominated the tungsten market now.) While management pondered the least painful way to discontinue the narrow gauge line, Mother Nature intervened; on July 3, 1919 a cloudburst again destroyed miles of tracks and the Switzerland Trail became history.

(The narrow gauge engine in Central Park, built in 1898 for the "Switzerland Trail of America," was brought to Boulder by historian John Schoolland in 1952. Although the number "74" is painted on the engine, it was numbered engine No. 30 when it hauled cars on the Switzerland Trail.)

By 1886, Pearl Street began to take on a more civilized appearance even though it would be another thirty-one years before it was paved. The hated wooden sidewalks were replaced with stone flagging and little stone crossings were constructed over the cobblestone ditches and across the streets so that pedestrians might avoid some of the mud. Kerosene street lights had been set out, some by the city, others by merchants. Even so, "Boulder was a mighty dark town in the early 80s after the sun had set."¹⁶

By the 1880s, the "safety" bicycle had made its appearance in town beginning what some might call Boulder's permanent love affair with the bicycle. In addition to their recreational value, bicycles were now used by merchants for small deliveries, causing some livery owners to grumble.

In 1890, the Boulder Wheel Club was established; membership was open to local gentlemen who could afford the bicycle as well as the uniform: gray suit, gray cap, and black stockings. (Ladies could not ride either the high-wheelers or the standard bicycle unless they wished to wear bloomers, a not-yet socially acceptable costume in Boulder. A few daring Denver women, however, earned the title of "centurion" which meant they had cycled at least one hundred miles during a single trip . . . in bloomers.)

The Boulder Wheel Club often paraded down Pearl Street, the bicycles decorated with crimson ribbons woven through the spokes. On April 23, 1893, the men started off on their first

serious bicycle expedition. Eighteen cyclists pedaled into Louisville, Lafayette, Erie, Canfield, and Longmont where they took a train back to town. One poor soul missed the Longmont train and had to pedal back to Boulder alone a total ride of forty-eight miles.



Figure 6 - Two proud cyclists on Pearl Street. photo, Boulder Historical Society.

Three hundred Boulder residents owned bicycles by 1895, some of them home-made. The young Superintendent of Schools William V. Casey used his high-wheeler to go downtown for his mail and, perhaps, to show off a bit. In 1897, a bicycle-horse race to Lyons was held. Even though the horse was held to a trot, the horse beat the bicycle by five minutes.



Figure 7 - Boulder's love affair with bicycles began in the 1890s. photo A.A. Paddock Collection

With new incorporation for Boulder under the State of Colorado in 1878 came a greater interest in cleaning up the streets. As soon as the Boulder Electric Light and Power Company was established in 1887, know simply as the "light plant," plans were laid for electric streetlights. Two years later, a few arc-type lights were set out, despite complaints from residents that they would attract bugs. But the Herald welcomed street lighting, saying "when the train comes in from Denver at night, these lights will loom up grandly and impress everybody, strangers especially."¹⁷

By 1889, in order to qualify for free mail delivery, Boulder went "urban" and numbered its lots and houses for the first time. For some reason, this numbering was not successful because, in 1893, the lots were numbered again. Council ordered one hundred street signs made of spruce sunk at each corner in 1896.¹⁸ The wooden

signs were in place until 1916 when metal street signs were ordered.¹⁹ During the Depression, employees of the Works Progress Administration made concrete signs for most residential streets; in the 1940s Council spent \$424 for fifty-two downtown street signs.

Numbers caused confusion again in 1902; because of residential expansion on University Hill, Council ordered that several "number" streets be renamed. Thus, Twelfth became Broadway, South Twentieth became Palmer, Sixth became Dean Place, Ninth became Lincoln Place, Eighth became Grant Place, and Sixth became Park Place.

By this time, Hill Street had become Mapleton Avenue, Front Street had become Walnut, and Valley had changed to Arapahoe Avenue.

In 1922, an attempt was made to change Pearl Street to Main Street, but early pioneer R.E. Arnett complained that it was insulting to the lady named Pearl whose name graced the street. No one knows for sure which Pearl was memorialized in the naming of Boulder's main street. Several wives named Pearl have been suggested but they came to Boulder after 1859, the year the street was named. (Recent journalists have suggested that Pearl was the name of a notable lady of the evening; if one understands that Boulder's settlers were, in general, a conservative group of men, the theory does not seem reasonable.)

A larger Union Depot was built at Fourteenth and Water Streets in 1890 and soon became the busy center of town. As in the past, ladies and gentlemen had separate waiting rooms and did not cross that social boundary. The first trains of the day came in from Denver about 9 a.m. Taxi service consisted of a few waiting hacks. An elegant Seth Thomas clock was installed in front of the Depot, as well as a water fountain, at the center of which was a statue of a wading boy, holding up his shoe half-filled with water. Teddy Roosevelt spoke to Boulder residents from the Depot on one of his campaign stumps through the area.



Figure 8 - The Depot at Fourteen and Water Streets, WCTU fountain in front. photo A.A. Paddock Collection.

The old depot at Tenth and Water Streets continued to be used as a freight center until one August evening in 1907. The railroad switchmen were on strike at the time; one disgruntled employee named Reeves set fire to the depot, perhaps not realizing that near the building was a boxcar half-loaded with miners' dynamite. (It was against the law to store dynamite in town but, because of the strike, the explosive was not stored properly.) The fire ignited the

dynamite and the ensuing blast lit up the foothills, broke many windows and destroyed some family china.



Figure 9 - Boulder ladies wait for the train to Denver. photo, A.A. Paddock collection.

Those who remember the explosion say that some feared the Halley's Comet had returned three years early and had hit Boulder broadside. Three people were killed in the blast; railroad man Reeves went to prison.



Figure 10 - Explosion at Boulder's Freight depot, August 1907. photo A.A. Paddock Collection.

Boulder began to think of a transit system in 1890. Council discussed whether or not Boulder should try a horse-drawn

streetcar or wait for an electric system. The argument for economy, a short-sighted one it turns out, won; Boulder would stay with horsepower until its population reached 10,000.

The Boulder Railway and Improvement Company was incorporated on July 9, 1891 and six cars with three trailers were on order. Construction of a "plant" would cost \$45,000 or \$6,500 per mile. The fare was to be five cents "It may not pay at the start but it will eventually be a big thing."

The first and only car arrived September 13, 1891 on the train. It was a "pretty box affair" with wide platforms at either end, double-decker, and painted dark blue trimmed with gold. The car would hold fifteen people, the horse was a bay named John H, and manager Mr. Roots would collect the fares. The route was a simple one -- up and down Pearl Street from Eighth to Twentieth Streets.

It soon appeared that few were willing to pay Mr. Roots the nickel; income for the first month of operation was \$2.50. By May 6, 1892, Boulder's first transit venture had come to an end. The tracks were torn out almost immediately because bicyclists complained they were a safety hazard.

In a few months, the company was sold at auction for \$1,355 and the little blue car was sold to Mr. Nolan for \$25 as a lunch counter. There was some talk of reviving the system, but nothing came of it. Around the turn of the century, "Popcorn Williams" sold hot tamales from the little blue car on Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets. Alas, Boulder's first streetcar ended its day's as a chicken coop on Water Street.

With the opening of Chautauqua in the summer of 1898, Council realized that some kind of streetcar line must be built to carry Boulder visitors from the Depot on Fourteenth Street to Baseline Road, the edge of the Chautauqua grounds.



Figure 11 - Work crew lays track for the new streetcars. Krieger photo, A.A. Paddock Collection.

