1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Wink's Panorama

Other Name/Site Number: Wink's Lodge/5GL.6

Street and Number (if applicable)**:** 213 Winks Way and 192 Winks Way

City/Town: Pinecliffe vicinity **County:** Gilpin **State:** CO

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior December 11, 2023.

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criteria: 1

NHL Criteria Exceptions: None

NHL Theme(s): II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements
4. Recreational Activities

Period(s) of Significance: ca. 1928-1965

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2)**:** N/A

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6)**:** N/A

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder: Hamlet, Obrey Wendell "Wink"

Historic Contexts: N/A

3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

___ Yes

_X_ No

4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Acreage of Property: 0.7

2. Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)**:**
Datum if other than WGS84:

	Latitude:	**Longitude:**
1	39.921060	-105.457387

OR

UTM References:

Zone	**Easting**	**Northing**

The boundary of the nominated property includes all of Gilpin County assessor parcel number 158133203176 (213 Winks Way) and the eastern part of parcel number 158133203177 (192 Winks Way, also addressed as 233 Lincoln Hills Way), as shown on the included sketch map. The polygon representing the actual boundary has been provided as an ArcGIS shapefile to NPS.

4. Boundary Justification:

The nominated area includes 0.7 acres, encompassing all of the extant resources retaining historic integrity associated with the operation of Wink's Panorama/Wink's Lodge resort during the period of significance circa 1928-1965.

5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE[1]

Wink's Panorama (also known as Wink's Lodge) is nationally significant for its association with African American history as a rare Rocky Mountain destination for Black travelers seeking a mountain recreational experience during the era of segregation, when travel was challenging and potentially dangerous.[2] Situated twenty-eight miles northwest of Denver on a forested mountainside at an elevation of nearly 8,300', Wink's served as a Colorado vacation accommodation and the focal point of the 1925 African American summer vacation home development of Lincoln Hills. The property possesses national significance under National Historic Landmark Criterion 1 for the role it played in the areas of Entertainment/Recreation and Social History from its completion circa 1928-34 to 1965.[3]

Obrey Wendell "Wink" Hamlet (1892-1965), an African American wood, coal, and moving business entrepreneur in Denver's Five Points neighborhood, completed the Rustic stone and wood shingle lodge about 1928, using on-site timber and stone, as well as salvaged materials brought from the city.[4] The lodge stands as a testament to Hamlet's hard work in carving out a niche in the hospitality industry during the Jim Crow era (circa 1877-1964). Obrey Hamlet was an enterprising, but not wealthy, individual. He saw an opportunity and built the lodge while working as a service station attendant in Denver. In addition to the six-unit, one-and-a-half-story Rustic-style lodge, Hamlet also erected, or acquired, a number of small, detached cabins in the development that he also rented to guests. Hamlet's wives, first Naomi and, following her death in 1951, Melba, played integral roles in the May to September operation of the lodge, cooking delicious meals, assisting with reservations, doing laundry, and preparing guest rooms.

Landscape architects Everett L. and La Barbara Fly, who undertook the sweeping study *Black Settlements in America* in 1980, identified just eighteen African American resorts in operation in the United States in 1928 and only thirty by 1949. Everett Fly found that Wink's was the only such destination in the Rocky Mountain West, arguing that "Winks was an important member of a national network of 'cultural landscapes' that served a national clientele and multiple roles in American culture."[5] An examination of the Flys' maps reveals Wink's to be the only such resort between Minneapolis and southern California. Wink's Panorama is the only remaining Rocky Mountain vacation destination listed in the *Negro Motorist Green Book* and *Ebony* magazine's early 1950s guides for Black travelers. Wink's Panorama was listed in 1950, the very first year the *Green Book* expanded its special vacation section to cover the entire country, and was the only Rocky Mountain resort facility that appeared through 1959, the year the vacation section was discontinued.[6]

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[1] The preparers wish to thank the peer reviewers who took time to provide comments on an earlier draft of this nomination.

[2] "*Washington Post* Announces Writing Style Changes for Racial and Ethnic Identifiers," *Washington Post* PR Blog, July 29, 2020. This nomination capitalizes Black and White as adopted by the *Washington Post* in 2020.

[3] The resource's significance within the NHL Thematic Framework falls under Theme II, Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Subtheme 4, Recreational Activities.

[4] Historically, Denver contained half of Colorado's Black population, and by the early 1890s most of the city's African Americans lived in the Five Points area northeast of downtown Denver. In addition to residences, Five Points comprised a self-contained parallel Black community, including a variety of businesses and services, including doctors, dentists, morticians, restaurants, tailors, drug stores, hotels, guest houses, saloons, pool halls, taxi companies, real estate agencies, and a branch of the American Woodmen Insurance Company. Many Five Points businesses were listed in the *Green Book* and other travel guides for Blacks.

[5] Everett Fly, email to Craig Leavitt, September 22, 2011, cited in Wink's Panorama NR nomination, 34.

[6] The 1949 Green Book vacation guide focused on the Mid Atlantic and New England areas, with only two facilities outside this area, one in Florida and the other in Indiana.

First published in 1936, the *Green Book* identified eating, lodging, entertainment, and other facilities that welcomed African American travelers, helping Blacks navigate the dangers of segregated travel to welcoming hotels, motels, resorts, cafes, and other forms of public accommodations. Memoirist Earl Hutchinson, Sr. described the publication as "the bible of every Negro highway traveler in the 1950s and 1960s."[7] Such guides allowed African American travelers to participate in the national story of travel and recreation more fully, by creating a safe, known means of navigating a segregated, hostile landscape. *Overground Railroad* author Candacy Taylor asserts that the "resilience and entrepreneurship of Black folks is celebrated in these spaces."[8]

Wink's Lodge provided rooms, food, and recreational, relaxational, and contemplative opportunities for visitors. Wink's offered a safe space for African Americans to pursue mountain activities, including hiking, horseback riding, sightseeing, and trout fishing in nearby South Boulder Creek, while enjoying views of the Rocky Mountains, fresh air, nature, and eating delicious food. Denver restaurant owner Lawrence J. Pierre judged that Hamlet "brought something different into Colorado, … for blacks to enjoy themselves and go to the mountains like everyone else."[9] Recalling his visits to Lincoln Hills while growing up, Denver funeral director Elvin Caldwell, Jr. took it for granted that African Americans would have access to this type of mountain resort. Only later did he realize what an unusual experience it was.[10] Denver County Judge Gary Jackson, who has visited Lincoln Hills since boyhood, deemed the area "a safe haven, an oasis for black people to enjoy and recreate, feeling safe and comfortable."[11] While many of Wink's patrons came from the Denver area, guests from the East, Midwest, and South also arrived by automobile or train. Out of state guests to Wink's were faced with the prospect of racial discrimination while traveling, even in parts of the country without state mandated racial segregation. Louisiana visitor Eugene Washington expressed his joy at visiting Wink's Panorama: "I felt like royalty being able to rent a mountain lodge that set [sic] amid clusters of other cabins rented by colored people."[12]

The lodge was significant socially, serving as a safe haven for Black people, created by a Black man where visitors could interact freely. A peer reviewer of this nomination observed that Wink's "may have been one of the few opportunities in the intermountain West at which Black people had the opportunity to experience leisure activities in an environment that was largely controlled by Black people."[13] Paul Stewart, founder of the Black American West Museum in Denver, placed Lincoln Hills and, by extension Wink's, in the context of the creation of the 1910 African American settlement of Dearfield in northern Colorado and other self-help, independent efforts by Blacks. Stewart argued such places allowed Blacks to do the things that "made them feel free" and reflected the ideas of Marcus Garvey, a Black political activist, journalist, orator, and proponent of Pan-Africanism.[14] Wink's was a family-friendly venue, where guests dined on the wraparound porch with a view of distant mountains, used the outdoor picnic area to barbecue, and gathered in the lodge living room for conversation and games. Visitors praised the meals prepared by Hamlet's wives, which featured such dishes as fried chicken, trout, greens, biscuits, rhubarb pies, peach cobblers, and smoked meats. The Hamlets raised chickens and planted rhubarb on the grounds. Attracted by its tranquil mountain setting, a number of prominent

[7] Earl Hutchinson, Sr., *A Colored Man's Journey Through 20th Century Segregated America* (Los Angeles: Middle Passage Press, ca. 2000), 86-87.

[8] "Author Candacy Taylor Discusses *Overground Railroad*," St. Louis on the Air, St. Louis Public Radio, February 12, 2020, news.stlpublicradio.org.

[9] Lawrence J. Pierre, Denver, Colorado, interview by Gary Jackson and Nicolo Casewit, February 23, 2007.

[10] Elvin Caldwell, Jr., Denver, Colorado, interview by Gary Jackson, March 16, 2007.

[11] Quoted in *Denver Post*, February 15, 2009.

[12] Quoted in *Denver Post*, February 19, 2006, L-1.

[13] Comments of anonymous peer reviewer number 5 on the December 2020 draft nomination for Wink's Panorama.

[14] Paul Stewart, Denver, Colorado, interview by Gary Jackson and Judy Scott, August 27, 2007.

entertainers and literary figures, including Lena Horne, Count Basie, and Zora Neale Hurston, reportedly relaxed at Wink's following appearances in, or visits to, Denver.

The national period of significance for Wink's Panorama extends from circa 1928-34, from the completion of the lodge, to 1965, the year Obrey "Wink" Hamlet died and the property's role as a Black destination resort ended. The lodge and its associated support resources maintain excellent historic integrity.

TRAVEL AND RECREATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE ERA OF SEGREGATION

From Slavery to Segregation

The census of 1860 identified 89 percent of the 4.4 million African Americans in the United States as enslaved persons, with most living in the thirteen states that would secede from the Union in 1861. In these southern states the free movement of African Americans did not exist. As historian Gretchen Sorin notes: "For black people, mobility was always most highly prized because it was often, and had historically been, an impossibility. Masters confined their enslaved peoples to their property, and free black people found themselves regularly stopped, questioned to determine their status, and sometimes even kidnapped and sold into slavery."[15] Travel and recreation existed for free Blacks before the Civil War, but social customs and physical intimidation in practice often limited their full enjoyment.

Following the Union's decisive military defeat of the Confederacy in the Civil War, the U.S. ratified the so-called Civil War Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, establishing a framework for Black participation in the American polity. Adopted in 1865, the first measure, the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, prohibited slavery or involuntary servitude. The White inhabitants of the former Confederacy displayed remarkable persistence in employing a variety of tactics to deprive African Americans of equal civil rights and reassert their political and economic power. Continued favorable access to African American labor was viewed as crucial to the economic recovery of the South and steps were taken to construct a system resembling that of the slavery era. Following the end of the Civil War, Mississippi (quickly followed by other former Confederate states) enacted a package of laws known as the Black Codes. Constitutional scholar Eric Foner explained the laws were aimed at limiting African Americans'

> freedom of movement and barring them from following certain occupations, owning firearms, serving on juries, testifying in cases involving whites, or voting. Despite the Thirteenth Amendment, involuntary black labor—justified by the criminal exemption—was central to these laws. They required all adult black men at the beginning of each year to sign a labor contract to work for a white employer or face prosecution for vagrancy or other vaguely defined crimes. Those convicted would be fined and, if unable to pay, forced to labor for a white employer.[16]

To counter such efforts, the federal government enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and two additional amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) established birthright citizenship, prohibited laws abridging the privileges and immunities of U.S. citizenship, and ensured equal protection of the law to all persons. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) guaranteed African American males the right to vote. Foner judged the amendments as "crucial in creating the world's first biracial democracy, in which people only a few years removed from slavery exercised significant political power."[17]

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

[16] Eric Foner, *The Second Founding: How the Civil War and Reconstruction Remade the Constitution* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2019), 48.

[17] Foner, *The Second Founding*, xx.

In addition to ratification of these amendments, the federal government pursued a policy of reconstruction of the South during 1865-77. Sending civilian officials and military troops to the former Confederate states, the government made readmission to the Union contingent on adopting new state constitutions that included suffrage for Black men as well as ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. The federal Freedmen's Bureau, created in 1865, assisted newly freed Blacks in building new lives, rejoining their families, and obtaining education and land. Approximately two thousand African American men served in local, state, and federal offices during this era. The creation of the Ku Klux Klan in the South comprised a countervailing force, which used violence and intimidation to deter Black men from voting. Historian Henry Louis Gates, Jr. noted the "painfully short" duration of Reconstruction in comparison to the long history of slavery in America (1619-1865). Gates opines that "Reconstruction involved nothing less than the monumental effort to create a biracial democracy out of the wreckage of rebellion."[18]

Federal troops were withdrawn from the South in 1877, but the full and equal inclusion of formerly enslaved African Americans in American society remained woefully incomplete. Some historians link the formal Reconstruction period to succeeding decades, through at least 1890 or 1900, viewing the entire span as the Long Reconstruction Era. Historians Martin A. Novelli and Frank J. Wetta identify three essential themes of this expanded period: "1) *reform*—the North's attempt to reorder the political and social system of the rebel states; 2) *reaction*—the South's response to the political, economic, and social consequences of the war; and 3) *memory*—the contest over the memory and meaning of events."[19]

The legacy of slavery persisted after 1877, as Whites regained political power and adopted state constitutions that enshrined White supremacy. As celebrated African American author and abolitionist Frederick Douglass argued in 1881: "Out of the depths of slavery has come this prejudice and this color line. It is broad enough and black enough to explain all the malign influences which assail the newly emancipated millions today. … Slavery is indeed gone, but its shadow still lingers over the country and poisons more or less the moral atmosphere of all sections of the republic."[20] Derogatory caricatures of African Americans employed in advertising, blackface performances, and cartoons furthered the agenda of White supremacy. Gates elaborates: "We cannot underestimate the enormous importance of this massive number of negative Sambo images, intended to naturalize the visual image of the black person as subhuman and thereby subliminally reinforce the perverted logic of the separate and unequal system of Jim Crow itself."[21]

During this so-called "Redemption Era," concerted efforts were made in the South to destroy constitutionally granted African American political power. The new Mississippi state constitution of 1890, for example, effectively eliminated Black participation in elections by adding a poll tax and a literacy test: "No citizen could vote without paying two dollars and showing valid receipts for the previous two elections. Nor could one vote without interpreting a passage from the state constitution, chosen at the discretion of a polling registrar."[22] A

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

[19] Martin A. Novelli and Frank J. Wetta, *The Long Reconstruction: The Post-Civil War South in History, Film, and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 2; Gregory Downs and Kate Masur, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study.* (Washington: National Historic Landmarks Program, Cultural Resources, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2017), 99. The NPS theme study defined Reconstruction "as the period of political, economic, and social change, especially in the US South, from 1861 to approximately 1900."

[20] Fredrick Douglass, "The Color Line," 132 *North American Review* (June 1881): 573.

[21] Gates, Jr., *Stony the Road*, 130.

[22] John W. Winkle III, "Constitution of 1890," July 10, 2017 (updated June 8, 2018), Mississippi Encyclopedia, https://mississippiencyclopedia.org.

grandfather clause in the constitution waived the literacy requirement if a prospective voter or his ancestor had voted in state elections prior to 1867, a requirement no Black Mississippian could meet.[23] James K. Vardaman, a framer of the document and future governor of the state, flatly avowed that the 1890 constitutional convention "was held for no other purpose than to eliminate" African American political participation.[24] Southern efforts to suppress African American voting met with considerable success. By the early twentieth century African American voter registration in Alabama had dropped from a peak of 181,000 to 3,000 and in Louisiana from 130,000 to 6,000.[25]

In addition to the legal obstacles discussed above, denial of Black access to the ballot was often enforced by violence or the threat of violence. Between 1870 and 1950, at least 4,400 African Americans were lynched, most in former Confederate states. A 2017 study by the Equal Justice Initiative described such "racial terror lynchings" as "a tool used to enforce Jim Crow laws and racial segregation—a tactic for maintaining racial control by victimizing the entire African American community, not merely punishment of an alleged perpetrator for a crime. Our research confirms that many victims of terror lynchings were murdered without being accused of any crime; they were killed for minor social transgressions or for demanding basic rights and fair treatment."[26] The 1920s resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan as a powerful political force in many areas of the country contributed to this climate of fear and intimidation. The Klan advocated a nativist agenda, emphasizing opposition to Blacks, Catholics, immigrants, organized labor, and Jews, and engaged in mass rallies, cross burnings, marches, and violence.

Memorialization of the Confederate cause became another pillar in the structure of White supremacy and segregation. The foundation for this movement was laid in journalist Edward A. Pollard's 1866 *The Lost Cause.* According to Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Pollard and other proponents of the redemption myth argued the Civil War was not "an act of treason but rather a revolt against an overreaching federal government, in which the Confederates lost but fought with courage and honor. … Second, slavery did not cause the war, and even though many (but not all) Lost Cause advocates ultimately accepted slavery's demise, they did not link it to racial equality."[27] The 1890-1920 era brought monuments honoring former Confederate military and political leaders erected throughout the thirteen states of the former Confederacy. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) sponsored many of these monuments and also attacked school textbooks that described slavery as the cause of the Civil War. Historian Karen Cox argues that the UDC's goal "was to prepare future generations of white Southerners to respect and defend the principles of the Confederacy."[28] The marble and bronze monuments made clear that those honored who had fought to preserve slavery were valued members of the polity and served as tangible symbols of White supremacy and Black oppression.

The disparate treatment of African Americans received the imprimatur of the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1896 case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal" in intrastate railroad transportation. Writing for the seven to one majority, Justice Henry B. Brown rejected Plessy's argument that

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[23] Jerrold M. Packard, *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 68.

[24] Quoted in Packard, *American Nightmare*, 69.

[25] Gates, *Stony the Road*, 186-87.

[26] Equal Justice Initiative, *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*, 3rd ed. (Montgomery, Alabama: Equal Justice Initiative, 2017), 5 and 44. Of this type of lynching, more than three hundred occurred outside the South. Founded in 1989, the EJI is a nonprofit organization that provides legal representation to people who have been illegally convicted, unfairly sentenced, or abused in state jails and prisons." The group challenges the death penalty and excessive punishment and assists formerly incarcerated people with re-entry.

[27] Gates, *Stony the Road*, 18. Pollard described antebellum slavery as "one of the mildest and most beneficent systems of servitude in the world" (quoted by Gates, 19).

[28] Quoted in Ryan Best, "Confederate Statues Were Never Really about Preserving History," FiveThirtyEight, July 8, 2020, FiveThirtyEight.com.

the law violated the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments: "We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it."[29] Justice John Marshall Harlan, the lone dissenter, responded:

> Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.[30]

In practice, "separate but equal" legitimized a period of institutionalized racial segregation in the United States and relegated African Americans to second-class status within their own country. Historian Mia Bay argues that "the system of segregated seats, waiting rooms, roadside services, and accommodations that developed along railroad lines also provided the model for segregation that black Americans would later experience when traveling by bus, automobile, and airplane."[31] The doctrine not only impacted travel but life generally, including the ability of Blacks to recreate. During the segregation (or Jim Crow) era, southern states formally adopted legislation mandating racial separation in public accommodations, theaters, education, recreation, housing, hotels, hospitals, swimming pools, parks, toilets, cemeteries, and most other places frequented in daily life.[32] Some recreational spaces that formerly permitted African American visitors became off limits.

While segregation achieved its goal of separating the races, the equal part of "separate but equal" was generally forgotten. In rail travel African Americans were consigned to the car just behind the engine and tender, which was smoky, often used for purposes such as storage, and frequently designated as the car for cigar and cigarette smoking. Railroad dining for African Americans involved waiting until White passengers had been served or eating hidden behind a curtain. Civil rights leader Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. described the experience: "The first time that I was seated behind a curtain in a dining car, I felt as if the curtain had been dropped on my selfhood. … I could never adjust to the separate waiting rooms, separate eating places, separate rest rooms, partly because the separate was always unequal, and partly because the very idea of separation did something to my sense of dignity and self-respect."[33]

Northerners also participated in discriminating against African Americans. Historian Jerrold M. Packard notes: "In housing, in education, in the workplace, in the marketplace—everywhere in the North, black Americans were in this period treated with contempt, denied basic liberties, and subjected to lightning fast, white-instigated violence."[34] While some jurisdictions enacted overtly discriminatory laws, much northern bias in separating

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[29] *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 US 537 (1896), 551.

[30] *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 559.

[31] Bay, "Traveling Black/Buying Black."

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

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

[34] Packard, *American Nightmare*, 64.

races resulted from custom, social pressure, and de facto government actions, such as the drawing of school attendance boundaries and housing loan availability. Racially discriminatory covenants were commonly included in subdivision plats and were upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1926.[35]

Even where northern or western states enacted anti-discrimination laws, their enforcement was often lacking. Colorado, for example, passed a public accommodations law in 1908. However, when historian James Atkins came to Denver in 1918, he observed de facto segregation in the city: "The street restaurants did not serve people of color and the hotels did not accommodate them."[36] Blacks in Denver also were limited to balcony seating in theaters and could only access public swimming pools and bathhouses on the day before the water was changed.[37] In New York, despite passage of the Levy Civil Rights Law in 1914, some summer resorts advertised that they refused accommodations based on race and religion.[38]

During the so-called Great Retreat, from 1890 through at least 1940, African Americans effectively were denied the right to live, work, and recreate in many parts of the country. Thousands of towns and suburbs, mostly outside the South, took steps to ensure that they stayed or became all White. Historian James W. Loewen describes these so-called sundown towns as "any organized jurisdiction that for decades kept African Americans or other groups from living in it and was thus 'all-white' on purpose. … Probably a majority of all incorporated places kept out African Americans."[39] The term "sundown towns" referred to communities that posted signs at the town limits warning Blacks not to let the sun set on them within the jurisdiction.[40] In many cases local populations used racist violence, including property damage, racial expulsion, and lynching, to diminish the political and economic power of Blacks and other minority groups or to physically remove them from jurisdictions. A 1898 White coup overthrew the legitimately elected, biracial city government of Wilmington, North Carolina, replacing officeholders with supporters of White supremacy.[41] A 1921 White-led race massacre in Tulsa, Oklahoma, killed at least three hundred Black inhabitants, destroyed much of the prosperous African American Greenwood business district, and burned dozens of square blocks of residences.[42] Between 1890 and 1930 the number of U.S. counties with less than ten African Americans increased by 62 percent to nearly a third of all counties in the country.[43]

Natural and wilderness areas, including national parks, were sometimes legally or de facto segregated or were otherwise unwelcoming to Blacks.[44] In the South state parks were formally segregated, with those provided for

[35] Nancy H. Welsh, "Racially Restrictive Covenants in the United States: A Call to Action," 2018, University of Michigan, deepblue.lib.umich.edu. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld racially restrictive covenants in *Corrigan v. Buckley* in 1926 as a form of private contract, but overturned that decision in 1948 in *Shelley v. Kramer*, holding that the courts cannot constitutionally enforce such racially discriminatory contracts.

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

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

[38] *Denver Star*, June 20, 1914, 1.

[39] James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: The New Press, 2005), 4.

[40] Loewen, *Sundown Towns*, 3. The signs were typically overtly racist and threatening: "Nigger, Don't Let the Sun Go Down on You in ____."

[41] See David Zucchino, *Wilmington's Lie: The Murderous Coup of 1898 and the Rise of White Supremacy* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020).

[42] Allison Keyes, "A Long-Lost Manuscript Contains a Searing Eyewitness Account of the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921," *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 27, 2016, Smithsonianmag.com.

[43] Loewen, *Sundown Towns*, 56. In 1890, 119 counties had no Blacks and 456 counties had less than ten; by 1930, these numbers had increased to 235 and 694 counties, respectively.

[44] The National Park Service is supporting preparation of an African American Outdoor Recreation Historic Context Study in progress by the University of Virginia and Virginia Tech. It will explore how members of the Black community historically used non-urban, outdoor spaces for recreational purposes.

African Americans few in number, limited in amenities, and "hardly accessible in any practical sense."[45] In the 1930s Interior Secretary Harold Ickes advocated "real justice and opportunity for the Negro," but a National Park Service policy of 1936 supported "separate facilities for white and colored people to the extent only as is necessary to conform with the generally accepted customs long established in Virginia."[46] Following this guideline, Shenandoah National Park developed a separate facility, the Lewis Mountain Negro Area, in 1939-40. There is little evidence of Black visitation in the first part of the twentieth century to Colorado's Rocky Mountain National Park. A 2009 study found only two newspaper articles reporting Black church and community groups from Denver sightseeing and picnicking in the park in the 1940s.[47] National park accommodations in the West began appearing in the *Green Book* in the mid-1950s, with Spruce Tree Lodge in Mesa Verde National Park in southwest Colorado, listed in the 1956 through 1966-67 editions. Even absent legal barriers, African Americans may have felt unwelcome in such landscapes. Geographer Carolyn Finney, exploring the relationship of Blacks with the environment, noted "issues of exclusion, marginality, and space, particularly how images of groups and places can combine to create 'landscapes of exclusion.'"[48] This marginalization was reflected in what areas were recognized as national parks for their historical associations and in park interpretive materials.

