

Growth Management in Aspen, Colorado,
1960-1977

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In 1950, Pitkin County, Colorado, home of the city of Aspen, possessed about 1600 residents. The 1960 census recorded an increase of 44% to 2300 citizens. By 1970, the population had risen by another 160% to around six thousand people, and the next five years witnessed the arrival of 2700 more new residents (a 44% rate of growth). But the 1980 census counted only 10,300 Pitkinites; the second half of the 1970s saw the Aspen area grow by a mere 19%. In the 1980s growth accelerated slightly to 22% but still fell far short of the astonishing expansion rates of the boom years.¹ Even considering the distortions in census results caused by large numbers of part-time and temporary residents in the Roaring Fork Valley, clearly the currents of growth had shifted. Why did this dramatic change take place? Why did Pitkin County grow so quickly in the first place, and why did population increases suddenly slow after the mid-1970s?

Aspen's growth spurt and the forces that halted it resulted from a complicated interaction between the area's special resources and national trends of population and recreation. The city of Aspen lies amid some of the most gorgeous scenery and best ski slopes in the Colorado Rockies. Its Victorian architecture, preserved from mining days, lends the community a unique charm. And an array of cultural assets, including a famous classical music festival, an annual design conference, and the

¹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, City and County Data Book (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1952), 114. Ibid, 1962, 42. Ibid, 1967, 42. Ibid, 1977, 78. Ibid, 1987, 68. Ibid, 1994, 74.

Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, provide artistic and intellectual stimulation far beyond that of most communities Aspen's size. This combination of resources has, since the 1950s, encouraged the settlement of a younger, wealthier, and better educated population than most of the rest of Colorado. When national increases in the popularity of skiing, leisure time, disposable wealth, and a taste for non-urban living brought massive influxes to the area, Aspenites, both new and old, possessed the experience, ideals, and knowledge to fight it. Residents, including many members of the same population surge that threatened the town's integrity, took action to preserve the community by preventing further growth. Under community pressure, a City Council and Board of County Commissioners with virtually no experience in municipal planning accepted innovative policies meant to virtually end growth in the upper Roaring Fork Valley.

Actually, in the 1960s and 1970s, Aspen witnessed its second round of wildfire growth. The town originated in a silver rush of the 1880s and early 1890s when prospectors poured into the area to profit from its rich mineral resources. In a decade, the city of Aspen grew from an occasional Ute campsite to a community of twelve thousand, possessed of all the modern amenities. With the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in 1893, however, the rapid expansion ended as quickly as it had begun; a market no longer existed for Aspen's principal product. Most of the miners and the community which they had supported soon relocated to more profitable locales, leaving behind a town of a few hundred hardy

souls. Only the collection of increasingly decrepit Victorian buildings which no one could afford to replace reminded the residents of more prosperous times.²

Aspen slumbered until the late 1930s and early 1940s, when two groups of visitors planted the seeds for its twentieth-century renaissance. Elizabeth Nitze Paepcke, wife of a Chicago industrialist, led the first. In 1939, she brought a party of houseguests to the mountains for a ski trip, choosing Aspen because it had become known for stellar slopes despite primitive conditions. The group discovered that the skiing lived up to its reputation. Moreover, the beauty of the mountain valley and the town's Victorian charm won their hearts. Upon their return, Elizabeth Paepcke described the community to her husband Walter. A major funder of the humanistic modernism movement at the University of Chicago, he had been looking for just such a location for a summer colony that he had in mind.³

Walter Paepcke's plans for a cultural outpost in the Rockies became one foundation of Aspen's rebirth. The other source of that new growth evolved from the very reason that Elizabeth Paepcke came there in the first place: skiing. Aspen possesses some of the world's finest ski slopes, and even in the 1930s the town witnessed plans for resort development and a trickle of visitors eager to try the primitive runs. Although World War II

²James Sloan Allen, The Romance of Commerce and Culture: Capitalism, Modernism, and the Chicago-Aspen Crusade for Cultural Reform (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 115-121.

³Ibid, 113-115.

cut off the tourist trade, it also created a new clientele for Aspen in the ski troops of nearby Camp Hale. Training for the Tenth Mountain Division, the U.S. Army's elite winter combat unit, in Leadville, Colorado brought the nation's best skiers to the Rockies. Many chose to take their liberty time in Aspen, discovering the area's resources for skiing and laid-back living. A large number decided to relocate there after the war.⁴

By the late 1940s, the major catalysts behind Aspen's twentieth-century surge of growth fell into place. After the war, Walter Paepcke commenced plans for a summer institute based on the study of humanistic values. He began by buying up Victorian houses, bringing in prominent modernist artist and architect Herbert Bayer to oversee the harmonious development of the town, and inaugurating a festival of music and speeches to commemorate the bicentennial of Goethe's birth. In addition, Paepcke founded the Aspen Skiing Company with his brother-in-law Paul Nitze, creating the infrastructure for the area's ski industry.

Paepcke hoped to keep Aspen elite and exclusive--he wrote to Nitze that "...we want to have it [Aspen] fairly selective and just large enough to make it entirely profitable, but not overrun, especially on weekends."⁵ He even encouraged the development of a master plan to preserve the town's charm. But Aspen's rapidly spreading fame as a ski resort undermined his

⁴Anne Gilbert, "Re-creation through Recreation: Aspen Skiing from 1870 to 1970" (unpublished paper, Aspen Historical Society, 1995), 36-44.

⁵Ibid, 140.

plans. Lodges, restaurants, and shops, many run by Tenth Mountain veterans, proliferated to profit from the skier trade. Over the next fifteen years two new ski areas, Buttermilk and Aspen Highlands, widened the selection of ski terrain available. Greater amenities and the publicity that accompanied them only increased the flow of visitors; many chose to stay and became residents.

Demographically, Paepcke got his wish that the newcomers be members of an elite, although their numbers hardly made the area exclusive. Pitkin County's population grew by 44% between 1950, when development had barely begun, and 1960, when it was well underway. Three-quarters of that increase came from in-migration as the upper Roaring Fork Valley witnessed the second-highest rate of growth on the Western Slope. In 1960, over 70% of the area's adults had finished high school, one of the highest rates in Colorado, and 25% of its families, more than in any other Colorado county, had incomes of more than \$25,000.⁶ Skiing and culture drew an unusually rich and well educated wave of new residents to the area.

Even the less well-to-do arrivals brought a new flavor to the valley. Peggy Clifford, a long-time Aspen resident and columnist for the local newspaper, recalls that "...we [newcomers] wore our voluntary poverty like a medal and boasted of our moral superiority" while "the natives of Aspen, most of

⁶U.S. Department of Commerce, City and County Data Book, 1962.

whom had been born poor and saw nothing romantic about it, thought we were crazy."⁷ Many natives remembered the long dry years between the silver crash and the second World War and feared that obstructions placed in the way of development might end the new prosperity. However, when Walter Paepcke decided in 1955 that Aspen needed zoning ordinances to preserve it from untrammelled expansion, enough support existed to convince the City Council to pass them.⁸

The progression of urban planning techniques used in the Roaring Fork Valley over the past forty years reflects both advances in planning methods and increased willingness by decision-makers to use them. In the 1970s Aspen would occupy the cutting edge of urban planning, but in the mid-fifties its government agencies remained more conservative. Zoning, created during the Progressive era of urban reform, relies on geography to manage growth; it evolved from "nuisance ordinances" of the 1890s meant to keep noxious uses like factories or slaughterhouses out of residential areas. Eventually such measures developed into zoning codes like those implemented in Los Angeles (1909) and New York (1915) and those used to plan the auto-oriented suburbs of the 1920s and the tract housing of the

⁷Peggy Clifford, To Aspen and Back: An American Journey (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 45-46.