Thus, rail beds and power lines were prepared for the debut of the Boulder Street Railway in 1899. Twelve brown and yellow cars and trailers arrived by train in June; service began promptly at 6 a.m. on June 24; the cars carried Chautauqua visitors to and from until 10:45 each evening. Fare was still a nickel; each car was equipped with storm curtains in case of rainy weather.

Opening day was exciting. Trains filled with visitors came in from Denver; stage coaches crowded with mountain residents lined the streets near the Depot.

Photographer J.B. Sturtevant was out taking pictures of the new streetcars. The trolleys left the Depot at Fourteenth Street, went to Walnut, then to Broadway, up Thirteenth Street to College Avenue, and then up Ninth Street to Baseline Road and to the Chautauqua Station. The return trip was down Tenth Street to Aurora, to Fourteenth Street, and then to Broadway, and back to Walnut and the Depot. A "passing track" was constructed on Broadway.



Figure 12 - First arrival at Texado Park 1899, J.B. Sturtevant photo, A.A. Paddock Collection.

The line had a relatively good safety record except for a spectacular accident on July 4, 1902 when one car and two trailers, too heavily loaded, became runaway and crashed with one passenger killed and twenty injured. On May 30, 1913, somehow, a woman fell to her death under the wheels of the street-car.



Figure 13 - Boulder streetcar wreck, 1902. J.B. Sturtevant photo, A.A. Paddock Collection.

By 1901 the "light plant" took over the line and expanded service with two new routes. (Management knew it would lose money on the public transit but everyone assumed the loss would be made up with higher power bills.)

The second streetcar line went north on Broadway to Maxwell Street, then to Sixth Street, over to Mapleton Avenue, on to Fourth Street with a stop at the Colorado Sanitarium (now Boulder Memorial Hospital); later, the line expanded out to Fifth Avenue (now Evergreen Avenue), over to Broadway and back to Walnut Street.

The third line, which opened December 28, 1901, ran from Walnut to Fourteenth Street, to Pearl Street east to Eighteenth Street, over to Pine Street, and on to Twenty-Third Street; a wye at Twenty-Second Street turned the cars around for the return trip. Storekeeper Isaac T. Earl offered a free round trip to those customers who bought one dollar's worth of goods. (See Figure II.)



Figure 14 - Boulder Streetcar conductors pose for portrait. T.C. Black Jr. photo, A.A. Paddock collection.

By 1903, the Boulder Street Railway included twenty cars and five miles of track. The fare rose to a shocking ten cents. Three years later, the "light plant" was absorbed by Northern Colorado Power Company; then, in 1914, a further consolidation resulted in the Western Light and Power Company. Three years later, the streetcar line was refurbished with new Birney cars, handsomely painted in dark green and gold, with a thirty-three passenger capacity, but, alas, the line continued to lose money every year, as predicted. In 1923, the Public Service Company took over management of the line and the yearly deficit continued.

Even though buses as a mode of public transit had been discussed as early as 1902, it was not until 1931 that the Public Service Company purchased a "fleet" of four Mack buses for Boulder's transit system. The last streetcars were retired on June 1, 1931. Since 1899, the cars had traveled 150,000 miles.



Figure 15 - Boulder's first bus system in its entirety, June 1931. Snow photo, Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado at Boulder

Introduction of buses did not make a difference in the profit-and-loss sheet for Public Service Company. Only once did the line

make a profit; during World War II, gas was rationed and forced Boulder residents to use the bus in greater numbers.

In 1911 Charles G. Hickox completed his plans for an automobile transit line, featuring the Stanley Steamer. For years, Hickox ran Steamer cars to Nederland and Eldora. His service was particularly popular during the tungsten boom of 1914-1917.

"Along the foothills and into the mountains" was the advertising slogan of the Denver and Interurban train which started service to Boulder on June 23, 1908. The fifty-one mile route of this Colorado and Southern fast train resembled the shape of a flying kite; the tail of the kite was Denver. Each day a total of eighteen Interurban trains came into Boulder, nine on the northern route and nine on the southern route. The northern route went through Louisville to Boulder in one hour and fifteen minutes and the southern route went through Superior and Marshall to Boulder in one hour and eight minutes with a spur line to the resort at Eldorado Springs. (See Figure III.) Fare was seventy cents one way and \$1.20 for a round trip.

The first day's run was celebrated in Boulder "amid the ringing of bells, the blowing of whistles and the cheers of the people of Boulder." The Interurban depot was behind the original First National Bank, southeast corner of Broadway and Pearl Streets.



Figure 16 - The Denver and Interurban reaches the Boulder county Courthouse. photo, A.A. Paddock Collection.

For eighteen years, Boulder residents delighted in what they believed was the best way to visit Denver; those who remember the "kite route" wish the Interurban was still in service.

T. Henry Hutchinson recalls his father talking about traveling on the Interurban through Louisville during the long coal strike of 1910-1914. Passengers automatically got down on the floor of the train as it moved through Louisville to avoid being hit by the barrage of bullets flying between the striking miners, the guards, and the militia.

During the 1920s, the Interurban put on a five-car special on Saturday so that Denverites could come to Boulder for football games. The Interurban had an excellent safety record except for a tragic accident on Labor Day, 1920. Two trains collided at Globeville. Twelve died and over 100 passengers were injured.

Increase in the use of the automobile caused the demise of the Interurban. By 1923 the line was losing money. Hoping to convert to a bus system for Boulder, the line started using small touring

buses in 1925 but the company still went in the red and on December 15, 1926, the Interurban ceased operation.



Figure 17 - What's left of a Denver and Interurban crash at Globeville, September 6, 1920. Twelve killed, 102 injured. photo, A.A. Paddock Collection.

Since the early 1870s, Boulder's bridges served foot and wagon traffic and were repaired only occasionally. The narrow gauge railroad also crossed the creek at Fourth Street. Events occurring early on the morning of May 31, 1894 took heavy toll of the town's first bridge system. A quickly melting snow pack and an unusual number of thunderstorms combined to cause flooding upstream. By dawn, floodwaters, filled with debris, raced down Boulder Canyon.

First the railroad trestle was destroyed. Then, one by one, bridges at Sixth, Ninth, Twelfth, and Seventeenth Streets washed out. The following year, most of the bridges were rebuilt with much the same construction. By 1906, three of the bridges, the Sixth, Ninth, and Seventeenth Street structures, were rebuilt to accommodate the growing auto traffic in Boulder. Twenty-six residents now proudly drove autos about town; at the same time, however, bicycle racks were installed downtown.



Figure 18 - Druggist George Fonda, left, views near-disaster. photo, A.A. Paddock Collection

Introduction of the automobile forced Council to think about Boulder's dirt streets and their improvement. In 1906, Council outlined the special duties of the streets supervisor, including the requirement that he submit monthly reports on the men and the

animals he used to improve the streets. He could request a street survey from the city engineer whenever he felt it appropriate. Four years later, Council raised the streets supervisor's salary to a handsome \$115 per month, provided he supplied his own horse for his work.²⁰



Figure 19 - Boulder men pose proudly in new auto. photo A.A. Paddock Collection.

In 1903, the streets supervisor experimented with the use of crushed stone on a few streets. Two years later, he lined several streets with concrete sidewalks. He surfaced several streets with oil in 1908, again as an experiment.

