

ROLLING THE DICE IN COLORADO:
THE IMPACT OF GAMBLING ON HISTORIC RESOURCES IN CENTRAL CITY
AND BLACK HAWK

by

CYNTHIA NICOLE BRADLEY

(Under the Direction of James Reap)

ABSTRACT

Central City and Black Hawk are two important historic mining towns in Colorado. The legalization of gambling in these two towns in 1990 has brought significant change to both towns. This thesis seeks to discover the major impacts to historic resources and the degree to which the integrity of the National Historic Landmark District, which each town is a part of, has been compromised. In order to accomplish this, the historical importance and appearance of each town, why these towns turned to legalized gambling, and how the limited gambling amendment has been carried out will be addressed. An examination of local preservation organizations, design guidelines, and ordinances will establish a clear approach to preservation for each town. Major impacts on historic resources will be discussed giving insight to the degree of historic integrity which remains in each town.

INDEX WORDS: Central City; Black Hawk; Colorado; National Historic Landmark District; Gambling; Historic Resources

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family. My parents' unwavering support and encouragement is a blessing that I am thankful for every day.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The history of Colorado is filled with stories of chance. Nothing embodies this spirit of risk-taking more than when prospectors went west into the rugged wilderness with dreams of making a fortune during the Pikes Peak Gold Rush, which began in 1859. One of the richest areas for gold was the Gregory Mining District. It was here that several important mining towns were quickly established as a result of the gold rush, two of which were Central City and Black Hawk. These two towns sprang up because of a major gold strike at the hands of John H. Gregory along the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains, west of Denver. Soon after Gregory's discovery, thousands made their way to the Rocky Mountains in search of gold. The following rush to the gold fields and the resulting wealth of gold surrounding Gregory's original diggings caused the area to be nicknamed "The Richest Square Mile on Earth" and led to rapid urbanization on the Colorado frontier.¹

Today, a monument stands near the city limits of Central City and Black Hawk marking the point of Gregory's discovery. Much has changed since Gregory and other prospectors mined for gold there. Central City and Black Hawk, similar to other mining towns in the American West, experienced a period of steady economic decline after boom periods related to mining.² While many turned to ghost towns, others sought ways to

¹ Duane A. Smith, *The Trial of Gold and Silver: Mining in Colorado, 1859-2009*, (Niwot: The University of Colorado Press, 1996), 20.

² Dallas, Sandra, *Colorado Ghost Towns and Mining Camps*, (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 3.

reinvent themselves and discover once again what it is like to be economically prosperous.

In 1990, the citizens of Colorado voted on an amendment to legalize limited stakes gambling³ in the historic mining towns of Central City and Black Hawk. The first casinos opened in October of 1991.⁴ Immediate change began to occur in these towns to accommodate the gambling industry. While the legalization of gambling was contingent upon a portion of the tax revenues going toward historic preservation in Central City and Black Hawk, the infrastructure and development which supports modern casino design is often in direct conflict with the historic fabrics of small rural towns. Central City has been a designated Historic Landmark District since 1961, but after the amendment for gambling was passed, the district was expanded to include Black Hawk in an effort to help protect this historic area from the inevitable pressures of gambling development and to help showcase the unique evolution of mining towns in the West.⁵ However, there has been a great deal of change to the towns as a whole, and the historic character of Central City and Black Hawk has been affected because of gambling. Each town has had a different approach to historic preservation following the legalization of gambling, and therefore the impact on each town has been different.

This thesis examines the major issues and changes in terms of historic preservation which have occurred in Central City and Black Hawk in the wake of gambling. Further, this thesis will evaluate whether gambling has significantly altered or

³ The American Gaming Association has adopted the use of the word “gaming” when referring to the casino industry because of negative connotations that go along with the term “gambling.” However, most scholarly works referenced for this thesis use “gambling” when referring to the casino industry and therefore this thesis will use this term as well.

⁴ Katherine Jensen and Audie Blevins, *The Last Gamble: Betting on the Future in Four Rocky Mountain Mining Towns*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998), 3.

⁵ National Register of Historic Places, Central City-Black Hawk Historic District, Central City, Black Hawk and Nevadaville, Gilpin County, Colorado, National Register 6000246.

destroyed the two towns' historic fabrics. This will be done by examining how the gambling amendment has been implemented in Central City and Black Hawk. If applicable, important changes and issues will be looked at to determine whether they comply or conflict with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties⁶ or the National Historic Landmark Criteria⁷ for evaluating historic resources. This thesis will also look at the overall historic landmark district to evaluate its role and based upon the findings in Black Hawk and Central City, discuss whether the district is still worthy of this designation. In order to accomplish this analysis the thesis must establish the importance of these towns in Colorado history, outline what many of their historic resources looked like prior to and after gambling, and look at historic preservation approaches in each town.

The Setting

Black Hawk (elevation 8,042) and Central City (elevation 8,496) are located in Gilpin County, Colorado.⁸ The two towns are situated about a mile apart from each other and approximately 35 miles west of Denver along the Front Range of the Rocky

⁶ The National Park Service has issued "The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings." There are ten guidelines for the four approved treatment approaches of historic properties. According to the National Park Service website, www.nps.gov, these guidelines are intended to promote appropriate practices when dealing with important cultural resources. These treatments are required for certain work done on historic properties when preservation tax credits are being used. More information including all ten standards can be found in "The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring, and Reconstructing Historic Buildings" by Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer (1995) or on the National Park Service website.

⁷ Resources are nominated for the National Register of Historic Places based on kind and level of significance. Resources are also nominated as National Historic Landmarks in this manner. There are certain criteria considerations that limit the eligibility for nomination or could result in loss of designation. These criteria include resources that have been moved from their original location. A property must have integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. This will be looked at in further detail in the analysis of impacts to historic resources in Central City and Black Hawk. For more information on this process and the National Register and Landmark criteria refer to the National Park Service website at www.nps.gov.

⁸ See appendices B and C for detail maps of Central City and Black Hawk

Mountains in the north central portion of the state. This rugged, rural mountain county is bounded by the Continental Divide on its western border and is the smallest county in Colorado encompassing about 150 square miles. Black Hawk and Central City are the only two incorporated cities in the county.⁹

Located along a gulch, the mountains and hillsides surrounding the two towns are covered with trees intermingled with grass and residential properties. In response to the geography of the region, the towns are characterized by irregular streets. Buildings are tightly organized in an erratic fashion along the gulch. Remnants of mine tailings and mine shafts along the mountains and hillsides remain a physical reminder of the rich mining history of this county's past. As of the 2010 census, the population of Central City is 663 and Black Hawk's population is 118.¹⁰ Just up the gulch is what remains of another former thriving mining town, Nevadaville, which is also included in the Historic Landmark District designation. Today, a few dilapidated buildings and homes still exist, and while a few residents still live in Nevadaville, it is virtually a ghost town.¹¹

⁹ Patricia A. Stokowski, *Riches and Regrets: Betting on Gambling in Two Colorado Mountain Towns*, (Niwot: the University of Colorado Press, 1996), 2.

¹⁰ United States Census Bureau. <http://www.census.gov/> (accessed January 15, 2013).

¹¹ Stokowski, 2.

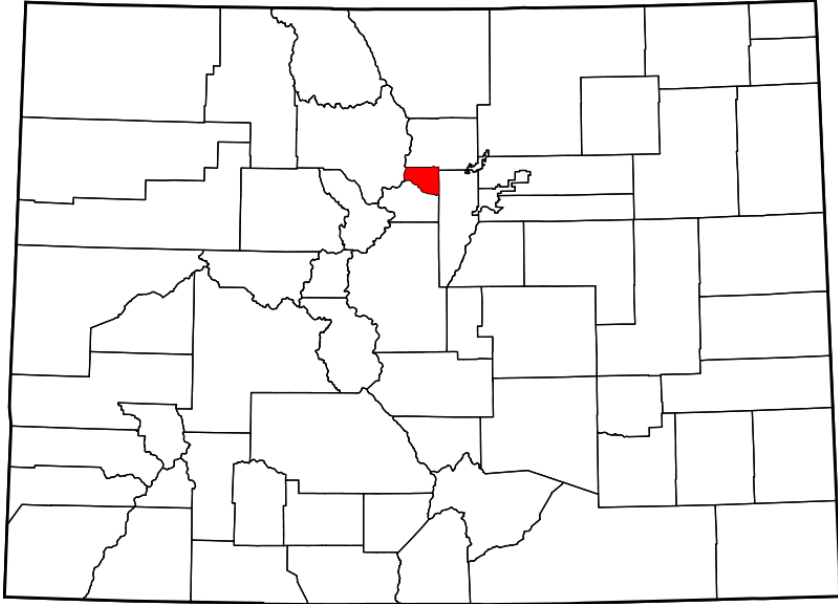


Figure 1.1- General Map of Colorado with Gilpin County Highlighted
The Official Website of Gilpin County, Colorado

<http://www.co.gilpin.co.us/County%20Profile%20&%20Visitor%20Info.htm> (accessed January 17, 2013).



Figure 1.2-Detail Map of Central City and Black Hawk

Google Maps (accessed April 11, 2013)



Figure 1.3-Map of Central City
Google Maps (accessed April 11, 2013)

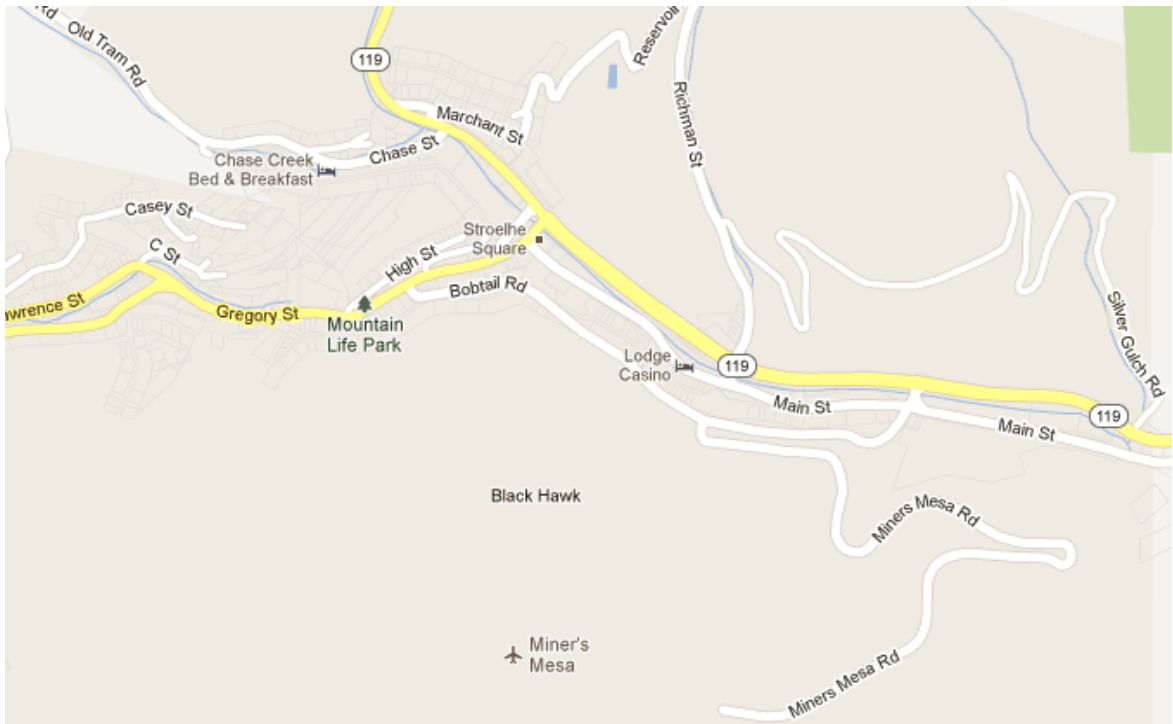


Figure 1.4-Map of Black Hawk
Google Maps (accessed April 11, 2013)

Purpose of Thesis

This thesis analyzes in detail the concerns relating to historic preservation that arise as a result of gambling development. While the impact of gambling on historic resources has been looked at in survey reports in Central City and Black Hawk, the cities have not been examined cohesively. This thesis provides a comprehensive study on how gambling has most affected the historic resources in both towns, how gambling has affected the two towns differently, and the reasoning for this difference. By weighing gambling's impact, this thesis ultimately evaluates whether gambling has detracted from or enhanced the legacy of the two towns.

Thesis Question

The overarching question of this research is: Has the legalization of gambling in Central City and Black Hawk destroyed the historic fabric of these towns, diminishing their mining history? However, a variety of issues need to be explored in answering that question. Further questions which will be answered are: What is the historic significance of Black Hawk and Central City? Also, what did these cities look like historically and what was the role of gambling? Before examining what changes have occurred to the historic resources in both towns since the legalization of gambling, it will also be crucial to establish why these towns considered legalizing gambling in the first place and what the defining characteristics of the towns were prior to gambling. Since each town has taken a different approach, it is also necessary to establish what the preservation approach has been in Central City and Black Hawk and the role the designation as a Historic Landmark District has played. These questions will lay the foundation for answering

what the major impacts to historic resources in Central City and Black Hawk have been? And finally what can be said about reaching a balance that allows gambling to be a successful economic tool, while preserving and emphasizing the historic fabric of a rural town?

Limitations of Research

This thesis only intends to examine the physical impact of gambling on the towns of Black Hawk , Central City and the Black Hawk-Central City Historic Landmark District from a historic preservation perspective. Economic impacts will only briefly be addressed that relate to historic preservation. Changes will be highlighted which the author believes to be the most important and useful. This thesis is by no means meant to be a comprehensive look at all the socio-economic issues, of which there are many, that exist in Central City and Black Hawk as a result of the legalization of gambling. Further, this thesis does not attempt to evaluate any of the impacts gambling has had on Cripple Creek.¹²

Research Methodology

Historical/Archival Research: Extensive primary and secondary research was undertaken to gain an understanding of the mining towns in Colorado and issues relating to gambling. Access to maps, photographs and surveys evaluating the National Historic Landmark District has been a vital component of this research. These materials were accessed through the University of Georgia Library, the planning offices of Central City and Black Hawk, the Denver Public Library Western History & Genealogy Digital Collections, and History Colorado, Colorado's State Historical Society. To gain an understanding and clear picture of how the towns looked historically through 1991, it was

¹² Cripple Creek is a third historic mining town in Colorado which also has legalized gambling.

important to examine historic maps, previous surveys, and photographs of both towns to compare with the present. Also, it was useful to look at newspaper articles which addressed gambling in Black Hawk and Central City.

Interviews: It was important to interview historic preservation professionals, town planners, and city officials who work in or are familiar with Central City and Black Hawk. Interviews were necessary in understanding what plans have been made and are being made in regard to historic preservation and in evaluating what the future holds for this area. Discussing preservation issues with state historic preservation professionals in Colorado, city planners and members of the historic preservation commissions of both towns was extremely helpful in establishing major issues. Talking to city officials who were involved in the process to legalize gambling provided extremely beneficial insight about the conditions in each city prior to gambling and why gambling was thought to be the best way to solve these issues. Interviews were also helpful in understanding and interpreting the literature that has been written about Central City and Black Hawk.

Site Visit: A site visit was necessary to write this thesis and critical in gaining a better appreciation of the overall impact gambling has had on the historic fabric of Black Hawk, Central City and the surrounding landscape. Looking at these towns in person provided a better understanding of gambling's presence in Central City and Black Hawk. A site visit was also vital for access to resources needed for research which were unavailable outside of Colorado.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is organized in chapters which address the research questions. Chapter One introduces the topic and the purpose of the research. Chapter Two reviews literature

that relates to this thesis. Chapter Three looks at the historical context of Central City and Black Hawk to establish the significance of these mining towns and outline the conditions in both towns prior to gambling. Chapter Four examines the legalization of gambling in Central City and Black Hawk. Justifications for gambling and details of the gambling amendment will also be examined in this chapter. Chapter Five considers Central City and Black Hawk's approaches to preservation after gambling was legalized. After examining the preservation approaches of each town, the impact of gambling on historic resources will be evaluated in Chapter Six. Chapter Seven is the conclusion to this thesis and will include reflections on historic preservation concerns in Central City and Black Hawk and analysis of the overall significance of this research. An evaluation of the impact of gambling on the whole Historic Landmark District and the validity of this designation will be considered in this chapter along with recommendations for ways to protect the designation. Recommendations for rural historic towns considering legalized gambling for economic development will also be provided.

This thesis provides a framework for analyzing the alterations in Central City and Black Hawk after the legalization of gambling. By highlighting the defining characteristics of these towns prior to and after gambling, and how these characteristics changed and why, Central City and Black Hawk can serve as an educational tool for better understanding the complex relationship between gambling and historic preservation. This analysis is not meant to reflect negatively on either Central City or Black Hawk, but is meant to demonstrate how each town's unique approach has helped them survive. This will be helpful in establishing the ways in which historic preservation and gambling can work together to create more successful communities.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

It is important to examine literature in several different areas to gain an understanding of the kind of research that has been done which relates to the topic of this thesis. Four main areas of research are relevant: 1) literature that looks at the history of mining towns in Colorado in general and Black Hawk and Central City specifically, including what they look like, how they came about, how they declined, and how they have dealt with these events; 2) sources which look at gambling in regard to its history in frontier mining towns and how it has been used in the modern day as an economic development tool; 3) literature that specifically looks at the impact of gambling in historic communities; and lastly, 4) material specifically related to historic preservation in Black Hawk and Central City since the legalization of gambling. The most relevant and important sources in each area will be briefly examined in order to see the main themes in the literature and to highlight the authors' interpretation.

History of Colorado - Mining Towns and Architecture

It is useful to set this thesis in context by looking briefly at literature written about Colorado's history. *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State* (1982) by Carl Abbott, Stephen J. Leonard, and David McComb gives a comprehensive look at the history of Colorado from its early origins to the twentieth century and its change from an undeveloped wilderness into a developed landscape. The authors emphasize the idea that

Colorado's extreme landscape has played a lead role in the successes and failures of the state. The authors point out that Colorado's resources have been utilized extensively and the economy has been dominated by cycles of local booms.

There is a significant amount of scholarship regarding the history of mining camps and towns in Colorado and the Rocky Mountains. Duane A. Smith has written some of the most recent material. *The Trail of Gold and Silver: Mining in Colorado, 1859-2009* (2009), looks at the rise and decline of mining towns. The author argues that not only is mining Colorado's legacy but it is important to Colorado's future as well. The mining industry continues to evolve in Colorado, and although most mining districts are not actively mined on a large scale, mining continues to play a role. Smith notes that today mining towns capitalize on their history, both fact and legend, to draw tourists and to, "mine tourists pockets" to sustain themselves.

Since this thesis is focusing on the impact of gambling on historic resources, it is also useful to look at literature dealing with architecture in Colorado's mining towns. There are several useful pieces of literature which deal specifically with architecture and planning in Colorado's mining towns. The most specific is C. Eric Stoehr's *Bonanza Victorian: Architecture and Society in Colorado Mining Towns* (1975). Stoehr examines influential architectural styles and highlights a variety of building types including residential, commercial, institutional, and industrial. Stoehr's main purpose is to emphasize Victorian styles and building types prevalent in mining towns that still stood in the 1970's when he documented them. This book is relevant for its recognition of the significance of mining town architecture and how the design of this type of architecture responds to mining culture and the topography of Colorado. John W. Reps goes further

and provides an in-depth look at how frontier cities of the American West were planned in *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* (1979). Reps traces the trail of urbanization as America expanded west during the nineteenth century. Reps includes valuable historic maps and photographs of early frontier towns in this work. More generally, Thomas J. Noel's *Buildings of Colorado* (1997) is a survey of architecture in Colorado. Noel stresses the importance of Colorado's landscape and history in shaping its architecture. Organized by region, this source gives a brief history and summary of prominent buildings.

History of Central City and Black Hawk

There are two important sources written specifically on the history of the towns this thesis discusses, Black Hawk and Central City. *Mining Gold to Mining Wallets: Central City, Colorado 1859-1999* (2003) by Alan Granruth provides a concise and comprehensive history of Central City from the point of John H. Gregory's 1859 discovery of gold in the Colorado Rockies through Central City's legalization of gambling in 1991, and discusses how the city has dealt with the after-effects of gambling. As a long-time resident, member of the Gilpin County Historical Society, and preservationist, Granruth provides insight into the legalized gambling initiative which originated in Central City and the impacts the initiative has had on the city. Granruth has done extensive archival research on the history of Central City and provides a plethora of historical photos of the town through the years.

Roger Baker's *Black Hawk* (2004) provides an extensive history of Black Hawk from its development as a thriving industrial town which processed gold ore to its decline in the early twentieth century. Relying heavily on newspaper sources, this work provides

the most detailed history of the city to date and is an important source for gaining an understanding of the rich history of Black Hawk.

Gambling in Frontier Mining Towns

One justification for the legalization of gambling in three Colorado towns was that gambling was a part of Colorado's mining past as a result of its prevalence in mining camps and towns. Therefore, it is necessary to briefly look at literature that discusses the legacy of gambling in Colorado's mining towns. Duane A. Smith has written several works on mining in Colorado. While his most recent work was addressed in the literature relevant to the history of mining in Colorado, it is important to look at one of his older works, *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps: The Urban Frontier* (1967) which looks more closely at mining life in Colorado in the nineteenth century. Smith points out that gambling permeated all aspects of life on the mining frontier. Gambling represented an exciting change of pace from the grueling daily work of mining. Smith also emphasizes that gambling halls were some of the most elaborate buildings in mining towns and gamblers were extremely common during mining boom cycles.

Gambling as an Economic Development Tool

Legalized gambling is rapidly growing in the United States today and is increasingly being considered by cities and towns throughout the country as a tool for economic development. Another important element of literature that sets the context for this thesis is material that looks at gambling as a tool for economic development in economically distressed cities and towns. This is an essential area of literature to understand in relationship to this thesis, because it helps give an understanding of why

towns and cities throughout the country have turned to or are considering turning to gambling as a tool to stimulate the economy.

Legalized Gambling as a Strategy for Economic Development (1994) by Robert Goodman points out that many of those in favor of legalized gambling stress the benefits of increased public revenue and creation of jobs. However, the author emphasizes that there are many unforeseen consequences as a result of legalized gambling. These consequences included: communities are at odds with one another due to competition over gambling; a lack of knowledge about potential impacts of legalized gambling; issues arising from gambling addiction; and many more concerns. Overall, the author's main point is government and community leaders need to do extensive research on legalized gambling before considering it as an option to spark economic development.