Twentieth-Century Travel and Recreation for African Americans[49]

As automobiles became more readily available to African Americans in the 1910s and 1920s, the potential for freedom of movement increased. However, given the widespread landscape of racial discrimination and White animus, African American travel and recreation during the Jim Crow era was uncertain, logistically challenging, frequently humiliating, and potentially dangerous. Columnist George Schuyler of the African American *Pittsburgh Courier* asserted that before 1945 "the number of hotels, restaurants, motels, and such establishments that solicited or welcomed Negro patronage outside the south was infinitesimal."[50] Historian Victoria W. Wolcott argues: "The segregation of public accommodations denied African Americans their right to occupy the same spaces as whites. They could not act as consumers on an equal basis, and they could not fully inhabit the cities and towns in which they lived."[51] Jearold W. Holland, a historian of African American recreation, explained that even African Americans

> who could afford to travel for recreation often found themselves significantly hampered. Imagine being able to pay for a service and then not being allowed to obtain the service due to racial segregation and prejudice. Discrimination was endemic in most commercial recreation establishments like hotels and restaurants. The lack of black opportunity was most often attributed to lack of access to transportation and the inaccessibility of housing (hotels and

[45] William E. O'Brien, *Landscapes of Exclusion: State Parks and Jim Crow in the American South* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 7.

[46] Quoted in Reed Engle, "Laboratory for Change," Shenandoah National Park, Segregation and Desegregation at Shenandoah National Park, orig. publ. in *Resource Management Newsletter* (January 1996).

[47] Beth Erickson, Corey W. Johnson, and B. Dana Kivel, "Rocky Mountain National Park: History and Culture as Factors in African-American Park Visitation," 41 *Journal of Leisure Research* (2009): 533. The authors also cite a 1910 visit by Zion Church members to Glacier Lake, but this was actually a location in Boulder County on the Denver & Northwestern Railway.

[48] Carolyn Finney, *Black Faces, White Spaces: Reimagining the Relationship of African Americans to the Great Outdoors* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 5.

[49] Much of this section is drawn from a survey plan prepared by the authors for African American travel and recreation resources in Colorado. See, Thomas H. Simmons, and R. Laurie Simmons, *Colorado African American Travel and Recreation Resources Survey Plan, 2020*, final, prepared for Colorado Historical Foundation (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., March 2021).

[50] George Schuyler, *Pittsburgh Courier*, 1956, quoted in Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 151.

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

> motels) and dining facilities. … Most Blacks who dared travel outside their immediate communities, especially in the South, had to make arrangements to stay in private homes or black schools because white hotels would not accommodate them.[52]

The inherent uncertainty under segregation posed a particular challenge for Blacks while traveling, since what was permitted varied from town to town and establishment to establishment.[53] Service stations were generally amenable to African Americans buying gasoline but might deny access to restrooms. Restaurants typically refused sit-down service in dining areas but might permit the purchase of take-out food from the rear of the establishment. Traveling African Americans might rely on personal contacts and word of mouth to locate accommodations in distant towns, including rooms with Black professionals, at Black colleges and universities, at Black-run tourist homes, or at segregated branches of YMCAs and YWCAs. African American newspapers were another source of travel and vacation information, including advertisements and articles on recent trips by residents in their area. However, the information for Black travelers was scattered, uncompiled, not comprehensive, and not systematically updated. Writing in 1933, Alfred Edgar Smith discussed the need for a nationwide "authentic list" of establishments welcoming Black travelers. Smith believed such facilities existed: "If we just knew where they were, what a world of new confidence would be ours."[54]

Although the automobile was lauded as liberating Blacks from the humiliations of Jim Crow commercial transportation, social scientist Cotton Seiler observed: "Yet it was precisely in the act of driving through unfamiliar territory that the inescapability of race became, for so many African Americans, apparent."[55] Some men vacationing with their families carried a chauffeur's cap in the back seat as a tactic for avoiding difficulties. Cultural historian Candacy Taylor explains: "During the Jim Crow era, the chauffeur's hat was the perfect cover for every middle-class black man pulled over and harassed by the police. If [the driver] … had told the sheriff the truth—that he was driving his own car and that they were a family on vacation—the sheriff would not have believed him. He would have assumed the car was stolen."[56]

Existing travel guides were oriented toward middle-class, White Americans, whose travel and accommodation choices were not hindered by the barriers of segregation. As Historian Gretchen Sorin explained: "None of the traditional mainstream travel guides held much interest or value for African American travelers, who knew these books could not be trusted to help black motorists negotiate travel in a segregated society."[57]
To ease the burdens and uncertainty of travel, an array of guidebooks targeting African Americans were published from the 1930s through 1960s to provide assistance in navigating the nation's roadways. Sorin bluntly explained the need for such guides: "In the end, keeping African Americans from being killed on the road constituted the overarching, if unstated, goal of all these travel guidebooks."[58] The publications were modeled after earlier guidebooks that enabled Jewish Americans to locate accommodations welcoming them. Collectively, the guides were not a comprehensive compendium of all locations open to Black travelers. Sorin opines that there were hundreds of additional Black establishments "known only through advertisements in

[52] Jearold W. Holland, *Black Recreation: A Historical Perspective* (Chicago: Burnham Inc., 2002), 156.
[53] Mark S. Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow': Prosperous Blacks and Vacations, Travel and Outdoor Leisure, 1890-1945," *Journal of Negro History* 84 (Spring 1999): 141.
[54] Quoted in Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 163.
[55] Cotton Seiler, *Republic of Drivers: A Cultural History of Automobility in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 114.
[56] Candacy Taylor, *Overground Railroad: The Green Book and the Roots of Black Travel in America* (New York: Abrams Press, 2020), 10.
[57] Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 162.
[58] Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 165.

newspapers or word of mouth."[59]

As Edwin Henry Hackley and Sarah D. Harrison explained in their 1930 guide for Black travelers, cross country and resort travel's "greatest inconvenience and annoyance has been its lack of knowledge of desirable and hospitable hotel and apartment accommodations, *enroute* and at the journey's end."[60] Their *Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers* (reissued in 1931 as *The Traveler's Guide*) was one of the earliest publications marketed for systematically identifying lodging places welcoming African Americans throughout the country. In a comment equally applicable to later guidebooks, historian Mia Bay observed that the "listings further underscored how difficult it was for black travelers to find accommodations. National in scope, the *Guide* lists comparatively few hotels or other easily identifiable commercial establishments. Instead, the predominant form of accommodation for black travelers in many towns would have been difficult for any stranger to find without local assistance," mostly guest rooms in private residences.[61]

The *Negro Motorist Green Book*, the most well-known and longest-lived of the Black travel guides, first appeared in 1936. Developed by New York City postal employee Victor H. Green and his wife Alma, the *Green Book* began as a travel planner for the New York region but quickly expanded to include the entire country. In 1949 the *Green Book* added a special section for vacation and resort destinations and began offering a booking and reservation service. Green admonished purchasers to always carry their guide while traveling, because "you may need it." The Greens worked with Standard Oil's Esso service stations to widely distribute the guide, with its number of copies growing from more than a million in 1954 to over two million in 1962. The *Green Book* continued publishing through 1966-67, and the guides expanded to cover other roadside facilities, including service stations and garages, restaurants and bars, beauty salons and barber shops, and resorts.

Other guides soon followed the *Green Book*. In 1939-40 Smith's Touring Club, an African American automobile association, produced *Smith's Tourist Guide* with the cooperation of the Esso service station company.[62] The federal government attempted to assist African American travelers in 1941 with the publication of the U.S. Travel Bureau's *A Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses*. The introductory material stated the guide was created to provide "a reliable source of information for Negro travelers through the United States. It is believed that the Directory will facilitate the promotion of travel to the extent that only the assurance of adequate accommodations can effect."[63] The eighteen-page guide was far from comprehensive. In 1942 the Baltimore *Afro-American* newspaper published the "Afro American Travel Map," a folded large-format map listing hotels and guest houses in states east of the Mississippi River.[64]

Additional travel and vacation assistance for Black travelers emerged in the post-World War II period. *Ebony*, a magazine targeted at Black readers, first published a guide to summer vacation resorts in 1947. The 1952 and 1953 guides were organized by types of vacations, such as mountain resorts, beach facilities, or package tours. Three other nationwide guides to accommodations welcoming African Americans were published in the post-World War II era: *Travelguide* (1947-63); *Go, Guide to Pleasant Motoring* (1952-59); and *Bronze American* (1961-62). Black musician William "Billy" Butler created *Travelguide* to assist African American performers in

[59] Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 216.

[60] Hackley and Harrison, *Hackley & Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers* (Philadelphia: Hackley & Harrison Publishing Company, 1930).

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

[62] Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 168.

[63] US Travel Bureau, *A Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses* (Washington: US Department of the Interior, 1941).

[64] Baltimore Afro American Newspaper, "Afro American Travel Map" (Baltimore: Afro American Newspaper, 1942).

finding accommodations while on the road. Sorin concluded that agents for the publication "located some 'mainstream' or 'white' hotels, motels, and restaurants that did not discriminate against people of color. Most of the listings were for the same African American boarding houses and hotels found in other travel guides."[65] The Nationwide Hotel Association published the *Go, Guide to Pleasant Motoring*. The guide attempted to included high-end facilities that could accommodate lodging for large groups.[66]

Such guidebooks were useful not only in the South, but throughout much of the country. Studying Route 66 from Chicago to Los Angeles, Candacy Taylor observed: "When the *Green Book* was first published, roughly half of the eighty-nine counties on Route 66 were sundown counties. By the 1950s, about 35 percent of the counties didn't allow black motorists after six PM. And although the road was open to black travelers, it was unknown where they could find a meal or a place to rest because six of the eight states that lined the Mother Road as far west as Arizona had segregation laws."[67] In 1952 the *Pittsburgh Courier* reported incidents of racial discrimination against African American travelers in Michigan, Colorado, Minnesota, Arizona, and Nevada, concluding: "It has not been all sunshine and flowers for colored travelers and vacationists during the summer months. Many have been jim crowed, segregated, insulted and rebuffed as they sojourned across the fair land of this country."[68]

Creation of African American Spaces

Historian Quintard Taylor judged: "In the 1870s, even into the 1930s, most black people did not believe America would ever desegregate or integrate, so they took up the idea—with towns like Nicodemus, or going to the South Side of Chicago or Harlem—that since we knew we were going to be segregated, wouldn't the better destiny be to control our own towns?"[69] Following the end of Reconstruction, some African Americans became motivated to leave the South. During 1877-81, African American Exodusters from the lower Mississippi Valley migrated to Kansas to establish settlements at Nicodemus and in Cherokee County. The state's Freedman's Relief Association created settlements for Blacks at Wabaunsee and in Coffey and Chautauqua counties.[70]

Black towns were created in a number of other states, such as Blackdom, New Mexico; Boley, Oklahoma; Empire, Wyoming; and DeWitty, Nebraska.[71] Dearfield in north-central Colorado dates to 1910. A 1917 advertisement for that settlement warned prospective Black buyers: "At the rate the lands and resources of Colorado are being gobbled up by foreigners and southerners the last call will soon be heard. Shall we as a race be put off until at last too late?"[72] Residents of such settlements met mixed receptions in their interactions with nearby White communities. Historian Jacob Friefeld and his colleagues found some of the colonies encountered segregated facilities and racial stereotyping, noting that "Blackdom residents found their surrounding society to be unsupportive, racist, and on occasion openly hostile, especially after its nearest white town, Roswell, filled with white immigrants from the South."[73]

Given the persistence of segregation in the early twentieth century, some African Americans saw development

[65] Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 172.
[66] Sorin, *Driving While Black*, 168.
[67] Taylor, *Overground Railroad*, 203.
[68] Joseph D. Bibb, "Service Refused: Color Lines Drawn on Vacationers of the Darker Minority," *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 6, 1952.
[69] Quoted in Reed Karaim, "Discover the Kansas Town Settled by Black Homesteaders in the 1870s," *Preservation Magazine* (Spring 2020).
[70] "Exodusters," Kansapedia, Kansas Historical Society, www.kshs.org/kansapedia.
[71] Karaim, "Discover the Kansas Town Settled by Black Homesteaders in the 1870s."
[72] *Denver Star*, February 10, 1917, 7.
[73] Friefeld, Jacob, Mikal Brotnov Eckstrom, and Richard Edwards. "African American Homesteader 'Colonies' in the Settling of the Great Plains." 39 *Great Plains Quarterly* (Winter 2019): 26.

of institutions and places specifically aimed at serving Blacks as an important alternative. The movement for "Black spaces," not just in recreation but in all aspects of daily life, drew support from various ideological camps within the African American community. Historian Wilson Jeremiah Moses argued that different strategies for creating separate institutions "grew out of the conception of a New Negro that existed in black America during the counter-Reconstruction era."[74] An example of one approach was Jamaican Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), who founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in his native country in 1914 and came to the U.S. two years later. He advocated pride in African history and culture, promoted education, and argued that African Americans would gain respect from Whites by developing "an independent black economy within the framework of white capitalism."[75] Within Colorado, supporters formed UNIA branches in Denver, as well as Colorado Springs, where Garvey made public appearances in 1922 and 1924.[76]

In the area of recreation, this trend was illustrated by the creation of vacation spots specifically welcoming African Americans. The late nineteenth century saw relatively modest Black resorts located near urban areas with large African American populations. Examples of this type of accommodations were found at Cape May and Atlantic City, New Jersey; Silcott Springs, Virginia; Harpers Ferry, West Virginia; and Highland Beach, Maryland.[77] During the first decades of the twentieth century larger-scale summer resorts for Blacks were created. Recalling a trip in the 1950s through Ohio and Pennsylvania, when his family was denied a place to spend the night and have breakfast the following morning, scholar Robert B. Stepto reflected: "If these were the perils of summer travel at mid-century, we should not marvel at all at how serious and determined early-century blacks were about founding their own summer enclaves, notably Oak Bluffs on Martha's Vineyard and in the Midwest, Idlewild."[78]

The bulk of the nation's Black population resided east of the Mississippi River in the early twentieth century, and many vacation resorts developed in that part of the country. Historian Mark S. Foster concluded that prior to World War I promoters of African American resort areas "had to select extremely remote property for development or find less desirable areas closer to large cities that were not coveted by whites."[79] The growing number of Blacks arriving in northern cities during the first surge of the Great Migration in the late 1910s and an increasing middle class produced demand for vacation spots. The nation's extensive rail network and growing availability of automobiles brought improved access to far-flung recreational locations. The ability to take a vacation, travel from home, and purchase a second home necessitated a level of disposable income available to some, but far from all, African Americans of the period.

The Midwest developed a number of vacation facilities for African Americans. Idlewild, Michigan, in the western part of the state near Lake Michigan, was ideally situated to draw African Americans from Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, and Cleveland. Sociologist Lewis Walker and historian Ben C. Wilson termed the resort "Black Eden": "Idlewild was their salvation; it provided them safe haven, a place to escape the rigorous

[74] Quoted in Ronald J. Stephens, *Idlewild: The Rise, Decline, and Rebirth of a Unique African American Resort Town* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 4.

[75] "Marcus Garvey," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, www.britannica.com.

[76] Justin Hutchcraft, "People's Methodist Episcopal Church, People's Methodist Church," Colorado Springs, Colorado, National Register of Historic Places nomination, NRIS.14000432, January 29, 2014, on file at History Colorado, Denver, Colorado; Ronald J. Stephens, "The Influence of Marcus Mosiah and Amy Jacques Garvey: On the Rise of Garveyism in Colorado," in *Enduring Legacies: Ethnic Histories and Culture of Colorado*, ed. Arturo Aldama (Boulder, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2011), 140. Stephens noted the "phenomenal rise" of Garveyism in Black neighborhoods of Denver and Colorado Springs.

[77] Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow,'" 136-37.

[78] Robert B. Stepto, *Blue as the Lake: A Personal Geography* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998) 6-7.

[79] Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow,'" 140.

demands of daily life."[80] Four White investors established the community in 1912 on 2,700 acres of land including Lake Idlewild. Control of the community passed to the African American homeowners association in 1921. The development grew rapidly in the late 1910s and soon included a clubhouse, "a hotel with modern laundry facilities," a dancing pavilion, athletic facilities, tabernacle, school, and cottages. Night spots, such as the Flamingo Club and the Paradise Club, welcomed prominent Black entertainers from the 1920s through the 1950s. Idlewild attained its peak in the 1940s, when it reached a summer population that sometimes totaled 22,000 visitors. Other Black resorts opened in the Midwest in the late 1920s and 1930s, including Lake Ivanhoe, Wisconsin; Fox Lake near Angola, Indiana; Lake Adney, Crow Wing County, Minnesota; and Cedar Country Club, near Cleveland, Ohio.[81] Duncan's Point, Missouri, on Lake of the Ozarks was established in 1952.

In the Northeast, Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts, on Martha's Vineyard gradually grew into an African American summer vacation destination in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with Black occupation centered on the northern part of the island near the Inkwell public beach. Facilities for visitors were opened, including the 1912 Shearer Cottage (see below). A 1947 article in *Ebony* declared the "most exclusive Negro summer colony in the country is at quaint historical Oak Bluffs on Martha's Vineyard."[82] Oak Bluffs continues to draw leading African Americans in various fields of endeavor, including education, entertainment, politics, and civil rights.[83]

In the Southeast, the Pension Bureau of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company headed by A.L. Lewis developed American Beach, Florida, starting in 1935. The community lay northeast of Jacksonville on the Atlantic Ocean. Approximately 125 acres were eventually developed and included vacation homes, motels, restaurants, and clubs. From the 1930s until the early 1970s, the resort drew thousands of visitors from twenty-nine states in the Southeast, East, and Midwest, with many traveling by excursion buses. Owners of vacation homes at American Beach included African American professionals, entertainers and artists, politicians, and educators. The 2001 National Register historic district nomination for the community described it as the largest, most extensively developed, and most prominent of Florida's segregated beaches for African Americans.[84]

In the West, White developers created Lincoln Hills, a summer vacation home development for African Americans in the mountains northwest of Denver. More than 1,100 lots were sold, both to Denver-area residents and significant numbers of out-of-staters looking for a Rocky Mountain vacation experience. In the Pacific West, Eureka Villa, California, opened in 1928 as a resort community for African American residents of nearby Los Angeles. The development included dwellings, picnic grounds, a swimming pool and bathhouse, ballfields, community house, tennis courts, and a golf course. Residents renamed the community Val Verde in 1938. After 18,000 people visited the area on Labor Day 1947, it became known as the "Black Palm Springs."[85]

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[80] Lewis Walker and Ben C. Wilson, *Black Eden: The Idlewild Community* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2002), xi.

[81] Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow,'" 138-40.

[82] Quoted in *New York Times*, August 29, 2010.

[83] *New York Times*, August 29, 2010; Alison Rose Jefferson, "Inkwell, Martha's Vineyard," http://www.blackpast.org/aah/inkwell-martha-s-vineyard-1890s (accessed July 31, 2020). The BlackPast article reported the beach "was pejoratively called 'The Inkwell' by nearby whites in reference to the skin color of the beachgoers." See also Jill Nelson, *Finding Martha's Vineyard: African Americans at Home on an Island* (Doubleday, 2005) and Tom Dresser, *African Americans on Martha's Vineyard: From Enslavement to Presidential Visit* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2010).

[84] Joel McEachin and Robert O. Jones, "American Beach Historic District," Nassau County, Florida, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, NRIS.01001532, 2001, 8:1, on file with the Florida State Historic Preservation Officer, Tallahassee. In 1964 Hurricane Dora struck the community and destroyed several dozen buildings.

[85] Lindsay William-Ross, "LAistory: Val Verde, The 'Black Palm Springs,'" *LAist*, May 3, 2008, http://laist.com/; Chris Ott, "Eureka Villa/Val Verde, California," January 23, 2007, BlackPast, www.blackpast.org.

DEVELOPMENT OF LINCOLN HILLS

Incorporating Lincoln Hills, Inc.

Against the background of segregated travel and recreation, Wink's Panorama was constructed circa 1928-34 in the African American development of Lincoln Hills, in the Colorado mountains twenty-eight miles northwest of Denver. It is unlikely that Wink's Panorama would have been established without the earlier creation of Lincoln Hills in 1925. A summer development for African Americans in northeastern Gilpin County, Colorado, the concept and promotion of Lincoln Hills likely was modeled after the similar, but much larger scale, summer development for Blacks at Idlewild, Michigan. Idlewild, developed by White entrepreneurs in 1912, was the nation's largest summer resort for African Americans. Advertisements for Lincoln Hills featured images of President Abraham Lincoln as the Great Emancipator as a marketing appeal to potential Black buyers. The closest settlement to Lincoln Hills is Pinecliffe, 1.6 miles northeast in Boulder County, while Rollinsville in Gilpin County is located 2.4 miles west-southwest. The development stands at an elevation of more than eight thousand feet on the edge of the Arapaho-Roosevelt National Forest. Architectural historian Melanie Shellenbarger described Lincoln Hills as "a world away from the city's bustling urban environs. Billed as a beautiful and healthful mountain locale for a camp or cabin, it hugged the broad meadows and steep hills bisected by South Boulder Creek."[86]

The site selected for the summer resort was part of the former Pactolus Placer on South Boulder Creek (see Figure 1). Placer mining used sluicing or hydraulics to separate and recover precious metals from streambeds. A 1911 *Denver Post* account, describing efforts by the Rexall Mining Company to start new operations, reported that the Pactolus and other properties "first gained fame as gold producers nearly forty years ago."[87] Individuals involved in the sale to Rexall and operation of its 1912 successor, the Belleview Consolidated Mines and Power Company, later played a role in the platting of Lincoln Hills, including the family of Hal Sayre and E.O Williams. Efforts at placer mining along different stretches of South Boulder Creek continued until 1941.[88]

In September 1925 three White Denver area entrepreneurs, Edwin C. Regnier, Robert E. Ewalt, and Edmund J. McMahon, created Lincoln Hills, Inc.[89] The articles empowered the company to pursue the "general business of a real estate agent," including acquiring and selling real estate, collecting rents, improving land, and erecting buildings. Shellenbarger noted that "oral tradition" and more recent written accounts describe Regnier and Ewalt as African American, but manuscript census returns, draft registration data, other records, and family descendants consistently identify them as White.[90] The common linkage among the three incorporators appears to have been a shared interest and activity in oil and/or mining undertakings. Ewalt, who lived in the Nederland area in the late 1910s, may have been familiar with the Pactolus Placer site and recognized its potential for summer homes. The precise motivations leading them to create a development targeted to African Americans are unknown, but it may have combined the prospect of a good business opportunity with some desire for racial equity.

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[86] Melanie Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers: The Early Second Homes of Colorado, 1880-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 126.

[87] *Denver Post*, August 5, 1911, 8.

[88] Kathleen Corbett, Sean Doyle, Daniel Shosky, and Thomas Witt, *Documentation of Historic Properties in the Gilpin Tunnel District, Gilpin County, Colorado* (Broomfield, Colorado: SWCA, 2009), 32, on file with the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, History Colorado, Denver; Gilpin County, Pactolus Placers, Colorado Geological Society website, www.coloradogeologicalscoiety.org.

[89] *Chicago Defender*, September 3, 1927, 4. Earlier accounts credit, without citations, the Lincoln Hills Development Corporation with creating the development in 1922. The *Defender* in 1927 noted that Lincoln Hills had been started "less than two years ago."

[90] Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 129-30.

Edwin Carney Regnier (1873-1934) was a native of Davenport, Iowa, where his father worked as a grocer and commercial agent. Edwin Regnier lived in Davenport until at least 1900, working as a traveling salesman (1898) and an inspector at a steam dye works (1900).[91] After marrying Carrie E. Quick in Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 1908, he became involved in the mining business. The couple relocated to Boulder, Colorado, where the 1910 census showed him working as a superintendent in silver mining. In 1916 the Telluride *Daily Journal* reported that Regnier had opened in Boulder the Regnier Brokerage Company, dealing in mining investments. In 1917 he served on the board of directors of the Peoples Oil Company, which had interests in Montana, and was described as a broker in oil and mining bonds in the 1920 census. Following a move to Denver in the early 1920s, city directories for 1926 through 1932 identify Regnier as the company secretary for Lincoln Hills, Inc. He seems to be the only one of the three organizers who retained an active, long-lived association with the company. Great-granddaughter Judith Coe related family lore that Regnier "believed in equity and social justice and that people of all colors and all backgrounds deserved to come to Colorado and have a place to recreate and to meet with their families and own a home if they wanted."[92] Lincoln Hills, Inc., last appears in the 1932 Denver city directory. By 1934, the year of his death, Regnier was secretary of the American Gold Eagle Mining Company.[93]

Robert Elder Ewalt (1885-1978), a native of London, Ohio, graduated from Oberlin College in 1907.[94] Ewalt worked for the Lumber Insurers General Agency from 1907 to 1911. He married Helen C. Solier in Ohio in 1910. After Ewalt contracted tuberculosis, the couple came to Denver for his health the following year. Recovering from the illness, in 1915 the Ewalts moved to Nederland, where Robert worked as the paymaster/bookkeeper for the Wolf Tongue Mining Company and served as the town's mayor. Nederland lies in Boulder County just four miles northwest of the Lincoln Hills site. The Ewalts lived in Denver by 1923, and Robert worked as an oil royalty broker. He helped organize Grebo Royalties, Inc. and served as company secretary. His career path changed in 1945, when he became sales manager for Noreen, Inc., a hair rinse distributing company. Robert Ewalt died in Denver in 1978.[95]

Edmund Joseph McMahon (1869-1934), a native of Illinois, lived in Trinidad, Colorado, by 1900. McMahon held a variety of positions in that southern Colorado city, acting as chief inspector for the Western Railway Weighing Association (1910) and state secretary of the Knights of Columbus (1911). By 1912 he operated the Hall-McMahon Undertaking Company and the Trinidad Storage and Transfer Company, as well as serving as secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce and city treasurer. McMahon's interests turned to petroleum

[91] Blacks comprised less than 2 percent of Davenport's population in 1900, but the city was active in the Underground Railroad.