Council passed legislation in 1907 to provide for a proper improvement district which spanned Tenth Street between Aurora and University Avenue. By 1912 ten such improvement districts were in place and included assessments for storm sewers as well. Some residents grumbled about the storm sewers even though they were told that improved streets helped to attract the tourist trade. Council ordered that the town's first speed limit signs be set out in 1916.

Since Boulder has never had what can be called a true laboring class and, since Council was desperate to improve the road in Boulder Canyon, the use of convict labor seemed a natural solution. From 1914 to 1919, convicts from Canon City were brought up to Boulder and housed in tents along Boulder Creek. They moved rocks and did all the dirty work necessary for improvement of the Boulder Canyon road. Boulder residents, to show that they were not unmindful of the contributions of these convicts, held a banquet in their honor at the Hotel Boulderado in February 1917 to show their appreciation.

In 1917, Pearl Street was paved at last, ending some fifty-nine years of mud and dust. Some of these improvements for Boulder streets and bridges came about because of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. The Harvard-trained planner was invited to study Boulder by the Boulder City Improvement Association in 1908.

During his stay, Olmsted stressed the paving of streets; not to do so was a threat to traffic safety and health, he said. He also recommended the use of an automatic sprinkling truck which was finally purchased and in operation by 1919. (On July 1, 1926, the sprinkling truck attempted to cross the Ninth Street bridge but its weight collapsed the structure and forced its rebuilding.) That same year, a few downtown alleys were paved, again, by assessment. Olmsted commented in his report to Boulder that an ideal street width is eighty feet and an ideal alley width is twenty feet the exact specifications made by the men in the Boulder City

Town Company years before. Blocks should be three hundred feet square, Olmsted said, but Boulder's unusual topography would not lend itself to such perfection. He warned residents that, with each new subdivision, the streets would be narrower because developers, he said, do not run "charitable enterprises."²¹ The city could buy property for streets ahead of development, he said, a worthy but unrealistic goal. Instead, Boulder should require higher standards from these "cheeky promoters."²²



Figure 20 - Boulder's first flusher wins over the Ninth Street Bridge, July 1, 1926. photo, A.A. Paddock Collection.

Olmsted felt that a clear distinction should be made between thoroughfares and residential streets. This would serve to raise real estate values, he predicted, for "there is a coziness and quiet attractiveness about a street of moderate length and width through which no heavy traffic has inducement to flow."²³

"The more certain a man can feel that the character of a given street is pretty well fixed, the more he is willing to pay for the privilege of having a lot on the kind of street he wants."²⁴

In 1908, Olmsted foresaw the traffic problem that would come to plague the Mapleton Hill neighborhood. Don't allow this to happen, he cautioned, and recommended a parkway along the face of the hogback north of Sunshine Canyon and a through street to the south of the canyon to Pearl Street, the area now occupied by the homes of Knollwood.



Figure 21 - Turn of the century Pearl Street in front of the Boulder County Courthouse. photo A.A. Paddock Collection.

He also recommended the development of the old county highway, Twenty-fourth Street (now Folsom), as a north-south thoroughway which, at that time, ran along the edge of the University.

Olmsted also looked at the relationship of Boulder's young trees to the new streetlights. Establish the lights lower, he said, for soon the trees will grow to obscure the light. (Streetlights are now obscured in many of Boulder's older neighborhoods.) Moreover, Boulder should have distinctive streetlights and signing so that they are different from other communities. Before the planner left town, he recommended to Boulder residents that they adopt the city manager-council form of government.

Home rule had been on the minds of a number of citizens for several years; many Boulderites, however, opposed such a change. In 1910 a home rule election lost 1,804 to 1,129. In 1914 a proposal for a business-manager form of government lost 832 to 676. But, by 1917, the electorate had a change of heart and, in a series of three special elections, beginning in the late spring and ending in December of that year, Boulder had its Charter convention, drafted a charter, and approved it.

By 1918, a new city administration was in place with five departments: Public Service, Public Health, Public Welfare, Finance and Records, and Public Safety. Most matters having to do with transportation were handled by the Department of Public Service; traffic control, however, was a police matter; under the Department of Public Safety.

By 1922 City Manager Scott Mitchell felt the time had come for Boulder to correct its backward look. The streets should be paved. Enough of these tentative experiments with crushed rock, oil surfacing, and small improvement districts. Had he realized the nature of Boulder's grumbling about these matters, Mitchell might not have had the courage to go forward with his policy. In addition to street improvements, Boulder had been grumbling since the 1890s about water supplies, sewer systems, trash burning, and garbage dumps. They didn't want to pay for these unnecessary luxuries.

Now their unhappiness erupted into a full-blown civic fight which historian Lynn T. Perrigo calls the Charter Fight of 1923.²⁵ Pave the streets. No sir. The city manager has too much power. Council is not much better and passes everything by emergency vote so that we cannot examine proposed laws before they are passed. Graft and corruption abound at City Hall.

Mitchell became so upset with these charges that he printed a pamphlet entitled "Facts On All Paving Done in the City of Boulder During the Years of 1921 and 1922." He began his tract with the following: "Upon request of the City Council, coming as a result of various unfounded rumors and stories about the paving done in the City of Boulder since my incumbency of the office of City Manager, I am setting forth a statement in detail, showing the actual facts in connection with each paving district in the City of Boulder. . ."

Having felt he had explained himself sufficiently to the electorate, Mitchell commenced plans for more street paving. A group of citizens, led by a number of Mapleton Hill ladies, charged the city manager with attempting to pave over the whole city. They took the matter to court and got a temporary injunction to stop all street paving. They threatened Council with recall and wanted to fire the city manager.

Hardwareman and civic leader F.C. Moys, reflecting upon the matter, said, "If Christ himself were city manager of Boulder, there would be some people who would want to recall him."²⁶

It is no wonder, then, that in 1922 only ten miles of Boulder streets were paved; nine years later, the situation had not improved much; Boulder now had fifteen miles of paved roads and forty-eight miles of dirt roads.

The paving question was not settled in 1923. A more violent and bitter eruption occurred two years later; Perrigo called it the Charter Fight of 1925. Numerous insults were exchanged within the community; street paving was only one of many issues under examination. Several local ministers called for a cooling-off period.

Even though Boulder had not implemented all of the recommendations made by Frederick Olmsted in 1910, Council directed that a new study be made by Denver planner S.R. DeBoer. In 1926 DeBoer submitted his plan to divide Boulder into land use zones; Council adopted his zoning scheme in 1928.

Years later, in 1944, DeBoer wrote the town's first treatise on transportation²⁷ and recommended to Council the major investment of an areal bus line, which would run from Boulder south to Eldorado Springs, north to Longmont, and east to the county line. DeBoer felt Boulder County's communities were cut off from one another by lack of a common transit; there would be more cooperation between neighboring towns if such a transit existed. DeBoer was also enthralled with the possibilities of air travel and recommended the expansion of the local airport. None of DeBoer's suggestions were acted upon by Council although growth as a new problem for Boulder was urgently discussed by some.

As early as 1935, the town's first traffic count was completed; someone counted 357 cars on Valmont in one day . . . an ominous turn of events.

Events of the 1940s signaled Boulder's metamorphosis from town to city. In 1944, road maintenance seemed a normal city expenditure; \$29,196.05 was spent that year.

The town's first traffic light was installed at Broadway and Arapahoe in the early 1940s. Then it was turned off. A decrease in traffic due to gas rationing was the reason given by City Manager McClintock, although some Boulder voices expressed outrage at the very existence of any traffic signal in their town. Only the flashing amber light was used until February 1945 when Arapahoe Avenue motorists complained that Broadway motorists were hogging the intersection. The red and green lights were turned on again. The following year, an additional traffic signal was operating at Broadway and Pearl Street.