Gambling's Impact in Historic Communities

There are a number of more recent articles and books dealing with the impact of gambling in historic communities. Two important works have been written about the legalization of gambling in Colorado and the overall effect it has had. One of the most comprehensive works is *Riches and Regrets: Betting on Gambling in Two Colorado Mountain Towns* (1996) by Patricia A. Stokowski. This book examines the history of Black Hawk and Central City and the factors leading up to the decision to legalize gambling. The majority of the book looks at the impact of gambling on the towns due to the growth of the casino industry. Stokowski looks at the economic and institutional impacts of gambling and touches briefly on the social and cultural impacts, concluding that gambling has produced a variety of undesirable effects in the two towns due to the size and power of the gambling industry. Stokowski further states that patterns of

development prevalent in other gambling communities also extend to Black Hawk and Central City. The book discusses, but does not extensively look at, how the historic character of the towns has changed nor does it look at the different ways gambling has affected each town. However, the book will serve as a good indicator for what kind of research has been done on this topic.

The Last Gamble: Betting on the Future in Four Rocky Mountain Mining Towns (1998) by Katherine Jensen and Audie Blevins is another important source which focuses on gambling. The main purpose of this book is to emphasize that while gambling always played a part in western mining towns, gambling now defines these Rocky Mountain towns. While this work looks briefly at how historic resources have been affected by gambling, it does not closely examine this topic. Impacts of gambling in Deadwood, South Dakota are considered in more detail than impacts on the Colorado towns. However, this work does provide important material regarding the overall impact of gambling and sets the stage for others to look closely at specific concerns raised as a result of gambling in Rocky Mountain mining towns.

Gambling, Economic Development, and Historic Preservation by Christopher Chadbourne, Philip Walker, and Mark Wolfe (1997) is a report conducted by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the American Planning Association and was prompted by the lack of information on the impact of gambling in historic communities. Through five case studies (Natchez, Mississippi; Joliet, Illinois; Davenport, Iowa; Deadwood, South Dakota; and Black Hawk, Colorado) the report examines the relationships between gambling, economic development and historic preservation. The authors conclude that impacts on historic buildings have varied from community to

community. The degree to which the historic buildings are altered or destroyed depends on the strength of a city's historic preservation ordinances and historic preservation organizations. Where effective design guidelines are in place prior to gambling commencing, there is a greater opportunity for gambling to provide significant opportunities to preserve historic buildings.

Historic Preservation in Colorado - in relationship to gambling

With the preservation movement continuing to grow, several surveys and numerous publications have sought to analyze the effects of gambling and raise awareness about the impact the legalization of gambling has had on the historic fabric of Black Hawk, Central City and Cripple Creek. This is of particular importance because the legalization of gambling was contingent upon a percentage of revenue generated being used towards historic preservation projects. A report to the Colorado Limited Gaming Control Commission by the Colorado Historical Society entitled *Historic Preservation in Colorado's Gambling Towns* (1998) expressed concern over the loss of historic integrity since the legalization of gambling. The report examines the trends in casino development particularly in Black Hawk and Central City and focuses on the trend of new and large casino construction in Black Hawk. Not only are these casinos out of scale with the existing buildings in Black Hawk but they also take business away from the smaller casinos that are housed in historic buildings.

Both Black Hawk and Central City have funded survey projects which look at the impact of gambling on historic resources. The most recent survey on portions of Central City was completed in 2001. Historic buildings were examined to see what impact gambling had had on them. The survey concluded that modest change had occurred. The

most recent survey for Black Hawk was completed in 2011. The survey noted that the overall integrity of Black Hawk's historic resources was severely threatened, due to the significant number of incompatible new casinos being built and the alteration of historic buildings and landscape in Black Hawk. These surveys are important tools in establishing the prominent impacts which have occurred in both towns.

This thesis builds upon the material covered above. Having established the literature which has looked at issues relating to this topic, it is now essential to outline the importance and appearance of Central City and Black Hawk historically to lay the foundation for better understanding how each town has changed and approached preservation since the legalization of gambling.

CHAPTER THREE

Historical Context

In order to understand how Central City and Black Hawk have changed and been affected by the legalization of gambling, it is first necessary to have a general knowledge of the historical background of these two Colorado towns. This chapter will begin by looking at how Central City and Black Hawk came to be and thrived as a result of the Pikes Peak Gold Rush and will identify important people and milestones that played a role in the development and success of these towns. Further, this chapter will examine the planning and organization of mining towns in Colorado to lay the framework for the types of buildings and general layout for towns like Central City and Black Hawk. Mining methods will be highlighted in context with their role in dictating the boom and bust cycles of mining towns. Finally, it will be crucial to look at the decline of Central City and Black Hawk after mining ceased to be lucrative in Gilpin County and how these two towns turned to tourism to support their economies.

Pikes Peak Gold Rush

The United States was in a deep economic depression during the late 1850s. Tales and rumors of gold in the Pikes Peak region were in the air during this time luring prospectors who were desperate for a gleam of hope during these dark economic times. At the time Pikes Peak was the best known landmark along the eastern edge of the Rocky

Mountains, then in Kansas Territory, a relatively unexplored and uninhabited area of the American West.¹³ However, this would all soon change dramatically.

During the summer of 1858, the foothills and mountains west of Denver were explored for gold along Cherry Creek, a tributary of the South Platte River.¹⁴ William G. Russell had mined the gold fields in California and Georgia and was among the prospectors which led the way in exploring this area of the Rocky Mountains for gold. Members of Russell's party located gold in July of 1858. While there were some initial minor gold discoveries, the first major find was that of John H. Gregory along Clear Creek between the present day sites of Central City and Black Hawk, Colorado.¹⁵

Gregory originally set out for the gold fields of British Columbia in the fall of 1858 and made his way to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas where he was hired to drive a government supply wagon to Fort Laramie. There he heard the rumors of gold discoveries along Cherry Creek and the South Platte River, hearing which he changed his plans and decided to look for gold in the Pikes Peak region. He began his search in January of 1859, but snowy weather put a hiatus on his quest until the spring.¹⁶ Gregory had passed through Cherry Creek in late 1858 but decided to travel further into the mountains to try to locate rich deposits of gold. Panning along a gulch, Gregory discovered gold on May 6, 1859 along Clear Creek.¹⁷ The ravine where Gregory struck gold would come to be known as Gregory Gulch because of his great discovery there.

¹³ Carl Abbott, Stephen J. Leonard and David McComb, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*, (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1982), 51-60.

¹⁴ John W. Reys, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning*, (Princeton: Princeton, 1979), 457.

¹⁵ C. Eric Stoehr, *Bonanza Victorian: Architecture and Society in Colorado Mining Towns*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), 1.

¹⁶ Alan Granruth, *Mining Gold to Mining Wallets: Central City, Colorado 1859-1999*, (Alan Granruth, 1999), 3.

¹⁷ Granruth, 3.

Because this was the first substantial discovery in the region, it initiated a stampede to the Rocky Mountains. News of Gregory's find traveled like wildfire. Horace Greeley, who was in Denver at the time, exclaimed of the gold frenzy,

Mr. J.H. Gregory, a veteran Georgia gold-digger, had struck the lead on a branch of Vasquer's Fork (Clear Creek) some thirty miles west of this place by an airline and forty-five by trail, which has since been the main focus and support of the gold fever.¹⁸

"Pikes Peak or bust" became the theme of the day. In a very short period of time, thousands of men were camped in the area surrounding Gregory's diggings.¹⁹ Russell also struck a rich vein a few miles south of Gregory's discovery, and countless other strikes in the surrounding region led thousands of prospectors to drop everything and risk their lives for the chance to locate gold.²⁰

Gregory Mining District

As a result of the demand to reach the Rocky Mountains, in the spring of 1859 the Leavenworth and Pikes Peak Express Company established a six day stage line over 600 miles between the Missouri River and Rocky Mountains making the gold fields much more accessible. With the large number of prospectors in the region, mining camps sprang up around the Gregory diggings in what would later become Gilpin County, Colorado.²¹

Three camps: Mountain City, Central City, and Nevadaville were quickly established by June 1859 around Gregory's diggings. Mountain City and Central City were established close to Gregory's original discovery, while Nevadaville was

¹⁸ Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the summer of 1859*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 126.

¹⁹ Stoehr, 4.

²⁰ Patricia A. Stokowski, *Riches to Regrets: Betting on Gambling in Two Colorado Mountain Towns*, (Niwot: University of Colorado Press, 1996), 23.

²¹ Stoehr, 5.

established further west up the gulch.²² These towns were some of the first established settlements in the region, and prospectors hastily constructed shelter to protect themselves from the harsh elements. The diary of Albert D. Richardson noted the mania in Gregory Gulch that summer,

A busy scene now presents itself to the eye; for, where a few weeks ago the solitude of the mountain wilds was unbroken save by the occasional howl of the wolf, the whirr of the grouse, or the growl of the bear, we now find a throng of men, three or four thousand in number, actively engaged in building houses, washing gold, butchering beeves, bartering goods, prospecting and loafing...²³

The time of a relatively uninhabited wilderness had passed, and the prospectors of 1859 initiated the first boom period in Colorado history.

When gold mining started in the Rocky Mountains in 1859, Gregory's diggings were part of Kansas Territory. Since there were no laws pertaining to mining, miners working in the vicinity organized a meeting on June 8, 1859 to develop rules and regulations for the land, the first large scale meeting of its kind.²⁴ Horace Greeley was among the speakers, and the meeting resulted in the forming of the Gregory Mining District. Rules within the district were set up regarding staking mining claims and other regulations were adopted to ensure order within the district.²⁵ The organization of the Gregory Mining District was a significant milestone in signaling the permanence of the district. Cities within the district led the way in the organization and development of mining towns in the Rocky Mountains.

²² Deon Wolfenbarger, *Black Hawk's Historic Resources: National Historic Landmark Re-Survey Project*, (Black Hawk: City of Black Hawk, 2011) 15.

²³ Leroy R. Hafen, *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859 from Contemporary Diaries*, (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1942), 191.

²⁴ Granruth, 18.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

Colorado Mining Towns - Planning and Organization

Mining towns evolved in a specific pattern because of the rapid influx of prospectors to the gold fields. As described in Eric Stoehr's, *Bonanza Victoria: Architecture and Society in Colorado Mining Towns*, Colorado mining boom towns illustrate three phases of development. The initial phase is labeled by Stoehr as the settlement phase, characterized primarily by tents and log cabins. At this point of development street layouts were crude, the population was relatively small, and the town had few amenities. The settlement phase is what existed when prospectors first came to the region in search for gold. Shelter and other types of structures were constructed hastily, with little care for location other than proximity to the ores. Today, there is little to nothing of this phase which still exists.²⁶

The second phase of development was the camp phase. Once the success of mineral strikes was established and population increased, the camp phase occurred. Frame buildings became common and streets were laid out in a more organized fashion. At this point in development, city governments were established and some amenities appeared.²⁷ While buildings were quickly erected, living conditions remained primitive.²⁸

The third and final phase of development was the town phase. A camp advanced to the town phase when it established itself as an important mining location. At this point architecture became more substantial and elaborate. Homes were more substantial, and public buildings were built of brick or stone. A sense of permanence was established and urban amenities became available. The community was no longer associated with the

²⁶ Stokowski, 24.

²⁷ Stoehr, 10.

²⁸ Granruth, 10.

harsh frontier and primitive conditions but was viewed more like any other developed city.²⁹

Most mining towns were set up with one or two main streets that usually ran through the center of town. The majority of commercial buildings were built along these main streets. Mining towns had ungraded dirt for street surfaces and wooden sidewalks. In a boom town, streets were crowded with activity at all times of the day and night. Saloons were among the first businesses to be established.³⁰ General stores, restaurants, and gambling halls were also prominent.

Mining brought about rapid urbanization among the camps which sprang up. The transition from settlement to town occurred quite rapidly. As camps grew almost overnight, overbuilding and congestion became common problems. Water wagons were often used until adequate city water systems could be established.³¹ However, these problems did not hinder the progress of the region. Congress organized the territory of Colorado on February 28, 1861, at which time a census was taken showing the population to be 25, 329. Colorado Territory had previously been part of Utah, New Mexico, Nebraska, and Kansas.³² Two of the most successful towns in Colorado at this time were Central City and Black Hawk. Both towns sprang up in the area immediately surrounding Gregory's diggings. Central City became an early cultural center in the Rocky Mountains and would grow to envelop Mountain City. Black Hawk became the manufacturing center, processing ore found throughout the Rocky Mountains.

²⁹ Stoehr, 10.

³⁰ Stoehr, 13.

³¹ Ibid, 16.

³² Ibid, 6.

Central City

Named for its central location between two existing cities at the time (Nevada City (Nevadaville) and Mountain City), the first appearance of the name Central City in print was in the *Rocky Mountain News* on November 10, 1859.³³ Central City was designated as the county seat of Gilpin County on November 1, 1861. Because of its central location, the city became the focal point of the Gregory Mining District and by 1864, Mountain City was incorporated into Central City.³⁴ Figure 3.1 is an early photograph of Central City. Buildings are fairly irregularly placed at this time and many are made of wood. This photo shows residences and commercial buildings located along a main street.



Figure 3.1- Central City circa 1860
Courtesy of Digital Collections: Denver Public Library, Western History & Genealogy Department

³³ Granruth, 7.

³⁴ Granruth, 7.

Central City quickly progressed as a result of mining and soon buildings crowded the town as captured in Figure 3.2.

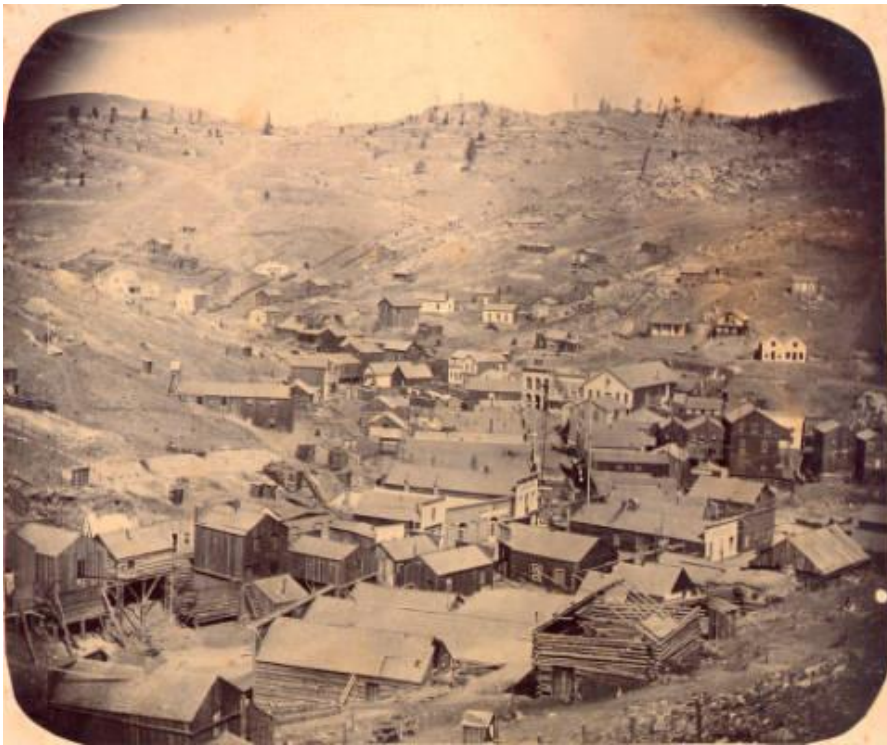


Figure 3.2-Central City in the early 1860s
Courtesy of Digital Collections: Denver Public Library, Western History & Genealogy Department

Central City followed the common phases of mining town development with temporary forms of shelter quickly giving way to more permanent wooden structures like log cabins and simply constructed wood frame buildings. Central City soon established itself as a cultural center acquiring an elevated status from the wealthy mine managers who moved there.³⁵

³⁵Planning and Building Department of Central City. *Central City Design Guidelines*, (City of Central and RNL Design/Winter & Co., 1993), H-2.
http://www.centralcitycolorado.us/images/stories/documents/design-guidelines/CCDG_Chapter_01.pdf (accessed December 20, 2012).

Several notable people moved through or lived in Central City. One of the most famous was Henry Moore Teller. During his time in the town, he constructed two notable buildings: the Belvidere Theater and the Teller House. Teller made his name as the president of the Colorado Central Railroad, Secretary of the United States Department of Interior, and serving over twenty years as a United States Senator.³⁶ Teller's duration in Central City added to its appeal as a stable town to live in.

After the initial mining boom, an economic slowdown occurred during the mid-1860s. A number of factors combined to cause this situation including the Civil War, Indian attacks on wagon trains, the fact that fewer people were coming to the gold fields, and the increasing difficulty in extracting gold. By the summer of 1860, easy gold mining was finished and the process for successful mining became much more difficult and expensive. After Nathaniel Hill developed a smelting process,³⁷ prosperity came back to the district. As a result of this economic recovery, extensive construction occurred in Central City during the summer of 1868 and the district was once again booming. The *Daily Miner's Register* noted on June 16, 1868, that at least eleven brick storehouses would be constructed on Main Street.³⁸

³⁶ Granruth, 26.

³⁷ Nathaniel P. Hill was a professor at Brown University who developed a smelting process to rid ore of its impurities. Granruth, 26.

³⁸ *The Daily Miner's Register*, June 16, 1868. Quoted by Granruth, 26.



Figure 3.3- Cityscape of Central City between 1865-1870
Courtesy of Digital Collections: Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy
Department

Central City was the most successful city in the territory by 1870 with a population of 2,364 according to the United States Census that year. In comparison Black Hawk's population was 1,068, and Nevadaville had a population of 972. The estimated value of real estate at this time was \$1,211,185 in Central City; \$359,375 in Black Hawk; and \$134,900 in Nevadaville.³⁹

There was no lack of entertainment in Central City. Saloons were plentiful. The city had a theater- The National Theater which was built by George Harrison. There were a number of social organizations including Miners' and Mechanics' Institute and fraternal organizations like the Masons and Knights of Pythias. Billiard halls and saloons were among the most plentiful building types and were also used as churches until formal church buildings were constructed. The city also had a hospital, St. Luke's, which still

³⁹ Granruth, 28.

stands on East Third High Street. Central City's first public school opened in Lawrence Hall in December of 1862 and a school system was established in 1864.⁴⁰

Prior to 1873, the majority of buildings in Central City were constructed of wood. Also, the city had no municipal water supply. These two factors could prove devastating if a fire were to break out, as they did in 1873 and again in 1874. The fire in 1873 was much smaller, but still managed to destroy sixteen buildings on Lawrence Street before it was brought under control. Figure 3.4 is a view looking northwest toward Gregory and Lawrence Streets in Central City after the fire.



Figure 3.4-Central City after fire of 1873
Courtesy of Digital Collections: Denver Public Library, Western History & Genealogy Department

⁴⁰ Granruth, 28-34.

The city took some measures to try and prevent significant fire damage in the future. A resolution was passed by City Council in 1873 prohibiting the construction of wood buildings in the business district. The city also began building cisterns to collect water and reservoirs to store it.⁴¹ However, these measures would not prevent the significantly worse fire on May 21, 1874 that consumed the majority of buildings in the town. Every building from Raynold's Court on the east to the Teller House and Register Building on the west, and from High Street on the north to Spring and Nevada Streets on the south were leveled.

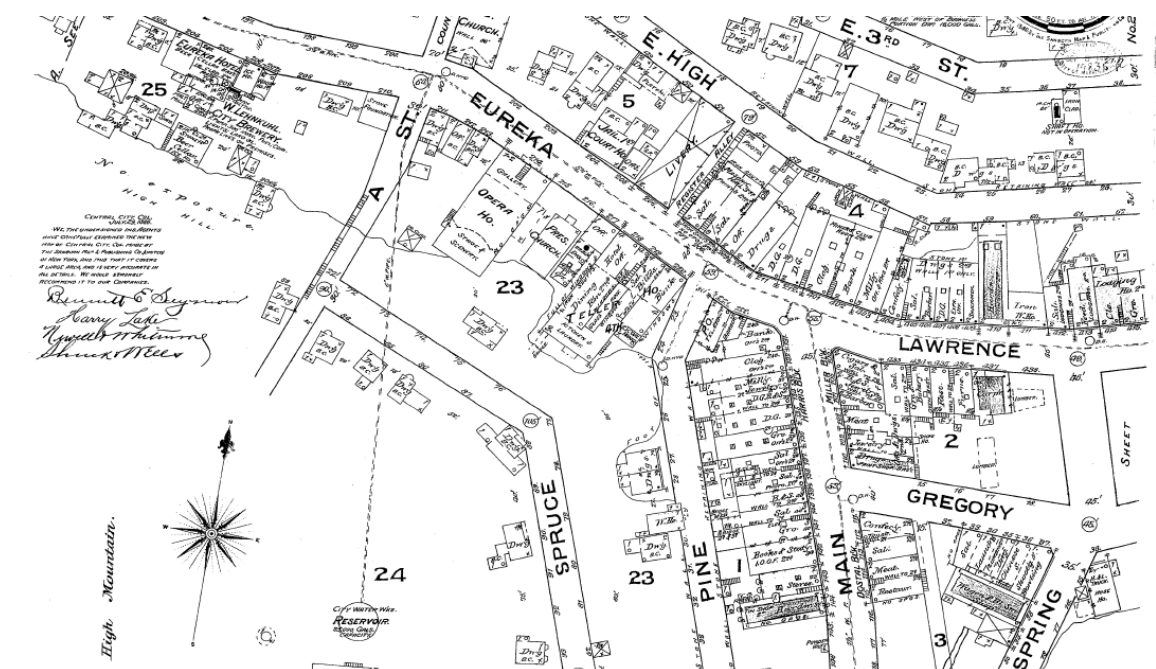


Figure 3.5-Central City Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1886

The fireproof part of the Roworth Block was the only group of buildings on Main Street to survive. The Seavey Block on Spring Street also survived. In the wake of the fire, six fire companies were organized.⁴²

⁴¹ Granruth, 36.

⁴² Ibid, 38-41.