[92] Judith Coe, Kansas City, Missouri, interview with Thomas H. Simmons, April 21, 2020. Coe, a retired professor at the University of Colorado Denver, recalled having long conversations with her grandfather Carney, who shared his memories of Edwin's views. She also confirmed her great-grandfather was White.

[93] US Census Bureau, Census of Population, manuscript returns, 1870-1930, Michigan marriage records, 1867-1952, and Denver city directories, and World War I draft registration cards, 1917-18, September 12, 1918, Ancestry.com; *Daily Journal* (Telluride, Colorado), February 22, 1916; *Risveglio* (Denver, Colorado), July 6, 1917. He listed his occupation as real estate salesman in the 1930 census. In all of the documents Regnier's race is indicated as White.

[94] Oberlin College, History, oberlin.edu. Oberlin College was a progressive institution, admitting women to the undergraduate degree program in 1837 and graduating its first African American student in 1844. The campus was active in the abolition movement and served as part of the Underground Railroad. In 1910, Blacks comprised 25.4 percent of the town's population.

[95] US Census Bureau, Census of Population, manuscript returns, 1900-1940, Ohio county marriages, 1774-1993, Denver city directories, and World War I draft registration cards, 1917-18, September 12, 1918, Ancestry.com; Oberlin College, *General Catalog of Oberlin College, 1833-1908* (Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College, 1909), 312; *Rocky Mountain News*, July 1, 1978 (Ewalt obituary). In all of the documents Ewalt's race is indicated as White.

development by 1914, when he moved to Thermopolis, Wyoming, to oversee oil properties there. By 1923 McMahon and his wife, Sarah, relocated to Denver, where he served as president of the Preston Oil Company. Aside from the incorporation filing, McMahon does not appear to have been involved actively with Lincoln Hills.[96]

Laying Out the Lincoln Hills Development

In 1924 the developers engaged Fred Dungan, a professor of civil engineering at the University of Colorado in Boulder, to produce an initial plat map for Lincoln Hills. The *Boulder Daily Camera* described it as 640 acres of land "being made into a cottage resort for colored people to be known as Lincoln."[97] A corrected and expanded plat was recorded with the Gilpin County Clerk and Recorder in 1928. The plat delineated a subdivision of some 1,700 mostly rectangular 25'x100' lots (some were 50' wide) laid out in fifty full or partial blocks in four development areas on both sides of South Boulder Creek. A handful of larger "estate" parcels were also included. The rectilinear grid of streets and lots shows a remarkable disregard for the steep terrain of much of the tract. Shellenbarger remarked: "As was typical of mountain developments at the time, a sizable number of lots located in the eastern portion of the plat map were simply unbuildable or would have been prohibitively expensive to build due to the steepness of the grade. This abrupt grade … also precluded the construction of the roads as laid out on the 1928 plat map."[98]

Since developers Regnier, Ewalt, and McMahon did not own the land for the planned development, they approached landowners Elizabeth D. Sayre, E.O. Williams, and James D. Fisher, who filed the plat for Lincoln Hills in September 1928.[99] Elizabeth Sayre (1844-1939) was the widow of early pioneer Hal Sayre (1834-1926), a figure prominent in Colorado history. He came to the state in 1859, worked as an engineer and president of the Rocky Mountain National Bank of Central City and served as a Major with the 3rd Colorado Volunteers at the infamous 1864 Sand Creek Massacre. The Sayre family had long owned land along the Boulder-Gilpin county boundary.[100] A native of Wales, E.O. (Edward) Williams (1869-1929) immigrated to the United States in 1904 and became a naturalized citizen in 1915. His father was a pioneer of the mining camps of Central City and Russell Gulch. Edward soon pursued mining and other development in Gilpin County. In 1912 he became a director of the Belleview Consolidated Mines and Power Company, which had interests in the Pactolus and other mining areas near Rollinsville. In 1917 he joined Hal Sayre in promoting a summer resort on Lake Manchester at Rollinsville.[101] James D. Fisher was an attorney with the trust department of the Colorado National Bank. Robert H. Sayre, Hal and Elizabeth's son, executed the plat for the three owners as their attorney-in-fact. The younger Sayre (1885-1960) was a mining engineer and a trustee of the Colorado School of Mines.

Based on census records, all of the landowners who filed the plat were White. While egalitarian views may have motivated developers Regnier, Ewalt, and McMahon, financial considerations likely were the primary factors

[96] US Census Bureau, Census of Population, manuscript returns, 1900-1930; *Denver Post*, May 9, 1911, July 10, 1923, and November 8, 1924; Trinidad city directories, 1910 and 1912; *Trinidad Chronicle-News*, July 9, 1914. Census returns identify McMahon as White; his father was born in Ireland.

[97] *Boulder Daily Camera*, September 12, 1924.

[98] Shellenbarger, *High Country Homes*, 136.

[99] Lincoln Hills, amended, corrected, and enlarged plat map, September 15, 1928, in the files of the Gilpin County Assessor, Central City, Colorado.

[100] *Denver Post*, December 11, 1926, 5, and March 3, 1923, 1; Denver city directory, 1931; US Census Bureau, Census of Population, manuscript returns, 1900-40; Thomas J. Noel, *Growing through History with Colorado: The Colorado National Banks, The First 125 Years, 1862-1987* (Denver: Colorado National Banks and Colorado Studies Center, University of Colorado at Denver, 1987), 42. Ethel Sayre, Hal and Elizabeth's daughter, married William Berger of the Colorado National Bank in 1898.

[101] US Census Bureau, Census of Population, manuscript census returns, 1910 and 1920; *Denver Post*, April 8, 1912, 6, and November 9, 1929, 9; *Rocky Mountain News*, April 1, 1917, 40.

for the landowners involvement in the creation of a summer resort for African Americans. When real estate actions regarding Lincoln Hills occurred in 1925, Elizabeth Sayre penned this diary entry: "Rob't [Sayre] called this morning to have us sign some papers giving title to the land to be used as Country Club for darkies—Place on the Pactolus to be called Lincoln Hills."[102]

Accessing Lincoln Hills by Car and Train

Accessibility was key to marketing and developing Lincoln Hills, from the perspective of making the land attractive to prospective buyers as well as to those who actually purchased lots and built cabins and recreated there. Based on interviews and published accounts, most visitors to the area drove their own automobiles. Transcontinental highways tied Denver to other parts of the nation. A map in a circular for the development showed multiple routes of access from Denver via Golden, Arvada, Idaho Springs, or Boulder. Most Denverites traveled through Arvada up Coal Creek Canyon, on an unpaved, winding and narrow road with blind, hairpin curves.[103]

The Denver & Salt Lake Railway provided a second mode of access to Lincoln Hills. Established as the Denver, Northwestern & Pacific Railway in 1902 by David H. Moffat and others, the "Moffat Road" planned a direct connection between Denver and Salt Lake City. Track construction from Denver passed through Pinecliffe and reached Tolland on the east side of the Continental Divide in 1903, thus creating a convenient rail link from Denver to Lincoln Hills from the time of its founding. The railroad went into receivership twice before a successor firm, the Denver & Salt Lake Railway (D&SL), prospered after the Moffat Tunnel beneath the Continental Divide opened in 1928.[104] After that date Lincoln Hills lay on a transcontinental railroad route. A 1927 advertisement boasted the development's location on the railroad provided "the most desirable transportation facilities" of any Colorado mountain resort.[105]

D&SL trains to northwest Colorado provided service to Lincoln Hills and Wink's Panorama by means of flag stops. According to camp counselor Marie Greenwood, African American girls attending the Young Women's Christian Association Camp Nizhoni at Lincoln Hills took the train from the Moffat Depot rather than Denver's main Union Station.[106] The Denver & Rio Grande Western Railroad acquired the D&SL in 1947 and continued service to northwest Colorado until 1968. Known by the railroad as the Yampa Valley Mail (or Yampa Valley), Lincoln Hills vacationers called it the "dinky train" as it had only one passenger car.[107] The Chicago-San Francisco California Zephyr also passed through the valley twice daily, and Elvin Caldwell, Jr. recalled African American porters waving at Lincoln Hills visitors.[108]

Promoting the Development and Selling Lots

Denver's African American population surged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, expanding from just 237 persons in 1870 to 3,923 in 1900 and 6,075 in 1920. Hundreds of thousands of Blacks left the South in the Great Migration that began in the late 1910s, moving to the North and West in hopes of improving

[102] Quoted in Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 130-31, citing Elizabeth Sayre Diary, Box 9, D23, 1925, Hal Sayre Papers, Archives, Norlin Library, University of Colorado Boulder.

[103] Geraldine Logan Morgan, Denver, Colorado, interview by Judy Scott, August 6, 2007; John H.S. Scott, Denver, Colorado, interview by Judy Scott, October 26, 2007.

[104] P.R. "Bob" Griswold, *Denver and Salt Lake Railroad, 1913-1926* (Denver: Rocky Mountain Railroad Club, 1996), 7, 138, and 139.

[105] *Chicago Defender*, August 27, 1927.

[106] Marie Greenwood, Denver, Colorado, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, August 23, 2019.

[107] James Rogers, "The Yampa Valley, The Little Train that Couldn't," June 9, 2020, Western History and Genealogy Monthly Newsletter, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado; John H.S. Scott, interview by Judy Scott, 2007.

[108] Elvin Caldwell, Jr., Denver, Colorado, interview by Gary Jackson, March 16, 2007.

their lives. To successfully sell their Lincoln Hills parcels, promoters Regnier and Ewalt realized they needed to broaden their appeal beyond Denver's relatively small Black community. Lincoln Hills, Inc., employed advertising, promotional materials, and testimonials to sell lots in the development to purchasers nationally. Historian Eric T. Busch concluded the developers "borrowed heavily from the marketing and sales strategies" pioneered by Michigan's Idlewild resort.[109]

Letters of endorsement for Lincoln Hills were provided by prominent business, professional, and religious leaders in Denver's African American community. The development company likely solicited the letters to assure potential buyers of the legitimacy and concreteness of their project. Dr. J.H.P. Westbrook, a physician in Denver's Black community, wrote that Whites had developed several other summer home areas in the mountains west of Denver and "this is the last opportunity for colored people to get such a location. In a few years it will be impossible for our group to get anything one half as desirable for Summer camping. … There is no segregation about it,–only a chance to get a large acreage where we can go in peace and contentment,–surrounded by friends and enjoy ourselves."[110] Pastor G.L. Prince of the Zion Baptist Church wrote:

> Lincoln Hills is THE place for a summer home. One must actually see its many beauties of pines, flowers, lake and stream, and mountains to appreciate what a spot it is. Everything desirable for a mountain home is present; –easy access by railway and three good auto roads, being only 34 miles from Denver; open spaces in wooded hillsides; commanding view of snow-capped mountains; and the glorious work of trout fishing.[111]

After noting the invigorating climate and beauty of the site, Pastor A. Wayman Ward, of the Shorter Community Church (African Methodist Episcopal), asserted that Lincoln Hills was "a place where our race can show to the Nation a constructive piece of work, in the upbuilding of a great National gathering place for health, recreation, education and uplift. This demonstration of our creative ability seems to me to be the greatest thing about this splendid project."[112] George G. Ross, a Black attorney, called the project "a wonderful opportunity for our group-development into a first class, high-cultured community under healthful and inspirational surroundings, such as no other State in the Union affords or enjoys."[113] African American contractor/builder William Pitts related that he made a "thorough examination of the property" before buying lots and building a cabin. He deemed Lincoln Hills "the most beautiful mountain sub-division that I had ever visited."[114] Letters were also provided by individuals associated with the Colorado National Bank, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the State Highway Department.

Lincoln Hills, Inc., developed circulars that extolled the virtues of the subdivision and appealed to the collective upbuilding of African Americans. The undated (circa 1920s) "Lincoln Hills: Greatest Summer Recreation Park in America" brochure promised: "Nestled within the granduer [sic] of the everlasting hills, bathed in perpetual sunshine and fragrant with the orders of wild flowers and the health giving pine forests, we are building a place

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[109] Eric T. Busch, "City of Mountains: Denver and the Mountain West," PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, December 2012, 94.

[110] Dr. J.H.P. Westerbrook, Denver, Colorado to Lincoln Hills, Inc., July 4, 1925, in Lincoln Hills Records, ARL39, Box 1, Series 1, Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library, Denver, Colorado.

[111] Pastor A. Wayman Ward, Denver, Colorado to Lincoln Hills, Inc., March 1, 1928, in Lincoln Hills Records, ARL39, Box 1, Series 1, Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library, Denver, Colorado.

[112] Pastor G.L. Prince, Denver, Colorado to Lincoln Hills, Inc., March 17, 1926, in Lincoln Hills Records, ARL39, Box 1, Series 1, Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library, Denver, Colorado.

[113] George G. Ross, Denver, Colorado to Lincoln Hills, Inc., March 15, 1928, in Lincoln Hills Records, ARL39, Box 1, Series 1, Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library, Denver, Colorado.

[114] William Pitts, Denver, Colorado to Lincoln Hills, Inc., February 1, 1928, in Lincoln Hills Records, ARL39, Box 1, Series 1, Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library, Denver, Colorado.

that will attract thousands of people and at the same time show our genius and constructive ability."[115] With some degree of puffery, the brochure noted that only property owners were eligible for membership in the Lincoln Hills Country Club and included drawings showing planned but never built tennis courts and a golf course.

In May 1925 the company placed an advertisement in the *Colorado Statesman* encouraging mail order purchase of lots and predicting the resort would become "a NATIONAL gathering place for the colored race during the summer months."[116] This may have been intended to reach the five hundred delegates from more than thirty states who came to Denver in late June for the national conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).[117] In 1927 a large display advertisement for the development appeared in the *Chicago Defender*, the nation's leading Black newspaper that reached readers from around the country (see Figure 2). Lincoln Hills was heralded as "the ONLY Summer Resort and National PLAYGROUND for Our Group in the Entire Rocky Mountain Region of the United States." Lots were offered at $100 each, payable at $25 down and $10 per month or with a 10 percent discount for cash purchases. The advertisement employed language contained in endorsement letters received by the company and described Lincoln Hills as "dedicated to Race advancement and pleasure." It lauded the subdivision's "fine trout fishing, cool breezes from the snow and glaciers of the mountain peaks and marvelously fresh air filled with the scent of great Pine forests. Here you can purchase a site to build a summer home, a bungalow, a log cabin or pitch a tent for yourself and family during the hot summer weather."[118]

A September 1927 article in the *Chicago Defender* alerted readers to the establishment of "a great national summer resort in the heart of the beautiful Rocky Mountains" in Colorado. Noting that the project started less than two years previously, the article reported lot purchases by individuals in distant locations, including Florida, New Jersey, and Vancouver, and predicted "the entire tract will be sold out in a very short time."[119] When the Supreme Camp of American Woodmen, an African American fraternal, mutual aid, and insurance organization, held its annual conference in Denver in 1929, a rail trip to Lincoln Hills was offered to the group's nearly one thousand delegates. The picnic excursion proved so popular that three trains had to be supplied by the railroad to meet the demand. The outing gave the attendees a taste of the Colorado mountains and an opportunity to purchase Lincoln Hills lots.[120]

Lincoln Hills, Inc., appears to have achieved some success in marketing the development. Architectural historian Melanie Shellenbarger analyzed the sales of lots within the development. She found that 1,108 lots, mostly on the east side of South Boulder Creek, were sold and 410 paid in full. An advertising circular dating to about 1928 listed the names and residences of 470 buyers, revealing that about 54 percent were from Colorado, mostly the Denver area. Shellenbarger found "a surprising number from out of state," including 85 from Kansas, 52 from Missouri, 18 from Wyoming, and 14 from Nebraska. Smaller numbers of owners came from Florida, Illinois, California, Indiana, and New York.[121]

Construction of Cabins and Other Facilities

While Whites may have platted Lincoln Hills and sold its lots, African Americans imbued the resort with life:

[115] "Lincoln Hills: Greatest Summer Recreation Park in America," ca. 1928, Lincoln Hills Records, ARL39, Box 1, Series 1, Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library, Denver, Colorado.

[116] *Colorado Statesman*, May 9, 1925.

[117] Shellenbarger, *High Country Homes*, 136; *Denver Post*, June 23, 1925, 10.

[118] *Chicago Defender*, August 27, 1927.

[119] *Chicago Defender*, September 3, 1927, 4.

[120] *Chicago Defender*, August 31, 1929, 4.

[121] Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 136.

constructing its buildings, establishing institutions, and creating lasting memories and experiences. African Americans built cabins in the development, founded a summer camp for girls, and erected a lodge for visitors. The 1928 Lincoln Hills plat map shows four buildings along the road on the east side of South Boulder Creek, labeled office (the sales office for the development), club, hotel, and YWCA. These appear to have been existing buildings repurposed from the Pactolus Placer mining period. Two railroad stops appear on the map, at the north and south ends of the development.

Cabin Construction. While more than 1,100 lots were sold, only twenty to fifty cabins were erected at Lincoln Hills.[122] Some buyers likely purchased lots as an investment with no intention of building, instead hoping to resell them later for a profit. In addition, a good many lots were unbuildable due to the steep slope of the land. Some buyers pitched tents and camped on their parcels in summer rather than erecting a cabin. Denver contractor and builder William Pitts took an early lead in the development of Lincoln Hills, building a cabin for his family in 1926, as well as two other dwellings as rentals.[123] Pitts (1864-1951), a native of Missouri, moved to Denver in 1919.[124] John H.S. Scott, Pitts' grandson, later named the family cabin, Zephyr View, since it overlooked the railroad tracks below and provided daily sightings of the passing California Zephyr. Built on a slope, the frame Pitts cabin features a wood pier and granite foundation and lap-sided walls. Scott characterized the early years of the development as "relatively quiet. Not that many homes were built up there. Maybe eight or nine houses over a five-year span."[125] Edwin Regnier, accompanied by his son, Carney, visited the development to collect land payments during the summer. Carney recalled the trips fondly, reporting, "everybody invited them in for food and that the food was delicious."[126] The onset of the Great Depression in 1929 hampered extensive continued construction at Lincoln Hills.

Summer Visits to Lincoln Hills. Betty J. Robnett of Denver described her summer stays at Lincoln Hills as "one of the best times of my life. … We never had enough money to go very far, but we could get to Lincoln Hills."[127] Denver families generally drove up, bringing food and other necessary supplies. Many families came up nearly every weekend during the summer from June through August. There was no electricity, running water, central heating, or indoor plumbing in the cabins. Wood stoves were used for cooking and heating, and kerosene lamps provided light in the evening. John H.S. Scott said the area did not receive electricity until after he returned from military service in World War II. Visitors used buckets to carry drinking water from South Boulder Creek, straining it through a tea towel to eliminate "skeeter bugs." Ice boxes provided refrigeration for perishables, with ice brought from Denver or obtained from the Pactolus icehouse, which opened in the late 1930s.[128] Denver's African American Boy Scout Troop 150, slept in tents at Lincoln Hills during the summer.[129]

Author Charlene Porter of Denver recalled her summer visits to Lincoln Hills as times of whooping and hollering and feeling a sense of joy in a place that was safe for African Americans.[130] John H.S. Scott described

[122] Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 136. Shellenbarger based this estimate on 2007 interviews with cabin owners John H.S. Scott and Arthur B. Scott and Jennie Rucker; Corbett, et al, *Documentation of Historic Properties in the Gilpin Tunnel District*.
[123] John H.S. Scott, interview, Judy Scott, 2007.
[124] Nancelia Scott Jackson, *A Chronicle of Precious Memories* (Denver: Nancelia Scott Jackson, 2005), ix and 19. Nancelia Jackson, Pitts' granddaughter, explained "he served as a liaison for the Black community when doing business for the white community."
[125] John H.S. Scott, quoted in Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 136. Shellenbarger interviewed Scott in August 2007.
[126] Coe, interview, 2020.
[127] Betty J. Robnett, Denver, Colorado, interview by Gary Jackson and Judy Scott, October 18, 2007.
[128] John H.S. Scott, interview, Judy Scott, 2007.
[129] Mosley, interview, 2007.
[130] Charlene Porter, Denver, Colorado, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, January 30, 2020.

his summer days at Lincoln Hills: "Being up there was playing. Being up there was entertainment."[131] Activities he remembered included hiking in the nearby mountains, wading in the creek under parental supervision (the water was swift and very cold), watching passing trains, and walking to the little store in Pinecliffe, which sold candy, soda, sliced bread, and milk.

Day Excursions. John H.S. Scott noted that Lincoln Hills drew "a lot of people up there and a lot of activity" from day excursions.[132] Brochures for the development described amenities available at Lincoln Hills, including free camping and picnic grounds for purchasers of lots and their friends. Denver's Black churches sponsored trips by their congregations to Lincoln Hills. Denver funeral director Elvin Caldwell, Jr. recalled New Hope and Zion Baptist making day trips to the area.[133] Zion Baptist took a number of parishioners to the development in July 1925 to purchase lots for summer encampments.[134] In 1935 Century Baptist Church of Denver engaged a special train to travel through the Moffat Tunnel and then return for a stop at Lincoln Hills for picnics, fishing, and games.[135] The railroad occasionally operated special trains to accommodate large numbers of visitors. For the 4th of July holiday in 1955 the Rio Grande operated a special train to Lincoln Hills.[136] Lawrence Pierre recalled that lodge owner Obrey W. Hamlet would have picnic type food available when large groups came up.[137]

Hotels. An early Lincoln Hills brochure alluded to an anticipated "Lincoln Hotel" with accommodations for thirty guests, good beds, American or European plan, and a radio parlor.[138] This facility apparently was not built, since a 1927 advertisement for the development noted plans for a "large first-class hotel with all conveniences to be erected in the near future."[139] The two-story, wood frame Rolla Lodge is shown in a circa 1928 advertising circular, operated by Mrs. Eva Rolla of Denver and described as offering "excellent home cooked foods and clean comfortable beds."[140] Rolla Lodge, which apparently used an existing Pactolus Placer building, ceased operations after Wink's Panorama opened circa 1928-34. The revised 1928 plat map labeled the area along South Boulder Creek as the "Lincoln Hills Country Club," but the nature of its amenities, if any, is unknown.

Camp Nizhoni. In 1926 Lincoln Hills gained Camp Nizhoni, a girls' summer camp operated by Denver's Phyllis Wheatley Branch for Colored Women of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). The Phyllis Wheatley group organized in 1915 and became an official YWCA branch in 1920. At that time the Denver YWCA was segregated and mountain camps available to White girls excluded Blacks. Embracing the suggestion of Luther Walton, a Denver African American plasterer, developers Regnier and Ewalt invited a group of Phyllis Wheatley girls to camp at Lincoln Hills during the summer of 1925. The following year Lincoln Hills, Inc., offered a tract of land and a large building for use as a permanent summer camp. The yearly rental was $65, with the YWCA branch responsible for any repairs needed to make the building usable. Perhaps calculating that the camp's presence would stimulate interest in Lincoln Hills, the developers agreed to transfer title to the branch if they operated a camp there for three years. The Phyllis Wheatley group accepted the offer

[131] John H.S. Scott, interview, Judy Scott, 2007.
[132] John H.S. Scott, quoted in Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 136.
[133] Caldwell, Jr., 2007.
[134] *Denver Post*, July 13, 1925, 7. The trip ended in tragedy when the trucks carrying the excursionists lost control on the return trip and crashed, killing two and injuring thirteen.
[135] *Chicago Defender*, July 17, 1935, 20.
[136] *Denver Post*, July 1, 1955
[137] Pierre, interview, 2007.
[138] The American plan included all meals, while the European plan did not.
[139] "Lincoln Hills Is a Scenic Wonderland," brochure, undated.
[140] "Lincoln Hills: Greatest Summer Recreation Park in America."

in May 1926 and named the camp Nizhoni, the Navajo word for "beautiful." Obrey "Wink" Hamlet assisted the group in improving the camp buildings. By 1935 girls from six states were attending.[141] The branch conducted summer camp at Nizhoni until 1945, when the YWCA integrated its summer camps.[142]

Marie Greenwood, the first tenured African American teacher in the Denver Public Schools, was associated with the camp from about 1928 through 1943, first as an attendee in high school and later as a counselor. In 2019 she recalled: "I lived and breathed Camp Nizhoni until I married." Her family did not have a car, and she "never had the experience of going to the mountains" before going to the camp.[143] She recalled taking part in hiking, crafts, campfire singing, and "enjoying good food and the companionship of the other girls."[144] Camp Nizhoni participant Jennie Mae Rucker, who later purchased a cabin at Lincoln Hills, described her time at the camp: "We stayed up there, we camped. Oh, it was the thrill of our lives! We went to the abandoned mines on hikes. We would go on the train and take our little bags. … They had cots, army cots where we slept."[145] Varying numbers of girls, generally no more than twenty, attended camp during the summer, participating in an experience few African Americans could enjoy.

Decline of Lincoln Hills

The opening of Lincoln Hills in 1925 came at an unfortunate time. Major weaknesses existed in the American economy, leading to the Great Depression just four years after the development debuted. Lincoln Hills, Inc., last appeared in the Denver city directory in 1932. Edwin Regnier's great-granddaughter, Judith Coe, believes the family was hard hit by the onset of the Depression. Financial losses forced the Regniers' son, Carney, to leave his studies at the University of Colorado, instead completing his education at the Emily Griffith Opportunity School in Denver.[146] Many of those who had purchased lots doubtless found themselves in difficult economic straits, with diminished disposable income that left little room to meet payments on a vacation parcel or erect a second home. Many, particularly out-of-state buyers, simply stopped making payments on Lincoln Hills lots and walked away from their slice of the good life in the Colorado mountains. John H.S. Scott noted that many of his relatives in Missouri lost their mountain lots when they could not pay the taxes during the Depression.[147] Shellenbarger found that county records for 1929 through 1945 revealed that 104 lots in the development were sold for unpaid property taxes. The American economy began to recover during World War II, but the rationing of gasoline and tires curtailed long-distance recreational travel.