In 1948 a tremendous light system was installed at the corners of College Avenue, Fourteenth Street, and Broadway. Consisting of forty-three separate lights mounted on six poles, the signal system had "walk" and "wait" signals as well as green arrows for "right turn" and for "straight through" a potential nightmare for Boulder free spirits. To help Boulder drivers adjust to the signal, the Boulder Daily Camera printed instructions on how to approach the three-way intersection from any direction and "what to do if. . ."

"All this may seem pretty complicated. But that's just because forty-three lights give you an inferiority complex. Just follow the lights and the painted lanes and you'll get through with your fenders and legs all in one piece."²⁸

Until 1946, twenty-six cars could angle-park on one Pearl Street block; with the introduction of 340 parking meters, only fourteen cars could parallel park in one block. Boulder's habitual grumblers must have been resting for the moment because, in 1949, 168 more meters were installed downtown without public outcry and angle parking on Pearl Street became history. Some years later, however, as potential Pearl Street customers avoided downtown for other shopping centers' free parking, the city turned off the parking meters to encourage the return of the Boulder shopper downtown.

Now bicycles were licensed for the first time at fifty cents. Council also established the first speed zones around schools. And the Denver-Boulder Bus Company was established with seventeen buses running on the Blue Star Highway through Lafayette to Denver. In addition 5,000 cars per day were using the same highway to Denver. The possibility of closing Twenty-First Street in the Whittier district was first discussed as well as the possibility of opening Ninth Street from Pearl to Pine Streets to accommodate through traffic.

Boulder County Surveyor Fred Fair expressed his idea of a road between Denver and Boulder as early as 1912 but he was dismissed as an impossible dreamer. Professor of Engineering Roderick L. Downing sent his students out in the field in 1928 to draw plans for such a road.



Figure 22 - Denver-Boulder Turnpike is a reality. photo, Boulder Daily Camera.

A Kansas consulting firm completed a feasibility study and presented it to Council with a discouraging report. Toll roads were in trouble back East; they could not pay for themselves. The firm felt that such a proposed road would not have a financial return until 1980, if ever. Even so, Boulder citizens petitioned the State

for the toll road while the City of Longmont lobbied against the road before the General Assembly.

Despite the gloom surrounding the project, and after a court suit was settled questioning the constitutionality of such an act, the General Assembly passed an authorizing bill for a 17.3 mile toll road at a proposed cost of \$6,300,000, or \$364,000 per mile.

Ground-breaking ceremonies for "Tomorrow's Highway Today" were held on October 16, 1950; by September 1951 the cornerstone was placed in the toll station near Broomfield. On January 19, 1952, the road opened. It cost ten cents to travel on the toll road from Denver to Broomfield and it cost a quarter to motor from Denver to Boulder.



Figure 23 - The toll station at Broomfield along the Denver-Boulder Turnpike. photo, Boulder Daily Camera.



Figure 24 - Denver Mayor William McNichols welcomes the millionth driver to use the turnpike. photo, Boulder Daily Camera.

The turnpike, sometimes called "The Short Line to the Skyline," saved eight miles from the old Blue Star Highway route. More important, the opening of the turnpike caused the isolated sleepy college town to begin to wake up to a sudden spurt of growth. Commuting between the two cities was now possible. Business

firms were looking over Boulder as a site; some looked into the zoning and bought land for possible relocation.

In August 1952, the millionth car went through the toll station; by August 1954, five million cars had passed through. Twelve years later, 14,000 cars were using the turnpike daily.

By September 14, 1967, the toll station at Broomfield closed. The toll road became a free road, thirteen years ahead of schedule the first toll road in the United States to pay for itself.

During the construction of the turnpike, a dog, a sort of a shepherd, befriended the men who worked on the highway. When the toll station near Broomfield was finished, Shep took up residence there, carefully regarding each toll payer as he passed through. Shep was fed and cared for at the toll station for years; money was collected for Shep's occasional visits to the vet. The only times that Shep would not stay on duty was during the heavy traffic to Boulder for Saturday football games. On those occasions, Shep took up an observation post on a hillside, away from the cars.



Figure 25 - Denver and Boulder dignitaries congratulate one another at the closing of the toll station.

When Shep died, he was buried on his hillside, just east of the Broomfield exit, south of the highway. His grave is marked by a stone of white marble, surrounded by a wrought-iron fence, under a small, shady tree -- a reminder that at one time all cars stopped there to pay toll.

By 1950, Boulder had grown to 20,000 people. The first traffic flow study, conducted after the turnpike had opened, was organized by Boulder High School seniors and showed that 12,502 cars traveled past the corner of Broadway and University Avenue daily. (High school seniors continued to count traffic for the city for some years.)

Eight months after the toll road opened, traffic was up eleven percent on most arterials. Broadway now needed traffic islands to separate north and south-bound lanes; a row of sand buckets set out at Seventeenth Street and University Avenue served the purpose.

Professor Downing, the engineer who had encouraged the building of the toll road, studied the effects of commuting on the interior

streets of Boulder. This 1957 study settled for all time the question of whether or not Boulder was a town or a city.

In the late 1950s, Boulder architects Charles Haertling and Tician Papachristou, concerned about the increase of traffic downtown with its attendant parking problems, offered Council their twenty-year plan to close downtown from Ninth to Seventeenth Streets and from Pine Street to Arapahoe Avenue. No cars would be allowed in this large area, slated for a mall-type development in stages. Council looked at the architects' proposal but took no action.

It seemed as though Boulder was in shock from the growth spurt occasioned by the unpredicted heavy use of the Boulder Toll Road and the development of Boulder's first real industries since the establishment of Western Cutlery and Manufacturing Company, makers of steel knives, in the 1920s. (Heretofore, when a Boulder resident used the word "plant," everyone knew that meant Western Cutlery. Now there were many "plants.")

Streets that were not equipped to carry heavy traffic were doing just that. Traffic and parking problems grew more and more complex, compounding citizen irritation and frustration. Several intersections produced enough traffic jams to merit special and immediate attention. There were studies and discussions but no action.

Twenty-eighth Street traffic seemed to grow to nightmare proportions overnight. The terminus for the toll road in the area of Twenty-Eighth Street, Broadway, and Baseline Road was especially impacted, causing the press to label the problem "malfunction junction."

By 1960, sleeping Boulder appeared to be waking up or, at least, rousing itself from time to time. City Manager E. Robert Turner asked Council for authority to hire Boulder's first traffic engineer, citing the growing traffic congestion as justification. City Engineer William E. Korbitz took on the additional title of Traffic Engineer.

Up to 1961 the town's traffic lights operated independently of each other. Turner installed, at a cost of \$13,836, the Eagle Signal Monotrol, a master controller for traffic signals which he called an "electronic brain," and which held the promise of "automobiles happily humming along."²⁹

In May of 1960, planner Trafton Bean produced Boulder's first comprehensive traffic, transportation, and parking study. He studied the problems of circling traffic, as well as the future of downtown auto storage. His recommendations included the re-design of "malfunction junction," an additional exit from the toll road at South Boulder Road which would lead to a Forty-Seventh Street expressway (then called the East By-Pass) to run north to the Diagonal. He recommended the four-laning of Broadway and the elimination of all parking on that thoroughfare. (See Figures IV and V.)