⁸Joel Katz, Aspen Visible: A Guidebook to the Natural and Man-Made Environment in and Around Aspen, Colorado (Aspen: International Design Conference, 1972).

1950s.⁹ Planners examine the physical layout of the community and choose areas for different uses, trying to ensure that all segments of the community receive adequate space for their needs while maintaining harmony between uses. For instance, heavy industry and residential neighborhoods would ideally be widely separated to prevent the noise and pollution of the former from drifting into the latter. Zoning also regulates the kind of buildings that may be erected in a given area; height restrictions, setbacks, and other provisions rule out construction that planners see as incompatible with the flavor of the community. Through managing geography, planners also hope to manage growth.

Zoning has its limitations, however. Like Aspen, many cities undertook zoning without creating a more general master plan to guide their efforts. Often, they based zoning ordinances on existing use of the land without considering where new uses might have to be placed. Without accurate predictions of the size and type of growth the city might expect, planners also frequently over- or underzoned land for specific uses. In 1923, for instance, Chicago designated far too little land for single-family homes and far too much for the commercial district. Aspen's eventual first master plan allowed for 35,000 residents (subsequent modifications would raise that to 50,000) in a fragile mountain valley, although it predicted far fewer new

⁹Seymour I Toll, Zoned American (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1969), 117-187.

arrivals.¹⁰ To remedy these problems, city councils frequently "spot zoned" or granted variances on demand, promptly undermining the ordinances that the planners had worked so hard to put into place.¹¹

Whatever zoning's limitations, few Aspenites felt it necessary to implement further growth management measures. Despite opinions like those of lodgeowner Frankie O'Rear, who commented in the Aspen Times that "Aspen has beds like other people have mice and they are still breeding in the alleys," a limited zoning code to preserve the flavor of the town seemed more than adequate.¹² Aspen, after all, had once possessed a population of over ten thousand people; vacant lots in both business and residential areas abounded.¹³ It appeared that zoning created a happy compromise between economic growth and the preservation of Aspen's small-town atmosphere. Thus, Aspen and Pitkin County took little further action to manage growth for the next decade, despite continuing development. Walter Paepcke died in 1960, and his successors at the Aspen Institute and the Skiing Company took much less interest in guiding the community than he had; no one replaced Paepcke as the leader of the fight against

¹⁰Jerry Brown, Aspen Area General Plan: Final Report (Aspen, Colorado: City of Aspen and Pitkin County, 1966), 9.

¹¹Mel Scott, American City Planning Since 1890 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 195-197.

¹²Aspen Times, 21 September 1962, 14.

¹³Aspen Times, 30 July 1965, 9.

inappropriate development.¹⁴

Some denizens of the Aspen Institute agitated for increased planning in the form of a master plan, but they lacked Paepcke's powerful influence. The town and county took six years to adopt a plan, and even then failed to fully enact its provisions. In 1960, Herbert Bayer, chair of the city's planning and zoning commission, and a number of residents tried to persuade the City Council and County Commissioners to move quickly to the next step of creating an area master plan.¹⁵ As resident Stanford Johnson pointed out in a letter published in the local newspaper, "Estes Park is an example of Aspen's unplanned future."¹⁶ But action proceeded only slowly; municipal officials felt little sense of urgency. A year passed between Herbert Bayer's initial proposal for a master plan and the actual appointment of a planning consultant.¹⁷

Due to a minor disaster with a planner who never quite got around to doing the work that he had contracted for, Aspen did not possess a master plan until 1966.¹⁸ Written by Jerry Brown, a professional planner from San Francisco, the new Area Plan

¹⁴Allen, 283-289.

¹⁵The Aspen Times, 26 January 1962, editorial by Bil Dunaway.

¹⁶The Aspen Times, 21 December 1962, 16.

¹⁷City of Aspen, City Council Minutes, 10 July 1961 and 3 July 1962.

¹⁸City of Aspen, City Council Minutes, 2 July 1964, 18 July 1965, and 18 April 1966.

satisfied most. It included plans for revised zoning, the design of transportation systems, and the location of future municipal structures. Like zoning, the Area Plan depended on maps and geographical planning, coordinating growth by anticipating and controlling its location. It also tried to manage growth by designing the flow of traffic and the construction of the public infrastructure that would serve it.

Like the zoners of the 1950s, Brown saw his task as the preservation of Aspen's character and the encouragement of harmonious growth. According to the introduction of his Area Plan, the limitations of transportation and industry in the 1890s had created "a definite border...where the city stopped and the countryside began...The city was not "planned"...but the net effect of its environmental limitations was to create an urban pattern which would represent a desirable planning goal by contemporary standards."¹⁹ The stagnation of the area after the silver crash preserved this proximity between country and city when suburban sprawl ended it in other parts of the nation, and it became an essential part of Aspen's charm for visitors and residents. Development connected with the expansion of skiing threatened to blur the line between urban and rural; Brown's plan would prevent "urban sprawl and rural slums" without threatening the economic health of the area.

The Area Plan, developed after a series of community meetings, recommended that city and county zoning and subdivision

¹⁹Brown, Introduction.

codes be revised to provide for coherent and organized development. In addition, areas of the county which had been omitted from the 1950s zoning should be placed under appropriate ordinances immediately. Highway 82, which provided the only access from Aspen to the rest of Colorado, should be rerouted and four-laned to handle increasing traffic, while a transit system, perhaps even an aerial tram, would minimize driving by winter tourists. The community would also require more parks, an underground parking structure, new schools, and expanded municipal buildings and services to accommodate the expected increases in population. A downtown mall would help preserve the city's pedestrian nature in the face of increased commercial development.²⁰

Aspenites traditionally greet any community issue with a chorus of diverging views, and the adoption of the Master Plan proved to be no different. Some locals disapproved of community planning on principle. Back in August 1963, Noyes Huston, an Aspen resident, wrote to the Aspen Times that "Someone should break the news to Mr. Wiener [the first planner hired] that Aspenites are independent people who have come here to avoid the regimentation of planned communities." At a 1966 hearing, a former mayor and a number of supporters argued that zoning denied landowners the freedom to do as they wished with their property. The Aspen Realtors Association protested density controls in the downtown commercial zone. Other residents campaigned for the

²⁰Brown, 32.

plan. Vivian Goodnough argued that the plan was "great" and ought to be adopted; necessary changes could be discussed at later hearings. Eventually, the City Council agreed to adopt the plan with revised density figures that allowed twice as much construction as originally planned downtown.²¹

Other government agencies struggled with the implications of growth as well. The City Council, County Commissioners and federal government all bear responsibility for various parts of Pitkin County; each has different powers to regulate growth and different interests to accommodate. This mixture of jurisdictions complicates issues of growth management since all parties rarely agree on priorities or a course of action. So it occurred in the late 1960s. According to the area plan, Pitkin County should have taken immediate steps to zone the remaining unzoned county territory. But the commissioners saw no need to write ordinances for unzoned land. Except for the vicinity of Aspen, Pitkin County in 1966 remained largely agricultural and forest land belonging to longtime ranch families. Much less threatened by development than Aspen residents, and much more likely to protest government guidance of land use, many Pitkinites resisted any zoning at all.²² With little to protect, the county commissioners preferred not to pursue the matter.