Figure 3.6- Central City after fire of 1874

Courtesy of Digital Collections: Denver Public Library, Western History & Genealogy Department

After the fire of 1874, Central City immediately began to rebuild. An impressive eighty buildings were constructed in 1875.⁴³ These buildings were much more substantial, constructed of brick and stone. The 1870's brought about a new era in the city and frontier conditions officially ended after the fire. Improvements were made to the existing conditions in the city through ordinances passed by the City Council to straighten, grade and widen streets, and an improved building code was instituted. Notable buildings in Central City included the Central City Opera House, Williams Stables, and the Coeur d' Alene Mine Shaft. After the fire, larger and stronger buildings replaced the ones which burned down. These structures were built in varying architectural styles and were much more ornate than preceding buildings.

⁴³ Colorado State Directory, (1876), 81, referenced by Granruth, 40.



Figure 3.7- Eureka Street in Central City, 1900-1910

Courtesy of O. Roach

Digital Collection: Denver Public Library, Western History & Genealogy Department

Common architectural styles included Greek Revival, Gothic Revival, Italianate and Second Empire.⁴⁴ After Central City was rebuilt, the town experienced a period of relative stability while mining continued to be viable in Gilpin County.

Black Hawk

Black Hawk's establishment is closely tied with the evolution of mining methods used during the Pikes Peak Gold Rush years. Early gold extraction was done by simple placer mining methods. This method was useful in rich locations where gold deposits were plentiful along the surface.⁴⁵ Placer gold mining did not last long because this process was not useful after surface deposits had been exhausted. At this point, other

⁴⁴ Granruth, 41-42.

⁴⁵ The placer method included sifting through surface deposits of dirt by washing with water. Lighter deposits were washed away, leaving behind the gold deposits which were heavier. Once an area to mine was established other methods of extraction were utilized including rocker, sluice boxes, and long toms.

means of gold extraction had to be considered due to the high demand for gold in Colorado.⁴⁶ Methods of subterranean mining became necessary, but this type of mining was difficult and expensive. One of the first methods of subterranean gold extraction was done by using arrastras or Spanish crushers.⁴⁷ This was a difficult and time-consuming process and was quickly replaced by stamp milling.⁴⁸

Stamp milling required large amounts of water, which was in short supply in Central City. Therefore, a location close to a water source was necessary. Black Hawk sprang up at this point and in its early days was called “Black Hawk Point” for one of the early stamp mills which was named for a Sauk Indian chief. Black Hawk Point was a strategic location for stamp mills considering the abundant water supply from Clear Creek. Further, this location was the point of first arrival when prospectors headed up the gulch to the gold diggings.⁴⁹

Black Hawk established itself just below Mountain City in the spring of 1860.⁵⁰ Nicknamed the “City of Mills,” Black Hawk became the milling center for gold ore mined in Gilpin County and surrounding areas. The town of Black Hawk was officially incorporated in March 11, 1864 and because of its strategic location, established itself as an industrial and transportation center in the Rocky Mountains.⁵¹

As was the case in the evolution of other mining towns, the first dwellings constructed in Black Hawk were crude tents which quickly gave way to more substantial log and frame residences within a matter of months. No architecture from this earliest

⁴⁶ Duane A. Smith, *the Trail of Gold and Silver: Mining in Colorado, 1859-2009*, (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009), 34.

⁴⁷ In this process, heavy stones were pulled by draft animals to crush the rock.

⁴⁸ Roger Baker, *Black Hawk: The Rise and Fall of a Colorado Mill Town*, (Central City: Black Hawk Publishing, 2004) 12-13.

⁴⁹ Wolfenbarger, 16.

⁵⁰ Granruth, 7.

⁵¹ Wolfenbarger, 16.

camp period remains. The buildings and roads in Black Hawk over the years have developed into a “Y” shape configuration. Commercial and industrial buildings were predominantly built along the creek and gulch bottoms while residential properties were commonly built along the hills above the town.⁵²

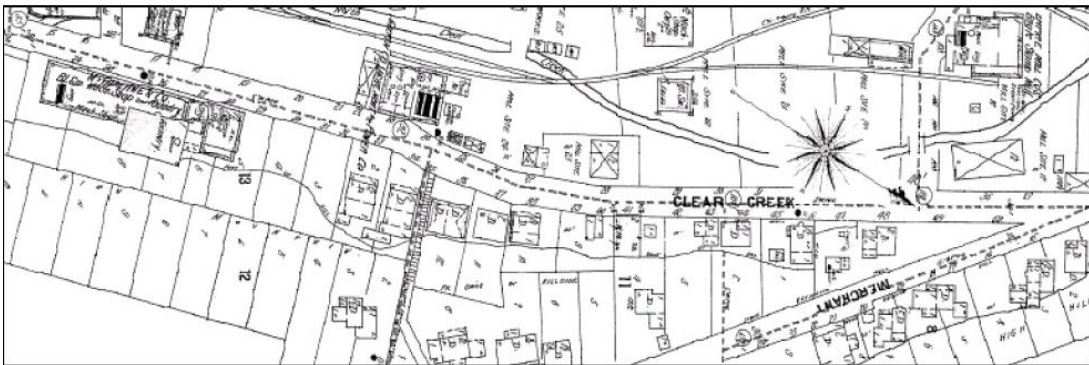


Figure 3.8-Black Hawk Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1900
Courtesy of Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Department

The main commercial area was just to the west of Clear Creek along Gregory Street and south along Main Street. Buildings in the main commercial area in Black Hawk were commonly substantial brick storefronts, which were generally two stories high. The predominant use of brick and stone in the commercial district of the town, helped keep Black Hawk from experiencing the devastating fires that Central City and many other mountain mining towns suffered. Simpler structures consisting of frame commercial or a mix of residential and commercial continued west along Gregory Street up the gulch to Central City. Running north and south along Clear Creek and the rail lines were large industrial buildings and complexes that dealt with the processing of minerals. These buildings included mills and warehouses. Figure 3.8 depicts the development along Clear Creek in Black Hawk. Figure 3.10 illustrates the large industrial buildings that were prominent in Black Hawk prior to World War I. Workers built small homes on the hills

⁵² Ibid., 16.

above the commercial and industrial areas and along Main Street south of the Gilpin Hotel.⁵³

In the early 1860s, many of these first buildings were again replaced with even more substantially constructed buildings. Trees from the surrounding mountains were cut down around the town. Toxic fumes and coal dust were very common due to the process of sulfur refining. Black Hawk would have been very loud during its heyday as well with the noise from stamp mills and locomotives. Pollution was a huge problem and many creeks were polluted by industrial and human waste.⁵⁴

Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from the late 1880s to the turn of the century demonstrate that during this time the city was relatively unchanged. Further, based on photographs and maps from the time period along with archival materials about the city, it can be concluded that from the peak of mining through World War I, the existing buildings in Black Hawk remained undisturbed. No new buildings were constructed but no regular maintenance on the existing buildings was performed either.⁵⁵

⁵³ Wolfenbarger, 18.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 16-17

⁵⁵ Wolfenbarger, 18-24.

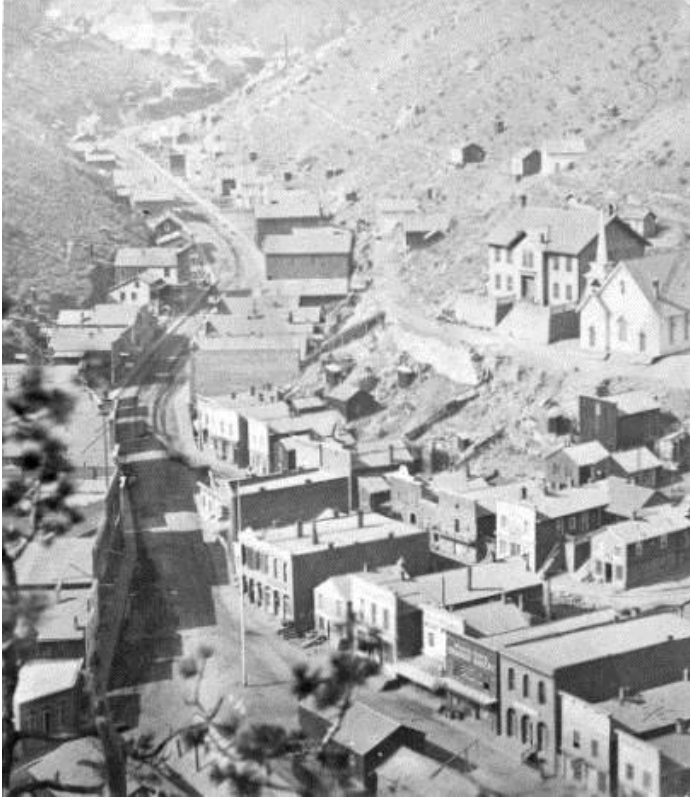


Figure 3.9- Black Hawk circa 1872

Courtesy of Digital Collection: Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Department

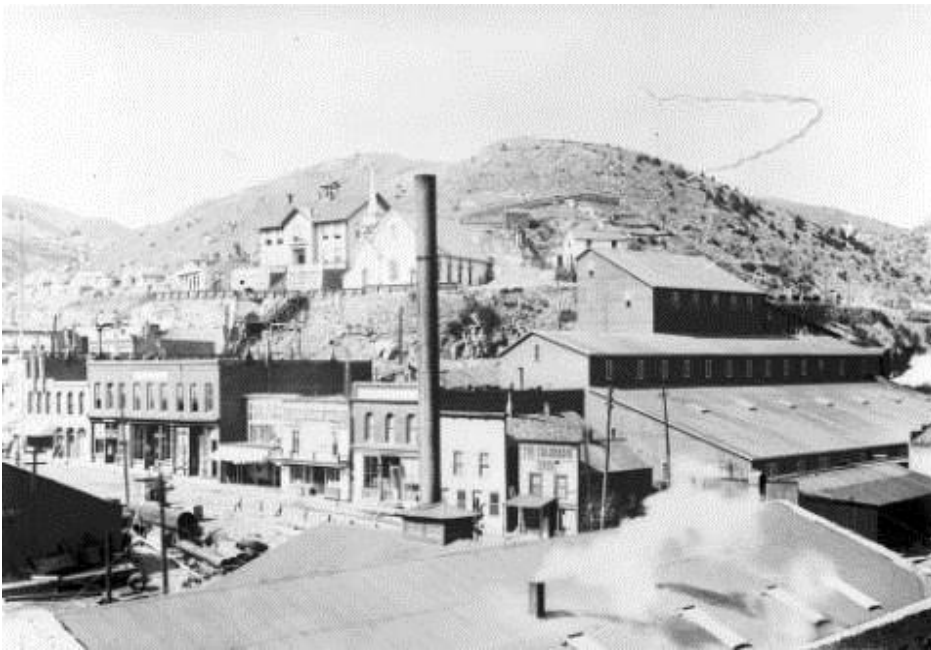


Figure 3.10- Black Hawk circa 1900

Courtesy of Digital Collection: Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Department

Rich ores that could be processed by stamp mills were quickly depleted, leaving ores that contained a combination of gold and sulfides. Sulfides would not bond with mercury making the use of stamp mills non-beneficial. As stated earlier in the discussion about Central City, this issue along with a combination of others led the area into a brief economic depression during the 1860s. Hill's smelting technique and formation of the Boston and Colorado Smelting Company in 1867 brought revitalization to the gold mining industry and to the gold mining towns.

An improvement in transportation was also instrumental to Black Hawk's revitalization. The Colorado Central Railroad line reached Black Hawk in 1872 along with the organization of the Gilpin County Tramway. Black Hawk soon became a transportation hub for the area and the center for processing of gold throughout the entire mining area in Colorado and fueled the success of neighboring towns like Central City throughout this period. By 1877, Black Hawk had daily mail delivery, a new school and church, new buildings for businesses and was experiencing a period of relative stability.⁵⁶

The 1870s were very successful for the mining towns and were the peak years for mining in Gilpin County and the Territory of Colorado overall. On August 1, 1876, Colorado was admitted into the Union, solidifying its place in the country.⁵⁷ Gilpin County played a large role in this recognition, leading Colorado in gold production until 1893 when it was passed by Cripple Creek.⁵⁸ From 1859 to 1918 \$83 million worth of gold was extracted from Gilpin County, an exceptional output.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Wolfenbarger, 16-17.

⁵⁷ Stoehr, 7.

⁵⁸ Wolfenbarger, 17.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 15.

Decline of Mining Towns

The success of gold in Gilpin County would not last forever; in fact, it would burn out fairly quickly. Throughout the late 1870s, the Gregory Mining District's power waned as the spotlight shifted to other mines. Denver was also a growing city, attracting many entrepreneurs and businessmen.⁶⁰ While the Gregory Mining District began to decline in the 1880s, it remained viable until the beginning of World War I. At this point, mining significantly declined and eventually ceased to be a profitable business in Gilpin County. The cost of extracting deep deposits of gold and the slowing of the industry due to the war led mining operations into a decline from which it would never recover. Many mines were closed by 1910 and with the start of World War I mining virtually stopped. The population of Central City fell significantly between 1900 and 1920 dropping from about 3,000 to around 500. In Black Hawk the population fell to about 1,200 in 1900. A significant decline happened by 1910 when the population was only 250. A decrease in population has been a common theme throughout the 20th century when, by 1960, the population of Black Hawk was only 171.⁶¹ The population of Central City remained relatively stable after 1920.

During the Great Depression, placer mining was turned to again out of desperation, however it did little to stimulate the economy. Black Hawk and Central City relied solely on mining and without it they had no way to support themselves economically. Demolition of many houses took place during the depression. A number of homes were sold for taxes. In Gilpin County property owners could no longer pay their bills and taxes and many people had to abandon their homes. Vandalism of vacant

⁶⁰ Granruth, 44-46.

⁶¹ Wolfenbarger, 17.

buildings became common and the city issued bonds to refinance their debt. In 1925, the rail line from Central City to Black Hawk was abandoned and the era of mining success was officially over.⁶² Following this decline, many of the mining towns which sprang up during the Pikes Peak Gold Rush became deserted. Only those towns which could find other sources of revenue could remain active and viable.⁶³

Tourism

The bustle and excitement of the thriving mining towns has passed, but the glamour and the personality of the former periods will not die. The rugged beauty of the region and the romantic history of the camps that is written in every mine dump and in every weather-beaten structure now act as a magnet to draw thousands of tourists and resorters each year...⁶⁴

This quote illustrates the shift in Western mining towns. After World War II, mining was no longer the driving force behind the economy and a shift toward tourism began. While mining had a brief resurgence in the 1930s, when several mines opened back up in Central City, this recovery was brief and it became clear that a new revenue source was needed to support the economy of Gilpin County. Central City led the way in looking for ways to bring people back. On July 16, 1932, the Opera House in Central City re-opened accompanied by a week of festivities. The Opera House held festivals in the summer until World War II and overall was quite successful in bringing many people to Central City during the 1930s.⁶⁵

⁶² Granruth, 50-53.

⁶³ Stoehr, 9.

⁶⁴ H. A. Hoffmeister, Central City Mining Area, *Economic Geography* (1940), 104, quoted by Stokowski, 43.

⁶⁵ Granruth, 69.



Figure 3.11- Central City Opera House re-opening in 1932
Courtesy of Harry Rhoads Photograph Collection
Digital Collection: Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Department

The opera festival in conjunction with increased mobility of vacationers, and the creation of other tourist attractions, allowed Central City to remain a relatively viable city. Other notable developments included the organization of the Gilpin County Arts Association, the establishment of a bus service from Denver to Golden and then on to Central City in 1958, the founding of the Gilpin County Historical Society in 1959, and Central City's designation as a national historic landmark in 1961. Several movies and shows were filmed there in the 1970s and 1980s which also brought attention to the city in terms of tourism. Scenes from the television show "Route 66" were filmed in Central City as well as the television mini-series "Centennial" and "Dream West." By the mid-1960s the city had managed to bring itself back through the Opera House and the attraction of Central City as a mining town of the old west.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Granruth 73-82.

Towns throughout the region sought ways to bring tourists back to their communities and the success of some came at the expense of others. Many Colorado mining towns turned themselves into ski resorts, utilizing the mountainous region and the significant amount of snowfall in the winter.⁶⁷ By the mid-1970s, ski areas were attracting tourists all year long because of their picturesque settings. Mining towns that were not in a location to have skiing, like Central City and Black Hawk, suffered from the loss of tourism. During the 1970s tourism declined in Central City and Black Hawk and the energy crisis caused an economic depression in the 1980s.

Continued Deterioration of Central City and Black Hawk

After the Central City Opera House re-opened in 1932, Black Hawk gradually shifted their businesses towards the tourist industry.⁶⁸ While Central City had been the cultural center of Gilpin County, Black Hawk had been the mill center. They did not experience a significant revival in tourism following the mining boom because they did not have the historic buildings and businesses that Central City was able to maintain. Therefore by the 1980s, Black Hawk was suffering greatly. Of the just over 200 residents in Black Hawk, many lived in a trailer park on Main Street. Buildings were deteriorating, demolitions were occurring, and there were very few employment opportunities.⁶⁹ Figures 3.12 through 3.18 depict the existing conditions in both Central City and Black Hawk in the 1970s and 1980s.

⁶⁷ Anne Browning Wilson, *Boom and Bust: Preserving Colorado's Ski Towns*, (Athens: University of Georgia, 2012) 9.

⁶⁸ Wolfenbarger, 24.

⁶⁹ Christopher Chadbourne, Philip Walker and Mark Wolfe, *Gambling, Economic Development, and Historic Preservation* Chicago: American Planning Association, 1997), 35-36.



Figure 3.12-Main Street in Black Hawk in 1971
Courtesy of Digital Collection: Denver Public Library, Western History & Genealogy Department



Figure 3.13-Vacant lots in Black Hawk in 1971
Courtesy of Denver Public Library, Western History/Genealogy Department

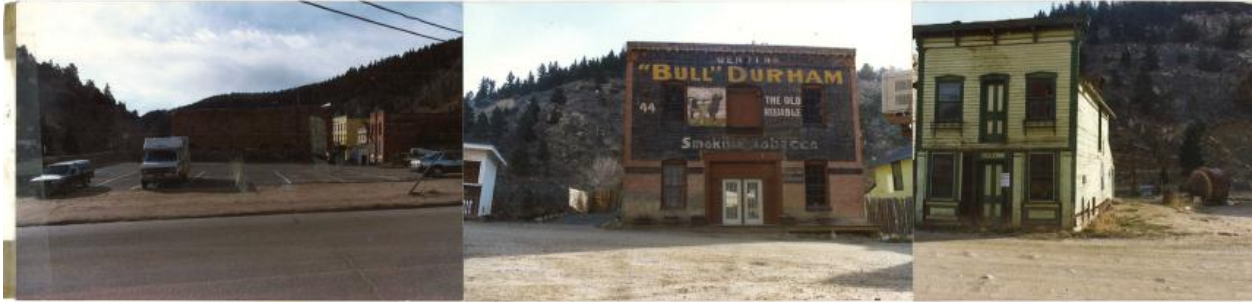


Figure 3.14-Main Street in Black Hawk
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 3.15-Trailer Park in Black Hawk
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 3.16-Main Street in Black Hawk
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 3.17- Black Hawk in the 1980s
Courtesy of the Gilpin County Historical Society



Figure 3.18- East Main Street in Central City in the 1980s
Courtesy of Gilpin County Historical Society

Throughout the 1980s both Central City and Black Hawk experienced a number of issues including a lack of infrastructure, a stagnant tourist economy, a small population, a significant lack of business opportunities, and a very small government budget that would not allow for much-needed improvements.⁷⁰ The historic buildings that remained were deteriorating rapidly. Both Central City and Black Hawk lacked tourist activity during the winter months and both cities wanted and desperately needed something that would support them all year long. These issues led Gilpin County to look to limited stakes gambling as a way to revitalize their towns.

This chapter has provided an overview of the historical significance of Central City and Black Hawk to serve as a backdrop for further discussion about the development and evolution of the towns throughout the years. Central City and Black Hawk went from being thriving cities crucial to the urbanization of Colorado in the years following the Pikes Peak Gold Rush to economically struggling towns relying on tourism and desperate for revenue to maintain their remaining historic buildings by the latter half of the twentieth century. Having established this general background, this thesis will now closely examine Central City and Black Hawk's turn to gambling as a tool for economic revitalization and historic preservation, the details of the gaming amendment to the Colorado Constitution, and how the amendment was implemented.

⁷⁰ Stokowski, 13.

CHAPTER FOUR

Legalization of Gambling in Central City and Black Hawk

This chapter will start with a brief look at gambling's role historically in Central City and Black Hawk. This will lay the ground work for outlining how gambling became legalized in the two towns. The details of the gambling amendment to the Colorado Constitution will be discussed along with information about how Central City and Black Hawk have implemented the amendment and how it has affected the economies of the two towns. Gambling's presence in both towns following the legalization of the practice will be emphasized.

Gambling in Historic Mining Towns

Gambling was quite common in Black Hawk and Central City when they were thriving gold mining towns. The practice took place in saloons and the back rooms of hotels and other businesses. Popular games were keno, faro, poker, and roulette.⁷¹ However, issues with gambling were already being addressed in early Colorado. During the formation of the territorial government, several laws were passed to restrict gambling. Specific games were limited during the first territorial session. By the third session an "act to suppress gambling and gambling houses" was approved on March 2, 1864. In January 1866, an act was passed that made gambling activities and houses illegal in the Territory of Colorado.⁷²

⁷¹ Stoehr, 103.

⁷² Stokowski, 11.

Although illegal, gambling continued to have a place in Gilpin County, making an on and off resurgence throughout the years. When the Central City Opera House reopened in 1932, the Central City Opera House Association promoted the idea of allowing small scale gambling, primarily in the form of slot machines during the summer festival season. Enforcement of the anti-gambling law was left to local officials. Central City officials thought they could financially benefit from gambling and allowed the practice in the Teller House and other local businesses.⁷³ Despite ongoing opposition, particularly from churches, gambling activity continued to be a part of the local scene in Central City for years. In 1950, town officials claimed that since Central City was incorporated when Colorado was still a territory, they were not required to follow the anti-gambling laws of the state. A Colorado state court ruled against this and for the most part gambling disappeared. There was an effort to establish a casino in Central City in 1962 but that effort was stifled.