Bean also suggested the four-laning of Cherryvale Road, Iris Avenue, Pine Street (east of Broadway), Arapahoe (east of Twenty-Eighth Street) and special treatment for Water Street. The early railroad carrier should now be four-laned with a one-way couplet on Water and Goss Streets from Sixteenth to Twenty-third Streets and thence a joining with Arapahoe Avenue at Twenty-Fourth Street. (Crossroads was merely a developer's dream at this point.)

Bean also stressed the necessity of opening Ninth Street (from Pearl to Pine Streets), an unpopular recommendation that had been fought over since the early 1940s. He hoped to see Fourth Street run from Pearl Street north to Wonderland Lake, another unpopular recommendation. Sixth Street needs a new bridge across Boulder Creek, he said.³⁰

Despite the clarity of planner Bean's recommendations, Boulder continued to alternately snooze and grumble, hoping, perhaps, that the town's growth problems would somehow disappear. The following year, planner Theodore H. Mikesell produced a study, "Public Facilities Plan and Capital Improvements Program, 1963-1985," which made similar recommendations to those of Trafton Bean. Mikesell pointed out that, in 1950, Boulder's population was 19,999 and encompassed an area of 2.8 square miles; in 1963 45,500 people lived in Boulder, an 127 per cent increase in a 10.1 square mile area.

Boulder's police department no longer handled traffic control; City Manager Turner transferred that job to the traffic engineer's office in the Department of Public Service.

In 1962 Boulder's first Major Thoroughfare Plan was published; it was, essentially, a "wish list" for improvements as no money was available in the city's coffers to undertake projects designed to unsnarl the growing traffic congestion. ". . . The only streets that were being built or improved were those that the city could get the state highway department to build."³¹

Furthermore, the traffic engineer's job was hampered by Council's requirement that each stop sign and traffic signal be installed for a 90-day trial period only; after that, a hearing before Council would be held to decide whether or not each stop sign or signal would be permanent by ordinance a lengthy process.

Water Street was no longer a railroad carrier. Union Pacific had its last run in 1961; the tracks had been pulled up and the street renamed Canyon Boulevard. Crossroads Shopping Center was under construction; the city was faced with a potentially good east-west carrier of traffic that dead-ended at Twenty-Eighth Street. (Twenty-Eighth Street and Crossroads were still in the county at this time.)

Trafton Bean's suggestion to connect Canyon Boulevard with Arapahoe at Twenty-fourth Street, thus swinging traffic to the south of the shopping center, was shelved when private interests would not cooperate, refusing to sell the necessary land. Another plan called for the division of Canyon Boulevard at Twenty-eighth with a northern and southern extension embracing Crossroads; that idea was also scrapped.

In November 1963, the voters turned down a proposal for a one percent sales tax; perhaps the proposal failed because the plan did not include a tax on liquor and cigarettes nor did it contain specific language on a spending program. Evidently, Council learned its lesson; the following June another sales tax proposal was put before the voters and contained specific information on capital expenditure. The measure passed.

With the promise of new revenues, an air of excitement pervaded city hall. Finally, some of Boulder's transportation problems were going to be addressed. Perhaps they forgot for a moment the one ingredient for action that might change or at least, arrest their plans --the one ingredient that City Manager Scott Mitchell did not face in 1922 -- an agreeable Boulder public.

Even so, progress was made. D. Kent Dewell was hired as Boulder's first full-time traffic engineer. Because of the additional work load in transportation, the Department of Public Service divided into two agencies --the Public Utilities Department and the Public Works Department.

As Traffic Engineer, Dewell was given the authority to install stop signs and signals; no longer was each installation subject to Council action. Ninth Street was made a through street from Pearl to Pine Streets. The bridges at Seventeenth and Twenty-fourth Streets were rebuilt.

With the establishment of more shopping centers outside the downtown area, local merchants could see that something must be done to revitalize the downtown business area if it were to continue as a shopping center. One of the business groups, Boulder Tomorrow, combined forces with the City of Boulder and Boulder County to hire Victor Gruen Associates in 1967 to study the downtown area and make recommendations.³² Gruen's Phase I was completed the following year and outlined seven concepts for downtown refurbishment which, however, were dependent upon changes in traffic patterns outside the study area.

Gruen advised that unless Boulder's transportation problems were solved, "prospects for the future portend a reinforcement of these undesirable features and further reduction of vital urban functions and potentialities." He predicted the completion of the Forty-seventh Street By-Pass to the Diagonal by 1975 and recommended the four-laning of Iris Avenue, Ninth Street, Arapahoe Avenue, and parts of Spruce Street.

Gruen's Phase II took the most favored Concept No.5 (See Figure VI.) and recommended that Broadway be divided at the base of Broadway Hill; a northbound branch would join Fourteenth Street and a southbound branch would move along Eleventh Street. The streets would continue one way north of the downtown area but would be connected at Pine Street. Council considered the matter with Pine Street residents complaining in full force; no action was taken on the matter.

In 1967 City Manager Ted Tedesco was still trying to solve the problem of "malfunction junction." In his public plea for an additional one percent sales tax, Tedesco wrote: "It is difficult to reduce to words the feeling one has in driving down landscaped portions of South Broadway after having just lived through the Twenty-eighth Street experience."

The new tax proposal appealed to Boulder's wish to surround itself with a belt of green from the mountains to the plains. Forty percent of the proposed tax would go for the acquisition of greenbelt land and sixty percent would be reserved to develop a system of thoroughfares for Boulder. The tax proposal passed handily in November 1967, two months after the Denver-Boulder Toll Road became a free road. Even so, a year later, Tedesco, still frustrated with Boulder's growing traffic problems, described the city as having "a 1900 street system and 1968 demands."³³

One of Trafton Bean's recommendations had been to widen Iris Avenue, from Broadway to Twenty-Eighth Street. As in other street improvements, residents along Iris Avenue were to be assessed for the work. By July of 1969, in the usual Boulder fashion, Iris Avenue residents confronted the City of Boulder. They came out en masse to a hearing before the Council Committee on Assessment Equality and complained that, one, the city had forced annexation upon them two years before, two, they

were against the widening of Iris Avenue and, three, they were against having to pay for something they didn't want in the first place.

The city was to pay \$450,000 for the project and the residents were to pay \$80,700 for the widening. They filed suit in District Court but Judge Howard Ashton dismissed their case. However, Council eventually dropped the assessment of residents along Iris Avenue on the grounds that residents should not have to pay additional monies for a major thoroughfare through their neighborhood. The work on the widening of Iris Avenue began in July of 1970.

When D. Kent Dewell took the helm as Director of the newly formed Transportation Division in 1970, Boulder had 155 miles of roads, 13 miles of which were still unpaved. Twelve miles of road within the city were maintained by the State. Although Dewell developed a 144-mile bikeway for 44,200 Boulder bicyclists, which was well received by residents in general, in June 1972, the voters turned down a \$950,000 bond issue which would have funded \$225,000 for more bikeways as well as street improvements and traffic signals.

Dewell was faced with growing complaints about the traffic control system which had been installed in 1961. "The strong disadvantage of the system as it now exists," said Dewell, "is that it is not responsive to what is going on out in the streets...the data is [sic] often six months old before it is put into use."³⁴

"Malfunction junction" was again in the news in 1970 when the Colorado State Highway Department announced plans for a new interchange at Forty-Seventh Street and the Turnpike with the aim to relieve growing congestion at Twenty-eighth, Broadway, and Baseline Road. Some residents spoke against the plan, saying the proposal would force more traffic into residential areas. Boulder resident John Macinko dubbed the proposed interchange "The Spaghetti Bowl."³⁵ (See Figure VII.) This description did not help the proposal along and the matter was shelved.