Lincoln Hills has not been comprehensively surveyed. A 2009 historic resources survey of a limited number of resources at Lincoln Hills concluded that nine original buildings may still stand, displaying varying levels of alterations; some new construction also is present. Gilpin County designated William Pitts' Zephyr View summer cabin as a local landmark in November 2020. A 2021 statewide survey plan of African American travel and recreation resources recommended further survey and research to better understand extant resources associated with the broader Lincoln Hills development or Camp Nizhoni.[148]

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[141] *Chicago Defender*, August 10, 1935, 20.

[142] Marcia Tremmel Goldstein, "Breaking Down Barriers: Black and White Women's Visions of Integration, The Young Women's Christian Association in Denver and the Phyllis Wheatley Branch, 1915-1964," MA thesis, University of Colorado at Denver, 1995, 77-78.

[143] Marie L. Greenwood, Denver, Colorado, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, August 23, 2019.

[144] Marie L. Greenwood, *By the Grace of God: The True Life Journey of 100 Years* (Denver, Colorado: Greenwood & Associates, 2013), 45.

[145] Jennie Mae Rucker, quoted in Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 143.

[146] Coe, interview, 2020.

[147] John H.S. Scott, interview, 2007.

[148] See Corbett, et al, *Documentation of Historic Properties in the Gilpin Tunnel District*; Thomas H. Simmons and R. Laurie Simmons, *Colorado African American Travel and Recreation Resources Survey Plan, 2020*, prepared for the Colorado Historical Foundation (Denver: Front Range Research Associates, Inc., March 2021), 50-51.

WINK'S PANORAMA

Profile of Obrey Wendell "Wink" Hamlet

The developers of Lincoln Hills viewed construction of a suitable hotel on the property as a desirable amenity. African American Obrey Wendell "Wink" Hamlet (1892-1965) of Denver stepped forward to fill the need through erection of Wink's Panorama (or Wink's Lodge) circa 1928-1934 (see Figure 3).[149] Hamlet was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1892, the son of Ryland and Rosa Hamlet.[150] By the age of three he moved with his family to Denver, where his father continued to pursue his occupation as a carpenter. Ryland Hamlet died in 1899, and the 1900 census reveals the family living in the traditionally African American Five Points neighborhood of northeast Denver, with Rosa working as a housekeeper. Obrey and three siblings attended school, while his oldest brother, sixteen-year-old Clarence, was employed as a deliveryman for a floral company. Rosa married William M. Patton in 1903, but the couple separated and later divorced.[151] By 1910 eighteen-year-old Obrey worked as a soda dispenser at a confectionery store, while his mother toiled as a laundress. In the 1940 census Hamlet reported he had attended school through the first year of high school.[152]

During 1913, several mentions of Hamlet, then twenty-one years old, appeared in the *Denver Star*, the city's African American newspaper. In the 1910s he socialized with many of Denver's prominent and influential young Black men, working to better the lives of the community. Included were: dentist Clarence Holmes Jr., a Howard University graduate and one of the founders of the local chapter of the NAACP; attorney George G. Ross; dentist Thomas E. McClain; and O.T. Jackson, promoter of Dearfield, a Black agricultural settlement in Weld County, Colorado.[153] Hamlet also was active with other young Black men in the Alpha Kappa social group, which sponsored formal dances; stag nights of boxing, toasts, and jokes; and dinners.[154] The *Denver Star* lauded the group: "Much praise is due these young men who by their efforts are striving to establish a social standing."[155]

In June 1914 Hamlet married Nellie Beckwith of Colorado Springs, whom he may have met at a 1913 lawn party in Denver.[156] When Obrey registered for the draft in 1917, he identified his occupation as soda dispenser at downtown Denver's Dutch Mill restaurant and listed Nellie and one child as dependents. The marriage was relatively brief, leading to a divorce in December 1920.[157]

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[149] Linda M. Tucker KaiKai, "Memories of Uncle Wink and Lincoln Hills," unpublished manuscript, ca. 2011, 2, on file Front Range Research Associates, Inc., Denver, Colorado. Sources are inconsistent in their presentation of Hamlet's nickname as "Wink" or "Winks." The historic lodge sign over the building entrance read Wink's Panorama and his great-niece Linda M. Tucker KaiKai referred to him as Wink in her recollection of the lodge. His pickup doors displayed Winks Mtn. Cabins. The 1945 city directory lists Winks Coal & Wood, but the 1948 edition displays Wink's Coal & Wood. His two-story coal and wood building at 1320 East 23rd Avenue featured Winks' over the central entrance, whereas his large coal and wood truck has Wink's on its doors.

[150] His World War I draft registration of June 5, 1917 reported an 1893 birth year, while the 1900 Census and his World War II draft registration showed 1892. Some sources spell his middle name as Wendall rather than Wendell.

[151] *Rocky Mountain News*, October 2, 1903, 7. Rosa Hamlet and William M. Patton received a marriage license in October 1903. The 1910 census listed her as the head of the household (William was not present), and by 1920 she was listed as divorced.

[152] US Census Bureau, Census of Population, manuscript returns, Colorado, 1900-10. Hamlet's sister, Lillian, was born in Colorado in 1895, while the other siblings were born earlier in Tennessee.

[153] *Denver Star*, May 4, 1918, 4.

[154] *Denver Star*, March 29, 1913, 5 and April 26, 1913, 5,

[155] *Denver Star*, May 29, 1913, 5.

[156] *Denver Star*, July 12, 1913 and June 20, 1914, 2; Wendell O. Hamlet and Nellie Beckwith, Marriage Record Report, number 59614, Denver, Colorado, June 14, 1914.

[157] Wendell O. Hamlet and Nellie Hamlet, Colorado Statewide Divorce Index, 1900-1939, November 16, 1920; Nellie Hamlet and Jack D. Fagan, Marriage Record Report, number 95238, Denver, Colorado, June 6, 1923; *Rocky Mountain News*, September 16, 1915, 3. Hamlet filed for divorce in 1915, claiming desertion by Nellie. Nellie remarried in 1923.

Hamlet worked at E. J. Johnson, Inc., an automobile repair and storage company in downtown Denver in 1923. In 1924 he returned to dispensing soda at the W.W. Myer drug store. Between 1925 and 1929 he found employment as a gas station attendant for the Continental Oil Company. City directory listings probably reflect only one aspect of Hamlet's undertakings. Stepson Jess E. DuBois said Hamlet also supplemented his income as a bartender and as a waiter and loaned money to individuals.[158] Denver restauranteur Lawrence J. Pierre described Hamlet as "a hustling boy" and "a good operator," who engaged in different business opportunities and enjoyed talking about them.[159]

During most of the 1920s, Hamlet lived at 2539 Emerson Street in Denver with his mother, Rosa Patton, who owned the property, and his sister Bessie DeVan.[160] At the end of the decade, he became involved in the retail coal and wood business, first with partners in 1930 and 1931 and by 1932 on his own. After his mother died in 1931, Hamlet and his sister became owners of the family home. He married Naomi F. White (1896-1951) in Littleton, Colorado, in December 1935; the 1936 Denver city directory indicated Naomi worked in a Five Points beauty parlor.[161] The Hamlets did not have children of their own. Too old to serve in the military during World War II, Hamlet continued to operate Wink's Coal and Wood in Denver through 1948. A historic photograph indicates he also engaged in a moving and express business in conjunction with his fuel enterprise. The couple lived in Denver at the family house on Emerson Street and operated Wink's Panorama during summer months.

Construction of Wink's Panorama

Obrey W. Hamlet was one of many who were attracted to the idea of an African American resort in the mountains and who purchased land at Lincoln Hills. He built a cabin downhill from the future location of his lodge and, in a 1928 letter to the development company, spoke eloquently of his enjoyment of the area and its opportunities to experience pleasures unavailable in urban living:

> It's the keenest pleasure I have ever experienced. It thrills and fills me with love for the out-of-doors. My own cottage, built by my own hands, painted orange and trimmed in brown, nestled amid the evergreen trees, away from the smoke, noise and confusion of the city and where the air and water are always pure, fulfills my every desire for rest and recreation. I appreciate my lots and my cottage so much that I cannot but write you and express my appreciation of your efforts in supplying to me and our group of people the most wonderful mountain resort I have seen in Colorado and I have lived here for many years. It is just what we want.[162]

Hamlet's specific motivation for erecting a lodge for visiting guests at Lincoln Hills and the development of its design is not known. Landscape architects Everett Fly and La Barbara Wigfall Fly, co-authors of the 1979 National Register nomination for the lodge, paid homage to the harmony of its architecture and placement: "Its careful siting among existing vegetation and slope conditions, its sensitive use of indigenous and imported materials, its creative combination of rustic and contemporary structural techniques and systems, and a restrained yet thoughtful use of color, harmony, contrast, and accent allow it to sit naturally in its

[158] Jess E. DuBois, Aurora, Colorado, interview by Thomas H. Simmons and Marilyn A. Martorano, April 25, 2019.
[159] Lawrence J. Pierre, Denver, Colorado, interview by Gary Jackson and Nicolo Casewit, February 23, 2007.
[160] Denver city directories, 1923-48; Denver Assessor Lot Indexes, Manning Tract, Lot 11, on file Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado; US Census of Population, manuscript returns, City and County of Denver, 1930 and 1940.
[161] O.W. Hamlet and Naomi White, Colorado Statewide Marriage Index, 1853-2006, Littleton, Colorado, December 27, 1935.
[162] O.W. Hamlet to Lincoln Hills, Inc., January 24, 1928, in Lincoln Hills Records, ARL39, Box 1, Series 1, Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library, Denver, Colorado. A Lincoln Hills circular listed his cabin parcel as Lots 25-26, Block 2.

environment."[163] The mountain setting was a particular strength of the lodge, as Hamlet's great-niece Linda M. Tucker KaiKai (ca. 1948-2014) reminisced: "I can still smell the pine trees, the logs burning in the fireplace and the outdoor barbecue. I can still hear the rush of the water in the river below, the loud thunder storms, and the swishing of the Aspen trees."[164]

The one-and-a-half-story, side-gable roof, Rustic-style lodge features a stone core, walls clad with wood shingles, and an angled main entrance at its southwest corner that is accessed by wood stairs. The inclusion of a band of windows of varying shapes and sizes in the long west wall of the enclosed porch, where meals were served, provided diners with a view of distant mountain ranges, South Boulder Creek, passing trains, surrounding forest, and many bird varieties, amply justifying Hamlet's decision to name his facility Wink's Panorama. Denverite John H.S. Scott, grandson of builder William Pitts, who began coming to Lincoln Hills in the mid- to late-1920s, related that a notable change to the area was the growth of the surrounding forest. He recalls the trees being only 5' or 6' tall then, but growing to 60' to 70' tall by the early 2000s. Scott described the lodge and its setting: "It was new and pretty and spectacular and people talked about it and [it] had great views. Set up on the side of the mountains, you could see the river, the trains, the other side of the canyon. … It was a focal point of the experience coming up there, and we really wanted to visit Wink's Lodge and see it."[165]

The original 1979 National Register nomination for the lodge and 2014 boundary increase for the property reference the commonly accepted date of construction for Wink's Panorama as 1925 to 1928.[166] However, material clues, coupled with a paucity of documentation and the circumstances of the building's ad hoc construction, make it very likely that the lodge was in fact built incrementally over a period of several years with ongoing improvements, from circa 1928 up to at least 1934, with the construction of the enclosed porch, and possibly into the late 1930s. An October 1938 aerial photograph confirms the presence of the lodge by that date.[167] The relatively long construction period could be attributed to such factors as work being restricted to summer months, constraints on Hamlet's available time due to his employment as a gas station attendant in

[163] Bertha W. Calloway, Everett Fly, and La Barbara Wigfall Fly, "Winks Panorama," Pinecliffe vicinity, Colorado. National Register of Historic Places Nomination form, NRIS.80000901, June 1979, on file with the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, History Colorado, Denver.

[164] KaiKai, "Memories of Uncle Wink," 1.

[165] John H.S. Scott, interview by Judy Scott, 2007.

[166] Calloway, Fly, and Fly, Winks Panorama, Pinecliffe vicinity, Colorado, National Register of Historic Places Nomination and Craig Leavitt (revised by Astrid Liverman), "Winks Panorama (Boundary Increase and Amendment)," Rollinsville vicinity, Colorado, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, NRIS.1300103513, July 2014, on file with the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, History Colorado, Denver.; John H.S. Scott, interview, Judy Scott, 2007; SLATERPAULL Architects, *Winks Lodge Lincoln Hills, CO Historic Structure Assessment and Preservation Plan* (Denver: 2007), 136-141, on file with History Colorado, State Historical Fund, History Colorado, Denver (hereafter *Historic Structure Assessment*). The Gilpin County Assessor shows a 1923 year of construction. The 1979 nomination states Hamlet decided to begin the construction in 1925 but does not provide a completion date. The 2014 National Register boundary expansion document says the building was started in 1925 and "substantially complete" by 1928. No sourcing is provided for these dates. John H.S. Scott (born in 1923) does not recall the lodge operating when he first came to Lincoln Hills in the mid- to late-1920s. In his 1928 letter to Lincoln Hills, Inc., Hamlet did not mention that he was building a lodge that was nearing completion. Hamlet would have had larger trucks available to him after beginning his coal and wood business in 1930. Fieldwork for the 2007 historic structure assessment found newspapers dating to 1934 used for insulating the gaps between the rubble stone core wall and the porch indicating those components were present then. The concrete windowsill on the north wall of the main story facing the porch bears this inscription: "BiLL _. Sept. 4/38" (there appears to be an initial after Bill). The sill appears to have been cast in place at the time the window opening in the stone wall was created, suggesting the main floor was still under construction at that time, although it may be possible (if less likely) that the windows were cut into the walls after initial construction to bring light into the lodge interior. The earliest documented reference to guests at Wink's is 1943.

[167] US Forest Service, aerial number BOW 19-87, October 26, 1938, on file University of Colorado Libraries, Boulder, Colorado, accessed October 6, 2020, http://ucblibraries.colorado.edu/map/aerialphotos.htm.

Denver in the 1920s, and limited financial resources.[168] An undated historic photograph shows four other men working on the building with Hamlet, including his brother, Clarence, and nephew, Clarence II (see Figures 4 through 6). The pictures also reveal a large saw, mounted on a vehicle chassis, used to cut logs for the project.[169] Hamlet also rented cabins to visitors, and this activity may have preceded completion of the lodge.

Stone for the building's foundation and stone core and logs for the framework came from the vicinity. Many building elements incorporated in the lodge were repurposed from other locations, reportedly demolished houses and other buildings in the Denver area (see Figure 10). Martha Tomerlin, who owned the property from 1985 to 2006, observed that materials used in the lodge came from all over the place: "Nothing is standard."[170] Jess DuBois, Hamlet's stepson, noted that Hamlet worked in the lower downtown area of Denver and commented: "A lot of stuff that he got, that they were gonna throw away, he brought it up to the mountains to use it. He put it in the back of his truck and took it to Lincoln Hills."[171] The 2007 *Historic Structure Assessment* judged Hamlet "an astute architectural salvager. Many of the items incorporated into the construction of the Lodge are from previous structures, including windows, doors and interior finishes. The most prominent of these is the pressed metal ceiling tiles which once graced the original *Denver Post* building located on Sixteenth Street between Curtis and Arapahoe Streets. These are now found in the kitchen, bathroom and dining room of the Lodge. The upstairs wainscot was also rumored to be salvaged from the *Post*."[172]

Support facilities erected close to the lodge provided needed services and amenities. All were in place by the 1940s. The area north of the lodge was terraced with stone retaining walls and held a two-seater privy, stone incinerator, and a clothesline (see Figures 11 and 12). The indoor bathroom on the main floor of the lodge was not added until about 1951 or 1952.[173] The area southeast of the lodge encompassed: a small shed; a saw mounted on a stationary vehicle chassis; a chicken coop and fenced run; and two spring boxes that collected water for the facility. Formed from a repurposed building element, the chicken coop represents the acme of Hamlet's improvisation. The coop was fabricated from a small, metal-clad dome featuring porcelain light sockets on its ribs. Such ornaments were popular for theaters and amusement parks.[174] Downhill to the west, Hamlet also built a small picnic area with a brick barbecue (see Figure 13). A discussion of the lodge in the files of History Colorado explained that the picnic area "was shared by all who came to the area."[175]

Operation of the Lodge and Rental Cabins

Wink's Panorama operated from circa 1928-34 to 1965. The facility, including six guest rooms in the lodge and a dozen or more cabins, was a seasonal operation open from late May through early September (see Figure

[168] Located in the Colorado mountains at an elevation of nearly 8,300', heavy winter snow, which seasonally comes early and leaves late, hampered access to the site and likely limited construction to three or four months a year.

[169] *Historic Structure Assessment*, 141; Arthur B. Scott, Oakland, California, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, April 22, 2019. The vehicle with the saw is not the one currently located east of the lodge. Scott believes that William Pitts may have assisted Hamlet with construction of the lodge.

[170] Martha Tomerlin, Colleyville, Texas, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, March 5, 2019.

[171] DuBois, interview, 2019.

[172] *Historic Structure Assessment*, 9; R.L. Simmons, T.H. Simmons, and C. McLaughlin, 950 15th Street, 5DV.1907, Historic Building Inventory Form, February 1993. The early *Denver Post* building at 1019 16th Street was demolished between 1903 and 1929, based on an analysis of Denver Sanborn fire insurance maps.

[173] DuBois, interview, 2019; Clementine Pigford, Denver, Colorado, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, May 15, 2019. Clementine Pigford confirmed the lodge had an indoor bathroom when she visited with her parents around 1959-60.

[174] Document discussing Winks Lodge, National Register of Historic Places file, 5GL.6, undated (ca. 1979-80), on file History Colorado, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado, 3 (hereafter OAHP Document Discussing Winks Lodge). This document may have been written by nomination co-author Bertha Calloway. The author stated that chickens were "raised in the mountains behind the lodge." The resources to the east were erected on US Forest Service land, necessitating a boundary adjustment in 2013.

[175] OAHP Document Discussing Winks Lodge, 2.

10).[176] Explaining the schedule, longtime Lincoln Hills visitor Arthur B. Scott noted that tick season was in April and early May and snow could come early in the fall.[177] The success of the lodge heavily depended on Hamlet's partnership with his wives. After the death of his second wife, Naomi White (1896-1951), he wed Melba Bass DuBois (1910-74) in 1952. Her son, Jess E. DuBois, described his mother's role as "the cook and [she] also handled the rooms. Winks was a quiet man, a great handyman and very thrifty."[178] Hamlet and Melba ran the lodge until his death in 1965. Melba, with the assistance of her son attempted a different business model for a few years and then sold the property in 1971.

Great-niece Linda M. Tucker KaiKai, who visited the lodge throughout the 1950s, described her memories of Hamlet at his mountain property:

> Uncle Wink always had a special project like repairing a wall, digging a ditch, fixing the chicken coop, repairing damage from the bears or working on his truck. He was always wearing overalls and was covered with oil or dirt. He laughed a lot and made jokes and poked fun at people. Sometimes he was bit out of sorts, and was known to be cranky from time to time. Uncle Wink seemed to be a very special person, very self-directed and determined. He had physical stamina and was very strong. We'd see him lifting logs or chopping wood or carrying buckets of water. Indeed he was true outdoorsman.[179]

Janis Sinceno (born in 1945), another Hamlet great-niece, spent summers at the lodge during the 1950s until she was seventeen and recounted that the building was usually full and guests had to make reservations in advance.[180] Jess DuBois, explained that guests would make reservations by telephone. A discussion of the lodge in the files of History Colorado describes how the owners juggled guests who wanted to extend their stays, "sometimes moving the customers to one of the smaller cabins he and his wife owne[d], his method of shifting customers to accommodate a longer stay was an amusing part of the reservation system he and his wife had organized."[181] Several visitors to the lodge mention the friendliness of the Hamlets. Clementine Pigford recalls visiting with her parents about 1959-60 and watching Melba Hamlet make biscuits, feeling it was "just like being at home."[182]

The Wynns, parents of Betty J. (Wynn) Robnett, helped the Hamlets operate the lodge beginning in the mid- to late-1940s. Mr. Wynn assisted Wink with his chores, and Mrs. Wynn aided Naomi with cooking. The Wynns traveled to Lincoln Hills nearly every weekend during the summer, bringing up supplies from Denver ordered by the Hamlets. Robnett reports that the guest rooms featured crocheted bedspreads and a wash bowl and pitcher.[183] An account of the lodge stated that "clean linen was always available, clothes were washed in the basement."[184] Clothes and linens dried on a long clothesline north of the lodge. Meats also were prepared in a smoker in this area. An incinerator between the lodge and the privy burned trash, although Hamlet later hauled rubbish to Nederland in his truck.[185] Water flowed to the lodge basement through pipes from spring boxes

[176] The precise guest capacity of Wink's Panorama was not found in the historic record. Large families may have occupied a single guest room or cabin.

[177] Scott, interview, 2019.

[178] Quoted in Andrea Juarez, "Lincoln Hills: An African-American Monument in Colorado's Mountains," *Denver Urban Spectrum* (May 2007), 8.

[179] KaiKai, "Memories of Uncle Wink," 3.

[180] Linda Jones, "Wink Hamlet's Marvelous Legacy," *Colorado Gambler*. February 6-12, 2007, 30.

[181] OAHP Document Discussing Winks Lodge, 2.

[182] Pigford, interview, 2019.

[183] Robnett, interview, 2007.

[184] OAHP Document Discussing Winks Lodge, 3.

[185] DuBois, interview, 2019.

supplied by water from springs a short distance uphill.

Hamlet's great-niece, Janis Sinceno, who helped out at the lodge in the 1950s to early 1960s, recounted her duties: "I helped with anything that needed doing—serving the three meals a day in the dining area, washing the bed linens, pulling weeds, sorting linens, showing people around, selling trinkets in the little gift shop, changing beds, bringing in firewood, anything that needed doing."[186] After Hamlet married Melba DuBois in 1952, she and her son played a major role in lodge operations. Jess recalled helping his mother cook, cleaning cabins, watching the smoker, stacking wood, and assisting Hamlet construct some of the stone retaining walls, including the one decorated with white quartz stones on the lower terrace. Jess recalled driving with his stepfather in the area when Hamlet would stop to pick a stone he viewed as perfect for a particular location at the lodge.[187]

Meals were served on the enclosed porch which faced west, affording diners great views while eating (see Figure 14). The food served at Wink's Panorama by Naomi and Melba drew special praise from visitors. Confined to her bed with illness toward the end of her life, Naomi would direct operations from there, asking "Did everyone say the blessing before they ate?"[188] Following Naomi's 1951 death, Hamlet married Melba DuBois, who continued the lodge's reputation for great food. Linda Tucker KaiKai described Melba as very pretty and exotic looking, who wore "armfuls of silver bracelets" and an apron and was "absolutely one of the world's best cooks," singling out her trout, friend chicken, and barbecue.[189] Denver restauranteur Lawrence J. Pierre remembered Melba's dishes included fried chicken, potato salad, lettuce and tomato salad, Jello, ice cream, and watermelon, kept icy cold in a sack in South Boulder Creek. Jess DuBois recalled his mother preparing "all kind of soul food," including collard greens, cornbread, biscuits, fried chicken, meatloaf with gravy, chitlins, red beans and rice, peach cobbler, and cherry and rhubarb pies. He stated that his mother always grew rhubarb, and a planting area on a lower terrace still contains a thriving stand of the vegetable.[190]

In the lodge's later years a man known as Brownie cooked the meals at the lodge and was acclaimed for his fried chicken: "Two chicken coops were kept in the back of the lodge, and the chickens in the closest one were deemed ready for frying. Brownie guaranteed that a customer could choose his fowl from the flock in the coop and it would be ready to eat on his plate in an hour, with mashed potatoes and gravy and corn, all for $1."[191] Joyce (Wilkins) Herndon of Kansas City, Missouri, whose family visited the lodge in about 1960, described the home-cooked meals as "regular Black food."[192]

Most families who owned cabins at Lincoln Hills do not appear to have eaten regularly at the lodge. Elvin Caldwell, Jr. first came to Lincoln Hills and the lodge as a child with his family in the 1940s. He related that the trip focused on the cabin, where most meals were prepared. He believed the family may have gone to the lodge once or twice for lunch or supper.[193]

Other Hamlet Enterprises at Lincoln Hills

Wink's Tavern. In addition to the lodge and his personal cabin, Hamlet developed other properties within Lincoln Hills. Down the hill from the lodge, he operated Wink's Tavern, a tavern and dance hall. The facility

[186] Quoted in Jones, "Wink Hamlet's Marvelous Legacy," 30.
[187] DuBois, interview, 2019.
[188] Robnett, interview, 2007.
[189] KaiKai, "Memories of Uncle Wink," 2.
[190] DuBois, interview, 2019.
[191] Jones, "Wink Hamlet's Marvelous Legacy," 30.
[192] Joyce (Wilkins) Herndon, Chicago, Illinois, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, February 25, 2020.
[193] Caldwell, interview, 2007.

sold 3.2 beer, soft drinks, and hamburgers and hot dogs.[194] A jukebox provided music for dancing, including square dancing on weekends. Betty J. Robnett reported the tavern drew a mixed crowd of Blacks and Whites.[195] Lawrence J. Pierre of Denver described the tavern as a place for drinking beer, talking, listening to music on the jukebox, and dancing, noting that people would drive from Denver on weekends.[196]

Rental Cabins. Hamlet built or acquired cabins in the area and offered them for guest lodging. John H.S. Scott believes the cabin operation began before the lodge was completed.[197] Varying estimates have been provided for the number of cabins ultimately possessed by Hamlet. Great-niece Janis Sinceno related that Hamlet built at least six cabins in Lincoln Hills and moved in as many as fifteen more after the nearby Pactolus mining operation closed.[198] Denver resident Jennie Mae Rucker noted that if someone wanted to stay at Lincoln Hills, they had to own a cabin or rent from Wink Hamlet.[199]

One of the cabins Hamlet built circa 1930s-1940s was the one-room Honeymoon Cabin (Resource 10) west across Wink's Way from the lodge. Jennie Rucker and her husband loved the mountains and stayed frequently in the unit. She described it as a "one-room shack–one-room 'cottage'" and explained that Hamlet provided coal and wood, blankets, and bedding.[200] A person familiar with the cabin observed: "Where else could a young Black couple find accommodations away from the city in a beautiful setting?"[201] Hamlet also constructed a cabin for his sister, Bessie DeVan. Several members of the family stayed there while visiting. Linda Tucker KaiKai recalled the dwelling had pine board walls and three rooms: a living room, bedroom, and kitchen with a wood stove.[202]

It is not known how financially rewarding the short seasonal operation was for Wink's Panorama, the cabins, and the tavern. Both Obrey and Melba Hamlet also worked other jobs in Denver and Boulder. Obrey Hamlet continued his coal and wood business until at least 1948. In 1951 he worked as a janitor at the Casino Dance Hall in Denver. By 1957 Melba was employed as a nurse's aide at Rose Memorial Hospital in Denver. Outside summer months, she cooked for fraternities at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

Publicizing the Lodge and Cabins

The method Hamlet initially used to advertise the availability of accommodations at the lodge and cabins is not known. He most likely relied on word of mouth for publicity in the early years of operation. People from other states who purchased lots at Lincoln Hills may have discussed the lodge with others in their hometowns. No mention of Wink's Panorama appears in databases of online African American or general interest newspapers for the 1920s through early 1940s. The lodge is not listed in 1930s and early 1940s African American travel guides, although most of the listings in those publications tended to focus on towns and cities rather than mountain areas.[203] Likewise, the facility does not appear in Colorado State Business directories from 1926 through 1941.