Gambling as a Tool for Economic Development

As the twentieth century progressed state and public views of gambling have changed in Colorado. Horse and dog track racing was legalized in 1949. A state lottery was established in 1983. Discussions about casino style gambling arose again in the 1980s and there were several failed attempts to legalize gambling. A petition was circulated and garnered as many as 15,000 signatures throughout the state. This failed attempt was followed by another in 1982, originating in Pueblo due to high levels of city unemployment. Yet another attempt was made in 1984 when an economic recession

⁷³ Stokowski, 49-50.

throughout the country prompted another evaluation of gambling as a mechanism for stimulating the economy in Colorado.⁷⁴

The push for limited stakes gambling as a tool for historic preservation and economic revitalization in Colorado began in Gilpin County. The character of both Central City and Black Hawk during their period of significance from 1859 to 1918 was that of a bustling and dynamic small town with tightly packed buildings lining the streets. Businesses thrived and the environment was loud and active. Leading up to the legalization of gambling, the character of Central City and Black Hawk had drastically changed. Boom and bust cycles had always dominated the economy and were part of the risk of living in the area. However, both towns were deeply entrenched in a bust cycle that seemed never ending.⁷⁵ The movement that would eventually lead to legalized gambling in three mining towns was pushed in Central City among government and business leaders. These local leaders formed a non-profit organization called Central City Preservation Inc. to promote economic development and gambling. As the name implies, this group promoted historic preservation as the primary purpose for legalized gambling. The group organized a campaign to gain citizen approval for limited gambling as a tourist attraction in Central City.⁷⁶

The current mayor of Central City in the late 1980s, presented the idea of gambling in the local newspaper, the *Weekly Register Call*, emphasizing that limited gambling would bring a much needed boost to the suffering economy. This significantly helped get the word out about gambling as an economic development tool and helped

⁷⁴ Stokowski, 11-12.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 11-12.

gain citizen approval of the practice. Shortly after this letter was published, Black Hawk joined with Central City in the effort to legalize gambling.⁷⁷

Local officials in Central City looked to Deadwood, South Dakota to gain a better understanding of legalized gambling and how it could impact a rural mining town. Like Central City and Black Hawk, Deadwood had experienced an economic decline following the end of large scale mining. Despite designation as a national historic landmark in 1961, tourism was not enough to support the local economy. The “Deadwood You-Bet” Committee promoted legalized gambling as a way to bring the city back to its former glory. The amendment passed and on November 1, 1989 casinos opened for business in Deadwood.⁷⁸

A significant portion of revenue from gambling supports preservation in Deadwood. The town has a strong preservation ordinance so guidelines for historic preservation are strict. Thirty gambling devices are allowed in each building and no one person can license more than ninety devices. However, buildings were often split up so that other areas of buildings like basements and additions could be counted as separate buildings. As defined in the amendment, “historic preservation” was stretched to apply to the community as a whole and not just the historic buildings. This includes improving streets, infrastructure, parking, and police protection, anything that would add to heritage tourism.⁷⁹

The initial estimates projected that \$2 million would be wagered in the first year of legalized gaming and the City of Deadwood would look to collect about \$500,000.

⁷⁷ Stokowski, 69-70.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

⁷⁹ Martin Mitchell, “Deadwood, South Dakota: Place and Setting Combine with Gambling and Historic Preservation,” *American Geographical Society’s Focus on Geography* (Fall 2008), 26-33.

However, the success of gambling went well beyond those numbers with \$145.5 million wagered in the first eight months and Deadwood received nearly \$2 million of that.⁸⁰

The initial success of gambling in Deadwood only helped to push Colorado towards legalization.

Promoters of limited gambling in Colorado for the most part emphasized that there had been little effect from the legalization of gambling in Deadwood aside from a significantly better financial situation. Colorado learned from Deadwood that they wanted to avoid having buildings split up and wanted to have fewer mandates relating to historic preservation, but officials were not able to fully analyze the negative impacts in Deadwood considering the city had only had gambling for a few months.⁸¹

Despite the lack of information and based upon the economic success of gambling in Deadwood, supporters of gambling continued to push for legalization of the practice in Colorado. Gambling was promoted as a way to reintroduce the boomtown image because it would bring fast change to the area. The practice was also seen as being consistent with mining town history. Overall, gambling was advertised as a win-win situation. Limited stakes gambling would be another tourist attraction adding to the already established businesses in Central City and Black Hawk.⁸² The plan was for businesses to continue their regular activity and have a few slot machines in a back room. Gambling would be an addition to the attractions already there but not the sole attraction.⁸³

⁸⁰ Chadbourne et. al, 30-31.

⁸¹ Stokowski, 70.

⁸² Stokowski, 69.

⁸³ Granruth, 85.

Amendment 4

The promotion of the amendment swayed the public. In 1990 voters approved Amendment 4 legalizing limited stakes gambling⁸⁴ in Colorado. According to the amendment, gambling would only take place in the cities of Central City and Black Hawk in Gilpin County and Cripple Creek in Teller County starting on October 1, 1991. Gambling was confined to the commercial districts of each city as defined in each town's city ordinance.⁸⁵ The main reason for the law was to raise funds for economic revitalization and historic preservation.⁸⁶ The amendment further stated that no more than 35% of a building's total square footage and no more than 50% of a single floor may be used for gambling. Gambling operations would also be prohibited between the hours of 2 a.m. and 8 a.m. According to the amendment, gambling could be conducted in,

Structures which conform, as determined by the respective municipal governing bodies, to the architectural styles and designs that were common to the areas prior to World War I and which conform to the requirements of applicable respective city ordinances, regardless of the age of said structures.⁸⁷

The deteriorating historic structures in Central City and Black Hawk would need renovation in order to allow for increased use, to meet current building and safety codes, and to structurally support gambling devices. Any renovation plans required approval from a review board in each gambling town. These boards were the Black Hawk Historical Architectural Review Board and the Central City Historic Preservation

⁸⁴ Amendment 4 defined "limited gaming" as the "use of slot machines and the card games of blackjack and poker, each game having a maximum single bet of five dollars."

⁸⁵ Gaming Amendment to the Colorado Constitution, Article XVIII, Section 9. www.colorado.gov (assessed Jan 4, 2013)

⁸⁶ Stokowski, 113.

⁸⁷ Gaming Amendment to the Colorado Constitution, Article XVIII, Section 9. www.colorado.gov (assessed Jan 4, 2013)

Commission and they held a significant amount of power, making decisions on proposed plans for casino buildings.⁸⁸

As part of the amendment, a Colorado Limited Gaming Control Commission was appointed by the governor to regulate gambling in the state. This commission was established to determine the annual rate for gambling taxes. While it is common for the annual rate to be a set amount, Colorado has the option to change the tax rate on a yearly basis. The commission also approves budgets and licenses, and evaluates gambling regulations. The amendment further established the Colorado Division of Gaming within the Colorado Department of Revenue.⁸⁹

The State General Fund and the Colorado State Historical Society receive the lion's share of gambling tax revenue. Amendment 4 specified that 50% of the tax revenue would go to the state general fund, 28% to the state historical fund, 12% to the governing bodies of Gilpin and Teller counties in proportion to the gambling revenues generated in each county, and the remaining 10% to the governing bodies of Central City, Black Hawk, and Cripple Creek in proportion to the gaming revenues generated in each city.⁹⁰ Therefore the amount of money a gambling town receives is directly dependent on how successful they are in terms of gambling. Of the 28% disbursed to the State Historical Fund for preservation, 20% is returned to the gambling towns for historic preservation purposes and 80% is directed to the State Historical Fund program for historic preservation projects throughout the state.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Stokowski, 97.

⁸⁹ Stokowski, 113-122.

⁹⁰ Gaming Amendment to the Colorado Constitution, Article XVIII, Section 9. www.colorado.gov (assessed Jan 4, 2013)

⁹¹ "History Colorado, the Colorado Historical Society," Background, <http://www.historycolorado.org/oahp/background> (accessed Jan 24, 2013)

Gambling Development

As soon as the gambling amendment passed, buildings in Central City and Black Hawk were turned into casinos. The Rock Shop located on the first floor of the Old Shaffnit Building on the corner of Main and Gregory Streets in Central City is an example of a building which quickly changed in the wake of gambling. The cellar of the building was completely cleaned out and a bar, pizza oven, and slot machines were installed. On October 1, 1991 the doors opened and it began business as the Dostal Alley Casino.⁹² On opening day, seven casinos opened in Central City and Black Hawk. By the end of October there were eleven casinos had opened and by the summer of 1992 there were thirty three operating casinos.⁹³ From 1991-1993 over \$54 million in buildings permits were issued by Central City for construction of casinos.⁹⁴ The success of gambling in Gilpin County greatly exceeded expectations.

New casino construction exploded in the summer of 1991, leading to a number of properties being significantly altered, moved, or demolished. The land which the trailer park in Black Hawk was on was sold to a casino developer as part of the Gilpin Hotel land. Residents in the trailer park received eviction notices and many were forced to move outside of Gilpin County because trailers are often prohibited in subdivisions in the county.⁹⁵ Houses which were located on main streets were moved or demolished to allow for casino development and many historic commercial buildings were altered. These issues will be explored in more detail in Chapter Five which discusses the major impacts of gambling.

⁹² Granruth,

⁹³ Stokowski, 124.

⁹⁴ Granruth, 152.

⁹⁵ Stokowski, 102-104.

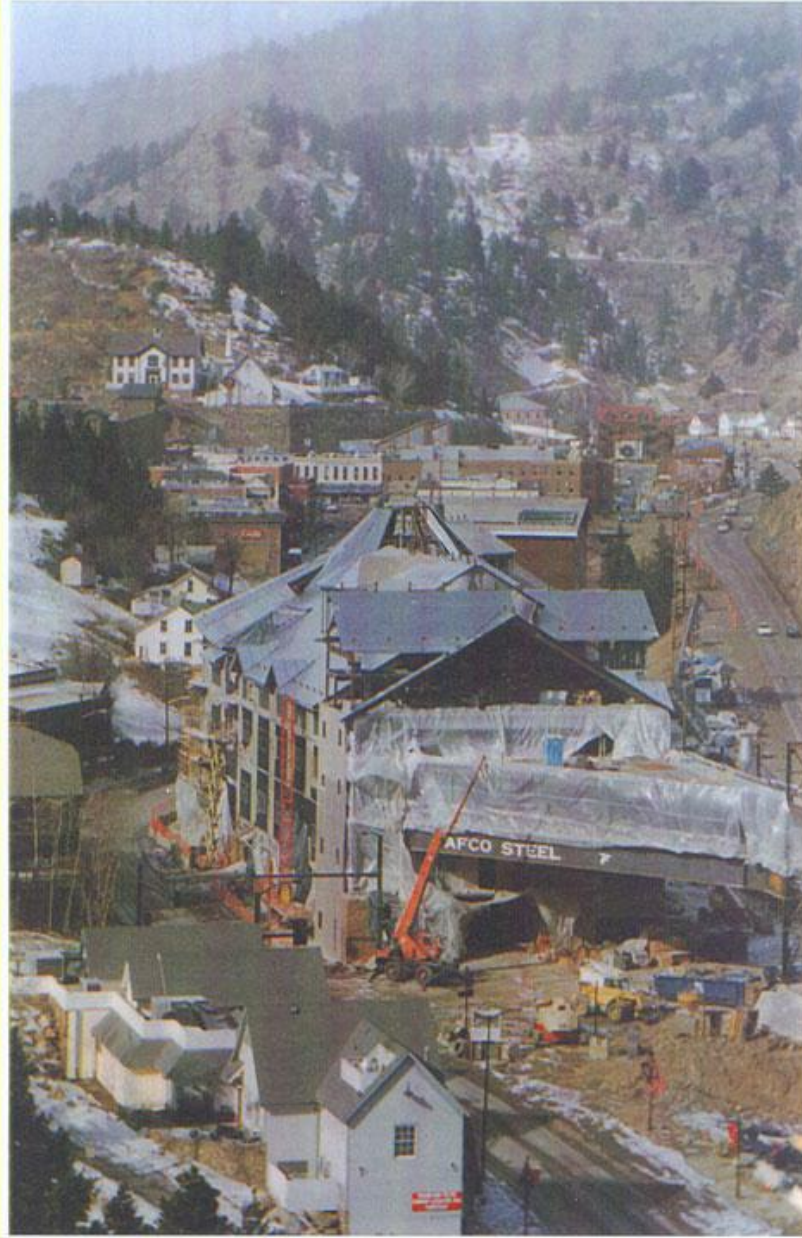


Figure 4.1- Construction of new casinos in Black Hawk
Courtesy of Preservation, Inc.

While it initially looked as if Central City would take the majority of gambling money because they had more buildings than Black Hawk to begin with, this would change fairly quickly. One of the first issues Central City addressed was improving the water system and they placed a moratorium on further development until adequate water supply for existing and potential users could be guaranteed. The moratorium caused

many building applications to be rejected or put on hold. This in turn helped fuel the growth in Black Hawk because they were more than willing to let builders develop in their city limits and were more lenient in terms of casino design.⁹⁶ By the late 1990s, Black Hawk was in full control of gambling in Gilpin County.⁹⁷

Economic Impact of Amendment 4

The latest report issued by the Colorado Division of Gaming showed that in 2010 the total amount of limited gambling tax revenues distributed was \$96,742,401. \$24,867,360 was distributed to the Colorado Historical Society. Gilpin County received \$8,720,983, the City of Black Hawk received \$6,516,136, and the City of Central City received \$751,350. Black Hawk received an additional \$664,092 and Central City an additional \$54,878 based on Amendment 50.⁹⁸ The tax rate as of July 1, 2012 is 0.25% on \$0 to \$2 million, 2% on \$2 million to \$5 million, 9% on \$5 million to \$8 million, 11% on \$8 million to \$10 million, 16% on \$10 million to \$13 million, and 20% above \$13 million.⁹⁹

The exponential increase in revenue in Black Hawk and Central City due to gambling has helped both of these cities survive and accomplish things that they would have otherwise never been able to do. Black Hawk has been particularly successful in terms of revenue. In 1989, Black Hawk generated \$138,671 in revenue and \$77,162 in expenses. In 2013, Black Hawk has a balance of \$8,828,008 in their general fund. The city has budgeted for \$17,913,135 in total revenue, \$20,412,293 in total expenses, and

⁹⁶ Granruth, 86.

⁹⁷ Granruth, 87.

⁹⁸ Colorado Department of Revenue, Division of Gaming, "Most Recent Distribution." State of Colorado, 2013, <http://www.colorado.gov/cs/Satellite/Rev-Gaming/RGM/1213781235488> (accessed January 4, 2011)

⁹⁹ Colorado Department of Revenue, Division of Gaming, "Most Recent Distribution." State of Colorado, 2013, <http://www.colorado.gov/cs/Satellite/Rev-Gaming/RGM/1213781235488> (accessed January 4, 2011)

\$3,556,593 received from the historical fund.¹⁰⁰ Central City for 2013 has budgeted for \$6,652,873 in total revenue and 6,280,060 in total expense. They have budgeted \$425,250 from the Historic Preservation Fund.¹⁰¹ While Central City's revenue is significantly less than Black Hawk, for both cities the revenue which comes overwhelmingly from gambling funds has allowed for much needed infrastructure updates including water and sewer line improvements, handicapped accessibility for public buildings, new sidewalks, and rehabilitation of historic structures. Prior to 1991, the State Department had condemned the water supply system in Central City. Millions were used in Central City for structural improvements to existing historic buildings.¹⁰² Improvements in Central City after gambling include a new water reservoir, treatment plant, distribution system, new storm drainage system, paved streets in residential areas, and grants to individuals, churches, and other non-profits for preservation of their historic properties.¹⁰³ Many of the same improvements have occurred in Black Hawk.

Gambling has brought a substantial amount of jobs to the two towns. Only a year after gambling was legalized over 1,000 jobs had been created in Black Hawk and over 2,000 had been created in Central City. Employment in the area is overwhelming related to gambling. While some of the workers are residents of the towns, more often than not people commute to work in Central City and Black Hawk as a result of the small number of people who actually live within the towns.

¹⁰⁰ Lance Hillis, Finance Department of the City of Black Hawk, "Comprehensive Annual Financial Report for the Year Ended Dec. 31, 2011," <http://www.cityofblackhawk.org/>. (accessed January 4, 2013).

¹⁰¹ Finance Department of Central City, "City of Central, Co 2013 Budget," <http://www.centralcitycolorado.us/images/stories/documents/finance/2013-budget.pdf> (accessed January 18, 2013).

¹⁰² Granruth, 151-152.

¹⁰³ Granruth, 152.

Not only has gambling revenue helped improve a number of conditions in Central City and Black Hawk but significant economic success has funded preservation throughout the state. Thanks to gambling, Colorado has the largest state grant programs for historic preservation in the country. Black Hawk is the major economic engine for all the things that the Colorado Historical Society has funded. Cities and towns throughout Colorado are eligible for these funds but must apply through the History Colorado Center. Proposed projects must demonstrate “strong public benefit and community support” and are awarded on a competitive basis. A wide variety of projects involve historic preservation in some capacity including but not limited to education, interpretation, assessment and rehabilitation. Since the fund’s inception, 3,885 grants have been awarded totaling \$254,155,509 covering 64 counties throughout Colorado.¹⁰⁴

Issues with Amendment 4

Despite the significant amount of revenue that Amendment 4 has brought to Central City and Black Hawk, there are a variety of issues with the gambling amendment in terms of historic preservation. The amendment did not specify that buildings had to be historic or follow the Secretary of the Interior Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties. Regulations were left up to local municipalities and if historic preservation was not a main concern then it did not have to be seriously considered. Further, limited gambling could only be conducted in buildings that met the 1989 building code, and virtually no buildings in Central City and Black Hawk met that requirement.¹⁰⁵ Anyone holding a gambling license was prohibited from serving on City Council or the planning commission. Therefore, the people who conceived the idea of limited gambling were not

¹⁰⁴ History Colorado, The Colorado State Historical Society, “State Historical Fund,” <http://www.historycolorado.org/oahp/state-historical-fund> (accessed Jan. 24, 2013).

¹⁰⁵ Granruth, 86.

allowed to implement it. Further, the Colorado Gaming Commission was vague in its rules on how to measure the space in a building that could be devoted to gambling. While no more than 35% of a building and 50% of a floor could be devoted to gambling, uses associated with gambling like seats in front of slot machines and aisles are not counted in this percentage.¹⁰⁶ The legislation also stated very vaguely that gambling would take place in buildings with a style common in the area prior to World War I. This has allowed casino developers to take a very broad interpretation considering there were building types and styles common prior to World War I like large industrial buildings which have been lost over the years. The buildings which remain are smaller commercial and residential structures, but that does not limit developers.

Gambling in Central City and Black Hawk Today

The original gambling amendment was revised in 2009 when Amendment 50 was passed. Instead of a \$5 wager limit on slot machines, live black jack and poker, limits were raised to allow a \$100 maximum bet. The games of craps and roulette were added and gambling facilities could remain open for 24 hours a day. Approved by voters on November 4, 2008, these changes were implemented on July 2, 2009. The amendment also earmarks additional state revenues generated by the increase in wager limits, games, and hours of operation for community colleges and the gaming towns and counties. The amendment further stipulates that voter approval is required for any increase in gambling tax rates.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Christopher Chadbourne, Philip Walker, and Mark Wolfe, *Gambling, Economic Development and Historic Preservation*, (Chicago: American Planning Association, 1997), 38.

¹⁰⁷Colorado Department of Revenue, Division of Gaming, "Amendment 50 to the Colorado Constitution: Limited Gaming in Central City, Black Hawk and Cripple Creek." <http://www.colorado.gov/cs/Satellite/Rev-Gaming/RGM/1218795716371> (accessed January 18, 2013).



Figure 4.2-Increased Development in Black Hawk
Courtesy of Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation

Currently there are a total of twenty six casinos operating in Gilpin County. Eighteen casinos operate in Black Hawk and eight in Central City. The largest casino in Black Hawk is the Ameristar Casino which has a total of 1, 513 gambling devices. In comparison, the largest casino in Central City is the Reserve Casino and Hotel which opened under its current management in January 2012 and has 673 gambling devices.

Modern casinos are large, seeking to immerse gamblers and distract them from the outside world. To accommodate this type of development in Central City, walls between buildings were commonly removed to create a large open space in the interior for gambling devices.¹⁰⁸ Black Hawk has allowed a number of large scale casinos and casino companies in their town. These casinos are located in large complex buildings. As a result, casinos in Black Hawk generate about three quarters of the state's gambling

¹⁰⁸ Granruth, 86.

revenue.¹⁰⁹ Central City has not been able to compete with Black Hawk in terms of gambling revenue and they still have issues with vacant buildings.



Figure 4.3-Central City streetscape
Photograph by author December 2012

Summer remains the peak time for tourists to visit these two towns. However, gambling for the most part has allowed Central City and Black Hawk to sustain themselves throughout the year. While there are a variety of economic and social issues that have been raised as result of gambling, these issues are out of the scope of this thesis.

This chapter has outlined the circumstances leading up to the legalization of gambling in Central City and Black Hawk. Details relating to the gambling amendment and how it has been implemented in terms of historic preservation were also considered. Gambling's presence in the towns was emphasized following the passing of Amendment 4 and currently. This chapter is crucial in laying the groundwork for analyzing in detail

¹⁰⁹ Andy Vuong, "Black Hawk Says Colorado Gambling Tax Unfairly Favors Some," *The Denver Post* November 19, 2011 http://www.denverpost.com/business/ci_19369798 (accessed January 15, 2013).

the impact gambling has had on the historic resources in Central City and Black Hawk. With this knowledge, the following chapter will focus on how Black Hawk and Central City have approached historic preservation following the legalization of gambling.

CHAPTER 5

Approaches to Preservation:

An Assessment of Preservation Practices in Central City and Black Hawk

This chapter will analyze the unique approaches to preservation that Central City and Black Hawk have taken. Each city has had a different approach at the local level in terms of planning and how they have chosen to protect their historic resources. The gambling amendment created and required regulations in terms of historic preservation and it is important to look at how each city approached this. The first part of the chapter will look at the recognition of the significance of Black Hawk and Central City and what previous surveys conducted in the towns have concluded. While surveys have evaluated the changes to individual buildings in the Historic Landmark District, there has been little research done on the preservation approaches of Black Hawk and Central City.

Therefore, the rest of the chapter will look at local preservation organizations, design guidelines, and preservation ordinances which will in turn outline the current approach to preservation for each town. In looking at the unique approaches, the physical changes to the built environment and justification for such decisions can better be understood.