The early 1970s was a good time for federal grants. The U.S. Department of Transportation awarded Boulder \$100,000 to buy a new \$158,000 traffic control device called TOPICS --Traffic Operated Program to Increase Control and Safety -- to be installed by TRW Systems as soon as possible. Even though many months, then years, went by before delivery of the computer, Kent Dewell had great hopes for its prospects.

"There are less than five cities in the entire country that have this system," he said. "What will happen is that we will be able to have dynamic data. Instead of collecting information by counting cars, analyzing the data and, then, weeks or months later, relaying it to the traffic signals, the system will operate on a 'real time' basis. Rather than using information that is six months old, we will have a four-second response time."³⁶

Finally, in 1974, the computer was in place; Dewell, meanwhile, had left for another position. Ten months later, the Town and Country Review ran the headline "Traffic Computer Doesn't Work!"³⁷ The Boulder Daily Camera added its opinion: "City's Computer's Stuck on Red."³⁸ The system was turned off.

In musing over the problem, Public Works Director Andy Hollar declared that the computer's malfunction would cause "a credibility gap which may not disappear for some time in Boulder."³⁹

Somehow, the device seemed to cause more problems than it was designed to solve. The old 1961 Monotrol was still in place on some of Boulder's through streets and was eventually turned off during the summer of 1983.

Council received another grant from the U.S. Department of Transportation to hire the Ken R. White Company to study Boulder's overall transportation system and make recommendations. Additionally, White sub-contracted with W.C. Gilman and Company of Chicago to specifically study Boulder's bus system. While these professionals were at work, City Manager Tedesco, feeling the need of citizen opinion on the subject, asked Council in December 1971 to appoint a Citizens' Advisory Committee on Public Transportation to study the matter also.

Patronage on the antiquated bus line had increased eighteen percent from 1971 to 1972. (The Public Service Company had received a renewed franchise to run the bus line in 1970.) When a reporter asked Public Service foreman Ron Fahrenholtz the reason for such an increase in ridership, Fahrenholtz replied, "Darned if I know...for some reason, people just seem to be riding the bus more."⁴⁰

Despite a 1971 loss of \$230,000, Public Service had ordered four more buses to bring Boulder's public transit up to a grand total of ten carriers. Even so, Daily Camera reporter Ron Tollefson described the system as "a diesel-propelled bankruptcy."⁴¹

The Ken White Company completed its work in February 1972 and recommended that, before Boulder should invest in an expensive transit system, it should increase its fixed-route bus service with improved routing and more frequent service.

Moreover, he advised Boulder to look into a demand-activated service using minibuses for the non-peak hours of the day. Demand-activated transit had become fashionable during the early 1970s; Boulder was not immune from its promise of quality transit service for all. Gilman offered similar recommendations.

Ken White had further recommendations for street traffic; some of his suggestions raised the hackles of a number of already-nervous Boulder residents. Twenty-eighth and Thirtieth Streets should be converted into a one-way couplet which would run from the Turnpike north to Kalmia Avenue. Almost immediately Council heard from merchants who did business on either street. (Crossroads owner Gerri von Frellick became so outraged at the prospect of one-way streets to the east and west of his shopping center that he filed suit against the City of Boulder.)

Another White suggestion was a one-way couplet on Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets, stretching from Grandview on the south and running north to Cedar Avenue. This time, Council heard from residents along those streets as well as the Boulder Valley School District because Washington Elementary School was located at the northern edge of the proposed couplet.

Downtown Spruce and Pearl Streets should also convert to one-way couplets, said White, from Broadway east to Forty-Seventh Street. Forty-Seventh Street should be constructed from the Turnpike to the Diagonal. Although studied and discussed and blasted, including a caustic evaluation by some University faculty member's, the Ken R. White study was never officially adopted by Council.

The Citizens' Advisory Committee finished its work in July 1972. They had studied the Boulder Valley School District's bus system, the University of Colorado's bus line, as well as the Public Service Company's transit. In addition, they took a long look at the Denver-Boulder Bus Company, still in operation since 1947.

The Committee looked at the recommendations of White, Gilman, and those of local planner William Ganter. All contained positive suggestions, according to the Committee, but all had serious disadvantages as well; the scope of some recommendations were unrealistic for 1972, the Committee decided, and were far too expensive. The citizen group suggested to Council that the City of Boulder buy the ten buses from Public Service Company with the intent to make the line a more vital carrier.

"Service should not be limited to a 16-hour day. A small fleet of demand-activated buses should be available for the eight hours after the standard operating day. This will provide mobility for all members of the community. . . Fixed route bus service should have a 15-minute headway throughout the operating day, not just at peak hours as proposed [by the White company]. . ."⁴²

The Committee realized, however, that their interest in demand-activated bus service would fall into the category of what they called "live planning," . . . "since there are few successful examples of this type of system."⁴³

After Council considered the Committee's report, they agreed to make overtures to Public Service Company to purchase the bus system. Lengthy discussions followed but the two parties could not get together on fiscal arrangements; the matter was eventually dropped.

At the same time, another area transportation system was taking shape. In 1969, the Regional Transportation District was created by an enabling election. In 1972, RTD was sending out information to seven Denver-area counties to prepare for a 1973 election on a regional transportation system which would cost voters in the counties an additional .5 percent in sales tax.

Included in RTD's material was another concept of demand-activated transit -- Personalized Rapid Transit -- electrically-powered vehicles designed to carry two to six passengers on a fixed track or air-cushion system. PRT was advertised as clean, quiet, efficient, and pollution-free.

Exciting as the prospect of PRT was to some Boulder residents, others questioned the implementation of PRT as unrealistic for the 1970s. By the time of the election in October 1973, Weld County had dropped out of the district. RTD won the election overall but the proposal was defeated in Douglas County and in Boulder County by 57 votes.

Little was heard about Personalized Rapid Transit after the RTD election and, eventually, the press dropped its coverage of the concept.

RTD began negotiating with Public Service Company to take over Boulder's ailing bus system and in November 1974, RTD assumed that responsibility.

In January 1974, Boulder resident Barbara Morrison, former chair of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Public Transportation, replaced Kent Dewell as Director of the Transportation Division.

As did previous City of Boulder employees, Morrison found that she, too, was subject to the wrath of bellicose Boulder.

Colorado Avenue had been re-designed to carry more and more traffic into the University of Colorado from a planned extension cut through to Forty-Seventh Street. A median was constructed to divide north and south-moving lanes of traffic west of Twenty-Eighth Street. Residents in the area, as well as members of churches nearby, complained about the placement of the median, charging it was impossible to drive to church or to get home efficiently. During one meeting between Morrison and the residents, which reminded Daily Camera reporter Ken Frizell of "Daniel and the Lions,"⁴⁴ a speaker offered bulldoze the median to extinction, free of charge.

For many years, the University of Colorado had been concerned with the growing amount of traffic inside the campus along previously placid streets. Once Twenty-Fourth Street ran along the edge of University property; as the University expanded to the east, Twenty-Fourth Street (renamed Folsom in 1969), now ran through the campus. The Transportation Division considered Folsom Street an ideal north-south thoroughfare to Broadway.

Some suggested the construction of over-passes or bridges over Folsom to accommodate students walking to their classes. Transportation Director Morrison outlined to Council the possibility of dropping Folsom below street level through the University for an estimated cost of 5 million dollars. Councilmember Bob Trenka asked for a "less grandiose" plan, saying, "We've been negotiating the heck out of ourselves for the last twenty-three years and we're not getting anywhere."