²¹City of Aspen, City Council Minutes, 6 May 1966 and 16 May 1966.

²²Howard A. Schretter, Zoning the Countryside: What's Wrong With It and an Alternative Approach (Athens, Georgia: Institute of Community and Area Development, University of Georgia, 1977), 1-12. Aspen Times, 17 November 1966, 2-A, 5 February 1970, 5-B.

Had population increases remained at the moderate levels of the early 1960s, Aspen's area plan and zoning ordinances might have managed development adequately. However, the planners failed to anticipate the massive growth that began in the Roaring Fork Valley after 1967. Visitors and new residents came to Aspen in the late 1960s and 1970s for the area's unique advantages, just as they had earlier. The difference was that so many more people arrived. Local events, especially the opening of the gigantic Snowmass-at-Aspen resort and increased national publicity, affected the trend, but national demographic movements shaped it as well.

After World War II, the birth rate soared as Americans took advantage of peace and prosperity to start new families; while about 2.5 million women gave birth in 1940, seven years later that number had soared to nearly four million. During the late 1940s and 1950s, this unprecedented wave of births created a population cohort, the "Baby Boomers," whose size placed unusual demands on American society. As children, they needed more schools. As young adults, they required more space in universities. And as the 1970s drew near, they began to leave their parents' homes for households of their own.²³

The young were not the only ones looking for new homes; however. Just as the population of the United States had increased dramatically, so had the affluence of its middle class.

²³U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Two Hundred Million Americans (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), 13-14.

The 1950s and early 1960s were prosperous years for the nation; middle-class workers earned enough to keep their families in comfort and received plenty of leisure time to enjoy the fruits of their labor. In fact, Americans already spent \$28.7 billion on recreation in 1966.²⁴ To enjoy their recreational time, many purchased second homes; others owned condominiums, for which the legal mechanisms had been created in many states in the early 1960s.²⁵

A huge new market for housing existed, but its consumers felt unsatisfied by the kind of homes available in postwar suburbia. Suburban development did account for part of the new growth of the 1960s and early 1970s as metropolitan areas moved into the next empty ring of territory surrounding major cities.²⁶ By the late 1960s, however, many Americans no longer admired the domestic lifestyle embodied by suburbs. The tract house came to symbolize oppression and entrapment for some, especially young people who espoused the values of the counterculture. In addition, family-oriented suburbs failed to interest young, single adults who had put off marriage to pursue education or a career.²⁷ Some moved to the cities,

²⁴Ibid, 53.

²⁵J.Eric Smart, ed., Recreational Development Handbook (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1981): 13.

²⁶Scott, 562-3.

²⁷Michael Schaller, Virginia Scharff, and Robert D. Schulzinger, Present Tense: The United States Since 1945 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992), 227-9.

precipitating the upscaling of run-down neighborhoods by purchasing and renovating old buildings.²⁸

Others, however, preferred a less urban setting. The U.S. Census Bureau traced an increasing movement into nonmetropolitan areas, especially in the West. By 1970, suburban growth had dropped from 48.6% of the national population growth to 26.8% and by 1980 to 18.2%. Meanwhile, nonurban growth rates rose to the highest point since the 1870s.²⁹ Dissatisfied with the crowding and pollution of metropolitan living, many Americans hoped to locate their homes in places that lacked sprawl and suburbanization. In addition, the social changes that affected the nation in the 1960s and 1970s included an increasing emphasis on environmental issues and living in harmony with the natural world. Large numbers wanted to live in closer contact with nature than was possible in metropolitan areas.³⁰

In particular, resort communities witnessed major new growth.³¹ Resort towns fulfilled the expectations of both young migrants and older second-home owners. Generally unurbanized, they provided matchless opportunities for recreation that frequently included a spectacular natural setting and a lively

²⁸Wolf Von Eckart, Back to the Drawing Board: Planning Livable Cities (Washington, DC: New Republic Books, 1978), 9-17.

²⁹U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, We the Americans (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), 7-8.

³⁰Schaller, et. al., 360-1, 402-3.

³¹200 Million Americans, 31.

cultural life. To the delight of developers and the dismay of residents who had been enjoying such advantages in peace, new citizens poured in. Development occurred across the country; for instance, a surge of hotel and condominium construction began in Kaanapali, Maui in 1962 and in Ocean City, Maryland, in the late 1960s. Everywhere subdivisions and condominium developments sprang up to house new residents. Members of the younger generation provided the workforce that kept the enlarged communities running, while older migrants purchased second homes and poured money into the local economy.³²

Though late arrivals to the resort business, ski areas quickly cashed in on the new trends. Until the early 1960s, downhill skiing remained an esoteric sport familiar to only a few. Although improvements in instruction, equipment, and ski slopes took place after World War II and the number of skiers increased slowly, the sport remained the pastime of a well-off elite. The 1960 Winter Olympics, held in Squaw Valley, California, helped change the situation dramatically. Television broadcast the excitement and glamour of Alpine skiing to the nation. At about the same time, skis with sharper edges and safer bindings made the sport much easier to learn and the introduction of stretch pants and fashionable parkas turned the skier from a bundled-up Eskimo into a fashion plate. Americans took up skiing with enthusiasm, and the number of skiers rose every year. Resorts sprang up across the country from Stowe, Vermont, to

³²Smart, 15-16, 88.

Vail, Colorado, and older ski towns like Aspen found themselves besieged.³³

A massive spurt of growth resulted in Aspen as local and national forces combined. Construction starts soared by 14% in five years, skier days rose 22%, retail sales grew 19% and the Aspen city budget increased by 19%.³⁴ Certainly the opening of the enormous Snowmass-at-Aspen ski resort, with all of its accompanying house and condominium construction, contributed to the growth boom.³⁵ In addition, Aspen received more and more attention from the national press; articles about Aspen appeared in publications as diverse as Rolling Stone, The Nation, Sports Illustrated, Business Week, and the New York Times. Not only did the area possess superlative ski slopes, but it had become something of a mecca for the wealthy and famous. Well-known visitors and residents like the Kennedys, Robert S. McNamara, and author Leon Uris spent varying amounts of time in Aspen.³⁶ When floods of new residents that included both rich and poor, old and young, glamour-seekers and nature-lovers, converged on the small community, they strained its resources unbearably.

As the effects of wildfire growth on the landscape and

³³Patrick L. Philips, Developing With Recreational Amenities (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1986), 118-119.

³⁴John S. Gilmore and Mary K. Duff, The Evolving Political Economy of Pitkin County: Growth Management by Consensus in a Boom Community (Denver, Colorado: University of Denver Research Institute, 1974), 9.

³⁵Gilbert, 90-92.