Designation as a National Historic Landmark District

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Central City was designated as a Historic Landmark District on July 4, 1961. In 1991, the current National Historic Landmark District (NHLD) of Central City was amended to include a total of three communities:

Black Hawk, Central City and Nevadaville all in Gilpin County.¹¹⁰ Central City, Black Hawk and Nevadaville are significant because they are the three principal mining settlements of the Gregory Mining District, one of the most famous and lucrative mining locations during the Pike's Peak Gold Rush.¹¹¹ The historic district is eligible for nomination under Criterion A¹¹² for its association with events in the settlement and socioeconomic development of the Rocky Mountain West. The district is also eligible under Criterion C for its significance as a distinctive type, period, and method of construction that is an exceptional illustration of mining community development in the Rocky Mountain West. The district's period of significance ranges from 1859 to 1918. 1859 was the year that marked the beginning of the gold mining explosion of the area which sparked the creation of these boom towns. 1918 marks the year when mining in the area was in dramatic decline and ceased to be of significance to the economies of these towns.¹¹³

This designation is very significant in terms of historic sites in Colorado and the United States. There are fewer than 2500 historic sites that bear this designation and it is the highest designation of national distinction. There are only twenty one national historic landmarks in Colorado.¹¹⁴ This recognition solidified the historic importance of Gilpin County and these towns. The distinction of National Historic Landmark denotes that this area has maintained a high degree of historic integrity as well. This point will be crucial as this thesis moves forward into the analysis of changes which have occurred.

¹¹⁰ See Appendix D for NHLD map

¹¹¹ Wolfenbarger, 9.

¹¹³ National Register of Historic Places, Central City-Black Hawk Historic District, Central City, Black Hawk and Nevadaville, Gilpin County, Colorado, National Register 6000246.

¹¹⁴ Wolfenbarger, 9.

Since the designation of Central City in 1961, the National Park Service has conducted several studies to document the conditions of the historic resources within the historic landmark designation area. The Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (COAHP) carried out an architectural inventory of Black Hawk and Central City in 1983, however the inventory only included portions of the two cities and there was no report compiled after the inventory was completed. The first extensive and documented survey was done in 1986. The results of this study led to the expansion of the NHDL to include the three towns in Gilpin County.¹¹⁵ However, it should be noted that no new evaluation was done in 1991 when the district was expanded. Furthermore, the National Park Service survey left out a number of buildings and specified wrong construction dates on a number of properties. Also, there were properties listed as contributing resources to the National Historic Landmark District that due to construction date or severe alteration, prior to gambling, should probably have been listed as non-contributing or not included in the boundaries of the district.¹¹⁶

A re-evaluation of all of the historic sites within the Central City boundary was organized after gambling was legalized and was conducted in three phases. Phase 1 was completed in September 1998, Phase 2 was completed in February 1999, and Phase 3 was completed in 2001. The results concluded that the majority of historic structures had retained their integrity and still contribute to the overall significance of the NHLD. There are however, some properties which have changed as a result of deterioration, rehabilitation, or alteration. Over the course of the three phases, 333 structures were surveyed. The original 1986 survey identified 306 contributing and 27 non-contributing

¹¹⁵ Heritage Research Center, Ltd., "Central City Phase 3 Update and Summary, Central City National Historic Landmark District, Gilpin County, Colorado, Submitted to City of Central (March 2001), 3.

¹¹⁶ Wolfenbarger, 41.

structures which were of more recent construction. The re-evaluation found 15 of the 306 had lost their integrity. Of these 15, it was a close distribution between structures that had lost their integrity due to deterioration and those that had lost integrity because of extensive remodeling.¹¹⁷ The survey noted that the rehabilitation done to some of those 15 no longer contributing resources, while incompatible, probably saved the structures from continued deterioration or complete loss of the structure. Also of note is that this survey found that 67 resources had an improved condition from poor or fair to good.¹¹⁸ It is also important to understand that since 1991, the status of the district was changed to Priority 1 or “threatened.” The reason for this classification is listed as incompatible new construction and incompatible uses.¹¹⁹

The first re-evaluation of Black Hawk’s resources was done in 1998. Twelve years later Black Hawk funded another re-evaluation of NHLD resources within their city to determine if boundary changes were necessary.¹²⁰ The 2010 evaluation in Black Hawk concluded that of the 121 resources within Black Hawk that are a contributing part of the Historic Landmark District, 53 should no longer be included in the designation.¹²¹ The survey further recommended that because of extensive construction on the city’s edge the boundaries for the NHLD should be changed, removing portions of Black Hawk from the designation. It was also recommended that a number of residential and mining properties be nominated for designation.¹²² Today, there is still an ongoing discussion of whether

¹¹⁷ Heritage Research Center, Ltd., “Central City Phase 3 Update and Summary, Central City National Historic Landmark District, Gilpin County, Colorado, Submitted to City of Central (March 2001), 20.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹¹⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, “National Historic Landmarks at the Millennium: A Report to Congress and the American People (2000-2001), 14. <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/Downloads/NHLreport01.pdf> (accessed Jan 16, 2012).

¹²⁰ See appendix E for Black Hawk NHLD boundary.

¹²¹ Wolfenbarger, 24.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 31.

the district boundaries should be adjusted due to the alterations and construction in Black Hawk.

As a result of the designation of the area as a National Historic Landmark and the legalization of gambling, Central City and Black Hawk each enacted a local historic preservation ordinance. In having a local ordinance, alterations to the historic built environment should be carried out according to the Secretary of the Interior's (SOI's) Standards for the Rehabilitation of Historic Properties. Upon enacting the local ordinances, the state has designated both cities as Certified Local Governments (CLGs) with Historic Preservation Commissions (HPC). As CLGs, the design standards and design decisions should be in line with the SOI Standards as well. Any changes to the exterior of buildings within the historic district must be approved by the HPC and City Council in either Central City or Black Hawk depending on which city limits the property is in.

Approaches to Preservation in Central City

One of the first preservation movements in Central City started with the founding of the Central City Opera House Association (CCOHA) as a non-profit organization in 1931. The organization was established to preserve and restore the Central City Opera House which was built in 1878. This project and the re-opening of the Opera House was the primary stimulus for economic development for Central City and Gilpin County during the 1930's. In the 1940's, donations allowed the CCOHA to buy and restore a number of historic properties.¹²³ The CCOHA now maintains the historic Teller House and about thirty other historic properties in Central City which serve as performance and

¹²³ Katherine Jensen and Audie Blevins, *The Last Gamble: Betting on the Future in Four Rocky Mountain Mining Towns* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1998), 66.

rehearsal venues and quarters for festival staff during the annual summer music festival. This organization has been a strong steward and leader in historic preservation in Central City.¹²⁴

Central City first adopted a historic preservation ordinance in 1981 to help better protect the National Historic Landmark status.¹²⁵ The Central City Council also established a HPC to review proposed changes that could affect the historic integrity of the National Historic Landmark status. Design guidelines were developed by Community Services Collaboration to determine appropriate standards for reviewing projects that could affect historic properties. A new historic preservation ordinance was put into place in 1991 which clarified review procedures, established criteria for demolition, and also created several special categories of significance. The ordinance further defines the steps needed for obtaining certificates of appropriateness before building permits are issued.¹²⁶ Central City became a CLG in 1997. Central City's HPC meets each month. Special emphasis is on preventing demolition by neglect and requiring certificates of appropriateness, which are needed for everything with the exception of repainting in the same color, minor repairs that do not affect the exterior of a building, interior alterations (if property is not a historic mining or Victorian landmark), removal of dead landscaping, and regular maintenance.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ University of Denver, Central City Opera House Records, <http://library.du.edu/site/about/specialCollections/collections/m123.php>

¹²⁵ Heritage Research Center, Ltd., "Central City Phase 3 Update and Summary, Central City National Historic Landmark District, Gilpin County, Colorado, Submitted to City of Central (March 2001), 20.

¹²⁶ Heritage Research Center, Ltd., "Central City Phase 3 Update and Summary, Central City National Historic Landmark District, Gilpin County, Colorado, Submitted to City of Central (March 2001), 20

¹²⁷ Certified Local Government Historic Preservation Commission Ordinance Comparison (October 2011) http://www.historycolorado.org/sites/default/files/files/OAHP/Programs/CLG_CLGcomparison.pdf (accessed January 15, 2013)

The HPC oversees and approves any alterations and/or additions within Central City's portion of the historic landmark district and generally is fairly rigorous in reviewing and approving construction and alterations to buildings. In the case of Harvey's Wagon Wheel (currently Reserve Hotel and Casino) the HPC extensively reviewed plans for the construction of the casino and withheld building permits until the design met the standards established by the historic preservation and building ordinances.¹²⁸

Central City's design guidelines are very detailed and establish goals for each neighborhood in the city with specific details on the design and style of historic buildings detailing footprints, height, width, and materials. Based on the recommendation made by the HPC, Central City has designated some of their most important historic properties as Victorian Landmarks. As outlined in Article XI Section 16-293 in the Central City Municipal Code,

an architecturally or historically significant interior space which remains substantially intact in terms of a) original configuration, b) original volume, c) original architectural ornamentation and decoration, and which exhibits surviving original historic finishes or has the potential for research which could aid in the accurate restoration of such finishes.¹²⁹

These properties include the Opera House (Figure 5.4), portions of the Teller House, Williams' Stable (Figure 5.2), and the interior of the Gold Coin Saloon, Clark School, and the Coeur d'Alene mine shaft building (Figure 5.3). Any alterations to these buildings, including the interiors, must be approved by the city.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Heritage Research Center, Ltd., "Central City Phase 3 Update and Summary, Central City National Historic Landmark District, Gilpin County, Colorado, Submitted to City of Central (March 2001), 20.

¹²⁹ Central City, Colorado, Municipal Code, Section 16-293, Article XI (Fort Collins: Colorado Code Publishing Company, 1991) <http://www.centralcitycolorado.us/images/stories/documents/municipal-codes/16-Central-City-S-12.pdf> (accessed January 18, 2013)

¹³⁰ Granruth, 152.

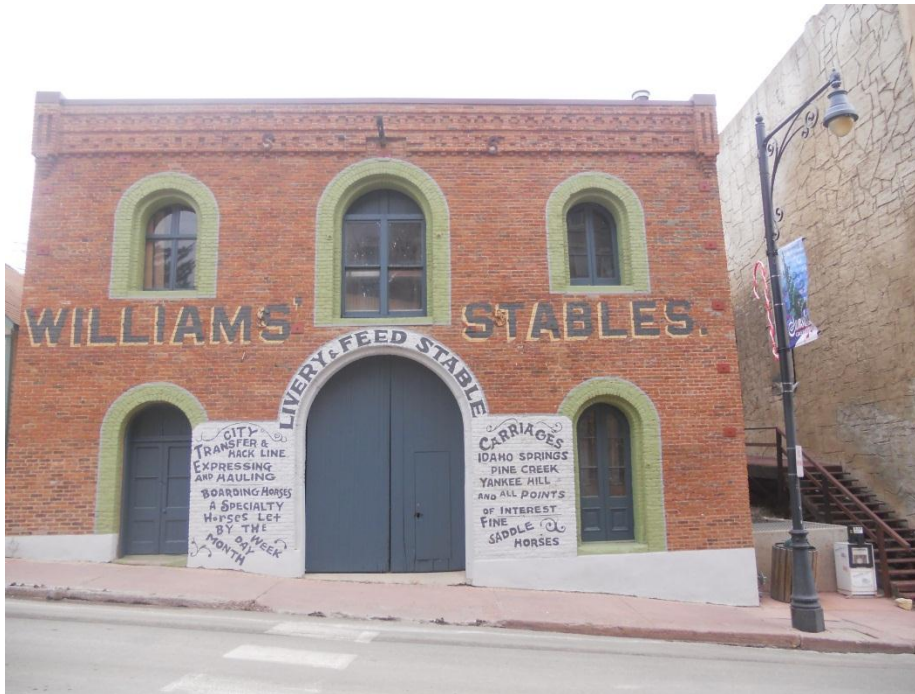


Figure 5.1-Williams' Stable in Central City (1876)
Photograph by author, December 2012



Figure 5.2-Coeur d'Alene Mine Shaft in Central City (1885)
Photograph by author, December 2012



Figure 5.3-Central City Opera House (1878)
Courtesy of Digital Collection: Denver Public Library, Western History & Genealogy
Department

Approaches to Preservation in Black Hawk

One of the first preservation efforts in Black Hawk was the restoration of the Lace House. The Carpenter Gothic home was built in 1863 and was deteriorating badly in the early 1970s. A grant from the National Park Service and private donations allowed the Lace House to be restored by the Little Kingdom Historical Foundation in 1976. After the restoration, the house was opened as the Black Hawk City Museum.¹³¹ This was one of the only restoration or revitalization efforts in Black Hawk until after gambling was legalized.

¹³¹ Jensen and Blevins, 67.

Black Hawk saw gambling as a way to breathe life back into the town. The key was to preserve the city so that it would and not become a ghost town like so many other mining towns in the West. It seems that the preservation of the historic structures may not have been the top priority early on, because at this point the city just needed to survive by any means possible, and after decades of decay there were few historic structures left. Black Hawk was a mere shadow of its former self.

The period of significance for the National Historic Landmark District is 1859 to 1918, a time when Black Hawk was bustling and somewhat chaotic with dirty industrial buildings mixed among commercial and residential buildings. The city of Black Hawk has used this as justification for the design of large scale casinos after the advent of gambling. Nothing remained of Black Hawk's time as the "City of Mills" by the 1970s and 1980s prior to gambling. Black Hawk has taken an approach, as described in their Review Guidelines, that the city was historically a rough and tumble industrial town. During the height of its mining success, large mills and plants would have dominated the town, standing among much smaller commercial buildings and homes.¹³² The industrial side of mining put Black Hawk on the map, just as gambling has done again in the twentieth century. Little is left of Black Hawk's industrial past, but if one looks back to the era of mining in Black Hawk, mills would have been a prominent part of the architectural landscape. Since Black Hawk had relatively few historic buildings when gambling was legalized, there was a huge opportunity for infill development. Black Hawk's design guidelines were put in place to guide new development to reflect the

¹³² Black Hawk, Colorado, Design Standard: Guidelines for Historic Preservation and Design Review, 5 http://www.cityofblackhawk.org/media/EDocs/Black_Hawk_Design_Standards.pdf (accessed December 20, 2012)

general scale and character of its historic built environment.¹³³ Black Hawk's Comprehensive Plan stresses the importance of maintaining Black Hawk's historic image as the "City of Mills."¹³⁴

Black Hawk enacted a historic preservation ordinance in 1991. The ordinance established the City's Architectural and Design Review Guidelines. The goal of this ordinance was to ensure "the sensitive design of new buildings within the historic context of Black Hawk, along with the preservation of its historic structures."¹³⁵ Black Hawk was certified as a CLG in 1995. However, as a result of non-compliance with preservation regulations, they were de-certified as a CLG in 1999. Under legislation which passed in 2009, gambling towns that are not CLGs are required to have a commission appointed to determine how each community's share of the gambling funds are spent. This legislation has helped put Black Hawk on a track toward better preservation practices. The current ordinance has established a HPC that meets at least quarterly. However, there are no minimum maintenance requirements on properties within Black Hawk's portion of the NHLD, and the HPC only reviews alterations that require a building permit.¹³⁶

¹³³ "Black Hawk, Colorado, Design Standards: Guidelines for Historic Preservation and Design Review", 7 http://www.cityofblackhawk.org/media/EDocs/Black_Hawk_Design_Standards.pdf (accessed December 20, 2012)

¹³⁴ EDAW, "Comprehensive Plan: City of Black Hawk, Colorado (Section 4, 14) adopted November 10, 2004 (accessed December 20, 2012) http://www.cityofblackhawk.org/media/EDocs/Final_Comp_Plan__Complete.pdf

¹³⁵ Black Hawk, Colorado, Design Standards: Guidelines for Historic Preservation and Design Review, 5 http://www.cityofblackhawk.org/media/EDocs/Black_Hawk_Design_Standards.pdf (accessed December 20, 2012)

¹³⁶ Certified Local Government Historic Preservation Commission Ordinance Comparison (October 2011) http://www.historycolorado.org/sites/default/files/files/OAHP/Programs/CLG_CLGcomparison.pdf (accessed January 15, 2013)

Black Hawk has also instituted a preservation program entitled “City of Black Hawk Community Restoration and Preservation Fund.”¹³⁷ Money for this fund comes from the portion of gambling revenue given to the city for preservation and restoration projects. This fund was created specifically to help owners of historic residences within the city limits of Black Hawk restore and preserve their properties. The City of Black Hawk has published a guide to programs for their Community Restoration and Preservation Fund which is accessible online to assist homeowners in the process of applying for and receiving a grant for preservation or restoration work on their homes. All preservation and restoration work in Black Hawk is approved by the HPC and the Board of Alderman and should be consistent with the Secretary of Interior Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties and in line with the design guidelines of the city.¹³⁸

Updated guidelines were issued in 2009 and bring together information provided in the comprehensive plan, becoming a comprehensive guideline on everything from restoration and rehabilitation of historic buildings to the planning and design of large casinos.¹³⁹ The introduction to the guidelines declares,

It is hoped that these Design Standards will help guide the city toward a more consistent and comprehensive design review process centered on the true historic character of Black Hawk.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Collette C. Chambellan and Steven F. Mehls, “An Analysis of Potential Impacts to the Central City-Black Hawk National Historic Landmark From the Southern Access Road Right-of-Way: Gilpin County, Colorado (Boulder: Western Cultural Management, Inc., 2003), 21.

¹³⁸ City of Black Hawk: Community Restoration and Preservation Fund, Guide to Programs-approved November 4, 2009, http://www.cityofblackhawk.org/media/EDocs/Guide_to_Programs.pdf (accessed Jan. 17, 2012)

¹³⁹ “Black Hawk, Colorado, Design Standards: Guidelines for Historic Preservation and Design Review”, 5 http://www.cityofblackhawk.org/media/EDocs/Black_Hawk_Design_Standards.pdf (accessed December 20, 2012)

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

There are seven objectives for Black Hawk's design standards: 1) to reinforce the character of the historic character and protect its visual elements; 2) discourage the construction of buildings that may confuse the cultural heritage; 3) enhance the quality of growth and development in Black Hawk; 4) protect public and private development in Black Hawk; 5) increase public awareness of design issues, 6) provide objective basis for design review decisions; 7) serve as a tool in making preliminary decisions regarding construction.¹⁴¹

Black Hawk has a well-laid-out design review process. The Black Hawk Community Planning and Development department oversees all construction projects. Every project must go through a site review prior to applying for a building permit. Final presentation of the project is made to the Historic and Architectural Review Committee and the City Council. The final project is approved by the City Council, and a Certificate of Appropriateness is issued before a building permit is issued.¹⁴² All the preservation mechanisms are in place but it is up to those in positions of power to make preservation minded decisions.

In terms of zoning Black Hawk's buildings are separated into several categories which include residential, commercial, and gaming and entertainment districts. The gaming district is divided into three categories. The core gaming district is located in the historic commercial core along Gregory Street and Main Street. The mill site gaming district is along US 119. This was historically the industrial portion of the city. Within this district, casinos are allowed to be built with high density reflecting the historic character of the original mill buildings. The transitional gaming district was historically

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 7.

¹⁴² Ibid., 8.

made up of residences. While gambling is very different from the original use, the casinos are intended to reflect original residential properties in mass and scale.¹⁴³

Figures 5.5 and 5.6 illustrate two properties with a high degree of historic integrity that have been protected in Black Hawk. They are the Black Hawk School (Figure 5.5) and the Presbyterian Church (Figure 5.6).



Figure 5.4-Black Hawk School (1870)
1986 Survey by the National Park Service
OAHP Staff
Courtesy of NPS-Rocky Mountain Region Office (RMRO)-Denver and the City of Black Hawk

¹⁴³ Ibid., 22-26.

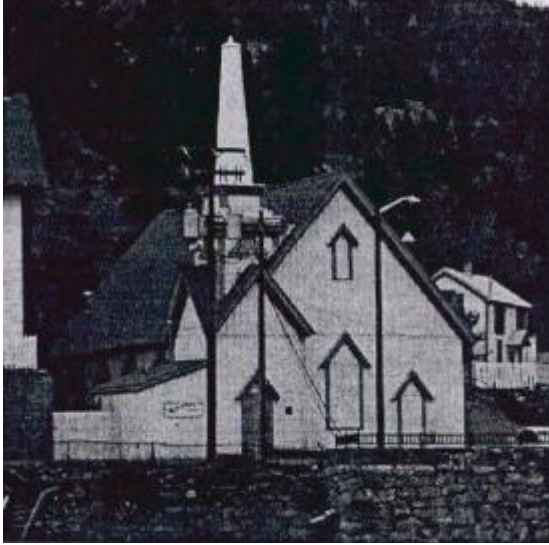


Figure 5.5-Presbyterian Church in Black Hawk
OAHF Staff
Courtesy of NPS-RMRO-Denver and the City of Black Hawk

In comparing Black Hawk and Central City's preservation approaches, it should be noted that Central City has a long history of interest in historic preservation and fairly rigorous guidelines and ordinances relating to historic preservation. Black Hawk has not had a long dedication to historic preservation, but it must be remembered that Black Hawk had only a fraction of the historic structures that Central City had when gambling was legalized. However, their view of allowing new mill style infill construction has caused a number of very large casinos to physically dominate portions of the town. In the past few years, Black Hawk has become more conscious of their historic built environment primarily as a result of the 2009 amended legislation.

This chapter has addressed the recognition on the part of the National Park Service of Black Hawk and Central City as being historically important and worthy of historic preservation. The approach to historic preservation on the part of each town has been analyzed to establish that Central City has had a long history of showing a dedication to historic preservation while Black Hawk has developed an approach to

historic preservation in recent years. With this information in mind, the next chapter will look at the major impacts to historic resources in Central City and Black Hawk.

CHAPTER SIX

Gambling's Impact in Central City and Black Hawk

Identifying gambling's major impacts on historic resources in Central City and Black Hawk will be the main goal of this chapter. When appropriate, changes will be evaluated by whether they comply or are in conflict with the Secretary of the Interior's (SOI's) Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties or National Historic Landmark criteria for evaluating historic resources. These guidelines will be useful in analyzing the degree of historic integrity that remains in these towns. Based upon previous surveys conducted in Central City and Black Hawk and research gathered for this thesis, four major categories of change have been identified which the author believes to be the most important and prominent in terms of historic preservation. These categories are: new infrastructure and infill construction to support gambling; alterations to existing buildings for gambling purposes; relocation of historic properties; and demolition. Examples will illustrate how each town has dealt with these issues.