Nonetheless, University and city officials continued to negotiate a land-trade arrangement which would result in a Folsom Street through to Broadway. True to the 1888 newspaper editor's prediction about Boulder's human nature, the students "solved" the problem by picketing and barricading Folsom Street. The result? The University closed Folsom Street and the Transportation Division had to look elsewhere for solutions to a north-south through street in the area, many of which were outlined in Morrison's 1975 study.⁴⁵ They included the Twenty-seventh Street By-pass or the improvement of Ash Avenue; the latter was strongly opposed by residents nearby.

With the passage of the Boulder Valley Comprehensive Plan in 1977, a number of recommendations for thoroughfare improvements were again enunciated. (See Figure VIII.) Extending Forty-Seventh Street to the Diagonal was again stressed, as well as the four-laning of South Boulder Road, the four-laning of Baseline Road from Forty-seventh to Fifty-fifth Streets, the four-laning of Folsom Street to Colorado Avenue, and the four-lane extension of Pearl Street to Sixty-Third Street. The one-way couplet for Twenty-eighth and Thirtieth Streets was again suggested despite local opposition to that prospect.⁴⁶

During this time, a number of street projects under discussion by Council, by Transportation, and by planners were dropped. The widening of Arapahoe Avenue from Broadway to Twenty-eighth was dropped. The Pearl-Spruce Street couplet was dropped. The Ash Avenue by-pass was dropped. Finally, the couplet for Twenty-eighth and Thirtieth Streets, long a thorn in Crossroads owner von Frellick's side, was dropped.

With this "house cleaning" came a new focus on transportation improvements. Since 1976, Council had reserved money in the

budget for the design improvement of "malfunction junction," for a one-way loop around the Downtown Mall now that Pearl Street was closed, for new school crossings, and for signal improvements. Each year more funds (including federal money) were found to improve the Baseline Road-Broadway-Twenty-eighth Street area. The Twenty-Seventh Street By-Pass, now called the South Link, was under construction with both federal money and some 2 million dollars from Boulder's budget.

The extension of Colorado Avenue to Forty-Seventh Street was constructed in 1980 at a cost of 1.3 million dollars. The State Highway Department produced 3 million, dollars for the extension of Forty-Seventh Street (now called the Foothills Parkway) to Arapahoe Avenue. The Colorado Avenue median was cut through in 1977; local church-goers were mollified.

By the fall of 1977, Boulder residents no longer called it "malfunction junction." The south link was in place. The Foothills Parkway was under construction. The following year the Sixth Street bridge was rebuilt with \$500,000 from federal sources although residents nearby forced the redesign of the structure to accommodate less traffic. Two years later, the Ninth Street bridge was rebuilt. Both bridge were designed to handle a heavy flow of water should a major flood similar to the 1894 disaster, occur.

A pocket of unpaved streets in the Goss-Grove area represented the last group of unimproved residential streets in the core of the city. After seventeen meetings with Goss-Grove neighbors, the city completed street paving in that area by October 1980 at a cost of 1.2 million dollars. In order to discourage through traffic across the neighborhood, the city open and closed streets in such a manner that one resident was moved to describe the project as "something for a test of white rats to see if they can get to the food."⁴⁷

Boulder still had unpaved streets in 1984; however, most of these were located in newly-annexed neighborhoods in north Boulder where residents, who had something in common with the Mapleton ladies of the 1920s, were not enthusiastic about asphalt.

Since the failure of the TOPICS traffic control computer, Boulder was understandably leery of computer control along the city's major thoroughfares. In 1978, however, Boulder again took the plunge. A new computer, the Computran System, was delivered by December 1980; again, the federal government paid the \$400,000 bill. This time, the Traffic Engineer planned a slow and graduated conversion to computerized traffic; as one street achieved some degree of success, he turned his attention to another . . . and another.

In March, 1984 Acting Director Steven Jepsen reset the Computran so that pedestrians would have longer "walk" time to cross busy streets. Walk cycles ranged from six to seventeen seconds depending upon the width of the street. Jepsen also re-programmed the computer's instructions to all traffic signals, eliminating the flashing "walk" sign, long a source of confusion to pedestrians.

By 1982, the Union Pacific, long a railroad carrier for Boulder, had ripped out the last tracks north of Pearl Street. Boulder's original street was extended from Thirtieth to Forty-Seventh Street that year with concrete paving, reminiscent of the concrete poured for Mapleton Avenue during the Great Depression. The use of concrete was once an expensive paving method. Now that petroleum-based street surfaces had become more costly, concrete

had come into its own, guaranteeing a longer life to heavily-traveled streets. Sixty-Third Street was also paved with concrete.

For forty years or more, travelers who entered Boulder via North Broadway were greeted with a sign attached to a water pipe stretching across the highway which stated "Welcome to Boulder." One the other side, the sign announced that this, indeed, was the way to Estes Park. Sometime in the late 1970s the sign was removed when plans to widen portions of North Broadway were approved. Broadway was widened for a one-mile stretch to Linden Avenue by 1983 -- an eight-year project.

In the 1980s Boulder Councilmembers stressed over and over their desire to encourage citizens to use transportation other than the automobile -- the bus, the bicycle, and the foot. Boulder sponsored its first Pedestrian Conference in 1980, the first of four yearly meetings, with a view to encourage Boulderites to get out of their automobiles and walk.

Even though Council set aside some \$12,000 for a feasibility study for light rail down Pearl Street in 1980, the notion of rapid transit for any part of Boulder was not yet accepted by a majority of residents. Local voters turned RTD down on their request for funds for rapid transit. Steve Jepsen, reflecting upon the voters' mood, said, "This is a young, aggressive community. The idea of the West as 'wide open space' and 'freedom' probably brought residents here. Thus, the 'regimentation' often associated with mass transit might not appeal to this population."⁴⁸

During the 1980s, Boulder neighbors discussed a novel method to lessen traffic through their area. Too much traffic? Close the street! Streets had been closed earlier in the Whittier neighborhood. Spruce Street had been closed at Fifth Street; Fifth Street was closed to through traffic at Pearl Street also. Mapleton Hill residents successfully closed Eighth Street in 1983 when some of the neighbors volunteered to pay half the cost of the closing.

Residents near Kohler Drive in the Table Mesa area asked for a street closing but Council denied their request in December 1983, stating that the heavier traffic in the neighborhood was largely their own and not through traffic. In February 1984 the Planning Board tabled a request to close Jay Road between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-eighth Streets citing its need for further information.

During the Eighth Street closing hearing, City Manager Robert G. Westdyke took the opportunity to discuss with Council his hope that Boulder arterials would be made wider, designed for greater traffic, while residential streets be constructed to discourage through traffic. A new idea? Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. had the same suggestion for Boulder in 1908. Council added the Olmsted-Westdyke suggestion to its "things to consider" list.

When Council met in January 1984 to set goals for the next several years, they agreed their responsibility was "to enable the mobility of persons and goods by developing and maintaining a safe, efficient, environmentally sound and balanced transportation system with comparable emphasis on all modes -- public transit, pedestrian, bicycle, and private vehicular transportation."⁴⁹

Councilmembers pondered the 1980 census data as they looked into the future, 82,736 people lived within the city limits in 1980; in addition, twenty-five percent more lived around the periphery of Boulder which brought the total urban population to 110,314. The city now supported 595 miles of roadways (expressed in

lanes); some 63,000 automobile licenses were issued yearly. Each Boulder family used the car from six to seven times per day resulting in 280,000 car trips. Combined with estimated figures for tourist trips and those made by residents living just outside the city limits, Boulder's daily car trips totaled 325,000.