³⁶Allen, 288-9.

community character became apparent across the country, so did the limitations of zoning. As in Aspen, master plans and zoning ordinances failed to control growth; sheer numbers could overwhelm the special character of a town even when developers followed codes to the letter. Zoning addressed the location and appearance of construction but not its scope. In addition, it handled land on a lot-by-lot basis and proved inadequate for planning large developments built all at once. Municipalities could not restrict the massive growth that pressed services to their limits and drove up taxes. And as knowledge of the environmental costs of development increased and Americans came to dislike suburban sprawl, planners discovered the limits of zoning for preventing these problems.³⁷

In the Aspen area, local officials did their best but discovered limitations on what they could do. For instance, when developers presented plans in 1968 to build two massive condominium blocks, North of Nell and Aspen Grove, at the base of the Aspen Mountain ski slopes, the City Council disapproved. Mayor Robert "Bugsy" Barnard and the Council slapped a building moratorium on the city, but the local builders' association promptly sued for their permits. Unfortunately for Aspen, the Colorado state courts did not uphold the city's reasoning that the overburdened sanitation system ought not to be burdened with another huge construction project. The developers got the go-

³⁷Colleen Grogan Moore and Cheryl Siskin, PUDs In Practice (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1985), 3-4.

ahead, and the buildings went up.³⁸ Many locals saw it as a disaster. Raymond Auger wrote in a letter to the editor, "Almost invariably the building called "North of Nell" is cited as an example of Aspen's deterioration. I have heard this from visitors who have been coming here for years, from residents of all income levels, from real estate agents, architects, in short everyone I have spoken to condemns the building. It is often said the building is so much of an architectural monstrosity it alters the character of the town."³⁹

Meanwhile, other construction also boomed. In 1969, 2500 new units of housing went up in the vicinity of a community that only possessed about three thousand permanent residents. The costs of government soared. The new residents needed a bigger post office, more municipal water and sewage service, and more police protection because of the rising crime rate.⁴⁰ The town possessed only a primitive bus service, aimed mostly at shuttling skiers; everyone drove where they needed to go, generating pollution and traffic jams. Parking remained a perpetual problem, and the City Council fought constantly over where new parking belonged.⁴¹ Residents complained, vociferously. Local Jerry

³⁸City of Aspen, City Council Minutes, 22 April 1966, 6 May 1966.

³⁹Aspen Times, 2 October 1969, 2A.

⁴⁰Gilmore and Duff, 8-10.

⁴¹C.R. Goeldner, The Aspen Skier (Boulder, Colorado: Business Research Division, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Colorado, 1974). Vol. I, 53-61. Vol. II, 45-52.

Hobgood wrote to the local newspaper, "I, for one, am sick and tired of rising taxes...when detours are allowed to destroy my shock absorbers, dust covers my house inside and out, sewers remain cesspools, ad infinitum...We are reaching the point when the ideals of Aspen are quickly fading, and the idea is only for the tourist, because he can AFFORD it."⁴² But divisions of opinion about the best course for the community to pursue, bureaucratic inertia, and simple misperception of the magnitude of growth slowed the ability of city and county government to react.

Aspen might have ended up like any number of towns overwhelmed by rapid growth, overdeveloped and suffering from urban sprawl. However, the upper Roaring Fork Valley possessed an unusually young, wealthy, and well-educated population for western Colorado.⁴³ As one urban planner has pointed out, newly developed areas (except for rare circumstances like those following World War II), generally exclude the poor because of the expense of housing. Skiing also costs a lot of money, and while Aspen's population has always included its share of poverty-stricken ski bums, it is mostly the wealthier part of the population that can even afford to learn how to ski.

In addition, Aspen's new young residents often came from an increasingly radicalized university system. They possessed a keen

⁴²Aspen Times, 28 March 1968, 8B.

⁴³U.S. Department of Commerce, City and County Data Book, 1977, 78-80.

sense of the environmental and social costs of overdevelopment, a congenital mistrust of conservative government, and an awareness of the effectiveness of community action. Allied with older residents who watched the destruction of Aspen's small-town atmosphere in dismay, they challenged local government's inertia.⁴⁴ For instance, local artist Tom Benton more or less led a group called the "Aspen Liberation Front" that called for the Aspen City Council to institute density and size controls on new construction.⁴⁵

Many locals became galvanized by a 1969 initiative of the state highway department to expand Highway 82 west of the city from two to four lanes. City and county officials, tired of midwinter collision fatalities and complaints about congestion, welcomed the idea. Residents did not. They dreaded the thought of a four-lane street running through quiet residential districts, and they feared that easier access might bring even more people to the overburdened city. Led by lawyer Joe Edwards and several other young activists, a group of Aspenites formed Citizens for Community Action. In a newspaper interview, Edwards cited the need to protect "those qualities [of Aspen] which we all like from the pressures of boom-town development. We cannot stop all growth, but we can regulate it to ensure open space and the preservation of our ecology."⁴⁶ CCA advocated a platform of

⁴⁴Gilmore and Duff, 10-13.

⁴⁵Peggy Clifford, Aspen: Dreams and Dilemmas, 134-6.

⁴⁶Aspen Times, 9 October 1969, 5A.

professionally directed growth and increased protection of the environment; they planned to enact their ideas by campaigning in the fall elections for mayoral and city council candidates who agreed with them.⁴⁷

In November 1969, local Republican Eve Homeyer defeated Edwards in the mayoral race and became Aspen's first female mayor. Despite her conservative leanings, Citizens for Community Action had also endorsed her for her firm stance on growth control. The City Council elections provided more mixed results. Aspenites elected Ned Vare, the only candidate to fully adopt the CCA platform, to the city council.⁴⁸ However, they also chose William Comcowich, a local dentist who had accused CCA of being "...a thinly disguised political wing of the American Civil Liberties Union" and called their platform "calculated dishonesty" and "shoddiness."⁴⁹

Despite the mixed mandate, the new mayor and city council began to deal with growth issues more energetically than the previous administration. Over the next few years, the city purchased a large block of in-town open space, Rubey Park, from developers, rescinded approval of four-laning Highway 82, agreed with the county to hire a joint professional planner, created historic zoning, and instituted the stricter downtown density

⁴⁷Aspen Times, 21 August 1969, 5-B, 9 October 1969, 5-A and 1-B.

⁴⁸Aspen Times, 6 November 1969.

⁴⁹Aspen Times, 23 October 1969, 1-B.

controls for which the 1966 Area Plan had originally called. It appeared that Aspen had finally chosen a city government willing to confront the issues generated by massive growth.⁵⁰

City officials had the help of considerable advances in the profession of urban planning. For instance, Aspen adopted Planned Unit Development zoning in 1971.⁵¹ A new legal concept behind subdivision codes, PUD zoning considered the design of an entire new development instead of governing construction on a lot-by-lot basis. That gave local planners more control over the overall appearance of the neighborhood; for instance, developers might be allowed to build on smaller lots in exchange for leaving open space in other parts of the development.⁵² Aspen also created innovative zoning of its own, like the viewplane ordinance. In 1974, the Aspen City Council approved a law that protected views of the mountains from downtown; new buildings could not block the scenery. Only San Francisco and Denver possessed similar law, and it had never been tested in court.⁵³

City officials remained torn, however, between the needs of Aspen businessmen and the desires of other community members. For

⁵⁰City of Aspen, City Council Minutes, 9 March 1970, 13 July 1970, 27 March 1972. Aspen Times, 29 January 1970, 3-A, 26 March 1970, 1-B.