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[194] This type of "low-point beer" contains 3.2 percent alcohol by weight and is less intoxicating that regular beer.
[195] Robnett, interview, 2007.
[196] Pierre, interview, 2007.
[197] John Scott, interview, 2007.
[198] Jones, "Wink Hamlet's Marvelous Legacy," 30.
[199] Jennie Mae Rucker, Denver, Colorado, interview by Judy Scott, October 3, 2007.
[200] Rucker, interview, 2007. Rucker and her husband eventually bought a cabin in Lincoln Hills.
[201] OAHP Document Discussing Winks Lodge, 3.
[202] KaiKai, "Memories of Uncle Wink," 2.
[203] Hackley and Harrison, *Hackley & Harrison's Hotel and Apartment Guide for Colored Travelers*, Smith's Touring Club, *Smith's Tourist Guide for Businessman, Tourist, Traveler, and Vacationist* (Media, Pennsylvania: Smith's Tourist Guide, 1940); US Travel Bureau, *A Directory of Negro Hotels and Guest Houses* (Washington: US Travel Bureau, US Department of the Interior, 1941).

Black Pullman car porters may have played a role in alerting railroad passengers to the existence of Wink's. Larry Tye, author of a book on Pullman porters, believes the railroad workers "advised passengers on accommodations everywhere, knowing that Jim Crow wasn't limited to the South." He observes that their first-person travel experience with hotels and restaurants may have been superior to information provided by the *Green Book*.[204] Historian William M. King notes that his father in Cleveland used the *Green Book*, but also thinks it likely that Pullman porters passed the word to Black travelers about the lodge in the Colorado mountains.[205]

Later, Hamlet employed more targeted advertising to reach potential guests. In the post-World War II era, Wink's Panorama was listed in the vacation guide section of the *Green Book* from 1950 through 1959. The *Green Book* distinguished between general lodging facilities and vacation/resort destinations beginning with its 1949 edition. The guide included a separate section on vacation facilities in the mountains, seashore, and country, initially covering only resorts in the northeastern part of the country. Wink's Panorama was listed the very first year the *Green Book* expanded its vacation section to cover the entire country and was the only Rocky Mountain resort facility that appeared.[206]

Other national notice of Wink's Panorama came in the early 1950s. The African American press published occasional mentions of the resort, often in the society pages describing residents' travels. In 1952 the *Amsterdam News* (New York City) and *Chicago Defender* reported that the "scenic rest spot" of Wink's Panorama Lodge would open for the season on May 30 and noted its proximity to Denver.[207] *Ebony* magazine in a June 1952 article on summer vacations listed Wink's as one of only two "mountain resorts" in the western U.S.[208] The rate was $3 daily, including meals. Listed activities included trout fishing, mountain climbing, and a bridle path and were provided off-site. In 1953 Wink's was the only mountain resort listed by *Ebony*; the daily rate increased that year to $3.50 and did not include meals.[209]

Visitors to the Lodge

As noted earlier, visitors to the lodge arrived by private automobile or on the train. A flag stop for the Denver and Salt Lake Railroad (later the Denver and Rio Grande Western) stood downhill from the lodge, accessed by a bridge crossing South Boulder Creek. Guests walked the quarter-mile to the lodge or were met by Hamlet, who transported them in his pickup. Denverite Betty J. Wynn Robnett, whose family visited Lincoln Hills most summer weekends, related that Hamlet would "fly up that hill" in his truck.[210] Arthur B. Scott described the arriving visitors as they walked up the hill from the train as mostly couples (rather than families), ranging in age from thirty to fifty, and dressed in "after-five clothes," rather then what people typically wore up in the mountains.[211]

Just as many of the purchasers of lots in Lincoln Hills lived in other states, an even larger proportion of Wink's Lodge guests appear to have come from outside Denver and Colorado. Martha Tomerlin, who owned the

[204] Larry Tye, Boston, Massachusetts, email to Thomas H. Simmons, January 6, 2020.
[205] William M. King, Boulder, Colorado, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, August 26, 2019.
[206] A facility in Dumont in Clear Creek County west of Denver appeared in the *Green Book* from 1953 through 1960 but is no longer extant.
[207] *Chicago Defender*, May 31, 1952, 6; *Amsterdam News* (New York City), May 31, 1952.
[208] The other listed property was Mountain Studio Lodge in Dumont, Colorado, which is no longer extant.
[209] *Ebony*, June 1952, 110 and July 1953, 106.
[210] Robnett, interview, 2007.
[211] Arthur B. Scott, Denver, Colorado, interview by Judy Scott, August 8, 2007.

property with her husband between 1985 and 2006, reported she was amazed at the number African Americans who dropped by during the summer who once stayed at Wink's and shared their memories of what a wonderful place it had been.[212] The bulk of Lincoln Hill's Denver visitors appear to have stayed in cabins they owned or those of friends.[213]

Information on lodge visitors to Wink's is incomplete, as no guest register has been located (see Figures 15 and 16).[214] Examples of people who visited include John T. Holley of Washington, DC, and his bride, Ruth O. Hill of Denver, who honeymooned at "the hotel at Lincoln Hills [Wink's] and Dumont" in August 1943 before traveling to the nation's capital.[215] In 1946 Chicago schoolteacher Mabel C. Thomas visited Wink's as part of an "ideal trip" that included Pike's Peak, the Cave of the Winds, and the Garden of the Gods in the Colorado Springs vicinity.[216] Landscape architect Everett Fly related that a member of an African American Washington, DC, social group told him that its members visited Wink's by train for many years.[217] In 1945 the *Omaha Star*, a Black newspaper, reported that Preston Langley and Leroy Curry of that city rented "a cabin at the Winks Panorama Lodge, the most beautiful summer resort in Colorado. The boys returned home looking fine and full of pep. They enjoyed Trout fishing and long morning walks, while in Lincoln Hills."[218] Mr. and Mrs. William Penn of Omaha stayed at Wink's in 1957, along with their children, a niece, and nephew. The adults "fished in the beautiful lakes of Colorado."[219]

The lodge provided a getaway free of the stress inherent in African American daily life. Louisianan Eugene Washington visited Wink's Panorama from his home in the Mississippi Delta: "We did not have to worry about entering and exiting under dubious, unfounded circumstances. We were going to WINKS, and that was all we needed to know."[220] Post-World War II photographs showed visitors at the lodge travelling in a vehicle with Pennsylvania license plates. Following the 1952-53 listing of Wink's in *Ebony*, Betty J. Robnett recalled that her father's cousin (a school principal) and her doctor husband from Tennessee stayed at the lodge: "They told other people about it—because this was the first time people from Tennessee had been up there—and they ranted and raved and that next year that place was full of southerners from down Tennessee, Mississippi, and all of that area."[221]

The reception at Wink's differed dramatically from what African Americans encountered traveling elsewhere. During a visit to Lincoln Hills in the 1950s, Hamlet's great-niece Linda Tucker KaiKai asked if she and her brother could stay in the lodge to experience what it was like. They each received a room: "I remember that the twin bed I slept in sank way down in the middle and the mattress was very soft. Aunt Melba covered me with a thick handmade quilt. … At this time in my life, we had probably never slept in a real hotel. There was still widespread segregation, and when we traveled east to visit my father's family in Pittsburgh we had to sleep in the car, as no one allowed us to stay in the 'vacant' motels along the way."[222]

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[212] Tomerlin, interview, 2019.

[213] Based on a number of oral history interviews, the cabin community and Wink's operations appear to have been fairly discrete.

[214] DuBois, interview, 2019. Jess DuBois reported he once had a guest book but does not know where it is presently.

[215] *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 28, 1943, 17.

[216] *Chicago Bee*, September 15, 1946, 7.

[217] Everett Fly, San Antonio, Texas, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, July 8, 2019. The conversation took place about 1980, when he was working on the National Register nomination for Wink's Lodge. Fly could not recall the name of the Washington group.

[218] *Omaha Star*, August 24, 1945, 6.

[219] *Omaha Guide*, September 20, 1957, 1.

[220] Quoted in *Denver Post*, February 19, 2006, L-1.

[221] Robnett, interview, 2007.

[222] KaiKai, "Memories of Uncle Wink," 4.

Journalist William O. Walker of Cleveland spent time at Lincoln Hills in the early summer of 1959, possibly in a cabin or the lodge, and reported: "with snow-capped mountains all around you, at an elevation of 8,500 feet, you had to have a fire each night in your cabin. The morning we left, the temperature was 31 degrees. In less than two hours, we were down on the plains where it was 95 degrees."[223] Two African American families from Omaha visited the Colorado mountains during the summer of 1959. They "stayed in cabins at Pine Cliff," most likely those operated by Hamlet; shopped in Denver, Boulder, and Colorado Springs; and visited Estes Park.[224]

In about 1960 Joyce (Wilkins) Herndon's family drove from Kansas City, Missouri, to visit relatives in Denver and stayed three or four days at Wink's. She indicated they encountered no racial problems, as her father knew where to stop on the way. At the lodge the family hiked, and her father fished, taking trout back to his parents' house in Denver (see Figure 17). Herndon recalled they visited Wink's on more than one occasion.[225]

Linda Tucker KaiKai recalled her uncle Hamlet asking her and Warren, her brother, to play with guests' children: "My brother and I showed them a good time in the mountains and helped teach them not [to] be afraid of bugs and dirt and out-houses. We shared with them the joy of running up and down steep hills and finding pretty rocks with fool's gold and listening to the birds and watching minnows in the streams and listening to the wolves and owls at night. They would never forget the feeling of quenching that dry thirst with cold, sweet water from the river or of satisfying mountain hunger with aunt Melba's fried chicken and honey biscuits."[226]

African American Musicians and Literary Figures. In discussing Lincoln Hills and Wink's Panorama architectural historian Melanie Shellenbarger observed that "tradition holds" that touring African American entertainers and literary figures stayed at and performed at Wink's Panorama following appearances at Denver venues such as the Rossonian Hotel, Casino Dance Hall, or the Rainbow Room. Among the well-known musicians and writers reported as guests at the lodge are: singer Lena Horne (1917-2010); jazz pianists, composers, and band leaders Count Basie (1904-84) and Duke Ellington (1988-74); and writers Langston Hughes (1901-67), Zora Neale Hurston (1891-1960), and Countee Cullen (1903-46).[227] Various oral histories assert sightings of specific individuals. Jess DuBois stated, "many of the music icons who performed in the 1940s and 1950s in [Denver's] Five Points … visited Winks Lodge at Lincoln Hills."[228] He listed jazz saxophonist Charlie Parker and singer Billie Holiday as guests. Betty J. Robnett recounted seeing Lena Horne and Duke Ellington at the lodge, as well as "the singing weavers."[229] Jennie Mae Rucker, a Denver librarian and teacher, stated she saw author Zora Neale Hurston at Wink's.[230] Denver jazz musician Pernell Steen reported seeing Lena Horne and Count Basie at Wink's in the early 1950s. Noting Wink's was "so isolated and so remote," Steen opined the musicians "came to get away and relax" and discounted the idea of jam sessions at the lodge: "Nobody played there."[231]

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[223] *Cleveland Call and Post*, July 18, 1959, 2C.
[224] *Omaha Star*, September 18. 1959, 6.
[225] Joyce (Wilkins) Herndon, Chicago, Illinois, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, February 25, 2020.
[226] KaiKai, "Memories of Uncle Wink," 4.
[227] Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 143.
[228] Jess E. DuBois, *Lincoln Hills, Colorado* (Denver: Jess DuBois, 2012), 13.
[229] Robnett, interview, 2007; Norman Abjorensen, *Historical Dictionary of Popular Music* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017), 533; The Singing Weavers, www.thesingingweavers.com. Ms. Robnett's reference to "the singing weavers" is unclear. The Singing Weavers is a White gospel group that formed in 1971, well after Wink's closed. The Weavers (Pete Seeger, Fred Hellerman, Lee Hays, Ronnie Gilbert) were an all-White folk revival music group organized in 1948, known for their progressive politics that caused the group problems during the Red Scare of the 1950s.
[230] Rucker, interview, 2007.
[231] Purnell Steen, Denver, Colorado, interview by Thomas H. Simmons, April 22, 2019.

Final Years of Wink's Lodge

Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 opened up new recreational and leisure venues to the nation's African Americans. An ironic result of the law was an economic downturn for existing properties such as Wink's, which had served the Black community under segregation. These facilities experienced declining patronage when other options became available, and the *Green Book* ceased publication with its 1966-67 edition. A further blow to Wink's Panorama came when Obrey Wendell "Wink" Hamlet died at age seventy-two in November 1965 (see Figure 18).[232] Hamlet played an integral role in the successful operation of the lodge. Lawrence J. Pierre reflected: "When he died, the little place just died."[233]

His widow, Melba, attempted to find a new niche for the lodge with the aid of her son, Jess E. DuBois. Jess, who had served in the military, completed art school, and lived in Boulder, operated a tamale stand on The Hill, a commercial district near the University of Colorado campus. There he came to know many of the city's young people. He and his mother developed a new concept for the resort in the mid- to late 1960s: "We offered these young people—some called them 'hippies'—a free place to come and have a party. Our first weekend party was a huge success as hundreds of people came. … The parties grew and grew through the summer."[234] The gatherings featured food, dancing, and music, with attendees paying what they could and camping out or staying in the cabins.[235]

In 1971 Melba Hamlet sold the lodge property to Guy V. and G. Eileen Dart a White couple from Boulder County. They remained owners until 1978, selling to African Americans James T. and Bertha W. Calloway of Omaha, Nebraska. Bertha Calloway (1925-2017) grew up in Denver and attended Camp Nizhoni. In Omaha she became a community and civil rights activist and organized the Negro Historical Society in 1962. In 1976, using a grant from the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, Calloway established the Great Plains Black History Museum, where she served as director and curator.[236] She co-authored the 1979 National Register nomination for Wink's Lodge with Everett and La Barbara Fly.[237]

In 1985 Bob R. and Martha Tomerlin, a White couple from Colleyville, Texas, purchased the property with plans to operate a semi-religious camp for youths. Mr. Tomerlin worked as a physical education teacher and athletic coach.[238] Abandoning the plan for a camp, they ran the property as an informal bed-and-breakfast for friends and members of the congregation of the church they attended. The couple added the carport and the interior stairs from the basement level. They also replaced the entrance stairs at the southwest corner.[239]

In 2006 the Tomerlins sold the property to the James P. Beckwourth Mountain Club, a group honoring the legacy of James Beckwourth (ca. 1798-1866), an African American fur trapper, mountain man, and explorer. History Colorado's State Historical Fund provided funds for the club's acquisition. The Beckwourth group commissioned a historic structure assessment for the lodge, maintained the property, and held events there. Historic Winks Lodge LLC, the current owner, acquired the property in 2017.

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[232] *Boulder Daily Camera*, November 30, 1965.

[233] Pierre, interview, 2007.

[234] DuBois, *Lincoln Hills*, 19. DuBois did not specify the year this occurred or if it lasted for more than one summer.

[235] DuBois, interview, 2019.

[236] *Omaha World-Herald*, February 9, 1976 and November 26, 2017.

[237] Everett Fly, "American Cultural Landscapes: Black Roots and Treasures," Frederick Law Olmstead Lecture, Harvard University, Graduate School of Design, October 27, 2020. According to Fly, Calloway had a guest book for Wink's at the time the National Register nomination was prepared in 1979. Calloway died in 2017, and efforts to access her records through the Great Plains Black History Museum and her son in Omaha did not produce any results.

[238] Barbara Lawlor, "Lincoln Hills Lodge Is Significant in Black History," *Mountain-Ear* (Nederland, Colorado), July 18, 1996, 8.

[239] Tomerlin, interview, 2019.

CONCLUSION

Wink's Panorama served as a Rocky Mountain beacon of light and hope in the uncertain and sometimes dangerous landscape navigated by African Americans seeking leisure and recreation in the era of segregation. Made known by listing in the *Green Book* and *Ebony* magazine and by word of mouth, out-of-state visitors from the Midwest, South, and East patronized Wink's during its circa 1928-65 years of operation. While a full spectrum of lodging and other accommodations were open to nearly all White Americans of sufficient means, African Americans, regardless of their ability to pay, were denied full and equal access to many recreational venues. The lodge is a rare, regional example of an African American destination vacation spot displaying an extremely high level of historic integrity and the only known, extant resort of the segregation era in the Intermountain and Pacific West regions. Wink's offered a vacation experience for African Americans not available elsewhere in the country, providing guests with access to a lodge in the Rocky Mountains within easy access of Denver by automobile or railroad. Standing within the summer home development of Lincoln Hills, Wink's permitted African Americans to enjoy themselves in a peaceful setting free of potential discrimination, with access to hiking, trout fishing, wildlife viewing, horseback riding, and relaxation. As one peer reviewer of this nomination observed, Wink's "cannot only be understood in terms of Black people's response to racism. This site is also the product of enthusiasm for the mountains, love of nature, and a site for everyday joy."[240] Future plans for the property envision the lodge as a museum that can be visited and enjoyed, serving to illuminate one aspect of the story of the African American experience and racial segregation in America.[241]

PREVIOUS RECOGNITION

Wink's Lodge was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1980 (NRIS number 80000901). In 2014 a nomination amendment (NRIS number 13001035) was approved with an expanded boundary and additional documentation that argued national significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage/Black, Entertainment/ Recreation, and Social History.

[240] Comments of anonymous peer reviewer number 5 on the December 2020 draft nomination.
[241] J.R. Lapierre, Executive Director, Lincoln Hills Cares, Denver, Colorado, email to Thomas H. Simmons, June 2, 2020.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The most on-point comparable properties to Wink's Panorama are hotels, lodges, or inns that accommodated African American guests in a vacation/outdoor setting in the Rocky Mountains or West. They took advantage of their mountain locations to let visitors experience such activities as hiking, mountain climbing, sightseeing, fly fishing in swiftly flowing streams, wildlife viewing, and enjoying vistas of distant, snow-capped mountain ranges. Such resources were typically viewed as recreation destinations in and of themselves and were deliberately sought out by visitors rather than serving as casual roadside lodging for a night. This qualitative difference was recognized by the *Negro Motorist Green Book*, which listed places like Wink's in a special "vacation" section rather than in its larger state-by-state entries of general travel facilities. *Ebony* magazine similarly placed Wink's in its "Mountain Vacations" section of summer destinations. While some other Black vacation facilities were situated adjacent to the seashore or lakes, only Wink's was located near a mountain stream, affording guest access to flyfishing. The above characteristics distinguish Wink's from Idlewild, Oak Bluffs, and other resort communities, which were much larger, full-fledged vacation developments containing a variety of resource types, as well as from more common roadside, shorter-stay, overnight accommodations for travelers journeying between points.

Using suggestions from NHL staff, listings in African American travel guidebooks, and compilations of resources listed in the National Register, possible comparative properties were identified. Historian Mark S. Foster noted: "In the East, travelling blacks occasionally had choices of facilities, but out West, hotel and other accommodations, when available at all, were extremely limited."[242] The map included in Everett and La Barbara Fly's 1980 *Black Settlement in America* is illuminating. Maps for 1928 and 1949 show most African American resorts lying east of the Mississippi River, with Wink's the only Black resort between Minnesota and southern California. Wink's is the only known extant, privately-owned vacation facility providing African Americans access to the majesties of the Rocky Mountains.[243] Only three other western examples of this type of resource were identified as good comparables; none are now extant.

Mountain Studio Lodge, Dumont, Colorado

A brief article in the *Pittsburgh Courier* in 1943 reported that African American visitors had stayed at Dumont in 1943 but did not identify the name of the lodging. The Mountain Studio Lodge (also known as Mary's Mountain Lodge and the Mountain Studio) appeared in *Ebony* magazine's "Mountain Resorts" in 1952 and in the *Green Book* from 1953 through 1961. African Americans John and Ledell Robinson of Fort Worth, Texas, owned and operated the facility. Located in the Colorado mountains thirty-three miles west of Denver on US Highway 40, the Robinson's large log lodge welcomed guests during summer months. A display advertisement in *Ebony* magazine in 1961 noted the complex offered television and modern conveniences for $3 per night with meals at "nominal price." Fishing and mountain climbing were listed as activities. The resource was destroyed in a fire in 2009.[244]

Murray's Overall Wearing Dude Ranch, Victorville vicinity, California

African Americans Nolie and Lela Murray of Los Angeles purchased a Mojave Desert ranch in 1922 and converted it into a dude ranch by 1937. At the height of its operations the ranch included about twenty buildings, a swimming pool, baseball field, tennis courts, and a riding stable. A feature in *Life* magazine in 1937 highlighted prizefighter Joe Louis's visit to the ranch, resulting in a surge of business and the use of the ranch as a location set in a number of films. *Ebony* profiled the ranch in 1947. Following the death of his wife in 1949,

[242] Foster, "In the Face of 'Jim Crow,'" 137.

[243] The promoters of Dearfield on Colorado's eastern plains attempted to draw vacationers, but it was primarily an agricultural settlement for African Americans.

[244] *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 28, 1943, 17; *Ebony*, June 1952, 110 and June 1961, 96; *Denver Post*, November 26, 2009.

Nolie Murray sold the ranch to Black actress Pearl Bailey and her husband Louie Bellson. After they sold the property in the 1980s, it fell into disrepair, and the buildings were destroyed in a fire training exercise in 1988.[245]

Bruce's Beach, Manhattan Beach, California
In 1912 African Americans Willa and Charles Bruce established an oceanside resort facility consisting of a lodge, café, and dance hall within the town of Manhattan Beach in Los Angeles County. According to historian Allison Rose Jefferson, Bruce's Beach primarily appealed to Los Angeles area Blacks, rather than drawing a broader national audience. Local Whites were hostile to the presence of the facility and its Black guests, and the town forced the Bruces out in 1924, employing eminent domain to seize the property, ostensibly for a park. Recent efforts have been made to recognize and interpret the African American history Bruce's Beach and return the property to Bruce descendants. None of the resources associated with the Bruces' facility are still extant.[246]

A discussion of other possible comparative properties considered appears below.

Resort/Vacation Communities
While sharing Wink's character as vacation destinations, resort communities are different in their nature and scale than Wink's. Much larger, they consist of a variety of resources, including individual dwellings, hotels, restaurants, night clubs, community buildings, and sporting and entertainment venues. The vacation development in which Wink's stands, Lincoln Hills, is a modest example of this resource type. Larger scale developments were located along the Atlantic seaboard and in the Midwest with scattered examples found in California. Examples of this resource type include Idlewild, Michigan; Oak Bluffs (at Martha's Vineyard), Massachusetts; American Beach, Florida; and Eureka Villa (Val Verde), California.[247]

Roadside Accommodations
Facilities located along major highways or within towns and cities (typically located within Black neighborhoods) were important way-stations for traveling African Americans, providing overnight accommodations and necessary support services to travelers, such as restaurants, taverns, gas stations, grocery and liquor stores, and barber and beauty shops. Compared with resorts or vacation properties, these were the most numerous types of listings in the *Green Book* and other guides, with lodging facilities including hotels, motels, and guest or tourist homes. However, these types of resources generally were not destinations for travelers but brief stopping points on their way to an ultimate travel goal. By contrast, Wink's Panorama was a destination facility, located in a relatively out-of-the-way location, not on a major highway, that a visitor had to seek out.