Most Councilmembers wanted to get Boulderites out of their cars. Only 8,500 residents used the 74-mile bus system each day a mere three percent of the population. After nine years of operation, RTD had improved the routing, had provided special services for the handicapped, and had built twenty-one shelters for its patrons. It had also built a downtown transit center on the same block, Fourteenth and Walnut Streets, where the Union Depot once stood -- the center for trains and streetcars years before.

Council was still dissatisfied, however, with RTD's record of service in Boulder. Greater frequency of buses and the restructuring of routes might encourage a larger ridership. Perhaps, thought Council, Boulder should again consider operating its own bus system.

Boulder had come a long way since its first several blocks of wooden sidewalks; now there were 440 miles of sidewalks throughout the community some walks still lined with the flagstone which was first used in 1886. Walking in the winter would be more popular, Council decided, if the ordinance requiring homeowners to shovel their walks were more strictly enforced. Some of Boulder's "free spirits" systematically refused to remove snow from their walkways . . . a potentially dangerous lack of attention.

Boulder still enjoyed its love affair with the bicycle as it had in the 1890s. The cyclist could use 11.3 miles of special bikelanes on the city's streets or ride on 14.2 miles of bikeways constructed off the street. More bikeways were planned, including one to be built along Boulder Creek.

While Council emphasized the need to spend transportation money on non-automobile items, it also recognized the need to make downtown parking more attractive. Many motorists avoided parking fees, either metered or in parking lots, by leaving their car for the day in the surrounding residential neighborhoods. Understandably, the affected residents were outraged and demanded a solution.

Councilmembers also wanted to find more money for the Boulder Police Department's two enforcement programs, one concerned with those who drive under the influence of alcohol and the other, a ten-year old program called STEP -- Selective Traffic Enforcement Program. Police officers, under the STEP program, would observe areas where traffic laws were systematically not obeyed, target the area for special attention, and arrest those drivers who did not abide by the law. STEP's first director, Sergeant Jeff Libby, said to a reporter in 1975. ". . . Boulder is full of what we call the distracted driver . . . This is a town populated by mentally active people who always have something on their minds. They drive their cars but they do not operate them."⁵⁰

Much has been made over Boulder's periodic civic fights over a variety of issues, including transportation. Maybe the Boulder citizen's bellicose nature is the result of an inquiring mind and a vital concern for the future of the community. "Human nature . . . there is considerable of it in Boulder," said O.H. Wangelin in 1888. Perhaps Boulder's "human nature" is a necessary ingredient to develop a realistic transportation program for the future.

Figure IX Transportation Personnel Since 1960

Directors, Transportation Division

September 1969 to November 1973	D. Kent Dewell
November 1973 to January 1974	Don Douglas, Acting
January 1974 to April 1977	Barbara Morrison
April 1977 to October 1977	John Aldridge, Acting
October 1977 to December 1981	Robert Whitson
December 1981 to June 1982	David Baskett, Acting
June 1982 to February 1984	David Baskett
February 1984	Steven Jepsen, Acting Bill Jorgensen, Acting

Traffic Engineers and related personnel

1961 to 1964	William E. Korbitz (also City Engineer)
February 1964 to November 1973	D. Kent Dewell (first full time Traffic Engineer)
October 1968 to May 1979	Don Douglas (Civil Engineer, Assistant Traffic Engineer, Traffic Engineer)
May 1974 to September 1975	John Merritt
August 1975 to February 1978	John Aldridge (Transportation Planner)
December 1978 to June 1982	David Baskett
September 1982 to February 1984	Steven Jepsen

End Notes

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- ³ Amos Bixdby, "History of Boulder County," in History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys (Chicago: O.L. Baskin and company, 1880)
- ⁴ Minutes, Boulder City Town Company, march 28, 1859, p. 39
- ⁵ Ibid., March 10, 1859, p. 24
- ⁶ Bixby, op. cit., pp.392-93
- ⁷ Much of this information on road building was taken from a paper written by Martin B. Parsons for the Boulder Historical Society, 1945.
- ⁸ Isabella Bird, A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960) p. 197
- ⁹ Town Minutes, p. 69
- ¹⁰ Boulder County News, December 1, 1871
- ¹¹ Daily Camera, June 7, 1892
- ¹² Boulder County Herald, March 3, 1880
- ¹³ Town Minutes, August 1, 1898
- ¹⁴ Ibid., June 17, 1875
- ¹⁵ Boulder County News, August 23, 1878
- ¹⁶ William H. Burger, "Boulder in the 80s and 90s," a paper written for the Boulder Historical Society, 1945
- ¹⁷ Boulder County Herald, November 19, 1890
- ¹⁸ Town Minutes, February 3, 1896
- ¹⁹ Ibid., May 16, 1916
- ²⁰ Revised Ordinances of the City of Boulder, 1914, p. 229
- ²¹ Fredrick Law Olmstead, Jr., "The Improvement of Boulder, Colorado," a report to the Boulder City Improvement Association, 1910
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 28
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 29
- ²⁵ Lynn T. Perrigo, "A Municipal History of Boulder, Colorado, 1871-1946," 1946
- ²⁶ Daily Camera, August 29, 1922
- ²⁷ Saco Reink Deboer, "Preliminary City Plan," Volume II, 1944
- ²⁸ Daily Camera, August 29, 1922
- ²⁹ Ibid., July 30, 1972, Ken Brusic, "Boulder's Traffic Problem: It's Still Growing."
- ³⁰ Trafton Bean: "Traffic, Transportation, and Parking," City of Boulder, Colorado, 1960
- ³¹ Daily Camera, op. cit., Ken Brusic quoting D. Kent Dewell
- ³² Victor Gruen Associates, "Boulder Central Area Planning Study," Phase I, 1968 and Phase II, 1969
- ³³ Daily Camera, op. cit., Ken Brusic quoting Ted Tedesco
- ³⁴ Daily Camera, op. cit., Ken Brusic quoting D. Kent Dewell
- ³⁵ Town and Country Review, December 2, 1970
- ³⁶ Daily Camera, op. cit., Ken Brusic quoting D. Kent Dewell
- ³⁷ Town and Country Review, October 23, 1974
- ³⁸ Daily Camera, February 28, 1976
- ³⁹ Town and Country Review, August 29, 1977
- ⁴⁰ Daily Camera, July 30, 1972, Ken Brusic, op. cit.
- ⁴¹ Daily Camera, February 22, 1972, article by Ron Tollefson
- ⁴² Citizens' Advisory Committee on Public Transportation, final report, July 1972, p. 12
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Daily Camera, October 18, 1974, article by Ken Frizell
- ⁴⁵ "North-South Transportation Study," Transportation Division, City of Boulder, Colorado, 1975
- ⁴⁶ "Boulder Valley Comprehensive Plan," 1977, rev., 1978
- ⁴⁷ Daily Camera, March 3, 1980, Daryl Gibson quoting Mrs. Merrill Blacker
- ⁴⁸ Colorado Daily, October 7-8, 1983 article by Kathleen Smith
- ⁴⁹ "1984 Goals," memorandum of the Boulder City Council, January 1984
- ⁵⁰ Daily Camera, August 3, 1974, Barry Koltnow, "City has Traffic Problems," quoting Sgt. Jeff Libby