⁵¹City of Aspen, City Council Minutes, 4 October 1971.

⁵²Baird B. Brown et al, Residential Development in the Mountains of Colorado: A Handbook of Problems and Guidelines (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1972), 16-19. Moore and Siskin, 5-10.

⁵³City of Aspen, City Council Minutes, 25 March 1974.

example, controversy over the 1976 Winter Olympics split the town in the early 1970s. In 1972, the Colorado Olympic Committee offered the Alpine events to Aspen because Aspen Mountain had the only internationally-certified downhill ski runs in the state. Eager for the unmatched free advertising, D.R.C. Brown, head of the Aspen Skiing Company, accepted on the town's behalf and persuaded the Aspen Chamber of Commerce to support him. When the news broke, infuriated residents created an uproar.

Although local businessmen salivated over the prospect of booked-solid rooms and abundant publicity, other Aspenites envisioned crowding, environmental degradation, and, as resident Joy Caudill pointed out, a "whole new spiral of development." Even Elizabeth Paepcke attended the special city council meeting on the subject, vividly recalling for the council the consequences of the 1950 FIS (international ski racing) Cup. "The result was the men had to pee in the vacant lots [because of a lack of planning for toilet facilities.] [After that] Walter fought the 1954 Olympics tooth and claw [despite people for whom] growth was something golden in their imagination. Pete Seibert and Morey Shepard left in rage and started Vail and that is the result. Thank goodness, they started Vail." Despite vocal opposition, however, Eve Homeyer cast the tiebreaking vote that lent official city support to a resolution in favor of the Olympics.⁵⁴

⁵⁴Transcript, Olympics Hearing, City Council of Aspen, 12 January 1972.

Pitkin County's government responded to growth less actively than the Aspen City Council. At the beginning of the 1970s, conservative long-time residents or members of old Pitkin County families occupied all three county commissioner seats. The three took little action to discourage growth in the county and in fact faced heavy resistance to doing so. When in 1970 the commissioners considered an extremely modest change in the county zoning code, they met with extraordinary disapproval from their constituents. Rancher Stanley Natal, one of the most vociferous opponents, wrote "We must all advance, progress must continue, and Pitkin County must grow in an orderly fashion...I always believed that what you worked for, acquired, and paid for...belongs to you...If you don't like what you see, turn the other way. And if you really don't like anything you see...go somewhere else."⁵⁵

It was becoming clear, however, that the area needed more stringent growth control. The development around Aspen and Snowmass began to spread out into the less strictly zoned county. Like the Aspen city government, the county commissioners faced soaring costs for the provision of services and the gradual eradication of open space. Pitkin County residents moving downvalley to escape escalating Aspen prices and crowded Aspen conditions resented the replication of those conditions in their new location. In 1972, Pitkin County voters elected Dwight Shellman and Joe Edwards, both fervently anti-growth, to county

⁵⁵Aspen Times, 14 May 1970, 8A. 5 February 1970, 5B.

commissioner seats.⁵⁶ Edwards ran on a platform of "breaking the back of growth" by eliminating the profits to be made in development, while Shellman advocated searching for new techniques to manage growth and keep the community at a reasonable size.⁵⁷

With the power of a majority vote over the third commissioner, J. Sterling Baxter, the two changed the direction of county growth radically. They commissioned a transportation study and advocated the construction of a light-rail transit system to the reluctant Aspen City Council. They enacted the county-wide zoning codes that previous commissioners had been unable or unwilling to approve, downzoning many areas to prevent high-density building. The commissioners cooperated with the city of Aspen in passing the 8040 ordinance, which barred construction above 8040 feet of altitude and preserved the pristine mountains around Aspen.⁵⁸ Most importantly, they embodied the attitude held by many Aspenites that growth was a community disadvantage, to be limited as much as possible, rather than a benefit to the area.

By the mid-1970s, however, many Aspenites felt disappointed by the limited success of local officials in halting growth. Even the newest techniques in planning and zoning and half-a-dozen

⁵⁶Joe Edwards, oral history on videotape, 24 February 1994.

⁵⁷Aspen Times, 12 October 1972, 6-7C.

⁵⁸Aspen Times, 28 March 1974, 7-B, 5 December 1974, 9-A, 14 February 1974, 5-A.

studies on various topics seemed to make little difference in controlling growth. When the city and county decided to revise the 1966 Master Plan in 1975, planners turned to one of the most radical strategies available--nongrowth, in which municipal government placed absolute limits on the amount of new construction allowed every year. In fact, as Bill Kane, the city-county planner, pointed out, the community had moved in that direction as early as 1972 (in a Citizens' Goals Task Force) but lacked the legal framework upon which to hang zoning ordinances.⁵⁹

The nongrowth movement had spread across the country as communities discovered that no matter how carefully they directed increases in population, the character of the community remained permanently changed. In addition, citizens and planners began to recognize that a limit existed as to how much growth the environment could bear. The two groups looked for legal ways to place numerical limits on growth instead of merely steering it.⁶⁰

Petaluma, California won the legal battle that enabled other communities to enact the new approach. Once a sleepy agricultural town, Petaluma witnessed massive residential growth when the new freeway brought thousands of San Francisco workers looking for reasonably priced homes. Its Victorian charm rapidly eroded as

⁵⁹Aspen/Pitkin County Growth Management Plan, 9.

⁶⁰Earl Finkler and David L. Peterson, Nongrowth Planning Strategies: The Developing Power of Towns, Cities, and Regions (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), xiv-xxv.

developers built more and more ugly tract housing just east of town. The city fought back by setting a quota for the number of building permits that would be made available annually. Builders had to compete for the right to put up developments. Despite strenuous protests from the building industry and a long legal battle, federal courts eventually upheld Petaluma's system.⁶¹ Boulder also served as a model for limiting growth; its citizens voted in the 1970s to establish a population cap for the town that would prevent exponential growth. And the city's policy of buying up open space around it both provided environmental benefits and blocked suburban sprawl.⁶² Although builders screamed in protest and some observers argued that growth limitation was simply exclusionary zoning meant to protect the haves from the have-nots, legal and public opinion eventually came to sanction nongrowth. Aspen borrowed directly from Petaluma and Boulder's ideas when formulating its own growth management plan.⁶³

By 1977 the Aspen area possessed a new growth management plan that bore little resemblance to the document written in 1966. The 1966 master plan had focused on channeling growth appropriately and encouraging the "right kind" of expansion. It had not envisioned growth in and of itself as inappropriate, just

⁶¹Randall W. Scott, ed., Management of Control and Growth, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1975), 121-210.

⁶²Finkler, 27-42.