National Park Facilities
Lewis Mountain Cabins in Shenandoah National Park, Luray vicinity, Virginia, was developed as an area for

[245] Matthew Cabe, "This Desert Life: 'The World's Only Negro Dude Ranch,'" *Victorville Daily Press*, May 11, 2017, www.vvdailypress.com; Mark Landis, "How 'Murray's Overall Wearing Dude Ranch' Came to Be in the High Desert," *San Bernardino Sun*, March 12, 2018, www.sbsun.com.

[246] See Allison Rose Jefferson, *Living the California Dream: African American Leisure Sites during the Jim Crow Era* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2020); *Los Angeles Times*, October 1, 2021, A1.

[247] Astrid Liverman, "National Historic Landmark Letter of Inquiry: Winks Panorama, Rollinsville, Gilpin County, CO," February 2018; Amy Cole, Program Manager, Heritage Partnerships Program, Intermountain Region, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, letter to Astrid Liverman, February 14, 2018. The Letter of Inquiry for Wink's lists a breadth of potential comparative properties. The NPS response letter recommended honing these "to the most representative examples of similar properties," which are addressed herein.

Black visitors in 1939-40. Originally identified by a Rustic entrance sign reading "Lewis Mountain Negro Area," the grounds included a lodge, a number of Rustic cabins, and a picnic ground, which appear to still be extant. Shenandoah National Park facilities were fully integrated by 1950. The facility is distinguishable from Wink's given its location in the eastern part of the country and its original erection and operation by a private concessioner within a national park.

Spruce Tree Lodge in Mesa Verde National Park in southwest Colorado, for example, appeared in the 1956 through 1966-67 editions. A 1940 guidebook described the facility as consisting of a main lobby and dining room building, surrounded by cabins holding seventy rooms, as well as forty tent platforms.[248] Managed by a concessioner in a public national park, Spruce Tree Lodge (as well as other park facilities) differed from the private, Black-owned operation of Wink's and served a full range of guests, not just African Americans. Located in canyon and plateau country, Spruce Tree Lodge provided a slightly different outdoor experience than the mountain experience at Wink's. It was replaced by Far View Lodge in 1966 and subsequently demolished.[249]

Rocky Mountain National Park lies just thirty-two miles north of Wink's, but available evidence suggests that few Black visitors went to the park in the first part of the twentieth century. The gateway town of Estes Park was not friendly toward African Americans, as recounted by Denver resident John Mosley earlier. No Estes Park facilities appeared in African American travel guides, and it was not until the mid- to late-1950s that concessioner-run lodges in the park were listed.[250] Interviews and other accounts by visitors to Wink's do not indicate they used the lodge as a base to visit the national park.

Resort/Vacation Destination Hotels, Lodges, and Inns

A number of African American hotels, lodges, and inns were identified in historic Black vacation and resort communities outside of the western part of nation, in the Midwest, Northeast, and Southeast. These resources were typically not large and they operated in natural settings notable for recreational and/or tourist potential. They are not prosaic roadside accommodations providing a night's shelter as one traveled between points on a trip. Rather, they are places where visitors might linger for several days or weeks, enjoying the surroundings, recuperating from work, and experiencing outdoor pursuits, such as hiking, swimming, horseback riding, sightseeing, and athletic activities. No examples of this type of resource is presently designated as a National Historic Landmark.

The Northeast

Cummings' Guest House, Old Orchard Beach, Maine (National Register 2004, NRIS number 04000744)

Charles E. Cummings, Jr. and his wife, Rosveil (Rose), the community's only Black residents, modified this circa 1870 house about 1923 for use as a guest house for African American seaside visitors. Praised for its delicious meals, the eleven-room lodging operated from May through September and attracted vacationers from many states. African American entertainers playing at local venues also stayed there. After dinner, guests would sit on "the spacious front porch to catch the ocean breeze, play cards or visit." [251] The property continued in use

[248] National Park Service, *Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado* (Washington: National Park Service, 1940).

[249] Duane A. Smith, *Mesa Verde National Park: Shadows of the Centuries* (Boulder; University Press of Colorado, 2002; orig. pub. Lawrence, Kansas, University Press of Kansas, 1988); Mesa Verde National Park, Google Earth images, October 12, 2017.

[250] Simmons and Simmons, *Colorado African American Travel and Recreation Resources Survey Plan,* 73; *Chicago Defender*, April 22, 1961, 12. The three facilities were the Brinwood Hotel and Ranch, Jack Woods Cottages, and Sprague's Lodge. As late as 1960, a sales representative of the prestigious Stanley Hotel in Estes Park told the travel editor of *Chicago Defender* that the facility "still enforced racial bias against Negroes and none would be accepted without protest."

[251] Christi A. Mitchell, "Cummings' Guest House," Old Orchard Beach, York County, Maine, National Register Nomination, NRIS.04000744, 2004. 5, on file with the Maine State Historic Preservation Office, Augusta, Maine.

as a guest house through 1993. Unlike Wink's, which provided a mountain vacation experience, Cummings' Guest House offered accommodations for Blacks enjoying the seaside community's amenities, including the beach, amusement park, pier, boardwalk, casino, and racetrack. The 2004 National Register nomination documents a one-story front porch, but a subsequent photograph shows the porch removed. A June 2019 Google Street View image shows a reconstructed front porch differing from the one shown in the nomination photographs; it is not known if the porch design and materials replicate those of the original porch.

Rock Rest, Kittery, Maine (National Register 2007, NRIS number 07001449)
Rock Rest operated as a modest guest house for African Americans, as well as a family home and restaurant. The property is located on a two-lane road connecting Kittery and York, Maine, in a rural, wooded area about a mile from the Atlantic shore. African Americans Clayton and Hazel (Colbert) Sinclair purchased the property in 1938 and began taking in guests about 1946. In about 1948 the couple added a two-story detached guest house and garage, which was expanded in 1954. Rock Rest had a capacity of sixteen guests. According to the National Register nomination: "Most stayed for a week, some for two, and numerous names appear year after year."[252] The Sinclairs advertised their facility as a "Great Vacation Spot—Fine Food" and distributed postcards. Rock Rest attracted guests from twenty-eight states between 1948 and 1977. Guest activities included sightseeing, swimming, clam bakes, picnics and attending services at the Black church in Portsmouth. Developed post-World War II (slightly later than Wink's), Rock Rest provided visitors access to the Maine seaside. Since the 2007 National Register listing, the house has been re-sided, the projecting porch was altered, and upper story windows on the northeast gable face were replaced with shorter windows.[253]

Shearer Cottage, Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts (Not NR Listed)
In 1912 African Americans Charles and Henrietta Shearer built a twelve-room cottage at Oak Bluffs, a vacation resort for Blacks at Martha's Vineyard, and began operating an inn during summer months. Following the death of his wife in 1917, Mr. Shearer carried on the business with the help of daughters Lily and Sadie. A long building originally used as a laundry was converted to guest rooms and the family expanded the cottage with a large kitchen, dining room, L-shaped porch, and upper-story balcony. The property also had a tennis court. Shearer Cottage attracted many prominent African American guests, including entertainers, religious leaders, professionals, and politicians. The Martha's Vineyard chapter of the NAACP organized at the cottage. A 2008 assessment by the Massachusetts Historical Commission found the Shearer Cottage individually eligible for listing in the National Register under Criteria A and C at a local level of significance.[254] The inn is still operated by members of the Shearer family, and the cottage seems to retain historic integrity. Shearer Cottage is earlier than Wink's Panorama but played a similar role, providing guests with an eastern seashore experience rather than the Rocky Mountains.

Woodbine Cottage/Motel, Lake George, New York (Not NR Listed)
African Americans Samuel and Dorothy McFerson began operating the Woodbine Cottage in 1935 in a Victorian house moved to this location in 1926. The facility welcomed Black visitors to the Adirondacks, and entertainers such as Cab Calloway and Ella Fitzgerald performed here. The Woodbine was listed in the *Green Book* summer resort guide in 1949 and later editions of the publication. A motel to the south added in the 1950s. The original Italianate core has additions (dates unknown) to the front, rear, and north. The property does not

[252] Christi A. Mitchell, "Rock Rest," Kittery, York County, Maine, National Register of Historic Places Nomination, NRIS.07001449, 2007, 3, on file with the Maine State Historic Preservation Office, Augusta, Maine.

[253] This is based on a comparison of the National Register nomination photographs and a September 2019 Google Street View image.

[254] Charles Shearer House, OAK.379, Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts, survey forms, 1978, 1999, and 2008, Massachusetts Cultural Resource Information System. See also, Shelley Christiansen, "The Shearer Family, Keepers of the Inn," *Martha's Vineyard* (July 2012): 71-81.

appear to have been surveyed or evaluated for National Register eligibility.[255]

The Southeast

Lewis Motel, American Beach, Florida (Contributing Resource, American Beach National Register Historic District, 2002, NRIS number 01001532),

The Lewis Motel (5553 Gregg St.) is a U-shaped, one-story, masonry lodging facility, with guest rooms facing the courtyard or the ocean. The Pension Bureau of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company, the developer of American Beach, built the motel in 1950 in response to the growing popularity of the vacation community.[256] Built much later than Wink's, the post-World War II motel represents a somewhat different resource type and building style and is located in a southeastern seashore location. The motel appeared to retain historic integrity in a January 2019 Google Street View image.

Ocean Vu-Inn, American Beach, Florida (Contributing Resource, American Beach National Register Historic District, 2002, NRIS number 01001532),

The 1945 Ocean Vu-Inn (1809 Lewis Street) included twenty-one guest rooms, a restaurant, and a ballroom. The National Register nomination for American Beach reported the inn "developed a nation-wide reputation for its exceptional sea food, music, and relaxed, progressive ambiance. Nationally known jazz musicians played at the Ocean Vu-Inn."[257] Later known as Ducks Ocean Vu-Inn, the facility closed in the late 1980s. Like the Lewis Motel, the Ocean Vu-Inn was constructed somewhat later than Wink's and is located in a southeastern seashore location. A January 2019 Google Street View image appears to show the roof missing from the front, one-story section of the building.

The Midwest: Idlewild, Michigan

The Idlewild, Michigan, summer resort was the largest and most famous Black resort in the United States, welcoming more than twenty thousand summer vacationers annually for fishing, swimming, horseback riding, and musical entertainment. Idlewild's patrons included diverse economic classes, with hotel, motel, rooming or boarding house, and rental cottage accommodations for visitors, as well as hundreds of cottages owned by vacationing families who returned yearly.[258] The resort's large geographic area also contained grocery stores, gas stations, and night clubs. The hotels and motels that played a similar role to Wink's but in an upper Midwest lake setting are discussed below. Only the Lydia Inn and Morton's Motel appeared in the vacation section of the *Green Book* during the 1950s. The resources generally appear to be of more recent construction than Wink's, and some were vacant, abandoned, and/or deteriorating at the time of the 2009-10 National Register nomination. No recent Google Street View images are available of these resources to assess current integrity.

Casa Blanca, Idlewild, Michigan (Contributing Resource, Idlewild National Register Historic District, 2010, NRIS number 09001062)

Detroit architect Woolsey C.M. Coombs erected the Casa Blanca Hotel (1362 E. Hall St.) in 1949. The Spanish Revival-style two-and-a-half-story building featured stucco concrete block walls with brick quoins. The building included guest rooms and the Casbah Cocktail Lounge. The National Register nomination noted the Casa Blanca "is vacant and showing signs of deterioration but is the only extant hotel surviving in the Idlewild

[255] New York State, Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, Cultural Resources Information System (accessed December 8, 2021).

[256] McEachin and Jones, American Beach Historic District, 7: 3-4.

[257] McEachin and Jones, American Beach Historic District, 7: 6.

[258] Elaine H. Robinson, "Idlewild Historic District (Additional Documentation and Boundary Increase)," Idlewild, Lake County, Michigan, National Register of Historic Places nomination, NRIS.09001062, August 2009/June 2010. Stephens (*Idlewild: The Rise, Decline, and Rebirth of a Unique African American Resort Town*) provides a picture of how Idlewild evolved over the decades, with a focus on patronage by different economic classes of Blacks.

Historic District."[259]

Lydia Inn, Idlewild, Michigan (Contributing Resource, Idlewild National Register Historic District, 2010, NRIS number 09001062)
The Lydia Inn (7036 S. Geneva) is described as a boarding house in the National Register nomination. The one- and two-story building displays hipped and front-gable roofs and clapboard siding. The facility dates to the 1920s and a local source judged it was "one of the first three places to accommodate guests in the early days. It holds the memory of serving many of the founders and visitors from all over the country."[260]

Sun-Kist Cottages, Idlewild, Michigan (Contributing Resource, Idlewild National Register Historic District, 2010, NRIS number 09001062)
Built in the 1920s, the Sun-Kist Cottages (1171 M.L. King Dr.) is described by the National Register nomination as a boarding house. The two-story hipped roof Craftsman-style building is now clad with vinyl siding and has small one- and two-story additions.[261]

Vogue Motel, Idlewild, Michigan (Contributing Resource, Idlewild National Register Historic District, 2010, NRIS number 09001062)
The Vogue Motel (363 E. Fremont) consists of two 1940s one-story concrete buildings, one L-shaped and the other rectangular. It was known as the Lake Idlewild Resort in 2009-10 when it accepted guests on a limited basis.

Sweetheart Motel, Idlewild, Michigan (Contributing Resource, Idlewild National Register Historic District, 2010, NRIS number 09001062)
The 1950s Sweetheart Motel (730 E. Troy) is comprised of two one-story concrete block buildings: a front T-shaped building with a gable roof and a rear rectangular building with a shallow shed roof. The eleven-unit facility was "considered one of the most popular motels in the area during the 1950s and 1960s, [and] provided lodging for club performers, including Joe "Ziggy" Johnson."[262] The National Register nomination reported the complex had been vacant for years.

Clayton Motel, Idlewild, Michigan (Contributing Resource, Idlewild National Register Historic District, 2010, NRIS number 09001062)
The Clayton Motel (461 E. Decatur) dates to the 1940s. The four-unit facility has asbestos shingle-clad walls and a side gabled roof. The National Register nomination indicated the building was abandoned.[263]

Morton's Motel, Idlewild, Michigan (Contributing Resource, Idlewild National Register Historic District, 2010, NRIS number 09001062)
The circa 1950 Morton's Motel (6389 S. Tacoma) features an L-shaped main building and a separate rectangular building, both containing guest rooms and composed of concrete block or clad with vinyl siding. A 1959 Idlewild guidebook described the hostelry: "20 units, private baths, tennis court, miniature golf course, picnic space, Bar-B-Q pit and rustic benches and tables, indoor dancing, large parking area." The resource no longer possesses a high level of integrity since its original flat roofs were replaced with gabled roofs in the late 1980s.[264]

[259] Robinson, "Idlewild Historic District," 11.
[260] Quoted in Robinson, "Idlewild Historic District," 10 and 25.
[261] Robinson, "Idlewild Historic District," 10 and 45.
[262] Robinson, "Idlewild Historic District," 11.
[263] Robinson, "Idlewild Historic District," 11.
[264] Quoted in Robinson, "Idlewild Historic District," 11 and 57.

6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	X	Building(s):	
Public-Local:		District:	X
Public-State:		Site:	
Public-Federal:		Structure:	
		Object:	

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:

Contributing		Noncontributing	
Buildings:	5	Buildings:	0
Sites:	1	Sites:	0
Structures:	1	Structures:	0
Objects:	5	Objects:	0
Total:	12	Total:	0

PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY
(Please see specific guidance for type of resource[s] being nominated)

LOCATION AND SETTING

Wink's Panorama (also known as Wink's Lodge) is a historic African American mountain guest facility located in the northeastern corner of Gilpin County, Colorado, about twenty-eight miles northwest of downtown Denver. Wink's lies 1.6 miles southwest of Pinecliffe in Boulder County and 2.4 miles east-northeast of Rollinsville in Gilpin County. Wink's is located within Lincoln Hills, a 1920s development of summer homesites for African Americans. The lodge and its associated resources stand on a 0.7-acre tract on a forested hillside at an elevation of 8,293' and are accessed from gravel Pactolus Lake Road by means of a steep dirt road known as Winks Way. Nearby hills to the south rise to more than 8,500' in elevation. The surrounding hillsides are thickly forested with pine and spruce evergreen trees and aspens. Down the hillside to the west and northwest is the valley of South Boulder Creek, containing the tracks of the Union Pacific Railroad and the county road that connects to Colorado State Highway 72 to the north. Downhill and to the north stand scattered cabins and other buildings, some associated with Lincoln Hills. Visitors to the rural area during the historic period noted the location's evergreen and aspen trees, gooseberries, strawberries, rock outcrops, and free-flowing water, as well as a variety of wildlife, including coyotes, bears, chipmunks, jackrabbits, blue jays and many other species of birds, and even an occasional mountain lion.[265]

HISTORIC PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Wink's Panorama today is very little changed from its historic appearance. The centerpiece of the property is a circa 1928-34 one-and-a-half-story wood shingle and stone lodge building (Resource 2). The lodge maintains excellent historic integrity. Its principal exterior changes are construction of a 1990s open carport touching its southeast corner and rebuilt main entrance stairs at the southwest corner. The grounds (Resource 1) hold smaller

[265] John H.S. Scott, interview, 2007.

support buildings, objects, and landscape features present during the period of national significance (circa 1928-34 to 1965) and related to the property's operation as a summer resort for African Americans. Most appear to have been constructed in the 1930s-40s, as documented by oral history accounts and historic photographs. The area immediately north of the lodge contains three terraces with stone retaining walls. The upper terrace to the east holds a metal clothesline. The second terrace (at the level of the lodge's main floor) features a small stone incinerator (Resource 3) and a two-seater frame privy (Resource 4), both accessed by a flagstone walkway. A section of poured concrete atop this retaining wall bears the inscription "MELBA 1958 WINKS." The lowest terrace to the west includes a planting area holding rhubarb. Farther down the slope to the west is a small level picnic area partly paved with red sandstone that includes a stone barbecue (Resource 5). Southeast of the lodge stand a shed (Resource 6), a stationary car engine once used to power a saw (Resource 7), a chicken coop (Resource 8) with fenced run, and two spring houses (Resources 9 and 10) used to supply water to the lodge. On the opposite side of Winks Way stand the Honeymoon Cottage, built as a separate rental unit, and its associated privy (Resources 11 and 12, respectively). The extent of archaeological potential is unknown and has not yet been comprehensively analyzed; the site is currently identified as locally significant from that perspective.

PRESENT PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The present appearance of the nominated area appears to closely reflect its period of national significance, with no resources removed and no new buildings added. The lodge gained an attached carport in the 1990s. The height of trees down the hillside to the west has diminished the panoramic view of mountain ranges lodge guests once enjoyed. The accompanying Sketch Map depicts the nominated area and its resources, which are discussed below. The 0.7-acre district includes all or part of two legal parcels on opposite sides of Winks Way. All resources are assessed as contributing to the district.

Wink's Panorama Site, ca. 1928-34, Resource 1, Site, Photographs 1 through 4

The 0.7-acre site of Wink's Panorama includes buildings and amenities for guests. The nominated area holds the resources employed in the operation of a summer mountain lodge, which today serve to illustrate the visitor experience at Wink's. Landscaping features date to the period of significance, with the exception of the wood post and rail fence and railroad tie retaining wall west of the parking area. The lodge was built into the hillside, and the sloping location required the construction of a series of stone retaining walls north of the lodge forming three level terraces. Owner and builder Obrey Wendell Hamlet personally selected particular stones for inclusion in the walls. The central terrace holds the frame privy and incinerator. The terrace farther upslope (east) contains a metal clothesline, which historic photographs show hung with hotel linens.

Guests used the picnic area equipped with a barbecue and heavy wood tables a short distance downslope from the lodge. The level picnic area is paved with flagstone pavers and features a low stone retaining wall. Other support resources are placed east of the lodge, including a shed, saw, chicken coop, and spring boxes. An example of a guest cabin with a privy stands across the road southwest of the lodge.

Alterations and Integrity. The Wink's Panorama site retains excellent historic integrity. Based on historical accounts, the area may be more forested now than in the 1920s. The wood post and rail fence along the road is nonhistoric. The parking area west of the lodge is historic, but the railroad tie retaining wall to the west may have been added.

Wink's Panorama, ca. 1928-34, Resource 2, Building, Photographs 5 through 15

Completed incrementally over several years, the substantial main lodge, known as "Wink's Panorama," originally was sited and designed to capture a magnificent view of the mountain peaks in the distance to the west. The mountain lodge was built in a vernacular manner utilizing indigenous and repurposed materials, with some references to the Shingle-style vocabulary popularly incorporated by other mountain vacation homes in

Colorado. Architectural historian Melanie Shellenbarger terms the aesthetic character of these vernacular buildings as "Rocky Mountain Rustic," referring to architecture "designed to blend with the landscape . . . most were carefully sited and modestly scaled so they would not compete with nature's beauty. Builders used native timber and stone to mirror the surrounding environment…. Local builders combined artistry with economic necessity to create rugged-looking yet comfortable retreats for visitors and summer residents alike." At the same time, Shellenbarger judges that Obrey Wendell "Wink" Hamlet should be included in the list of builders whose "buildings bespeak a sense of character that is quite distinctive and even unique."[266]

Wink's Panorama is a one-and-a-half-story, basically rectangular, indigenous stone and timber building atop a stone rubble foundation on a concrete footer. The lodge is built into the forested hillside on the east and follows the slope of the land to accommodate a basement with a fully exposed west wall of randomly coursed stone rubble (granite, quartzite, and schist).[267] The walls of the first story are built of similar masonry, fully visible on the east and covered by a projecting, enclosed, wrap-around shingled porch extending across the west façade onto the north and south walls. The squared wood shingles are painted pale green and laid in regular courses. The frame walls of the upper story are clad similarly. The main wing's side gabled roof is covered with asphalt roofing shingles and contains three small gabled dormers on both the east and west slopes. The overhanging roof eaves display exposed rafter tails. A variety of windows and doors with plain, white-painted wood surrounds are found on the building (as detailed below).[268] Stone rubble gable-end chimneys pierce the roof, offset to the east on the north and at the ridge on the south.

West Façade. The broad west façade includes an open, basement-level porch inset under the projecting first-story porch. The basement porch has thick wood support posts, which are full height at the entrance, with shorter outer posts standing atop low stone balustrades. There are angled braces on the corner posts. The porch floor is concrete and the ceiling displays unpeeled logs. The central porch entrance leads to a projecting shingled bay displaying double paneled wood doors with small rectangular lights. The stone walls on either side of the projecting bay have inset four-light wood windows with river rock jambs and sills. A battered shingled band along the bottom on the first-story porch shelters the lower story. A bell is attached to a projecting beam at the northwest corner.[269]

On the first story the projecting enclosed porch has a west wall dominated by windows, with a wide central window containing six large lights and narrow single-light sidelights. The central window is flanked by wide windows composed of eighteen small lights. The three windows share a continuous wood sill highlighted with narrow molding. The wall of the upper story is unfenestrated. The hipped roof of the porch has overhanging eaves and exposed rafter tails.[270] Three small dormers have four-light wood casement windows, wood shingle siding on their cheeks, and overhanging eaves with exposed rafter tails. There is a metal chimney pipe adjacent the southernmost dormer on the west.

The main entrance to the lodge is on the first story at the angled southwest corner of the enclosed porch.

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[266] Shellenbarger, *High Country Summers*, 58.

[267] The composition of the stone was documented in Leavitt, Winks Panorama (Boundary Increase and Amendment) National Register Nomination, 6.

[268] A 2007 structural assessment judged that the majority of doors and windows appear to be original to the lodge although salvaged from earlier buildings. See *Historic Structure Assessment*, 10.

[269] The projecting beam and the bell are not present in a circa 1950s photograph of the lodge but were shown in a 2006 image.

[270] The stone wall facing the porch contains two three-light metal windows with slanting concrete sills, indicating the porch was likely added. The *Historic Structure Assessment* noted "newspapers, dating to 1934, were found to be used for insulating the gaps between the rubble stone wall and the porch. The porch, therefore, may have been added around that time."

Exterior wood stairs at ground level on the north and south lead to a landing and then a straight flight of stairs to the top. The first steps of the stairs are composed of railroad ties and sandstone. The stairs have balustrades consisting of unpeeled log balusters and board rails. The stairs access an entry in the enclosed wrap-around porch with a wood frame screen door and a paneled wood door with a rectangular light. Flanking the door are four-light wood windows.

South. The south wall of the lodge basement is partially exposed and clad with painted, vertical half-log siding. A slightly off-center horizontal three-light window is at the top of the basement wall. At each end of the shingled first-story projecting porch is a triple window consisting of a central horizontal eighteen-light window with a horizontal wood band at its base flanked by vertical six-light casement windows. The gable end of the upper story is shingled to the eaves and has a central, projecting stone rubble chimney that rises above the roof and is topped by a metal chimney pipe. Attached to the southeast corner of the wall near the base of the upper story is a corner of the roof of a circa 1990s open rectangular carport, which extends to the east and south. The carport has thick wood post supports and an asymmetrical gabled roof.[271] A propane tank stands east of the carport.

East. The slightly set back east wall of the first-story enclosed south porch contains a wood frame screen door, a paneled wood door, and a vertical three-light sidelight. Adjacent to the north, the stone first story of the main wing has two widely spaced inset three-light steel frame windows with slanted concrete sills. The upper story is unfenestrated above a wood beltcourse. Along the roof are three small gabled roof dormers like those on the west. At the northeast corner is a one-story hipped-roof projection (the summer kitchen) extending to the north and east.[272] The frame projection has shingled walls, with a four-light wood window on each wall. The hipped roof has overhanging eaves and exposed rafter tails.