New Infrastructure and Infill Construction to Support Gambling Development

Large scale gambling and modern casino design require a great amount of new infrastructure and development, particularly in small rural towns. Both Central City and Black Hawk have made significant additions and alterations to accommodate gambling. Many of the immense gambling structures constructed are much more than casinos. Modern casinos are part of a more extensive and complex building which often includes a hotel, restaurants and a multi-level parking garage. New infrastructure to support

gambling has altered the overall setting of both towns through geographical alterations and large scale infill development.

The landscape of Colorado is known for its rugged mountain beauty. The landscape and geological features of Gilpin County are important to the way the area was settled. Considering that the terrain is very mountainous, it is difficult to build on and therefore must be adapted to allow for extensive development. In Black Hawk, which has a higher percentage of flat land, there have been eighteen new structures built since 1991¹⁴⁴ and many of these are casinos. While this is not necessarily a huge number of structures, overall scale of the buildings conflicts with the small size of the town. Central City has constructed several new buildings as well, but many of their casinos are located within existing historic structures.

Table 6.1- Changes in Central City

Impact	Number of Changes in Central City out of 306 Contributing Resources	Percentage of total
New Infill Construction	3	.9
Significant Negative Alterations	8	2.6
Relocations	3	.9
Demolitions	Possibly 1	.3

¹⁴⁴ Wolfenbarger, 24.

Table 6.2 - Changes in Black Hawk

Impact	Number of Changes in Black Hawk out of 121 Contributing Resources	Percentage of total
New Infill Construction	12	9.9
Significant Alterations	22	18.2
Relocations	9	7.4
Demolitions	23	19

In both towns, some new construction has attempted to fit in while some has not. In comparing the size of remaining historic commercial buildings from Sanborn maps with new construction, an amazing difference can be seen. The footprint of a remaining historic building is relatively small and usually square or rectilinear. Historic structures in both towns are between one and three stories. New casino construction is exponentially larger and its footprint is more irregular. Casino buildings are also much taller, often having more than three stories.

Infill development in the downtown area of Central City and Black Hawk is extremely crucial to the overall continuity, character and setting of these historic communities. It is particularly important for new construction to fit in with the old. According to standard nine of the SOI's Standards for Rehabilitation, new construction should be differentiated from historic buildings but should be compatible in massing, size, scale, and architectural features ensuring integrity of the historic environment.¹⁴⁵ In historic communities like these mining towns, design guidelines play an important role,

¹⁴⁵Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, (Washington D.C.: Heritage Preservation Services, 1995), 62.

outlining how infill development should be approached. As discussed in the previous chapter, each town has taken a different stance on what appropriate infill should be.

Because many casinos throughout the town are in historic buildings, Central City has not had numerous issues with new construction. When dealing with new construction, Central City has tried to make a conscious effort to encourage compatible infill development which fits in with existing structures which were in their downtown prior to gambling. A rigorous design review process has allowed Central City to maintain an overall consistent look for the most part throughout their downtown. All four buildings in Figure 6.1 are infill development, built after gambling was legalized. The structures have common scale, massing, and materials with the historic buildings in the downtown area, but clearly distinguish themselves as new construction.



Figure 6.1-Infill development in Central City
Photograph by author December 2012

Along with strong design guidelines, Central City's HPC has been crucial in not allowing major disruption to the historic characteristics of the town. Original drawings were submitted to the HPC for a new casino building that appeared to be three stories but actually contained five floors. The HPC rejected the proposal and required that the building be actually three stories. This example shows that the HPC in Central City has made an effort to regulate the scale and exterior features of structures in their town. Although the interior is wide open, the exterior is broken into difference facades, making the building look as if it is several buildings.¹⁴⁶ This helps maintain a consistency for buildings throughout the town whether historic or new construction.

There are also examples of new construction in Central City that do not fit in well because of their size, affecting the overall continuity of the town. The Reserve Casino and Hotel, which will be examined in greater detail in the section of this chapter regarding alterations to historic structures, is completely out of scale with other buildings in the city. Located off Gregory Street, the buildings and parking garage are built into the side of a hill on the edge of the downtown area, standing out from the historic structures in town.

Century Casino, as seen in Figure 6.2, is yet another example of infill development which has altered the downtown setting of the city. The front of the casino is an attempt to be compatible with historic buildings downtown, appearing to be many buildings. Actually it is one large casino which fills an entire block. A back view shows the enormity of the new construction.

¹⁴⁶ Granruth, 86.



Figure 6.2- Century Casino in Central City
Photograph taken by author, December 2012

Black Hawk has had more opportunity for infill development to improve the density of their downtown. However, the scale of new construction is not in character with the historic mining town architecture which was present in Black Hawk at the time of the legalization of gambling. The city has made an attempt to have new construction compatible in design and materials and takes the stance that these large buildings are nothing new to the town. As the “City of Mills,” Black Hawk would have had large industrial buildings for the processing of ore. Therefore, historically industrial buildings would have been located among the smaller commercial and residential buildings just as the large casinos are now.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ “Black Hawk, Colorado, Design Standards: Guidelines for Historic Preservation and Design Review”, 5 http://www.cityofblackhawk.org/media/EDocs/Black_Hawk_Design_Standards.pdf (accessed December 20, 2012)

With that being said, it cannot be overlooked that many geographic features have been altered, particularly in and around Black Hawk, to allow for the expanse of new buildings. Changes in setting are most noticeable along the southeastern portion of the town. This location had the least amount of development prior to gambling and therefore has seen the greatest amount of change. According to the previous surveys conducted on the NHLD and based upon pictures of the area prior to gambling development, the buildings in this vicinity were fairly scattered, many were in varying states of disrepair, and they were of a variety of ages. A trailer park on Main Street was also located within the area where new construction was concentrated. Figure 6.3 displays the contrasting settings in Black Hawk-the more historic downtown and large, new construction further south on Main Street. There are a few casinos further south and outside of the NHLD in Black Hawk, which have made no attempt to fit in terms of scale and design. Overall, the buildings in the southeastern portion of Black Hawk overshadow the more historic downtown area and alter the views and vistas of the area.



Figure 6.3-Main Street in Black Hawk
Photograph by author, December 2012

The Ameristar Casino in Black Hawk is an example of new construction which is completely out of scale and has significantly contributed to an overall change in setting in Gregory Gulch. In order to allow for an addition to the casino of a towering hotel, large sections of a mountain were blasted away, significantly altering the geography of the surrounding landscape. The hotel tower is thirty-three stories tall and stands in stark contrast to historic buildings and many casinos which are one to three stories.¹⁴⁸ No attempt was made on the part of developers to fit in with any other buildings in Black Hawk.

¹⁴⁸ Johnson, Kirk, "A Colorado Town Thrives as It Places Its Bets on Gambling," *New York Times*, *The (NY)*, July 22, 2009., 12 *NewsBank*, EBSCOhost (accessed February 28, 2013).



Figure 6.4-Ameristar Casino in Black Hawk
Photograph by author, December 2012



Figure 6.5-Large Casino Construction in Black Hawk
Tom Noel Photograph Collection
Courtesy of Digital Collection: Denver Public Library, Western History & Genealogy
Department

There are also examples of infill development in Black Hawk which do attempt to fit it better and relate to Black Hawk's period of significance. Several new casinos have been built in the style of mill buildings. This style of infill still contributes to an overall change in setting since the legalization of gambling, although these structures are more in line with the character of Black Hawk historically and more in agreement with the gambling legislation which specifies that casinos should be built in a style prominent prior to World War I. Black Hawk's design guidelines also state that new construction should be complimentary to mill style buildings. The Golden Gates Casino, in Figure 6.6, is compatible to mill construction in design and in materials, however it should still be highlighted that the large scale of the building is still an issue. While mill buildings were quite large compared to commercial structures, they were not as large as these modern casinos.



Figure 6.6- Golden Gates Casino in Black Hawk
Photograph by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

The Golden Gates Casino in Black Hawk is designed in the style of mill buildings and provides a good example of the large scale casinos which have become common in Black Hawk since the legalization of gambling.

Parking in particular has been an issue in both towns. It has been difficult for casino developers to construct parking lots and garages because of the few flat surfaces. Therefore, mountain tops have been altered by cutting and grading. After a level surface is created, gunite, a mixture of cement, sand, and water is sprayed to create a parking lot. For example, the top of a mountain which overlooks Black Hawk, Miner's Peak, was leveled to make way for surface parking to accommodate thousands of cars for off-site parking which is now called Miner's Mesa.¹⁴⁹ Other features affected have been grading cuts into Bates and Bobtail Hills for surface parking which overlook the city.¹⁵⁰ These mountains were utilized for mining historically and now have been altered, destroying the integrity because they are now completely disconnected from their historic use. Casinos have constructed extensive parking garages connected to their casinos and hotels whenever possible to accommodate gamblers.

¹⁴⁹ James Brooke, "Colorado rethinks bet on historic preservation," *New York Times*, September 7, 1997, *Vocational and Career Collection*, EBSCOhost (accessed September 17, 2012)

¹⁵⁰ Wolfenbarger, 24.



Figure 6.7-Parking Garage in Black Hawk
Photograph by author December 2012



Figure 6.8-Parking Garage in Central City
Photograph by author, December 2012

As a result of the influx of people coming into the mountain towns on Highway 119, a two lane curvy road, additional highway infrastructure was constructed to accommodate travelers. The most extensive roadway development was the creation of the Southern Access Road which links Central City to Highway 70, the major highway system bringing travelers from the Denver Metropolitan area to these gambling towns and ski resorts further west. Central City created a General Improvement District to fund this southern access road. This road bypassed Black Hawk and was constructed in hopes of diverting gamblers to Central City.¹⁵¹ The construction of this road was “intended to enhance gambling activity in Central City and accommodate additional planned growth west and south of Central City and Black Hawk.”¹⁵² Black Hawk is the first town tourists get to when taking Highway 119. The Southern Access Road would provide better access from Denver to Central City and hopefully boost gambling in the city. The Southern Access Road is approximately eight miles long and is a four lane road that begins at the Interstate 70/Hidden Valley interchange and ends at the southern entrance to downtown Central City. The roadway cut through very mountainous terrain and disturbed several historic mining sites.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Granruth, 87.

¹⁵² Collette C. Chambellan and Steven F. Mehls, “An Analysis of Potential Impacts to the Central City-Black Hawk National Historic Landmark From the Southern Access Road Right-of-Way: Gilpin County, Colorado (Boulder: Western Cultural Management, Inc., 2003), 1 quoted from Delaney Barclay, *Gaming Area Access EIS: Results of Intensive Cultural Resource Inventories in Jefferson, Clear Creek and Gilpin Counties, Colorado: Addendum Report*. Prepared for the Colorado Department of Transportation, Prepared by URS Corporation, CDOT Project No. 22233015.00007, Denver, Colorado (2002), 4-9.

¹⁵³ Chambellan and Mehls, 4-9.



Figure 6.9-Central City Parkway
Google Maps (accessed April 11, 2013)

Although tourists increase during the warmer summer months, in the winter months, Central City continues to struggle because more tourists are coming to Black Hawk. In the future, however this road could subject Central City to additional development pressures. Traffic remains an issue on the small winding roads in the downtown area of both towns, where large buses are constantly circulating and dropping off and picking up gamblers.

There have also been some very positive environmental changes as a result of new construction. Years of mining had caused an abundance of water pollution problems. Heavy mining practices in and around Central City and Black Hawk led to sites contaminated by waste rock piles and acidic mine tailings. A study conducted by

the Environmental Protection Agency in 1999 revealed that three newly constructed casinos were opened on land previously contaminated. This cleanup of surface water has led to drinking water protection and restoration to the Clear Creek ecosystem.¹⁵⁴

Overall, new infrastructure to support gambling has caused an overall change in setting in both towns. Prior to gambling Central City and Black Hawk were quiet, slow paced towns. Now these towns are often busy tourist attractions catering to gamblers. It will now be crucial to look at another issue that has arisen as a result of gambling, which has affected the integrity of existing historic buildings in these towns.

Alterations to Existing Historic Buildings for Casino Use

Historic buildings in Central City and Black Hawk have been altered primarily in two different ways to allow for gambling. Extensive additions to historic buildings are a major issue in Black Hawk, although there are two cases which will be highlighted in Central City. Severe interior changes are also an important problem which has not been documented in survey reports dealing strictly with the exterior of buildings. Interior changes often are not regulated and particularly have been a problem in Central City, which uses a number of historic buildings for their casinos. Exterior additions and interior changes have significantly affected the integrity of historic buildings in both towns, and each of these issues will be addressed in this section.

According to the re-survey of the NHLD in Black Hawk, there were twenty two significant alterations to contributing buildings. The re-survey recommended that these alterations were so significant the properties had lost their eligibility as contributing resources to the NHLD. There are a total of 121 contributing buildings in Black Hawk's

¹⁵⁴ Central City Case Study, Superfund Redevelopment Program, United States Environmental Protection Agency, http://www.epa.gov/superfund/programs/recycle/live/casestudy_centralcity.html (accessed November 2, 2012).

portion of the NHLD. Most of these changes were the result of gambling. Of the 306 contributing resources in Central City, approximately eight have lost eligibility from extensive remodeling and rehabilitation, a far smaller percentage than in Black Hawk.¹⁵⁵

In some instances where the original structure remains, massive additions have been added to allow for immense casinos. While Central City has done a relatively good job of controlling the scale of casinos, ironically they were the first to build a large casino and hotel. The Reserve Casino and Hotel, it seems, set the precedent for the way casino development would go in the future in Gilpin County. Referring back to standard nine of the SOI's Standards, additions should be differentiated but should be compatible in materials, size, scale, proportion, and massing. The original structure, which can be seen in Figure 6.10, has been altered and completely overwhelmed by the construction of the casino and hotel around it, originally Harvey's Wagon Wheel Casino. Despite HPC review, substantial changes to the original structure included removal of the shed extension and replacing of the stone foundation. The new structure removes historic integrity from the building, completely surrounding and overshadowing the original building. The addition appears to be eight separate structures, but in actuality is one large casino complex as can be seen in Figure 6.11. The original structure has no function in the new use of the building. As a result of this significant alteration and massive addition, the original structure is no longer considered a contributing structure in the NHLD.

¹⁵⁵ See tables 6.1 and 6.2 on pages 79 and 80.



Figure 6.10-Historic structure at 321 Gregory Street in Central City
Photograph by Rickey Hendricks, August 1986
Courtesy of NPS-RMRO and Central City



Figure 6.11-Reserve Casino and Hotel in Central City today
The original structure is the yellow building to the left of the picture
Photograph by author, December 2012

The building which houses the Famous Bonanza Casino, Figure 6.14, provides an interesting contrast in the way many historic buildings in Central City have been utilized. The Harris Block in Figure 6.12 was built in 1875 following the fire of 1874. The building remains similar on the exterior as it did historically. The 1997 re-survey of Central City's portion of resources in the NHLD, Figure 6.13, noted that cloth awnings have been added above transom windows, but other than this the building appeared to be the same as the photo taken from the NPS survey in 1986. According to the re-survey the building had retained integrity and was in good condition.¹⁵⁶ There have been some changes to the exterior of the building since the 1997 survey, including a more extensive cloth awning, but for the most part the building looks relatively the same. This is the case with several other casinos in Central City, however an updated survey is needed to closely document the changes which have occurred since the final phase of the survey was conducted in 2001. This example illustrates that extensive exterior alteration has not occurred to every building connected with casinos. Central City to a large degree has been able to control exterior changes to their historic buildings which are now casinos.

¹⁵⁶ Heritage Research Center, Ltd., "Phase 1 Update," Central City National Historic Landmark District, Gilpin County, Colorado. Submitted to City of Central by Daniel S. Hall, John F. Schuttler, and David Moyer (September, 1998).



Figure 6.12-Harris Block in Central City in 1986
Photograph by Ricky Hendricks, NPS-RMRO, October 1986
Courtesy of Central City



Figure 6.13-The Famous Bonanza Casino in 1997
Photograph by D. Hall and J. Shuttler
Heritage Research Center, Ltd., September 1997
Courtesy of Central City



Figure 6.14-The Famous Bonanza Casino current appearance

Courtesy of: http://www.centralcitycolorado.com/famous_bonanza.php (accessed January 18, 2013)

In contrast, Black Hawk has had numerous examples of significant alteration to the exterior of historic buildings associated with gambling. For example, the original structure in Figure 6.15 was built in the late 1800s according to the NPS survey in 1986. Originally it was a one and one half story dwelling situated on a hill above Main Street in Black Hawk. It was listed as in fair condition in the NPS survey. The structure was significantly altered to become part of the Golden Gates Casino. As can be seen in Figure 6.16, the original structure is now flanked on either side by two large additions diminishing the integrity of the historic structure and conflicting with standard nine of the SOI's Standards for the rehabilitation of historic buildings. Later the building was completely demolished to allow for a casino expansion. Before gambling was legalized the structure in Figure 6.15 was located in an area that had scattered buildings. According to the re-survey of Black Hawk in the late 2000s, some of these residences

historic and contributing to the NHLD, and a number were newer construction and were non-contributing to the district. Now the area is largely built up with new casinos.



Figure 6.15-Historic residence at 261 Main Street in Black Hawk in 1986
Photograph Gary P. Kisling, NPS-RMRO, October 1986
Courtesy of Central City



Figure 6.16-Golden Gates Casino in Black Hawk in 1998
Photograph by Winter & Company
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

The Golden Gulch Casino provides another example in which a historic residence received a large new addition. Figure 6.17 is a photograph of the historic property constructed in approximately 1890. The additions to the rear and west side, and exterior alterations to the original structure, shown in Figure 6.18, completely diminish the historic integrity of the former residence.



Figure-6.17-Historic Residence at 321 Main Street in Black Hawk in 1986
Photograph by NPS-RMRO-Denver
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



6.18-Golden Gulch Casino in Black Hawk
Photograph by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

Additions within the historic downtown area of Black Hawk have been more successful in achieving compatibility, as can be seen in Figure 6.19, but there are still extreme additions which affect the integrity of the buildings. The building which now houses the Wild Card Casino was constructed in the 1860s. Additions to the east elevation and a third story addition resulted in a recommendation that its designation be changed from contributing to non-contributing to the NHLD. However, as can be seen in Figure 6.20, the building had significant deterioration in 1986. While not restored to its original size and appearance, the façade has been restored and the building possibly saved from complete deterioration.



Figure 6.19-Wild Card Casino in Black Hawk
Photograph by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 6.20-120 Main Street in Black Hawk in 1986
Photograph by Rickey Hendricks, NPS-NMRO, September 1986
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

Figure 6.21, Fitzgerald's Casino, is another casino on the northern portion of Main Street in Black Hawk which had the highest concentration of historic commercial buildings. Fitzgerald's has at least four historic structures which the casino is partially contained in. From the exterior, this casino building is more compatible and in scale with historic buildings in Black Hawk.



Figure 6.21-Fitzgerald's Casino in Black Hawk
Photograph by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

While the exterior treatment of the historic buildings is compatible and appropriate, issues arise with the irreversibility of the changes made to the historic buildings. Exterior walls were removed to allow for a seamless transition into newly constructed portions of the casino. In cases like these, the façade of the building is virtually the only historical portion of the building to remain. This conflicts with standard ten of the SOI's for Rehabilitation which states that the basic form of a historic structure should be unharmed if new additions and constructions to the building were removed.¹⁵⁷ Figures 6.22 and 6.23 are two historic facades associated with Fitzgerald's Casino, and Figure 6.24 is the appearance of these historic structures in 1986.



Figure 6.22-historic façade part of Fitzgerald's Casino
Photograph by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

¹⁵⁷ Weeks and Grimmer, 62.



Figure 6.23- historic façade part of Fitzgerald's Casino
Photograph by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 6.24-101 Main Street in Black Hawk in 1986
Photograph by NPS-RMRO-Denver
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

The Black Hawk re-survey found that additions to the rear, sides, and a third story affected the integrity of the buildings (Figures 6.21 and 6.22), resulting in recommendation of changing their status from contributing to non-contributing to the NHLD. These building were originally constructed in 1879, and the 1986 NPS survey listed the exterior condition of the building as fair.

There is also another pair of historic buildings that were altered to accommodate the construction of Fitzgerald's Casino. Figure 6.25 shows two historic commercial buildings as they appeared in 1986. These buildings illustrate typical commercial buildings in the towns. Figure 6.26 shows the facades of these two buildings, which are all that remain of the historic structures. The facades are being held up in preparation for new construction behind them. Figure 6.27 is the appearance of the buildings today. Although the facades are been restored to excellent conditions, irreversible damage had been done to the rest of the historic structure conflicted with standard 10 of the SOI's Standards for Rehabilitation of Historic Properties.

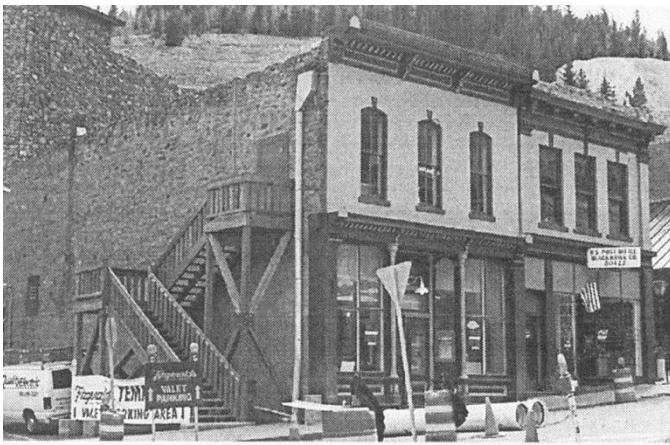


Figure 6.25-130 Gregory Street in Black Hawk in 1986
Photograph by NPS-RMRO-Denver and
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 6.26- facades at 130 Gregory Street in Black Hawk in 1998
Photograph by Winter and Co.
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 6.27-current appearance of facades at 130 Gregory Street
Photograph by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

Both structures in Figure 6.25 date to approximately 1879. According to Haselden Construction, the construction company hired to complete the development of Fitzgerald's Casino, materials from the interior and exterior of the buildings were salvaged and re-used when possible. The historic buildings were structurally altered to support gambling devices and the façade was restored. The historic buildings were altered to connect seamlessly with the new construction. From the exterior the casino

appears to be numerous buildings each with a different façade.¹⁵⁸ A new building was constructed behind the facades in 1998.