⁶³Interview by author with William Kane, former town planner, 10 March 1995.

uncontrolled growth. When the City Council and County Commissioners finally approved the new plan, the planners intended to limit growth absolutely. Only a 3.47% growth rate would be permitted each year, to be enforced by the distribution of building permits under a quota system that resembled Petaluma's. Never again would the runaway growth typical of the period between 1967 and 1973 be allowed to ruin the area; by limiting new construction, officials hoped to lessen the environmental and social impacts of crowding far too many people into a small mountain valley.⁶⁴

In keeping with Aspen's highly unusual population and priorities, the city and county picked a novel way of handling a situation which many cities faced. Only Petaluma and the university town of Boulder had previously tried limiting growth by restricting building quotas. The new method had only recently survived a federal court battle. No one had ever tried it on a business district, as Aspen did.⁶⁵ Aspen planners had never been afraid to try new approaches, but the 1977 plan pioneered even more radically.

Of course, no plan is without flaws, and neither was Aspen's 1977 plan. It did achieve what it had set out to do; it limited the population in the upper Roaring Fork far below the demographic projections for the area. But it failed to account for the economic principle that scarcity drives up prices. When

⁶⁴Aspen/Pitkin County Growth Management Policy Plan, 1-10.

⁶⁵Aspen Times, 24 February 1977.

new houses became harder to get, they also got more expensive-- far out of the reach of the employees who kept the ski town running. The workers accelerated their general movement downvalley, looking for affordable homes in less tightly zoned areas. The percentage of second homes occupied only during the Christmas busy season soared; the school district closed buildings as the student body shrank. Aspen had not become the growth-fed monster that many had predicted at the beginning of the 1970s; some, however, saw its new form as worse.⁶⁶

Despite, or perhaps because of its many unique qualities, Aspen suffered from very typical problems of urban growth in the 1960s and 1970s. Like cities and towns across the nation, Aspen and the surrounding area faced a massive influx of population and all the attendant problems that the new residents brought with them. Unlike many of its fellow sufferers, however, Aspen saved itself from death by overcrowding. Its citizens, both longtime locals and the newcomers whose arrival precipitated the very conditions that they had come to avoid, fought off sprawl and environmental degradation with remarkable success. Like most victories, however, this one came with a price, and Aspenites continue to divide over whether it was worth paying.

In conclusion, the community of Aspen achieved something quite unusual in a corner of the Rocky Mountains. Urban reform commonly lags far behind the needs of a city, for it takes time to recognize that a problem exists and implement solutions. Aspen

⁶⁶City and County Data Book, 1994, 74-87.

went from wide-open development to a tightly controlled growth plan in a decade, largely because of its highly educated, well-to-do, and activist population. Some argue that the consequences of controlled growth have had a more detrimental effect upon the community than the growth itself would have; that debate is unlikely to be settled in the near future. But, as the planners intended, the wildfire growth of the 1960s and 1970s is no more.

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The six articles on mining activities in the Aspen area from about 1916 to the time of the great depression were composed from memory. There may be slight errors of possibly a year give or take on some of the dates listed. If any one wants to rebut some of my statements, they are privileged to do so. By reading back issues of the Aspen Times especially from about 1919 to 1929, they can find for themselves the authenticity of my statements. I, myself do not have the time, energy, or ambition to do the research necessary to correct minor defects in my writings. I do not claim to be a historian.

Each of the six articles should be accompanied with the photo enclosed. These photos were all by Steve Boundy who took them with his old time kodak. Each photo should have the caption: Photo by Steve Boundy.

Steve Boundy (deceased) was an old time Aspenite. He may have been born in Aspen. He was a very short man. For many years he was night-clerk at the Hotel Jerome. He lived with his parents the Frank Boundys on South Mill Street on the east side of the street a short distance south of Dean Court. His father, Frank Boundy owned and worked some mining claims in Tourtelotte Park.

Matthew Oblack
18th April 1980

THE ASPEN SAMPLER

What were some of the mining activities in and around Aspen from the period during World War I and up to World War II? I want to recall some of these, beginning with the Aspen Sampling Works or the Sampler as it was commonly called.

The Sampler buildings were located on the north side of Waters Avenue from West End Street and extending east to almost the Roaring Fork River. After a disastrous fire, it was re-built during the summer of 1916.

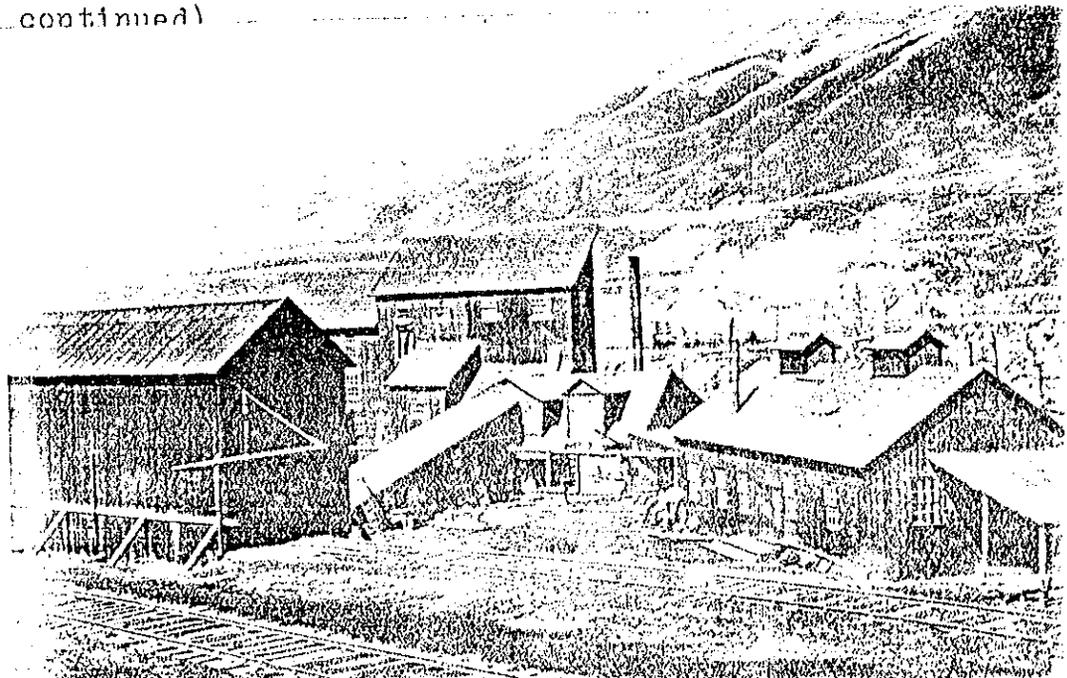
The Sampler was owned and operated by the Smuggler Mining, Milling, and Leasing Company. The eastern part of the main building consisted of a large storage shed about 75 feet by 125 feet where ore was stored and mixed from the various mines up to 4 or 5 feet in depth prior to being run through a series of crushers before it was shipped to the smelters in Leadville and elsewhere. Next to the main shed were bins which held up to 55 tons of ore.

One of the separate buildings housed the scales for the ore being brought in by teamsters for weighing, the office, a chemists shop, and an assay room.