North. The north wall displays a small segment of the stone basement at the east end, and, as the ground drops and the basement is exposed, is clad with painted, half-log siding with a hinged vertical board door at the west end. At the east end of the first story is an entrance, which has a paneled wood door with a large rectangular light. Paired four-light windows are farther west. The upper-story wall at its east end displays an off-center stone chimney that projects through the roof and has a metal pipe top. Adjacent is a shed-roof, projecting, shingled bay containing an indoor bathroom added circa 1951 or 1952, which features two wood windows on the north wall: a single-light window and a one-over-one-light window. The east and west walls are unfenestrated.

At the basement level the angled wall at the northwest corner has a raised stone foundation topped by vertical half-log siding. A central wood window at basement level is horizontal plate glass. The shingled first story features a large stained glass window composed of twenty-five small lights of clear and red glass in a checkerboard pattern.

Interior. The 2007 *Historic Structure Assessment* produced floorplans for all three levels of the 3,116-square-foot lodge (see Figures 7 through 9).[273] The interior layout and features are all considered to be historic unless noted otherwise. The main (first) story includes a rectangular stone core with a one-story enclosed porch on the north, west, and south; the northwest and southwest corners of the porch are beveled. The core contains a large living room to the south, the Hamlets' bedroom (now a dining room) to the northwest, and the winter kitchen to

[271] Tomerlin, interview, 2019. The carport dates circa 1990 or later during the Tomerlin tenure (1985-2006).

[272] *Historic Structure Assessment*, 11. The report concluded the summer kitchen was part of the lodge's original construction and not a post-1930s addition.

[273] *Historic Structure Assessment*, 133-35.

the northeast. The summer kitchen occupied a one-story projection at the northeast corner of the building. The stone walls are exposed facing the porch, while those inside the core are parged to produce a plaster finish. Most other first-story walls consist of hardboard with battens, and many walls are wallpapered. The ceiling structure is exposed in the living room, showing a massive east-west peeled log beam and milled north-south rafters. An elaborate chandelier hangs in front of the substantial fieldstone fireplace on the south wall. The fireplace, with sloping sides and a projecting stone hearth, reportedly was constructed by Hamlet and Rev. John L. Ford, pastor at Zion Baptist Church in Denver and husband of celebrated early physician Justina Ford.[274] The winter kitchen has built-in wood cabinets and hardboard walls scored to resemble tile. It and the bedroom have pressed metal ceilings.

The stairs to the upper story make a ninety-degree turn at an intermediate landing. On the wall above the landing is a *buon fresco* painting on plaster of three naked African American men in a herd of horses amid a backdrop of mountains. The 2014 National Register nomination attributed this work to Hamlet's stepson, recognized artist Jess DuBois. During a 2019 interview, he stated, however, that he was not the artist, explaining that Hamlet had a part-time job cleaning up an art school or studio in Denver, and "they used to give him things like this."[275]

The upper story features a double-loaded, north-south, central corridor with three guest rooms on each side. The guest rooms have small open closets defined by partitions. The walls here are also hardboard with battens, although the corridor wainscot is composed of plywood perforated with small holes in a geometric pattern.[276] At the north end of the upper story is a bathroom, added about 1951-52, with a pressed metal ceiling, a clawfoot bathtub, and a toilet.

The basement has a concrete floor and is divided into several small spaces mostly used for storage. Inside the double-door entrance is a larger room with a bed platform to the northeast, which Hamlet used while staying at the lodge during winter months.[277] The northwest corner of the room originally included a small shower. The walls and ceiling are clad in knotty pine boards. Jess DuBois recalled that the basement contained a large chest freezer. The eastern portion of the basement level is a crawl space. Originally the basement did not have access to the main floor. The Tomerlins added a narrow stairway rising from the location of the former shower, thus explaining the presence of a built-in soap dish niche on the landing.

Alterations and Integrity. An addition for an upper-story indoor bathroom was constructed about 1951 or 1952.[278] Most other alterations date to the Tomerlin tenure (1985-2006). The stairs to the main entrance on the southwest were rebuilt, with a landing added at the door and an intermediate landing constructed with stairs extending to the northwest and southeast; the main entrance door was also replaced. The basement level porch, which originally featured log posts and diagonal bracing, received larger, square wood supports and a slightly projecting entrance bay with double doors by 2000 (based on photographs). A window in the basement level below the entrance stairs is no longer present. A carport was erected at the southeast corner of the lodge in the 1990s. Asphalt shingle roofing replaced earlier rolled asphalt roofing between 1979 and 2005. The "Wink's

[274] *Historic Structure Assessment*, 27.

[275] DuBois, interview, 2019. DuBois had no idea who the artist was.

[276] *Historic Structure Assessment*, 36. The report noted that "an unsubstantiated source identifies these as press plates from the former *Denver Post* Building." The *Denver Post* building at 1019 16th Street was demolished between 1903 and 1929 (based on an analysis of Sanborn fire insurance maps), but multiple sources reject the suggestion that the plywood panels were printing plates.

[277] It is not known why Hamlet used the lower level in winter. It was a smaller space and may have been easier to heat. Water pipes in the upper levels may have been drained to prevent freezing, whereas water from the spring boxes came into the basement and would still have been accessible.

[278] DuBois, interview, 2019.

Panorama" sign over the entrance and a flagpole at the center of the porch roof are no longer present.

Interior stairs were added from the basement to the main floor by the Tomerlins, who also created an open dining room by removing a wall dividing the Hamlets' former bedroom and the living room.[279] The 2007 *Historic Structure Assessment* concluded that none of the present wallpaper appeared to date to Hamlet's tenure.

Incinerator, ca. 1930s-40s, Resource 3, Object, Photograph 16
The incinerator is shown in a 1957 photograph of the area north of the lodge. The fieldstone incinerator (5' x 4') is incorporated into a stone retaining wall. The concrete slab cap contains embedded pieces of glass for decoration and a central, square opening. The east top of the cap bears an inscription warning passersby not to sit on top: "Dont [sic] park your [inscribed pictograph of donkey or jackass] here." The cleanout for the incinerator is accessed from the terrace below and has a metal lintel. Artifacts found adjacent to the cleanout and northward include metal cans and glass bottles and jars, reflecting domestic functions and uses associated with the maintenance and repair of the buildings and vehicles. Burnable lodge trash may have been processed in the incinerator for many years. By the 1950s Hamlet hauled the trash away in his truck to an unknown location.[280]

Alterations and Integrity. The resource appears unaltered and retains historic integrity.

Privy, ca. 1930s-40s, Resource 4, Building, Photograph 17
Jess DuBois recalls this privy in use in the 1940s and 1950s, and it is shown in a 1957 photograph of the area north of the lodge. The *Historic Structure Assessment* described it as a "Works Progress Administration era (1935-1942) outhouse."[281] The one-story, shed-roof, rectangular (6'-8" x 7'-6") privy faces south and has a concrete foundation and walls clad with drop siding with cornerboards. The front wall holds a central vertical board door with strap hinges. The side walls contain vertical fixed-light windows at their front edge and small, square, screened vents—two on the west and one on the east. The rear is unfenestrated. A central partition on the interior divides the privy into sides for women (west) and men (east), each with a single-seat toilet facing toward the front of the building. The roof has widely overhanging, boxed eaves and is clad with ribbed metal panels.

Alterations and Integrity. The resource appears unaltered and retains historic integrity.

Barbecue, 1930s-40s, Resource 5, Object, Photographs 4 and 18
Jess DuBois and Arthur B. Scott indicated the barbecue and picnic area were present in the 1940s and stated guests would cook there. The barbeque is shown in a 1950s photograph of the grounds. The barbeque stands in a level, irregularly-shaped picnic area (roughly 30' x 20') set among tall evergreen trees about 40' downslope from the lodge. The picnic area is bordered by retaining walls composed of railroad ties and stacked stones and is partially paved with flagstone. The area is accessed by a series of wide platform steps formed by railroad ties leading from the northwest corner of the lodge parking area. The barbecue at the north end of the picnic area is about 6' wide, 4' deep, and 6' high, constructed of red sandstone and fieldstone. The firebox is lined with bricks and features an arched metal lintel and two improvised metal grilles. The chimney component has sloping sides.

[279] Tomerlin, interview, 2019.
[280] DuBois, interview, 2019.
[281] *Historic Structure Assessment*, 17; History Colorado, WPA Privy (1935-1943), History Colorado, Denver, Colorado, www.historycolorado.org, accessed 26 October 2017. The privy is somewhat similar to WPA privy plans, but does not feature the angled 45° concrete vault and T-shaped ventilation specified in those designs.

The artifacts found in the vicinity of the barbecue generally include cans and bottles associated with food and drink consumption in conjunction with recreational activities.

Alterations and Integrity. The resource appears unaltered and retains historic integrity.

Shed, ca. 1930s-1940s, Resource 6, Building, Photograph 19
Southeast of the lodge on the east side of a two-track dirt road is this shed. Its original function is unknown. The Tomerlins used the shed to store garbage during the 1980s and 1990s; they had to replace three doors torn off by bears.[282] The one-story rectangular building (7'-5" x 5'-6") faces west-northwest and features a timber foundation. The building has a shed roof with overhanging eaves. The walls and roof are clad with corrugated metal panels. The front contains an off-center entrance (no door present), while the south wall holds an off-center screened window.

Alterations and Integrity. Aside from the missing door, the resource appears unaltered and retains historic integrity.

Stationary Automobile Engine, 1935, Resource 7, Object, Photograph 19
Southeast of the lodge and north of the shed on the east side of a two-track dirt road is this west-northwest-facing stationary automobile engine and front chassis from a 1935 Chevrolet coupe mounted on a timber base. It is not known precisely when the car remnant was moved to the lodge, but Jess DuBois indicates it was present in the 1940s. He recalled the engine powered a large saw that Hamlet used in the summer to cut logs for firewood, for use in the rental cabins and for sale in Denver.[283] The hood, side panels, radiator grille, firewall, instrument panel, gearshift, and part of the drivetrain are present. The factory information plate is present on the engine side of the firewall.[284]

Alterations and Integrity. The saw blade and its connection to the engine is no longer present. Otherwise, the resource appears unaltered from the time of its move to the grounds and retains historic integrity.

Chicken Coop and Run, ca. 1930s-40s, Resource 8, Structure, Photograph 20
Lincoln Hills visitor Lawrence J. Pierre and others remembered that the Hamlets kept chickens and served fried chicken at the lodge.[285] Southeast of the shed and vehicle chassis is a chicken coop within an irregularly-shaped run fenced with woven wire and chicken wire on wood posts. Some trees also are incorporated as posts. The roughly semicircular coop (8' wide and 6' deep) is an ingeniously repurposed building remnant formed by squaring off one edge of a small, ten-sided dome and adding a section of corrugated metal with an opening on the front. The dome is metal-clad and features raised seams with porcelain electrical sockets that once held light bulbs. Hamlet likely salvaged the building part in Denver and hauled it to the lodge. Its original purpose is unknown.[286]

Alterations and Integrity. The resource appears unaltered and retains historic integrity.

North Spring Box, ca. 1940s-50s, Resource 9, Object, Photograph 21

[282] Tomerlin, interview, 2019.
[283] DuBois, interview, 2019.
[284] "1935 to 1942 Chevrolet Car Body Numbers, hotrod.gregwapling.com. The information plate indicates style number 35-1207A, body number K 3187, trim number 46, and paint number 186.
[285] Pierre, interview, 2007.
[286] *Historic Structure Assessment*, 18. The assessment opined it might have been "a canopy of the sort that might have been over a ticket booth at a theater or amusement park."

Approximately 120' south-southeast of the lodge are two spring boxes that were used to send water to the lodge. Hamlet used the boxes to collect water from a spring farther up the hill and carry it by gravity to the basement of the lodge. This system was used to supply water until the mid-1990s when the springs produced insufficient water. The Tomerlins then put in the current well for the property north of the spring boxes on the east side of the road.[287] The north spring box is roughly 5' square and 2' tall with walls composed of mortared fieldstone. The top consists of a piece of plywood with a hatch in the center composed of a metal door to a soda cooler bearing a Pepsi logo. The interior contains a section of corrugated metal culvert inside a wood frame.

Alterations and Integrity. The spring box is no longer used and is deteriorated, but the resource retains historic integrity.

South Spring Box, ca. 1940s-50s, Resource 10, Object, Photograph 21
A few feet to the south is a second spring box measuring about 3' square and 1.5' high with mortared fieldstone walls. The top consists of a wood frame holding a metal hatch in the center composed of a door to a soda cooler bearing a Pepsi logo. The mortar atop the north wall of the spring box is inscribed "MICKEY MELBA WINK," referring to the Hamlets and Jess E. "Mickey" DuBois. This indicates the mortaring was likely done in the 1950s after Hamlet's marriage to Melba in 1952.

Alterations and Integrity. The spring box is no longer used, but the resource retains historic integrity.

Honeymoon Cottage, ca. 1930s-40s, Resource 11, Building, Photographs 22 through 24
The Honeymoon Cottage and its associated privy are situated on a separate parcel of land on the west side of Winks Way, about 73' west of the lodge.[288] The cottage, one of the cabins owned by the Hamlets and used for guest lodging, faces north-northeast. The cabin is built into the side of the hill immediately above the road and rests on a framework of peeled log piers with cross-bracing. The one-story, rectangular (19' x 12'), front-gabled dwelling has walls clad with plywood panels with vertical battens applied over horizontal boards. There are vertical logs at each corner. The front gable face is clad with horizontal boards, while on the rear the plywood cladding extends to the eaves.

The cottage features a full-width, open, shed-roof front porch with a peeled log post-and-railing balustrade (covered with a wood lattice panel) and a plywood deck. The porch is accessed by a flight of wood steps with wood balusters and railing; a short flight of stone steps then extends to the level of road. Facing the porch is an off-center four-panel wood door with a wood screen door; to the west is a six-light wood window. The remaining walls holds off-center wood windows: a six-light window on the west, one-light awning window on the rear, and six-light sliding window on the east. The roof is clad with wood shingles and has overhanging eaves with exposed rafter tails. A metal chimney pipe, added after 2008, stands on the east roof slope at the rear.

Interior. The cottage contains one room and displays additional examples of Hamlet's ability to recycle materials in building projects. The floor consists of painted wood boards and linoleum. The ceiling is clad with drywall and is open to the ridge; three peeled log ceiling joists are present. A variety of materials are employed as wall cladding, including, plywood with battens, plain metal sheets, and metal sheets stamped to resemble brick. A metal panel stamped "PepsiCola" covers the wall south of the window on the east wall.[289] Attached to

[287] Tomerlin, interview, 2019. The *Historic Structure Assessment* incorrectly identified these resources as wells.

[288] The Gilpin County Assessor reports an address of 233 Lincoln Hills Way, which is not correct. An earlier property location certificate and property appraisal reported the address as 192 Winks Way, which the current owner believes is correct. This parcel was owned by the Hamlet family until 1973.

[289] Lindsay Kramer, "The History of the Pepsi Logo," 99designs, 99designs.com. This version of the Pepsi logo was used between 1906 and 1940.

the walls are built-in shelving, a table with a porcelain top, and a small bench.

Alterations and Integrity. Alterations include likely exterior recladding, application of lattice panels, and rebuilding of the steps. The resource retains historic integrity.

Privy, ca. 1930s-40s, Resource 12, Building, Photograph 25
Associated with the Honeymoon Cottage is a one-story side-gabled privy, located 36' northwest. The outhouse faces northeast and measures about 4' square. Walls are clad with vertical boards and have cornerboards. The front contains a central vertical board door with strap hinges, a small glass doorknob, and a rotating wood catch. The east and west walls hold small, screened vents with wood surrounds. The roof displays overhanging eaves and is clad with rolled asphalt roofing with metal edging. A wood, full-width two-seat toilet stands against the rear wall. A wood duct extends to the roof, connecting to a vent on the south roof slope.

Alterations and Integrity. The resource appears unaltered and retains historic integrity.

INTEGRITY
Wink's Panorama retains a high degree of historic integrity dating to the period of national significance (ca. 1928-1965).

Location. The historic resources within the district maintain the highest level of integrity of location as they remain on their original sites.

Design. The complex retains very high integrity of design, as documented by comparisons to historic photographs. While there is no evidence that a professional designer was involved, the siting of the lodge on the hillside, use of a stone core around which the porch and upper story were added, and clever incorporation of recycled windows, doors, ceiling panels, wainscot, and other building materials is evidence that an experienced and thoughtful hand was involved in crafting the building. On the west wall, repurposed windows were installed in a balanced manner to produce a pleasing symmetrical appearance, and a stained glass panel at the northwest corner adds visual interest. The principal exterior changes occurred in the 1990s, when an open carport was added that touches the southeast corner of the lodge and the exterior entrance stairs were replaced with stairs featuring landings. The latter change was undertaken due to visitor safety concerns. The entrance door and basement level doors appear to be replacements. On the interior, stairs were added in the 1990s from the basement to the main floor and a wall between a bedroom and the living room removed.

Setting. The nominated area retains excellent integrity of setting, with no new construction or removals to the grounds. Landscape elements such as the terraces, picnic area, and small-scale features remain. The evergreens in the surrounding forest have grown taller, obscuring the panoramic view from the main story of the lodge. In the broader area, scattered historic cabins remain in Lincoln Hills (many still owned by descendants of original African American families) and display varying levels of historic integrity; most are not visible from the lodge. Some new development featuring a few large vacation dwellings now stand in the treeline above the county road; some examples of larger new construction is present between South Boulder Creek and the railroad tracks. These developments are also not visible from the lodge.

Materials. Wink's maintains excellent integrity of materials. The principal materials for construction of the lodge, the stone and log timbers, came from the immediate area and remain in place. The repurposed architectural elements, doors, and windows—likely dictated by the amount of funds available—are still present and reflect the building's origins in the first half of the twentieth century. Such materials include multi-light wood fixed and casement windows, steel multi-light windows, wood paneled doors, stamped metal ceiling

panels, decoratively perforated plywood panels used as wainscot, a decorative building dome employed as a chicken coop, Pepsi advertising panels and cooler hatches, and tooled sills and/or lintels utilized as outdoor steps. The walls remain clad with wood shingles. All windows appear to be original; nonoriginal doors are wood paneled replacements. The roof is now covered with asphalt shingles, replacing earlier rolled asphalt roofing.

Workmanship. Wink's Panorama retains integrity of workmanship. The stone masonry appears well executed and incorporates window openings with poured-in-place concrete sills. The exposed framing in the lodge living room employs a large, central peeled log beam supporting wide dimensional wood joists. A carefully crafted stone fireplace dominates the living room, where guests gathered to chat, relax, and play games. The ingenious reuse of materials around the property is still in evidence.

Feeling. The property still retains the feeling of an early- to mid-twentieth century Rocky Mountain lodge, supported by an ensemble of outbuildings and landscape features. Access is still by means of a steep, uneven, dirt road. The property is tranquil, dominated in summer by a variety of birdsongs and the scent of the surrounding evergreen forest. The presence of the picnic area with a barbecue and heavy wood tables, the series of stone terraces north of the lodge, and good upkeep of the buildings contributes to the impression the property is still ready to receive guests.

Association. The lodge stopped serving as a lodging facility for African Americans in 1965. Since then it has been used as a summer home, an informal bed and breakfast, and the headquarters of a group honoring an African American mountain man: James Beckwourth. Historic Winks Lodge LLC plans to employ the lodge as a museum illustrating the history of Wink's Panorama, thus recalling and paying homage to the important role it played in the era of segregation, serving as a place where African Americans were welcomed and could relax and recreate in a safe and scenic location.

Table 1. Contributing Status of Resources within the Wink's Panorama NHL District

Resource Number	Historic Building Name and Original Builder	Contributing Status	Resource Type	Year Built
1	Wink's Panorama Site	Contributing	Site	ca. 1928-34
2	Wink's Panorama (lodge)	Contributing	Building	ca. 1928-34
3	Incinerator	Contributing	Object	1930s-40s
4	Privy	Contributing	Building	1930s-40s
5	Barbecue	Contributing	Object	1930s-40s
6	Shed	Contributing	Building	1930s-40s
7	Stationary Automobile Engine	Contributing	Object	1935
8	Chicken Coop and Run	Contributing	Structure	1930s-40s
9	North Spring Box	Contributing	Object	1940s-50s
10	South Spring Box	Contributing	Object	1940s-50s
11	Honeymoon Cottage	Contributing	Building	1930s-40s
12	Honeymoon Cottage Privy	Contributing	Building	1930s-40s

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

X Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)
__ Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in **only** 4, 5, and 6 below)

1. NR #: 80000901
2. Date of listing: 1980
3. Level of significance: Local
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B __ C X D __
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B __ C __ D __ E __ F __ G __
6. Areas of Significance: Ethnic Heritage/Black, Architecture

1. NR #: 13001035
2. Date of listing: 2014
3. Level of significance: Local, National
4. Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B __ C X D X
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B __ C __ D __ E __ F __ G __
6. Areas of Significance: Ethnic Heritage/Black, Architecture, Social History, Archaeology/Historic Non-Aboriginal

__ Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register: Date of determination:
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark: Date of designation:
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: HABS No.
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: HAER No.
__ Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey: HALS No.

Location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office: History Colorado
Other State Agency:
Federal Agency:
Local Government:
University:
Other (Specify Repository):

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Figures Log

Location Map

Sketch Map with Photograph Locations

Figure 1. This 1928 photograph (view east) shows Lincoln Hills from the hillside on the west side of South Boulder Creek. Buildings are visible at the edge of the treeline. The site of Wink's Panorama is farther up the hillside obscured by trees. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado, photograph ARL-2, 1928, Camp Nizhoni Album, Phyllis Wheatley YMCA, Marie L. Greenwood, donor.

Figure 2. In 1927 Lincoln Hills placed a large display advertisement in the *Chicago Defender*, the nation's leading Black newspaper. Courtesy of *Chicago Defender*, August 27, 1927, 5.

Figure 3. Lodge builder Obrey Wendell "Wink" Hamlet (left) is shown with his older brother Clarence in about 1930 (based on design of the Colorado license plate). Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

Figure 4. The lodge is under construction in this undated (circa late 1920s-1930s) view, with Obrey Hamlet below and his brother and nephew on the upper story. Courtesy of SLATERPAULL, Historic Structure Report, 138.

Figure 5. Construction of the lodge has advanced in this undated (circa late 1920s-1930s) view with the upper story in the process of being shingled. Courtesy of SLATERPAULL, Historic Structure Report, 136.

Figure 6. The gabled roof of Wink's Panorama is visible in this October 1938 aerial photograph (north is to the top), suggesting the building was complete at that time. Buildings of Camp Nizhoni stand to the northwest and South Boulder Creek, the county road, and railroad tracks cut diagonally through the left side of the image. Courtesy of US Forest Service, aerial number BOW 19-87, October 26, 1938, on file University of Colorado Libraries, Boulder, Colorado, accessed October 6, 2020, http://ucblibraries.colorado.edu/map/aerialphotos.htm.

Figure 7. Wink's Panorama, Basement, Floorplan, 2007. Courtesy of SLATERPAULL Architects, *Winks Lodge, Historic Structure Assessment*, August 2007, 13.

Figure 8. Wink's Panorama, First Story, Floorplan, 2007. Courtesy of SLATERPAULL Architects, *Winks Lodge, Historic Structure Assessment*, August 2007, 14.

Figure 9. Wink's Panorama, Second Story, Floorplan, 2007. Courtesy of SLATERPAULL Architects, *Winks Lodge, Historic Structure Assessment*, August 2007, 15.

Figure 10. The south and west walls of the lodge are shown in this ca. 1956-61 view, Rocky Mountain View Company postcard, number V-1468. The shed in the upper right was not part of the Wink's Panorama operation. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Gary Jackson, photograph collection, Denver, Colorado.