As can be seen from the example of Fitzgerald's Casino, consolidation of properties to maximize gambling space is very common. Historic properties are typically small compared to modern casinos. Interiors of many historic buildings were completely gutted, exterior walls were removed and buildings were extended to accommodate wide open spaces for gambling. From the exterior it looks like there are several historic store fronts, but because walls separating the structures have been removed, it is actually one large space inside.¹⁵⁹ This has resulted in an issue commonly referred to as "facadism," where the façade is basically all that remains of the historic structure.¹⁶⁰

The interiors of many historic buildings have been significantly altered, particularly in Central City as can be seen in Figure 6.28. After World War II, there was a trend to remove Victorian interiors and update interior details in Central City. Wall board covered plaster and Formica counters replaced old fashioned glass display cases. Installation of plumbing and electricity was a much needed update during this time as well. Structural integrity was usually maintained with these changes. However, while many of the historic buildings in town had been altered prior to the legalization of gambling, the more substantial changes follow gambling remove any chance to restore many of these building to their original appearance. This conflicts with standard 10 of the SOI's for Rehabilitation.¹⁶¹ Irreversible changes to the interior of historic buildings are a very common historic preservation issue throughout both towns. Most often, unless

¹⁵⁸Haseldon Construction, LLC. <http://haselden.com/projects/gaming/> (accessed January 18, 2013)

¹⁵⁹ Stokowski, 96.

¹⁶⁰ Jensen and Blevins, 123-125.

¹⁶¹ Weeks and Grimmer, 62.

severe damage has been done to the exterior of a building, these issues are not necessarily documented because local ordinances, except in special cases, do not protect the interior of historic buildings and surveys only document exterior appearance.



Figure 6.28-Interior of Famous Bonanza in Central City
Photograph by author December 2012

The HPC in Central City took steps to protect the interior and exterior of some of their most historic buildings with a high degree of integrity. These important buildings were designated as Victorian landmarks. This designation was discussed in Chapter Four as part of Central City's approach to preservation.

Standard 1 of the SOI's Standards for Rehabilitation suggests that a historic building should be placed in a new use which requires minimal change to the defining characteristics of the building. Gambling devices are heavy and require better structural support than what many of the historic buildings in Central City and Black Hawk could

provide, and therefore the historic buildings in the towns that became casinos demolished historic fabric to accommodate gambling. Therefore, a change in use from local business or vacant to gambling has very much altered the defining characteristics of many of the historic buildings in the two towns.

Relocation

Relocation of historic properties has been another historic preservation issue since the legalization of gambling. Residences have been the primary type of structures which have been moved to make way for casinos and parking facilities. Based upon the findings of the re-survey of resources in Black Hawk, twelve structures in the NHDL have been moved, nine of which were considered contributing prior to being moved.¹⁶² In Black Hawk, several residences were moved to Gregory Street in an area that the city now refers to as Mountain City, Figures 6.29 and 6.30. There were four structures in this location at the time gambling was legalized. Ten historic structures have been moved to Mountain City. These residences were primarily moved from South Main Street and Richmond Street to accommodate new casino construction. It should be noted the city now uses some of these buildings as administrative offices. However, they are now completely out of their historic context. The city council voted in 1997 to move the Lace House to this area. Built in 1863, the Lace House is one of the oldest and best examples of Carpenter Gothic architecture in Gilpin County.¹⁶³ The house stood in the way of a casino company's plan to expand parking from 100 to 320 spaces.¹⁶⁴ The integrity of these residences was already harmed prior to being relocated because they were among

¹⁶² Wolfenbarger, 24.

¹⁶³ James Brooke, "Colorado rethinks bet on historic preservation," *New York Times*, September 7, 1997, *Vocational and Career Collection*, EBSCOhost (accessed September 17, 2012)

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

large casinos. After being moved, they fit in better with the surrounding environment. The residences which have been moved to Mountain City have been restored to excellent condition as can be seen from Figure 6.31.



Figure 6.29-“Mountain City” in Black Hawk
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

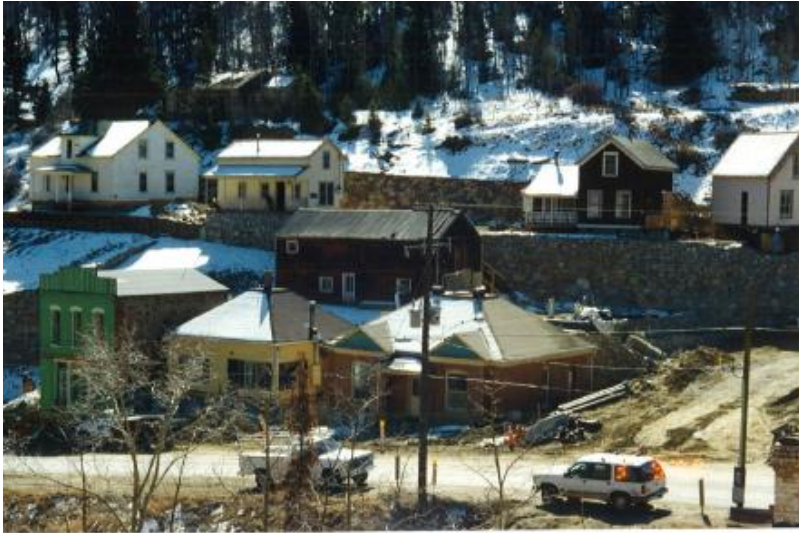


Figure 6.30- “Mountain City” in Black Hawk
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 6.31-Lace House in Black Hawk
Photograph by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

Central City has made a stronger effort than Black Hawk to protect the integrity of historic properties in the community. For example, a proposal to move eight houses from Gregory Street to Havilah Street for casino development was rejected in December of 1991.¹⁶⁵ However, residences were moved in some instances, as illustrated in Figure 6.32 and 6.33. These homes were being moved from Gregory Street in Central City. According to the phase three survey of Central City for the NHL, three residences have been moved, the only documented cases of buildings within the district being moved prior to 2001.¹⁶⁶ The structures were considered contributing to the NHL before being moved.

¹⁶⁵ Granruth, 152.

¹⁶⁶ See tables 6.1 and 6.2 on pages 79 and 80.

Historic residences add to the significance of the area and illustrate how residences were constructed during the mining boom. According to the National Register Criteria Consideration B and criteria (b) for nomination for a NHL, a property moved from its original location is not eligible for designation unless it is nationally significant because of architectural merit.¹⁶⁷ When taken out of context it becomes difficult to associate the property with its period of significance. While, the Lace House is an excellent example of the Carpenter Gothic architecture in the area, the integrity of the structure and that of the other buildings which have been moved has been compromised.

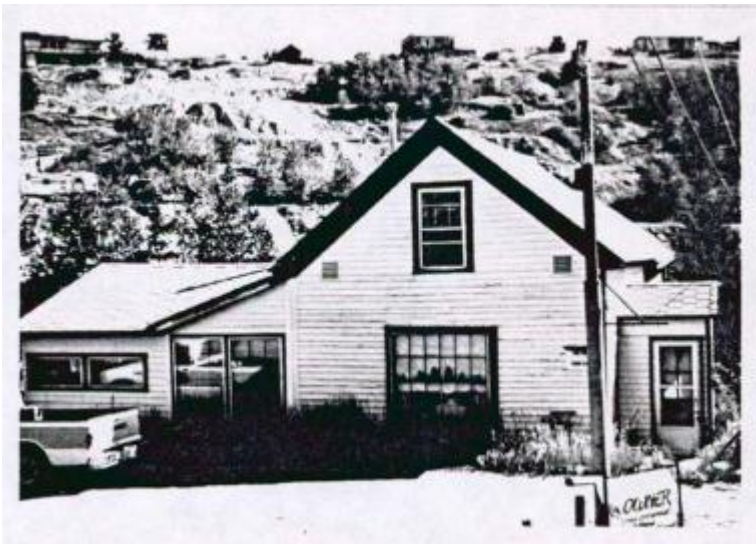


Figure 6.32-Residence at 420 Gregory Street in Central City
Photograph by NPS-RMRO-Denver
Courtesy of Central City

¹⁶⁷ National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_9.htm (accessed February 21, 2013.)



Figure 6.33-420 Gregory Street residence being moved
Photograph by Mary Kisling, NPS-RMRO, Denver
Courtesy of Central City

Demolition

There have also been issues with demolitions since gambling was legalized, particularly in Black Hawk. Based upon the re-survey of the NHLD in Black Hawk, forty-three buildings have been demolished. Of these forty-three, twenty-three were considered contributing to the NHLD.¹⁶⁸ In several cases residential properties stood in the way of gambling development. While some residences were moved, some were also demolished. For example, a residence built in 1900 (Figure 6.34), identified in the 1986 National Park survey, was demolished to make way for the Red Dolly Casino in 1992 (Figure 6.35).

¹⁶⁸ See tables 6.1 and 6.1 on pages 79 and 80.



Figure 6.34-Demolished residence
Photograph by NPS-RMRO, Denver
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 6.35-Red Dolly Casino in Black Hawk
Photograph by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk



Figure 6.36-demolished residence in Black Hawk
Photograph by NPS-RMRO-Denver 1986 Survey
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

The residence in Figure 6.36 was located on Bacus Street which no longer exists as a result of gambling development. The structure was built in 1981 and was listed as a non-contributing resource to the NHLD.



Figure 6.37-demolished residence in Black Hawk
Photograph by NPS-RMRO-Denver 1986 Survey
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

The residence in Figure 6.37 was constructed in 1968 and was demolished prior to 1998 to make way for casino development. The house was also located on Bacus Street and was listed as a non-contributing resource to the NHLD.



Figure 6.38-demolished structure in Black Hawk
NPS-RMRO-Denver 1986 Survey
Courtesy of the City of Black Hawk

The building in Figure 6.38 was demolished prior to 1998 because it was located in an area where large scale casino development is now focused. The estimated date of construction is 1964 and the building was listed as non-contributing to the NHLD.

These are only a few of the examples of buildings which were demolished as a result of the legalization of gambling. Also, because the facades are all that remain of many historic buildings, significant levels of demolition occurred to provide the structural support and space for gambling development. The majority of buildings which have been totally demolished (as opposed to partial demolition or “facadism” described above) were residences. Most were in the southeastern portion of the Black Hawk on Main Street and

Bacus Street, which no longer exist. This is primarily where the large casinos have been constructed.

Based on the information gathered from the three phase survey in Central City, only one building is listed as possibly being demolished. This house was standing at the time of the 1986 survey but had been replaced by a paved parking lot by the time of the 1997 survey. It is also possible that this building was moved. In discussing this issue with preservationists in Central City and by looking at survey reports there is no hard evidence of any buildings being completely demolished to make way for casino construction.

This chapter has highlighted some of the major changes that have occurred in Central City and Black Hawk since the legalization of gambling. To evaluate historic integrity, these changes were addressed by evaluating whether they comply or are in conflict with the Secretary of the Interior Standards for Rehabilitation of Historic Properties and National Landmark Criteria for evaluating historic resources. There have been changes in regard to new infrastructure to support gambling in the form of the construction of large casino complexes and parking facilities to include both surface and garage parking. New casino construction is out of scale with existing historic buildings and has altered geographical features of the landscape. Interior alterations and exterior additions to existing historic structures have also been a major issue in both towns. Finally, relocation of contributing historic structures and demolition of non-contributing structures has been a problem particularly in Black Hawk.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

In concluding this thesis, this chapter will weigh the overall impact that gambling has had on historic resources in Central City and Black Hawk. Based upon these conclusions, the effect of gambling on the NHLD will be examined along with the current validity of this designation. Finally, reflecting on the changes and preservation approaches in the two towns, this chapter will provide recommendations for both towns regarding the NHLD designation, policy changes which could better protect historic resources in the future, and further research which is needed relating to this topic. Based upon the research for this thesis, recommendations will also be provided for similar towns considering legalized gambling as a tool for economic development and historic preservation.

This thesis addressed four major issues relating to historic preservation in Central City and Black Hawk which have occurred as a result of the legalization of gambling. New infrastructure and infill development, alterations and additions to existing historic buildings, relocation of historic structures, and demolition of buildings were highlighted as the major changes which have impacted the historic integrity of the two former mining towns.

New construction and infrastructure associated with gambling have contributed to an overall change in setting in Central City and Black Hawk. No longer the sleepy mountain towns that most people remember, the changes which rapidly occurred in both

Central City and Black Hawk bring to mind the sudden change which swept the area during the Pikes Peak Gold Rush. In a matter of months, prospectors constructed buildings and altered the landscape quickly, changing Colorado from a rough wilderness on the American frontier to a chaotic urban environment. The similarities are obvious when looking at changes which have occurred in the wake of legalized gambling. Gambling brought rapid change once again to the former Gregory Mining District. Casinos were quickly built and the environment shaped in the hopes of bringing rapid economic change.

Based upon research gathered and discussed in this thesis it can be concluded that the appearance and characteristics of the towns today are probably more similar to their historic appearance, although the towns are very dissimilar from their appearance immediately prior to gambling. Tightly organized, irregular construction of varying sizes would have been common historically, particularly in Black Hawk. Each town has distinguished itself through the types of new construction and design they have allowed. Historic photographs confirm that these towns looked quite different historically as well.

Many criticisms of new construction in these towns are based upon how new infrastructure fits in with the buildings existing in Central City and Black Hawk prior to gambling. However, the point of legalizing gambling was to revitalize these towns, preserve what they had, and bring them back to what they would have been like during their period of significance. Therefore, changes to the towns should be analyzed by whether they are compatible with the towns' appearance prior to 1918, not whether new construction fits in with what was present in the 1980s. With that being said, there are issues with the design and scale of casino development. While some new casinos have

attempted to fit in using mill type construction, others have not. Regardless, most of the new casinos built in both towns are out of scale, even with historic mill structures.

Further, alterations to the geography of the land have taken away from the significance of the historic use of the landscape.

Substantial alterations and additions have occurred to allow for gambling in historic buildings. This has been an unfortunate change, destroying the integrity of a number of historic structures in both Central City and Black Hawk. It cannot be overlooked that the extreme alterations to historic buildings could have been avoided if plans for gambling had been carried out differently. If casinos had been smaller, the integrity of many more historic buildings could have been saved and /or restored to their original condition. However, this did not happen. Central City has made a substantial effort to utilize their historic structures for gambling purposes and has tried to keep exterior alterations to a minimum. However, interiors have suffered irreversible damage in many cases. Structural changes were necessary to allow for heavy gambling devices and to update the historic buildings to current codes.

Relocation of structures which were contributing to the NHLD and demolition of contributing and non-contributing resources have been issues in Black Hawk (to allow for gambling development). The relocation of historic properties affects the integrity of these buildings and diminishes their contribution to the NHLD. While demolition occurred to a number of properties which were non-contributing, if left standing some would possibly have become contributing resources in time.

Based upon the major impacts to Central City and Black Hawk in terms of historic preservation, it can be concluded that the more dramatic change has happened in

Black Hawk. Many of the changes that have occurred in both towns have not always been in compliance with the SOI's for the Treatment of Historic Properties. Central City has attempted to follow the standards much more closely than Black Hawk due in large part to a strong preservation ethic and the numerous historic buildings extant in their town prior to gambling. Central City has taken a firm approach to preservation and for the most part has not catered to large scale casino developers. While not as successful economically as Black Hawk, Central City has been fairly successful in terms of the preservation of the exterior of their historic structures.

Much of the new construction was done very quickly after gambling was legalized, and it should be noted that Black Hawk has made large strides toward being more preservation minded based upon the ordinance they now have in place. While the integrity of some historic buildings has been compromised, it should be emphasized that some had already lost their integrity as a result of deterioration. Without a major source of revenue, like gambling, these towns and their structures would likely be in worse condition or have ceased to exist together. However, this does not excuse the fact that Black Hawk, while extremely successful economically, largely has failed in terms of historic preservation.

Black Hawk has taken a very different approach to preservation for several reasons. There was not a strong preservation presence in the city prior to gambling, there was significant competition with Central City, and there was vast opportunity for new development. In contrast, Central City had a significantly large percentage of historic structures. Although there were larger scale mill buildings in Black Hawk historically, this does not justify the extreme scale and design of many of Black Hawk's casinos.

Black Hawk's design guidelines should have established the approximate size of industrial mining buildings and require new construction stay within a close scale and design if being built within the NHLD. Many of the changes which have occurred in Black Hawk have not complied with National Historic Landmark Criteria or the SOI's Standards, further demonstrating that the town did not approach gambling development with a serious thought for historic preservation. Amendment 4 helped to exacerbate the impacts, since it was quite vague on historic preservation, the very principle it was established to promote.

Throughout this research it has become clear that there is a great deal of conflict between mainstream modern casino design and historic preservation. Central City has been more successful than Black Hawk in trying to ensure that the exterior of historic buildings remain compatible, but have done little to encourage or require the retention of interior integrity. In order for gambling and historic preservation to work cohesively in a historic mining town, significant adjustments would need to be made on the part of casino developers and potential gambling towns to ensure that regulations and guidelines are in place to preserve historic structures and landscapes.

Effect on the National Historic Landmark District

The most significant disruption to the character of the two towns has occurred on the southeast side of Black Hawk. Large mills would have been in this vicinity historically. Prior to gambling, there was little to nothing left of these buildings, which had been lost to deterioration or demolition long before gambling was legalized. What did exist in the years leading up to the legalization of gambling was a scattering of structures, primarily residences, many in very poor condition and a number not old

enough to contribute to the NHLD. Whether or not this area should have been included in the NHLD to begin with is questionable. However, the large scale of new construction and design of some casinos is not compatible with the character of Black Hawk either historically or today. Based upon National Park Service guidelines, there are four criteria which justify withdrawal from a National Historic Landmark designation.¹⁶⁹ Criteria 1 states that if a property's qualities for which it was originally designated have been lost or destroyed then it qualifies for withdrawal from designation. Losses of integrity through alteration, addition, or demolition are the most common reasons for withdrawal of a landmark designation.¹⁷⁰ Currently it is clear that the significant changes to the southeastern portion of the NHLD have contributed to loss of integrity in this vicinity and boundaries should be amended to reflect this.

Throughout this research, it has become clear that it is impossible to evaluate the validity and integrity of the entire NHLD without surveying every resource in the district and getting a clear picture of the whole unit. A comprehensive survey of all effects both negative and positive would be required to fully understand the complex issues going on in these towns and their impact on the NHLD. However, some conclusions can be made based on the research for this existing data. Large scale casino development along with alteration and relocation of historic buildings and demolition has impacted the integrity of the district. Historic buildings which have been affected by these issues should no longer be considered contributing to the NHLD. Remaining historical significance of this area merits a NHLD, but adjustments are needed in regard to changes to the boundary of the NHLD and many historic resources need a status update. The southeastern portion of

¹⁶⁹ The four criteria which justify withdrawal from a NHL designation can be found at www.nps.gov

¹⁷⁰ "Withdrawal of a National Historic Landmark Designation," *National Historic Landmark Program*, http://www.nps.gov/nhl/DOE_dedesignations/Dedesignations_intro.htm (accessed March 2, 2013).

Black Hawk is no longer worthy of the NHLD designation. However, policy changes and updates to surveys could help better protect what is left of the historic environment.

Recommendations for Central City and Black Hawk

It is recommended that Central City re-survey properties within the NHLD. It has been over ten years since a survey was conducted and much has changed in this time period. This is needed to support a comprehensive assessment of how historic structures have been impacted in both towns and how they compare with one another. Further, nearby Nevadaville should also be surveyed to see if there are any contributing resources that still exist. Only a handful of historic structures still stand in the town and these are deteriorating rapidly. Updated surveys for both of these towns are needed to facilitate a complete evaluation of the NHLD and its integrity.

More research is needed to document improvements that have been made in the NHLD and identify buildings which should now be contributing resources. The research should include examination of how historic preservation grants have aided in upgrading the status of historic resources. There have been a number of homes and buildings which have been rehabilitated and should now be considered important elements of the NHLD.

Input by the State Historic Preservation Office in decisions made about historic resources and new construction within the NHLD would also be extremely helpful in keeping a uniform approach to preservation decisions throughout the state. This would be particularly important in restricting the size of casinos so they are more in line with the size of historic mill buildings. Restrictions on the number of gambling devices allowed within one casino building could also help prevent the continuing trend of massive scale casinos.

Central City and Black Hawk in the future can continue to refine preservation regulations and approaches. Central City's design guidelines, although very detailed and preservation minded, were last revised in 1993, and could use updating to better address current and future development pressures. A further recommendation in regard to the review of construction and alteration projects in Black Hawk, would be to ensure a stronger role and voice in the decision-making process for the HPC. If preservation is going to be considered a first priority, final decisions ultimately left up to City Council should support the decisions made by the HPC.

Recommendations for Success

Legalized gambling offers a significant opportunity for economic success. As seen in the case with Central City and Black Hawk, tax revenue can be used for a variety of city improvements and even historic preservation. Currently the direction of mainstream casino development and historic preservation are often in conflict, but that is not to say that changes cannot be made to allow for compatibility. However, in a historic rural town, a strict regulatory scheme is needed to ensure that casino development does not destroy or seriously impair a city's historic character. The following are some recommendations for other small historic towns considering the introduction of gambling as a source of economic development.

Most importantly it is crucial that the gambling legislation itself expresses strong preservation requirements. Gambling legislation needs to be specific in terms of how many gambling devices should be allowed, place limitations on the types of buildings in which gambling can take place, and establish regulations on rehabilitation of historic buildings. Deadwood, South Dakota is an example which can be looked to, since their

legislation has done a fairly good job in addressing this. Oversight of the legislation and preservation regulations should be given at the state, not the local level. If allowed solely at the local level, inconsistency arises in the way preservation is addressed. If controlled at the state level, a more uniform approach to preservation would be accomplished.

It is essential that strong preservation regulations are in place prior to the start of gambling. A thorough preservation ordinance and design guidelines should be developed before gambling is legalized along with an administrative structure that can support design review and enforcement. Design guidelines should firmly establish the size and design of new construction to ensure compatibility and compliance with the SOI's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties. Promoting historic preservation in the community, making residents aware of the importance of their local resources so that they support these regulations is also a crucial part of this step.