Ore was being brought in on the south side of the Sampler by railroad cars from mines on the Smuggler mountain, Durant, Veteran, and the Newman mine. The Newman mine was up Castle Creek, the present location of the music school. I recall 5 different teamsters each with a four horse team which hauled ore to the sampler from the mines on Aspen mountain and from some on Castle Creek. At that time there were a number of mines on Aspen mountain being worked mostly by "leasers". Among these were: the Bonnybell, Late, Acquisition, Bokman, Monarch, Pioneer, New York, Thousand and One, and others. Prior to the building of the Park tramway, ore was also brought down from the Jenny Lind and the Richmond Hill Mining Company commonly called the Park Tunnel.

The ore from the leasers was stored in the small bins and after a chemical and assay analysis was made, was purchased directly from them. The ore which was brought in by railroad cars, that in the small bins, and in the large storage shed was moved to the main crusher in wheelbarrows involving heavy manual labor by the crew. The purpose of mixing the ores from the various mines was that the smelters demanded certain composition of ores which had a particular fluxing material in it.

(to be continued)



THE SMUGGLER MILL

The Smuggler Mill owned by the Smuggler mining company was located near the bank of the Roaring Fork River slightly to the northwest of the end of Spring street some 200 feet west of the present Eagles Lodge.

Low grade ore was concentrated by the water flotation process. The ore was first crushed and then run across a jig known as a Wiffle Table. The waste material was washed away while the heavy minerals mostly silver and lead stayed behind and were scraped into separate compartments for storage prior to being shipped to the smelters. Most of the waste material was washed into the river although there were some settling ponds, murky water went into the river. This was in the days before environmentalists and fishing was GOOD in the Roaring Fork below Aspen. The trout seemed to thrive on the highly mineralized water.

The ore to the Smuggler Mill was brought in by railroad cars. All through that time, the Rio Grande kept a switch engine and crew stationed permanently in Aspen. Everyday the crew would take empty ore cars to the Smuggler mountain side mines, to the Durant mine, to the A.J., to the Veteran, to the Newman mine, and to the Durant tramway terminal building located on Ute Avenue the present side of the original Aspen Alps condominiums. The low grade ore was then brought to the Smuggler Mill, the better ore was either sent to the Aspen Sampler, or parked in the railroad yards until the outgoing Aspen branch of the Rio Grande sent it on its way to the smelters. One such loaded car fell into the ground when the Glory Hole caved in, in 1918.

The ore brought down on the Durant tramway all went to the Smuggler mill as it was low grade. It was ore that was brought down the mountain in buckets attached on cables and came from the dumps that were being worked over on the mines in Vallejo Gulch, namely: the Upper Durant also known as the Compromise; the Aspen Mine; and the Connemara.

(to be continued)

MINING AT THE BASE OF SMUGGLER MOUNTAIN

To about the end of World War I there were three shaft mining operations at the base of Smuggler Mountain. These were the Silver King commonly known as the Molly Gibson, the Smuggler, and the Free Silver. The actual Molly Gibson shaft was a short distance to the southeast of the Silver King and at that time was barely identifiable as it was already caved-in.

Around 1919 the water pumps were taken out of the Silver King, the Free Silver, and the Argentum-Juaniata (A.J.). All of the workings below the street level of Aspen were allowed to fill with water and company operations below ceased to exist. The A.J. mine was located about 150 feet south of the 800 block of Ute Avenue where # 3 condo of the Aspen Alps is now located or a short distance back of Dean Billing's place. A man-way connected the A.J. under the streets of Aspen with the operations at the Smuggler and Molly Gibson.

There were two versions as to why the pumps were pulled but only one these days seems to persist. The first version was that the Hyman interests in the Smuggler and Molly Gibson did most of the pumping of the water and that the Brown interests owned the power plant and refused to lower the price of electricity to run the pumps to make for cheaper operation so they refused to buy electricity at the higher price. The other side of the story is that the contact vein at the 18th level of the Smuggler had narrowed down to 24 inches, so that it was no longer profitable to mine at that level. I am inclined to believe this second version as most of the valuable ore had been already mined from the surface down to this lowest level.

The lower levels of the mines on the Smuggler side were very hot. The miners could only work from 20 to 30 minutes at a time topless before having to take periods of rest. For a number of days after the pumps were pulled and the lower levels were being flooded, the water turned to steam and the hot white water vapor could be seen shooting out of the Smuggler shaft for a height of 50 or more feet. This scene was visible from all over Aspen.

The Smuggler mine also had three tunnels. Number One was a short distance north of the Silver King buildings, number Two was about 100' up the mountain from the base of the Smuggler shaft, and number Three was another 100 or more feet above the number Two. Mining was continued in these three tunnels by leasers until the great depression of the early nineteen thirties when the price of silver plummeted to 24¢ an ounce.

Next article will deal with the Cowenhoven tunnel and the Hunter Creek mill.

(to be continued)

COWENHOVEN TUNNEL AND THE HUNTER CREEK MILL

The Hunter Creek Mill was located where the present Silver King Apartments now stand. It was an oil flotation process and perhaps some water Wiffle tables were also used. Although ore was brought in by railroad cars from the various Brown properties, it served mainly to process the ores that came from the mines tapped by the Cowenhoven tunnel. A trestle connected the Cowenhoven tunnel directly with the mill on which the ore was brought in small mine cars to be concentrated.

The Cowenhoven tunnel was built to tap the mines on the northern part of Smuggler mountain and up in Hunter Creek. Some of these mines were: the J.C. Johnson; Bushwacker; Dela S.; and Mineral Farm. After a number of years of disuse much of it had caved-in. Around 1922 or 1923 the Silver Mines Co. of America from Pittsburg, Penn. undertook to re-timber it. Their original idea was that after it got passed the Mineral Farm which I believe was the end of the tunnel, that they would continue to drive the tunnel under Hunter Creek and to Lenado. However, they seemed to have run out of money and never got passed the Mineral Farm. At the same time they began building a smelter next to the Hunter Creek Mill. They got the concrete huts poured and even brought in some steel frame work. When I was a freshman in the Aspen High School some of the boys in the senior class had a mania that year for playing "hooky" and every once in a while would spend afternoons chasing around in the concrete structures which by that time had been dubbed, "King Tut's Tombs".

After the Silver Mines Company had cleaned out the Cowenhoven tunnel, they leased out various portions of the mines. I remember my father and his partner, Frank Dolinsek shipped out several railroad car loads of ore from the Bushwacker and from the Mineral Farm.

(to be continued)

ASSAYERS AND CHEMISTS

Where metal mining takes place the assayers and chemists are indispensable. They tested the ores for the miners and mining companies to determine the silver, lead, zinc, and other metals content in the rocks. The Smuggler Mining Company had its own laboratories and employed a chemist and two assayers. There were also independent assayers and chemists in town. These did work for the smaller mining companies and for the leasers.

One very well and expert assayer and chemist was Fred Leaver who had his shop in the center of what is now Ruby Park on Durant Avenue. A part of the ad which he carried in the Aspen Times and on his assay reports read: "WE DO NOT GUARANTEE SATISFACTION BUT WE DO GUARANTEE ACCURACY". When a miner shipped a carload of ore to the smelter in Leadville, the smelter would take a sample of the ore and divide it into 3 parts. One part would be analyzed by the smelter's chemists and assayers, one part sent to the state assayer in Denver, and the 3rd part sent to the miner's local assayer. Often times Fred Leaver's tests would show more ounces of silver to the ton and more pounds of lead to ton than what the smelter had paid the miner. Then the state assayer was called upon to umpire the results. The state assayer's results would confirm the results found by Leaver and the Smelter company would have to cough up extra money on that shipment of ore. This would often come to from forty to seventy dollars more money. This was quite a bit for the miner when in those days steak was 25¢ a pound, a loaf of bread and a quart of milk were each 10¢.