An extensive architectural survey should be conducted prior to the legalization of gambling to determine existing conditions and significance of historic structures. In a historic town, this would be crucial in establishing which buildings are worthy of preservation or rehabilitation and which have deteriorated beyond repair. For those that are in need of demolition, historic materials should be salvaged whenever possible. This type of survey would be a crucial foundation for establishing future plans for the architecture and development in the town and minimizing the impact of gambling. Determining which buildings are suitable for adaptive re-use is also an important element of an architectural survey. The economic activity stimulated by gambling tax revenue creates a demand for uses other than gambling such as residential and light commercial.

Gambling tax revenue can be used towards adaptive re-use projects, ensuring the long term use of historic structures in a gambling community.

While this is not an exhaustive list of measures which can help ensure a compatibility with historic preservation and gambling, these are some primary ways in which the two can thrive. If a small historic town were considering legalizing gambling for historic preservation, these recommendations can lay the foundation for a successful approach.

Table 7.1- Summary of Conclusions

<p>Conclusions</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Four major issues (new infrastructure and infill development in both towns, alterations and additions to existing historic buildings for casino use in both towns, relocation of historic structures primarily in Black Hawk, and demolition of buildings in Black Hawk) relating to historic preservation have affected the integrity of Central City, Black Hawk and the NHLDL • These issues have contributed to a change in character in both towns especially in Black Hawk • Central City has protected their historic resources better than Black Hawk because of strong preservation legislation and not catering to casino developers • Several factors have contributed to Black Hawk’s approach including a lack of a preservation presence prior to gambling, significant competition with Central City, and a larger opportunity for development as opposed to Central City • Based upon number of negative changes, alterations to the boundaries of the NHLD district are needed in Black Hawk but the overall district maintains integrity
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Table 7.2-Recommendations for Central City and Black Hawk

<p>Recommendations for Central City and Black Hawk</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central City needs to conduct a re-survey of properties within their NHLD • More research is needed to document improvements to buildings within the NHLD in order to better evaluate the integrity of the district • Input from the Colorado State Historic Preservation Office is needed to help ensure a more uniform approach to preservation • HPC needs a stronger role in decision-making in Black Hawk • Continued refinement of preservation regulations in both towns.
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Table 7.3-Recommendations for Success

<p>Recommendations for Success</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have strong historic preservation legislation in place prior to the legalization of gambling including strict ordinance and design guidelines along with an administrative structure that can support design review and enforcement • Identify in gambling legislation the specific types of buildings in which gambling will be permitted • Ensure that rehabilitation and additions to historic structures follow the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties • Complete an extensive architectural survey prior to the legalization of gambling to determine conditions and significance of historic buildings • Identify and analyze other historic cities where gambling has been introduced such as Deadwood, South Dakota to ensure that positive lessons learned are used as models and unsuccessful approaches are not repeated
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Overview

This thesis sought to outline the historical significance of Black Hawk and Central City, Colorado, establish the preservation approaches for these towns and highlight the most significant impacts which threaten the NHLD and determine what kind of significance the NHLD maintains. It is hoped that Central City and Black Hawk will find this information useful in evaluating how they may better protect their historic resources and what changes they can make regarding gambling and historic preservation. Also, rural historic towns that are considering legalized gambling in support of historic preservation may also find this thesis valuable.

The impact of gambling on Central City and Black Hawk is very complex. It has not been solely positive or negative for Gilpin County. Gambling, the very thing that was

to save historic buildings in Black Hawk and Central City, has in fact destroyed and significantly altered many historic structures. However, without gambling, the historic buildings may very well have deteriorated to a point beyond repair. Further, gambling has funded preservation projects throughout the state of Colorado that would have likely never occurred without funding from gambling tax revenues.

Today, Central City and Black Hawk stand out as unique examples illustrating the complex relationship between historic preservation and gambling. Modern casino design is a style of development that can be incompatible with historic architecture. However, if a community and casino developers are sensitive to historic preservation, the impact can be lessened and a historic environment can co-exist with legalized gambling. Central City and Black Hawk have faced numerous issues with historic preservation and others can learn how to better accommodate the two. Legalized gambling is now a part of the history and future of Central City and Black Hawk. The dramatic change and issues which have occurred as a result of gambling in many ways reflect the era of mining which literally put these towns on the map. The future of Central City and Black Hawk depends upon the ongoing move in both towns to lessen the impacts of gambling, ensuring an environment which remains stable into the future, and working toward a community where tourists and citizens can cohesively and contently co-exist.

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APPENDIX A:

Gambling Amendment to the Colorado Constitution Article XVIII

Section 9. Limited gaming permitted. (1) Any provisions of section 2 of this article XVIII or any other provisions of this constitution to the contrary notwithstanding, limited gaming in the City of Central, the City of Black Hawk, and the City of Cripple Creek shall be lawful as of October 1, 1991.

(2) The administration and regulation of this section 9 shall be under an appointed limited gaming control commission, referred to in this section 9 as the commission; said commission to be created under such official or department of government of the state of Colorado as the general assembly shall provide by May 1, 1991. Such official or the director of the department of government shall appoint the commission by July 1, 1991. The commission shall promulgate all necessary rules and regulations relating to the licensing of limited gaming by October 1, 1991, in the manner authorized by statute for the promulgation of administrative rules and regulations.

Such rules and regulations shall include the necessary defining of terms that are not otherwise defined.

(3) Limited gaming shall be subject to the following:

(a) Limited gaming shall take place only in the existing Colorado cities of: the City of Central, county of Gilpin, the City of Black Hawk, county of Gilpin, and the City of Cripple Creek, county of Teller. Such limited gaming shall be further confined to the commercial districts of said cities as said districts are respectively defined in the city

ordinances adopted by: the City of Central on October 7, 1981, the City of Black Hawk on May 4, 1978, and the City of Cripple Creek on December 3, 1973.

(b) Limited gaming shall only be conducted in structures which conform, as determined by the respective municipal governing bodies, to the architectural styles and designs that were common to the areas prior to World War I and which conform to the requirements of applicable respective city ordinances, regardless of the age of said structures.

(c) No more than thirty-five percent of the square footage of any building and no more than fifty percent of any one floor of such building, may be used for limited gaming.

(d) Limited gaming operations shall be prohibited between the hours of 2:00 o'clock a.m. and 8:00 o'clock a.m.

(e) Limited gaming may occur in establishments licensed to sell alcoholic beverages.

(4) As certain terms are used in regards to limited gaming:

(a) "Adjusted gross proceeds" means the total amount of all wagers made by players on limited gaming less all payments to players; said payments to players being deemed to include all payments of cash premiums, merchandise, tokens, redeemable game credits, or any other thing of value.

(b) "Limited gaming" means the use of slot machines and the card games of blackjack and poker, each game having a maximum single bet of five dollars.

(c) "Slot machine" means any mechanical, electrical, video, electronic, or other device, contrivance, or machine which, after insertion of a coin, token, or similar object, or upon payment of any required consideration whatsoever by a player, is available to be played or operated, and which, whether by reason of the skill of the player or application of the element of chance, or both, may deliver or entitle the player operating the machine to

receive cash premiums, merchandise, tokens, redeemable game credits, or any other thing of value other than unredeemable free games, whether the payoff is made automatically from the machines or in any other manner.

(5) (a) Up to a maximum of forty percent of the adjusted gross proceeds of limited gaming shall be paid by each licensee, in addition to any applicable license fees, for the privilege of conducting limited gaming. Such percentage shall be established annually by the commission according to the criteria established by the general assembly in the implementing legislation to be enacted pursuant to paragraph (c) of this subsection (5). Such payments shall be made into a limited gaming fund that is hereby created in the state treasury.

(b) (I) From the moneys in the limited gaming fund, the state treasurer is hereby authorized to pay all ongoing expenses of the commission and any other state agency, related to the administration of this section 9. Such payment shall be made upon proper presentation of a voucher prepared by the commission in accordance with statutes governing payments of liabilities incurred on behalf of the state. Such payment shall not be conditioned on any appropriation by the general assembly.

(II) At the end of each state fiscal year, the state treasurer shall distribute the balance remaining in the limited gaming fund, except for an amount equal to all expenses of the administration of this section 9 for the preceding two-month period, according to the following guidelines: fifty percent shall be transferred to the state general fund or such other fund as the general assembly shall provide; twenty-eight percent shall be transferred to the state historical fund, which fund is hereby created in the state treasury; twelve percent shall be distributed to the governing bodies of Gilpin county and Teller county in

proportion to the gaming revenues generated in each county; the remaining ten percent shall be distributed to the governing bodies of the cities of: the City of Central, the City of Black Hawk, and the City of Cripple Creek in proportion to the gaming revenues generated in each respective city.

(III) Of the moneys in the state historical fund, from which the state treasurer shall also make annual distributions, twenty percent shall be used for the preservation and restoration of the cities of: the City of Central, the City of Black Hawk, and the City of Cripple Creek, and such moneys shall be distributed, to the governing bodies of the respective cities, according to the proportion of the gaming revenues generated in each respective city. The remaining eighty percent in the state historical fund shall be used for the historic preservation and restoration of historical sites and municipalities throughout the state in a manner to be determined by the general assembly.

(c) and (d) Repealed.

(e) The general assembly shall enact provisions for the special licensing of qualifying nonprofit charitable organizations desiring to periodically host charitable gaming activities in licensed gaming establishments.

(f) If any provision of this section 9 is held invalid, the remainder of this section 9 shall remain unimpaired.

(6) Local vote on legality of limited gaming - election required. (a) Except as provided in paragraph (e) of this subsection (6), limited gaming shall not be lawful within any city, town, or unincorporated portion of a county which has been granted constitutional authority for limited gaming within its boundaries unless first approved by an affirmative vote of a majority of the electors of such city, town, or county voting thereon. The

question shall first be submitted to the electors at a general, regular, or special election held within thirteen months after the effective date of the amendment which first adds such city, county, or town to those authorized for limited gaming pursuant to this constitution; and said election shall be conducted pursuant to applicable state or local government election laws. (b) If approval of limited gaming is not obtained when the question is first submitted to the electors, the question may be submitted at subsequent elections held in accordance with paragraph (d) of this subsection (6); except that, once approval is obtained, limited gaming shall thereafter be lawful within the said city, town, or unincorporated portion of a county so long as the city, town, or county remains among those with constitutional authority for limited gaming within their boundaries.

(c) Nothing contained in this subsection (6) shall be construed to limit the ability of a city, town, or county to regulate the conduct of limited gaming as otherwise authorized by statute or by this constitution.

(d) (I) The question submitted to the electors at any election held pursuant to this subsection (6) shall be phrased in substantially the following form: “Shall limited gaming be lawful within ?”

(II) The failure to acquire approval of limited gaming in the unincorporated portion of a county shall not prevent lawful limited gaming within a city or town located in such county where such approval is acquired in a city or town election, and failure to acquire such approval in a city or town election shall not prevent lawful limited gaming within the unincorporated area of the county in which such city or town is located where such approval is acquired in an election in the unincorporated area of a county.

(III) If approval of limited gaming is not acquired when the question is first submitted in

accordance with this subsection (6), the question may be submitted at subsequent elections so long as at least four years have elapsed since any previous election at which the question was submitted.

(e) Nothing contained in this subsection (6) shall be construed to affect the authority granted upon the initial adoption of this section at the 1990 general election, or the conduct and regulation of gaming on Indian reservations pursuant to federal law.

(f) For purposes of this subsection (6), a “city, town, or county” includes all land and buildings located within, or owned and controlled by, such city, town, or county or any political subdivision thereof. “City, town, or county” also includes the city and county of Denver.

(7) Local elections to revise limits applicable to gaming - statewide elections to increase gaming taxes. (a) Through local elections, the voters of the cities of Central, Black Hawk, and Cripple Creek are authorized to revise limits on gaming that apply to licensees operating in their city’s gaming district to extend:

(I) Hours of limited gaming operation;

(II) Approved games to include roulette or craps, or both; and

(III) Single bets up to one hundred dollars.

(b) Limited gaming tax revenues attributable to the operation of this subsection (7) shall be deposited in the limited gaming fund. The commission shall annually determine the amount of such revenues generated in each city.

(c) From gaming tax revenues attributable to the operation of this subsection (7), the treasurer shall pay:

(I) Those ongoing expenses of the commission and other state agencies that are related to the administration of this subsection (7);

(II) Annual adjustments, in connection with distributions to limited gaming fund recipients listed in subsection (5)(b)(II) of this section, to reflect the lesser of six percent of, or the actual percentage of, annual growth in gaming tax revenues attributable to this subsection (7); and

(III) Of the remaining gaming tax revenues, distributions in the following proportions:

(A) Seventy-eight percent to the state's public community colleges, junior colleges, and local district colleges to supplement existing state funding for student financial aid programs and classroom instruction programs; provided that such revenue shall be distributed to institutions that were operation on and after January 1, 2008, in proportion to their respective full-time equivalent student enrollments in the previous fiscal year;

(B) Ten percent to the governing bodies of the cities of Central, Black Hawk, and Cripple Creek to address local gaming impacts; provided that such revenue shall be distributed based on the proportion of gaming tax revenues, attributable to the operation of this subsection (7), that are paid by licensees operating in each city; and

(C) Twelve percent to the governing bodies of Gilpin and Teller Counties to address local gaming impacts; provided that such revenue shall be distributed based on the proportion of gaming tax revenues, attributable to the operation of this subsection (7), that are paid by licensees operating in each county.

(d) After July 1, 2009, the commission shall implement revisions to limits on gaming as

approved by voters in the cities of Central, Black Hawk, or Cripple Creek. The general assembly is also authorized to enact, as necessary, legislation that will facilitate the operation of this subsection (7).

(e) If local voters in one or more cities revise any limits on gaming as provided in paragraph (a) of this subsection (7), any commission action pursuant to subsection (5) of this section that increases gaming taxes from the levels imposed as of July 1, 2008, shall be effective only if approved by voters at a statewide election held under section 20(4)(a) of article X of this constitution.

(f) Gaming tax revenues attributable to the operation of this subsection (7) shall be collected and spent as a voter-approved revenue change without regard to any limitation contained in section 20 of article X of this constitution or any other law.

Enacted by the people November 6, 1990.

For: 574,620 Against: 428,096

Effective upon proclamation of the Governor, January 3, 1991.

Paragraph 6 enacted by the people November 3, 1992.

Paragraph 7 enacted by the people November 4, 2008

For: 1,330,566 Against: 936,254

Complete Amendment can be found at: http://dfs.state.co.us/Gaming/rule_gaming.pdf

Appendix B: Map of Central City



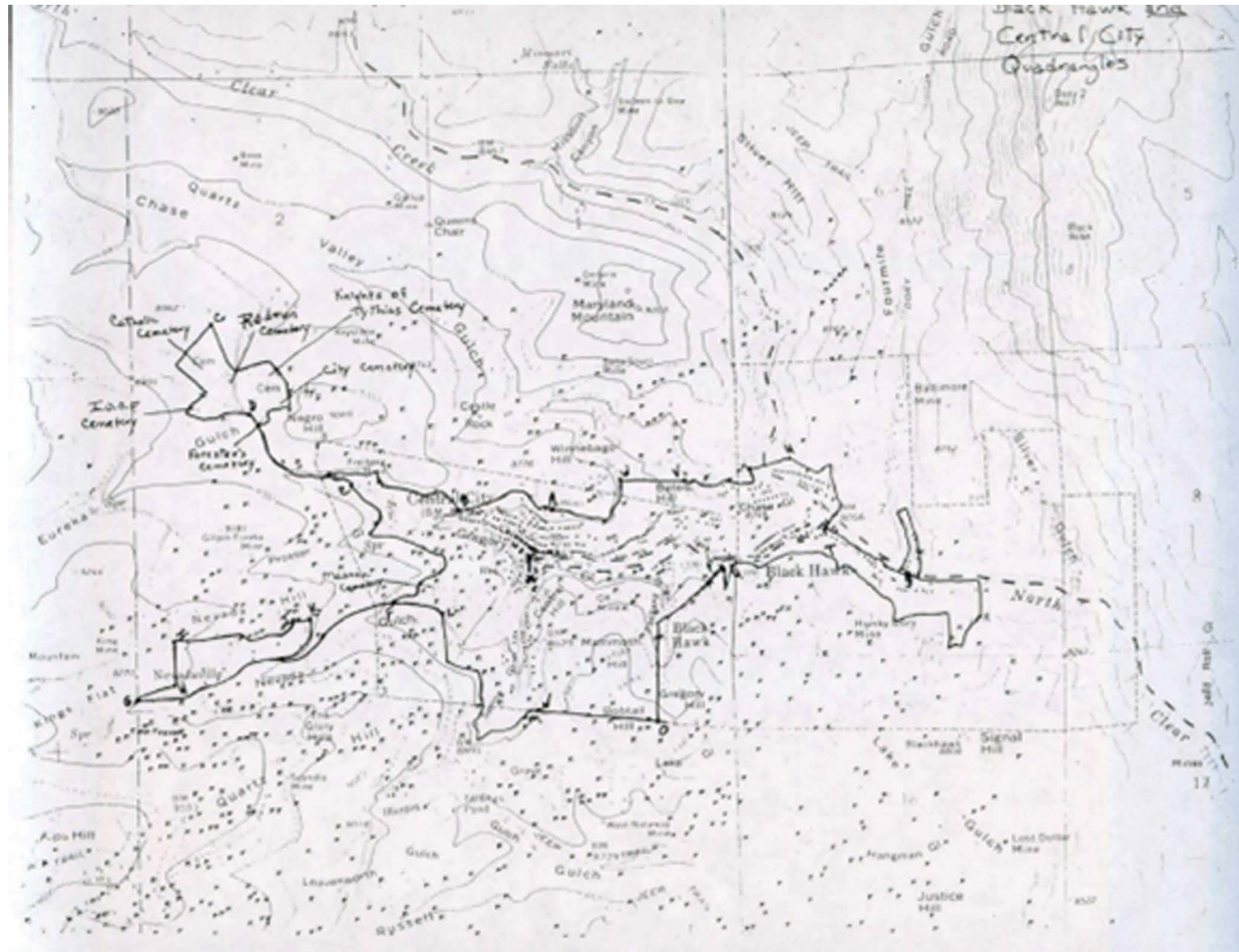
Google Maps (accessed April 15, 2013)

Appendix C: Map of Black Hawk



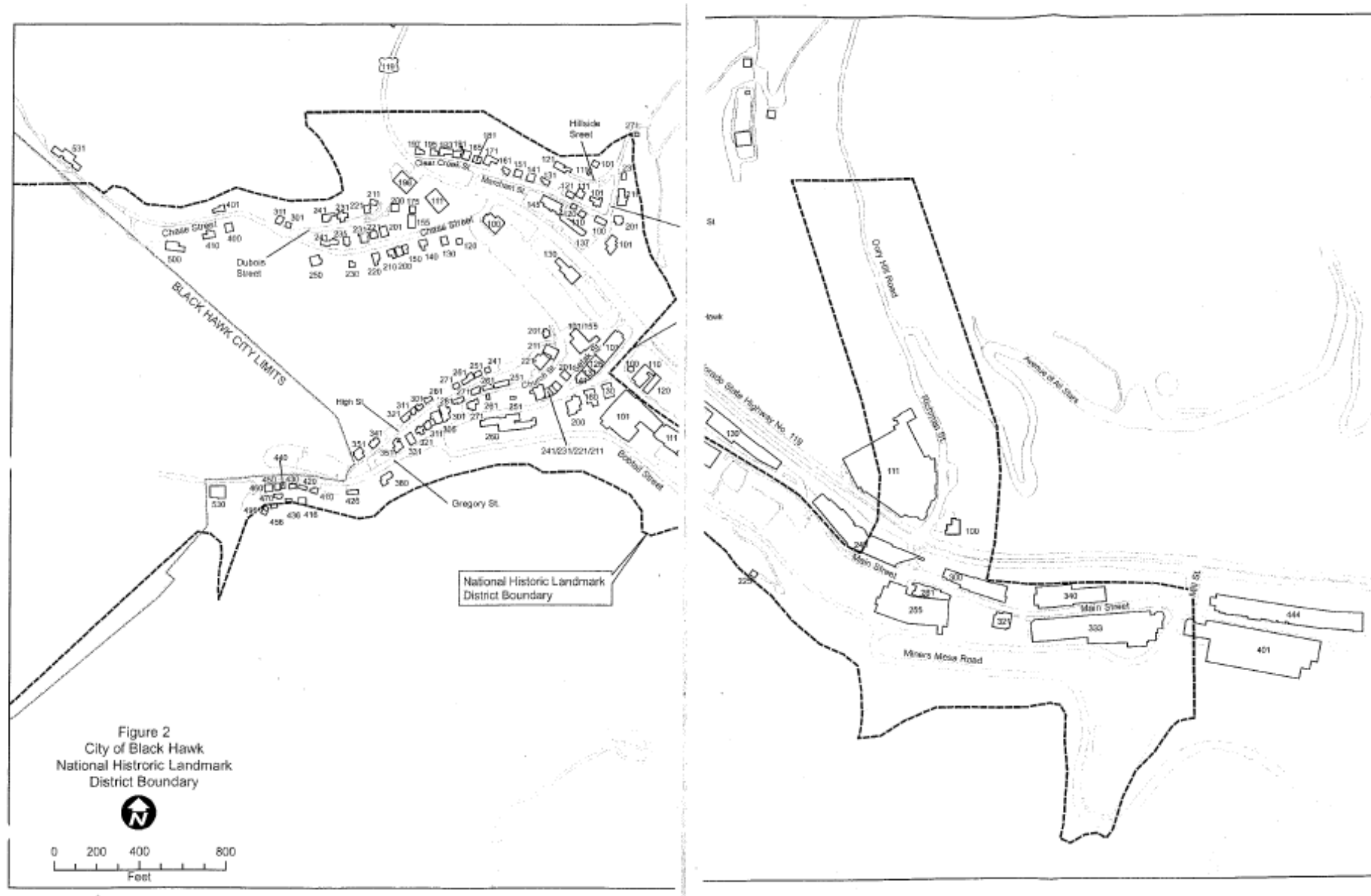
Google Maps (accessed April 15, 2013)

Appendix D: Map of National Historic Landmark District



Courtesy of Deon Wolfenbarger

Appendix E. Map of Black Hawk's Portion of the National Historic Landmark District



Courtesy of Deon Wolfenbarger