Each day the leasers would drop off their samples at Fred Leaver's assay house on their way home from work around 4 o'clock in the afternoon to be tested for the silver, lead, or zinc content of the ore which they had mined that day. Around 5 o'clock Fred Leaver would fire up his coal burning assay furnace that belched heavy black smoke out of the chimney and could be seen all over town. If we had leasers and assayers now wouldn't the environmentalists be squirming their heads off? About 8 o'clock that evening the results of the assays would be ready and the miners came by to pick up the results and see if they had been mining pay dirt that day. For those miners who didn't get around to pick up their results, Mr. Leaver would place the slips of paper in envelopes and place them in a wooden covered box attached next to the door so that the miners could pick them up in the morning on their way to work.

(to be continued)

Busk-Ivanhoe tunnel 30th May 1916, also known as Carlton tunnel on Colorado Midland railroad to Basalt, walk to Emma and to Aspen on the Rio Grande depot on Durant between Hunter & Spring.

Two railroads-switch engine and crew.

Mining-Smuggler, shaft, # 1,2, and 3.

Silver King shaft(Mollie Gibson

Free Silver

Cowenhoven tunnel-Bushwacker, Della S. Mineral Farm

Aspen Mountain--Durant; A.J.(Argentum-Juanita);Veteran tunnel; Middle Tunnel; leasers-Pioneer; Great Western; Dirgen; Trainor; Bachmann; Monarch (zinc); L.A.;possibly the Bonny Belle in Spar gulch; Richmond Hill Mining and Leasing Co. with Jenny Lind
Midnight mine; Hurrican; Hope mining and milling
Newman mine " Ben Kobey

Percy La Sall

Two mills-Wiffle tables-

Durant and Park tunnel trams

Pulling the pumps as the contact veins narrowed down to 24 inches. Steam coming out of the Smuggler Shaft

Teamsters hauling ore down from the # 3 and from various places on Aspen Mountain. I recall 5 such out fits.

to Aspen Sampling works on Waters Avenue

Glory Hole went down on the 18th of July 1918 Holocast

Hunter Creek dam and pipe from old power plant down Hallem street to plant under Castle Creek

Clarence Doolittle Electrical Engineer first pelton wheel first hydro-electric plant in Colorado. Generators mostly D.C.

Schools--Garfield, Lincoln, Washington . High School building donated by D.R.C. Brown.

Winters- Coasting and Ice skating

fishing and hunting rabbits

playing shinny at school

dancing at Fraternal (Armory Hall) where all basketball games were held.

Modern Independenced highway begun in the early 1920's. First contract from Aspen to Difficult by Charlie Brown

7 grocery stores--

Lewis Tompkins Hardware-how it got started.

4th of July celebrations- Old Glory and Jack Leahy

Mine accidents.

HOPE MINE AND BEN KOBAY

*
In 1919 a disastrous fire engulfed the Keene Block on the northwest corner of Hyman and Galena Streets. The Aspen Drug was gutted. A mortuary and the Three Rules ladies apparel store were completely destroyed as were the offices on the second story. The Three Rules was owned by Ben Kobey who also owned and operated his Men's and Boy's Clothing and Shoe Store. This Men's store of Kobey's was next door to the Three Rules and there was a connecting door between the two businesses. Mr. Kobey carried only the very best quality of both dress and work clothes and shoes. Most all of the miners bought their clothes at Kobey's. If a miner was short of cash, he could always get credit from Ben Kobey. Kobey knew that the miner would pay him on pay day or when the money came from the smelter from the ore shipped there. Kobey also practiced law and was interested in mining ventures.

The Hope mine was located six miles up Castle Creek. It was started as a stock company mostly by the people of Aspen with the idea that there were ore bodies on the Castle Creek side of Aspen Mountain between Aspen and Ashcroft. During the early nineteen-twenties Ben Kobey was elected president of the Hope Mining, Milling, and Leasing Company. Most of the stock holders lived in Aspen but a few were from down the valley mostly around Glenwood Springs and Rifle. These lower valley stock holders resented Kobey being president as he was of the Jewish faith. It was the time when the Ku Klux Klan was at its zenith in Colorado and Rifle was supposedly the location of a kleagle (chapter) of the klan in the upper Colorado River valley. One night these lower valley klansmen who were stock holders in the Hope mine brought up a cross and set it on fire on Kobey's front lawn, fired some rifle shots into the air and hurriedly fled down the valley as cowards are wont to do. Kobey's next door neighbor, Mr. John Elder who lived on the corner of Bleeker and Monarch Streets, came out of his house in his pajamas, picked up the firey cross and threw it out into the street.

About this time valuable ore was discovered in the Hope mine. A man from Oklahoma who was operating the Hurricane mine properties to the southeast of the Hope secretly bought up old tax titles for his company of the claims which the Hope thought that they owned. The company from Oklahoma went to court to take away the mining claims from the Hope. The Hope had been shipping some ore from their mine. This ore was being hauled to Aspen to the railroad cars by the ore hauling teamsters. Before the litigation was settled the ore body in the Hope had been exhausted and mining there was never resumed.

* Nov. 16, 1919

The Names of some of the Mines around and in Aspen, Colorado

The Park Regent	Sunset
The Mineral Farm	Montezuma
Della S.	Black Diamond
The Johnson	Hard Money
The Cowenhoven	Old Sol
The Smuggler	Brittle Silver
The Mollie Gibson	Humming Bird
The Argentum-Juaniata	Last Chance
The Durant	Eureka
The Enterprise	Tenderfoot
The Thousand and One	Annex
The Deep Shaft	Lamokin
The Western	Blue Diamond
The Trainor	Court of Chancery
The Great Western	Bridal Chamber
The Burns	Atlantic Cable
The Pioneer	Down
The Dirgen	Barefoot
The Nellie Mac	Snowshoe
The Mary B	Halcyon
The Pride of the West	Eclipse
The Pride of Aspen	Isabella
The Pride of the Hills	New Moon
The Court Drift	Eagle Grow
The Aspen	Goldsmith Maid
The Aspen Fraction	Ne plus Ultra
The Concomara	Wolftone
The Late Acquisition	Sailor Boy
The Bokman	Joplin
The Black Hawk	Golden Age
The Lenard	Isabella
The Bonnie Bell	Homestake
The Bisma	Silver Islet
The Jennie Lind	Silver Wave
The Park Tunnel	Alpine
The Mayflower	Unicorn
The Newman	
The Percy Incline	
The Little Annie	
The Libby Bell	
The Ajax	
The Last Dollar	
The Cambird	
Lenado	
The Midnight	
The Hope	
The Hurricane	
The Ruby	
Monarch	
Hoskins	
Schiller	
Ground Hog	
Arkansas	
Trueworthy	
Silver Brick	
The Little Giant	
The Forest	
Lone Pine	

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by Matt ~~Oblock~~