Figure 11. This September 1957 photograph shows two women standing by the incinerator north of the lodge, with the privy to the right. The two-story building in the background is not part of the Wink's property. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

Figure 12. Members of the Tucker family pose in the parking area west of the lodge in this circa 1950s photograph. In the background to the left are the lodge privy, incinerator, a meat smoker, and laundry drying on the clothesline. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

Figure 13. Guests are shown in this view enjoying the picnic area down the hill west of the lodge. The stone barbecue is at the far right. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

Figure 14. The lodge's enclosed porch was used as a dining area for guests, shown in a circa 1950s this view south-southwest. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

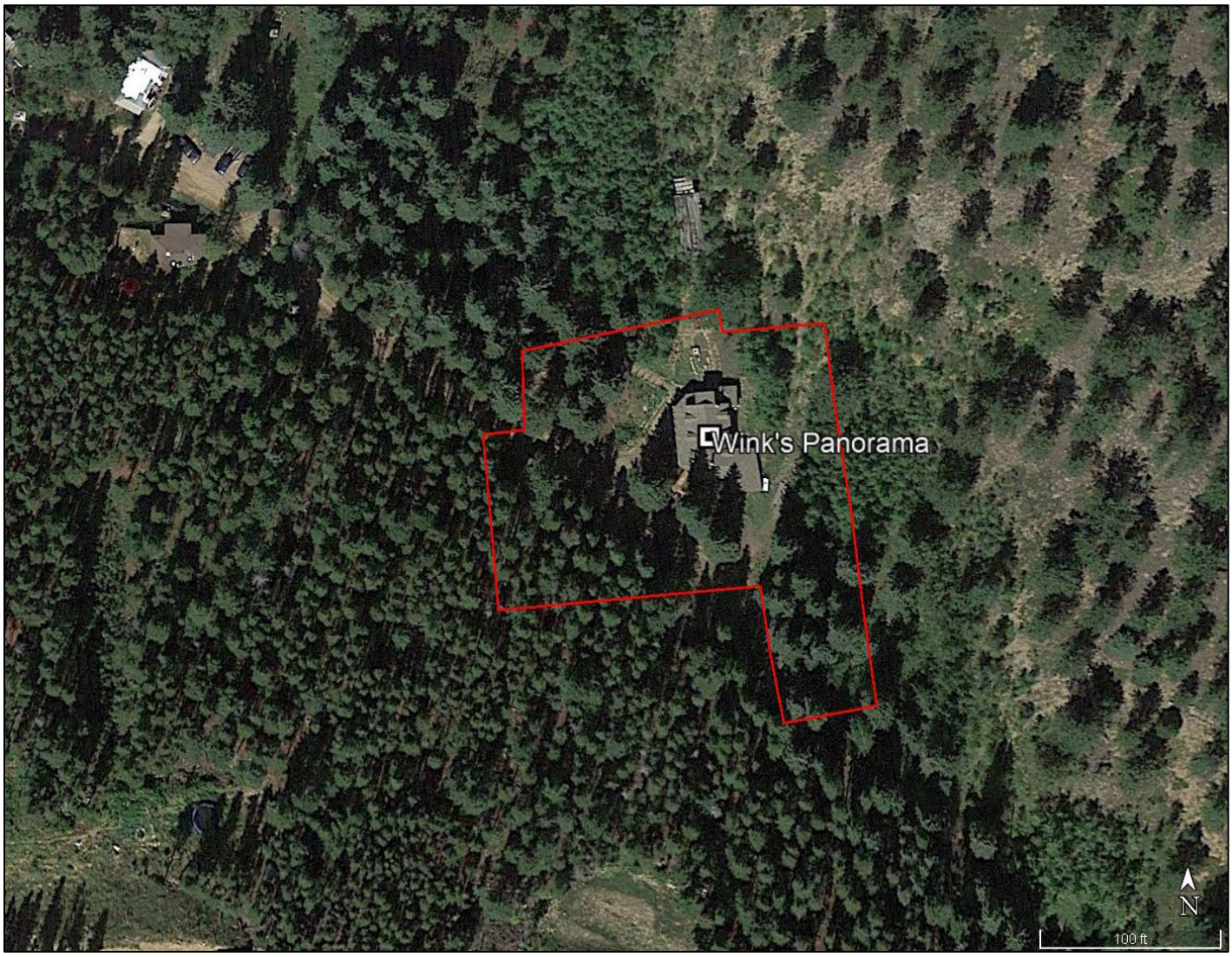
Figure 15. A man and child, possibly visiting from Pennsylvania, pose in the parking area west of the lodge in this circa 1948 photograph. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.

Figure 16. Kansas City, Missouri, visitor Kathryn Wilkins poses on the entrance steps to Wink's Panorama in this circa 1960 photograph. Courtesy of Joyce (Wilkins) Herndon, Chicago, Illinois.

Figure 17. Kansas City, Missouri, visitor Frank Wilkins stands on the bank of South Boulder Creek near Wink's Panorama in this circa 1960 photograph. Courtesy of Joyce (Wilkins) Herndon, Chicago, Illinois.

Figure 18. Obrey Hamlet is shown here with his third wife, Melba, circa 1950s-early 1960s. Courtesy of Jess E. DuBois, *Lincoln Hills*.

LOCATION MAP

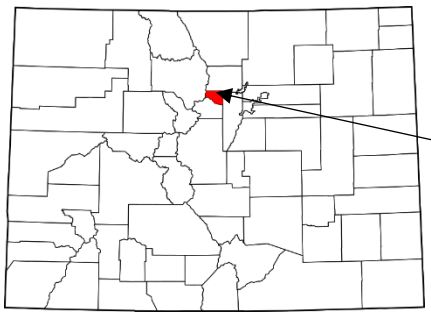


The labeled red polygon is the nominated area for Wink's Panorama in Gilpin County, Colorado.

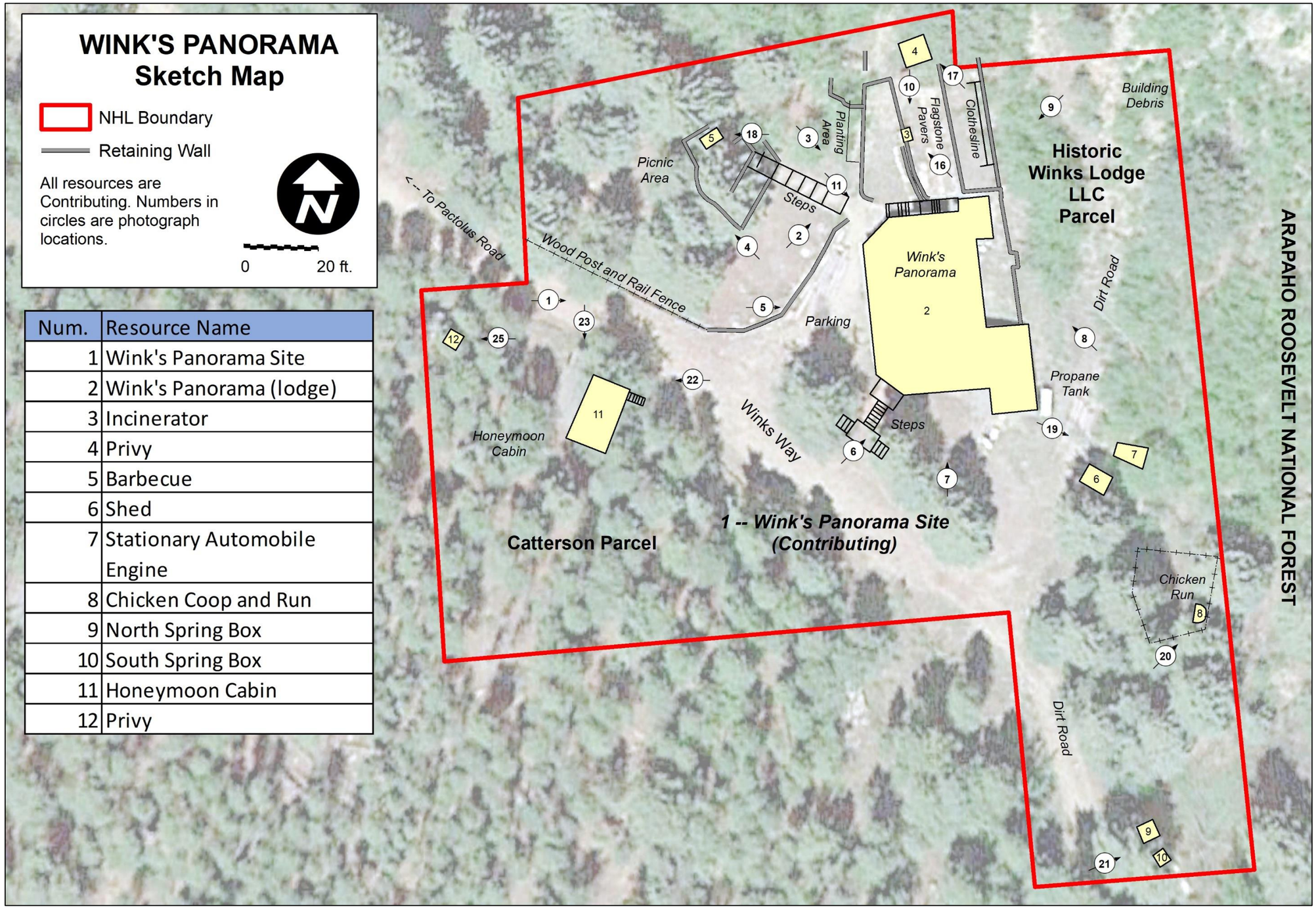
Latitude: **Longitude:**
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Image Date: September 12, 2019
(Google Earth)

Datum: WGS84



Wink's Panorama (shown in Colorado context with Gilpin County shaded)


WINK'S PANORAMA
Sketch Map
NHL Boundary
Retaining Wall
All resources are Contributing. Numbers in circles are photograph locations.
0
20 ft.
Num. | Resource Name
1 | Wink's Panorama Site
2 | Wink's Panorama (lodge)
3 | Incinerator
4 | Privy
5 | Barbecue
6 | Shed
7 | Stationary Automobile Engine
8 | Chicken Coop and Run
9 | North Spring Box
10 | South Spring Box
11 | Honeymoon Cabin
12 | Privy
<-- To Pactolus Road
Wood Post and Rail Fence
Picnic Area
Steps
Planting Area
Flagstone Pavers
Clothesline
Building Debris
Historic Winks Lodge LLC Parcel
Wink's Panorama
2
Dirt Road
Parking
Propane Tank
Steps
Winks Way
Honeymoon Cabin
Catterson Parcel
1 -- Wink's Panorama Site (Contributing)
Chicken Run
Dirt Road
ARAPAHO ROOSEVELT NATIONAL FOREST

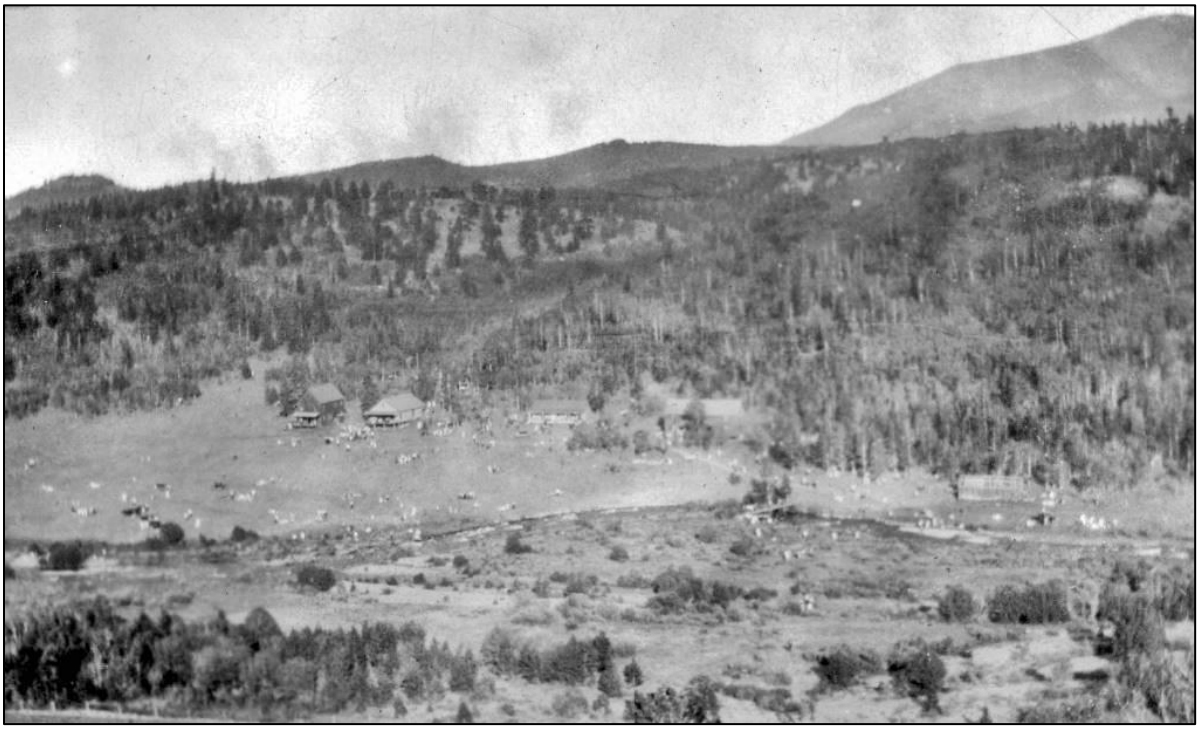


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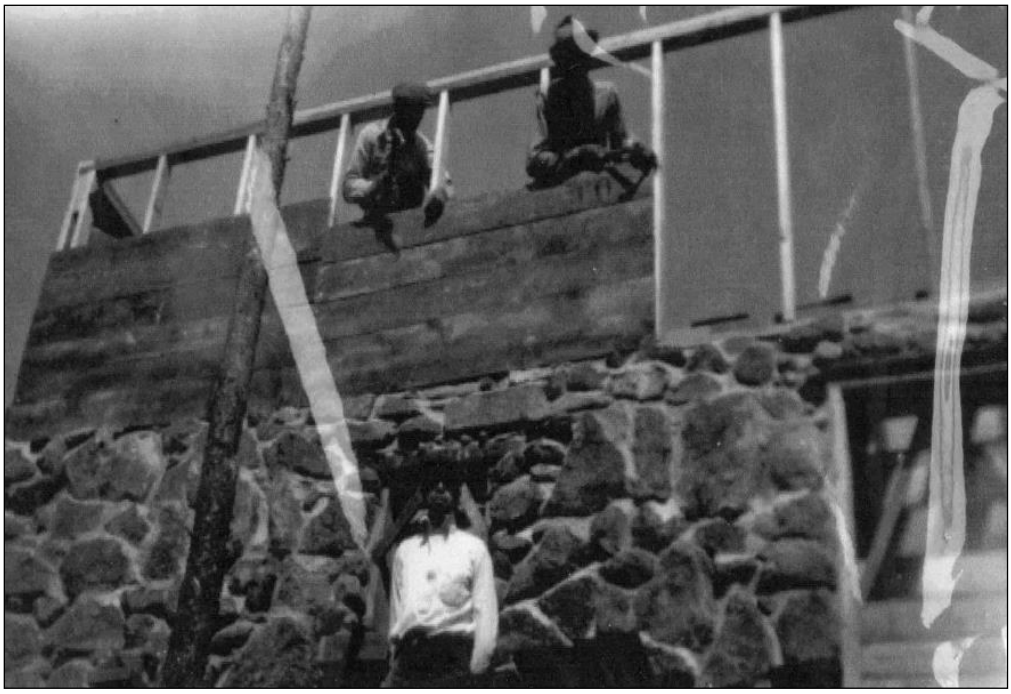


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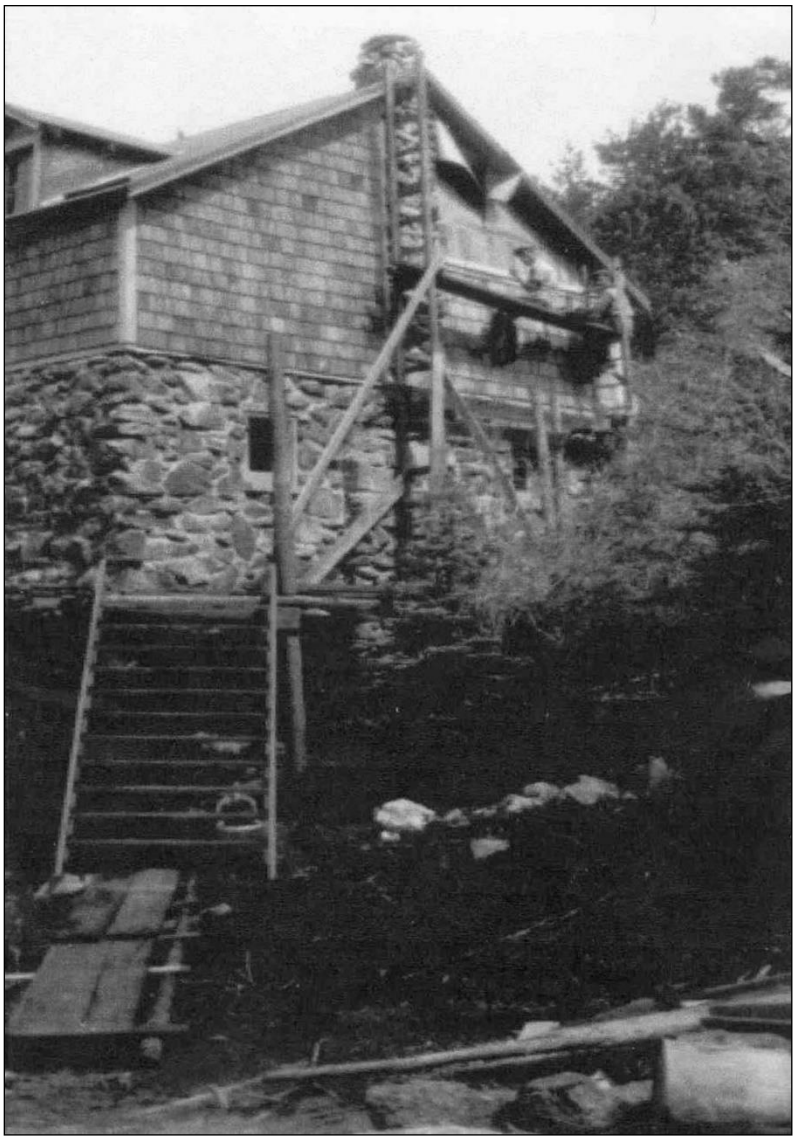


Figure 5. Construction of the lodge has advanced in this undated (circa late 1920s-1930s) view with the upper story in the process of being shingled. Courtesy of SLATERPAULL, Historic Structure Report, 136.



Figure 6. The gabled roof of Wink's Panorama is visible in this October 1938 aerial photograph (north is to the top), suggesting the building was complete at that time. Buildings of Camp Nizhoni stand to the northwest and South Boulder Creek, the county road, and railroad tracks cut diagonally through the left side of the image. Courtesy of US Forest Service, aerial number BOW 19-87, October 26, 1938, on file University of Colorado Libraries, Boulder, Colorado, accessed October 6, 2020, http://ucblibraries.colorado.edu/map/aerialphotos.htm.

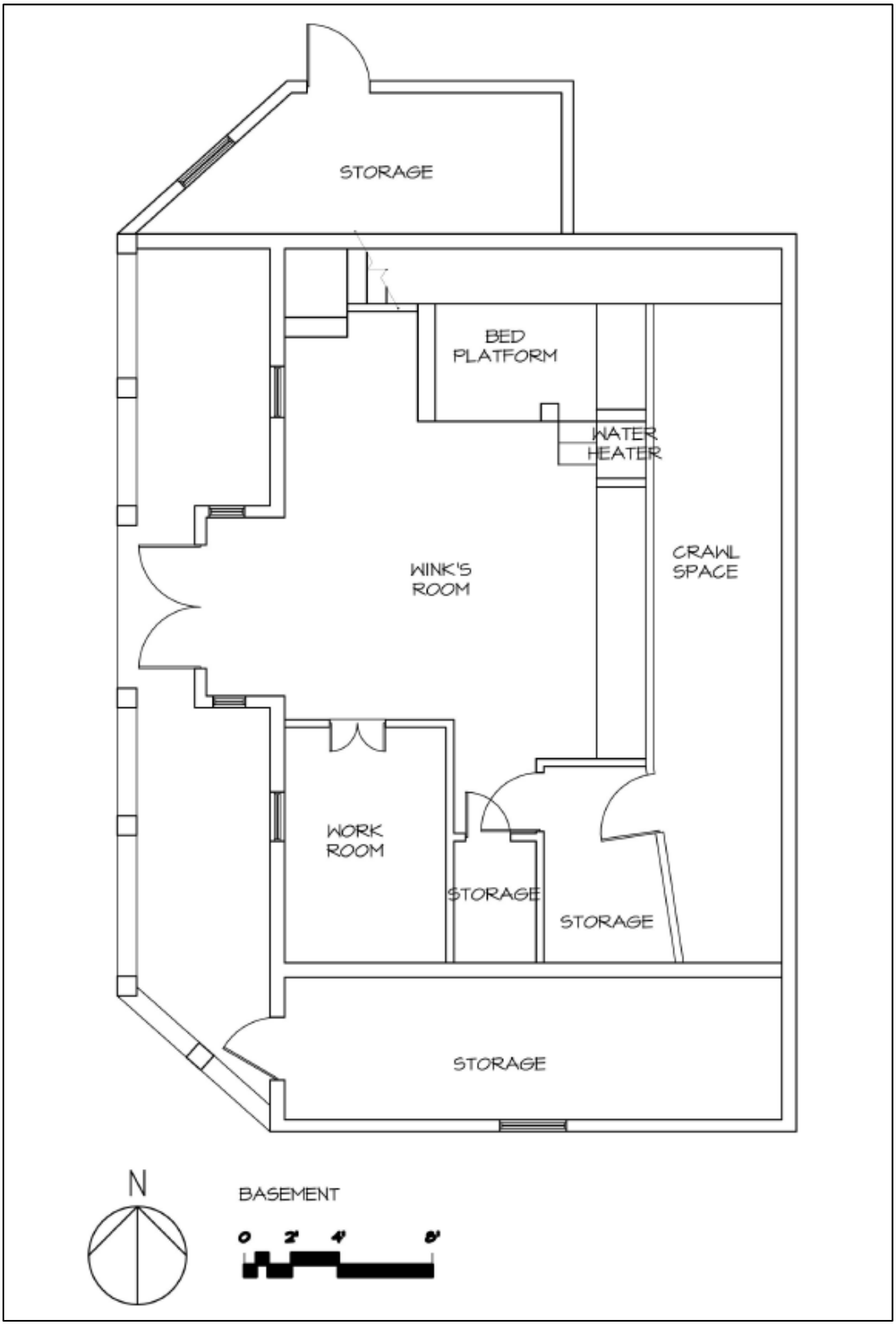


Figure 7. Wink's Panorama, Basement, Floorplan, 2007. Courtesy of SLATERPAULL Architects, *Winks Lodge, Historic Structure Assessment,* August 2007, 13.

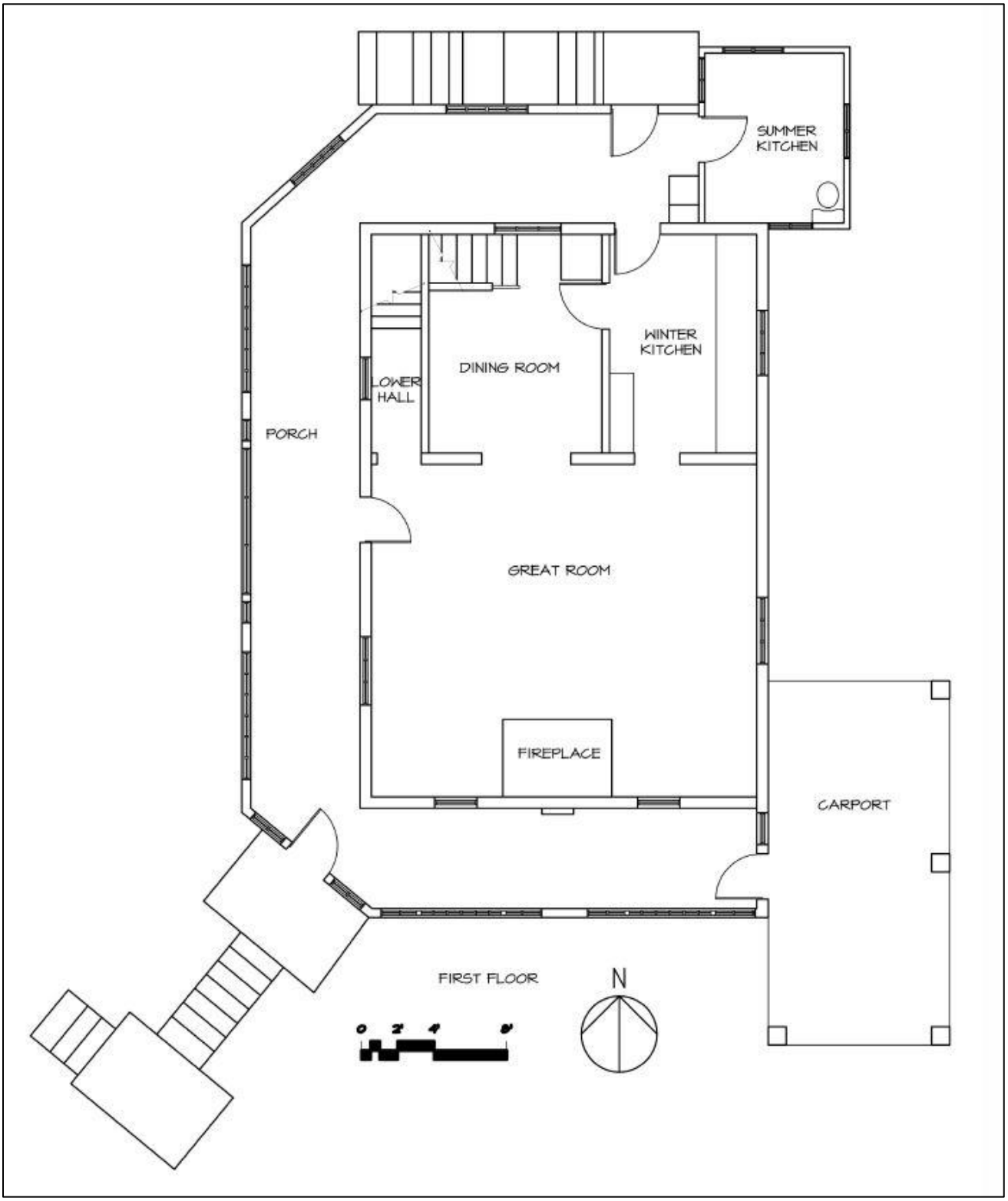


Figure 8. Wink's Panorama, First Story, Floorplan, 2007. Courtesy of SLATERPAULL Architects, *Winks Lodge, Historic Structure Assessment*, August 2007, 14.

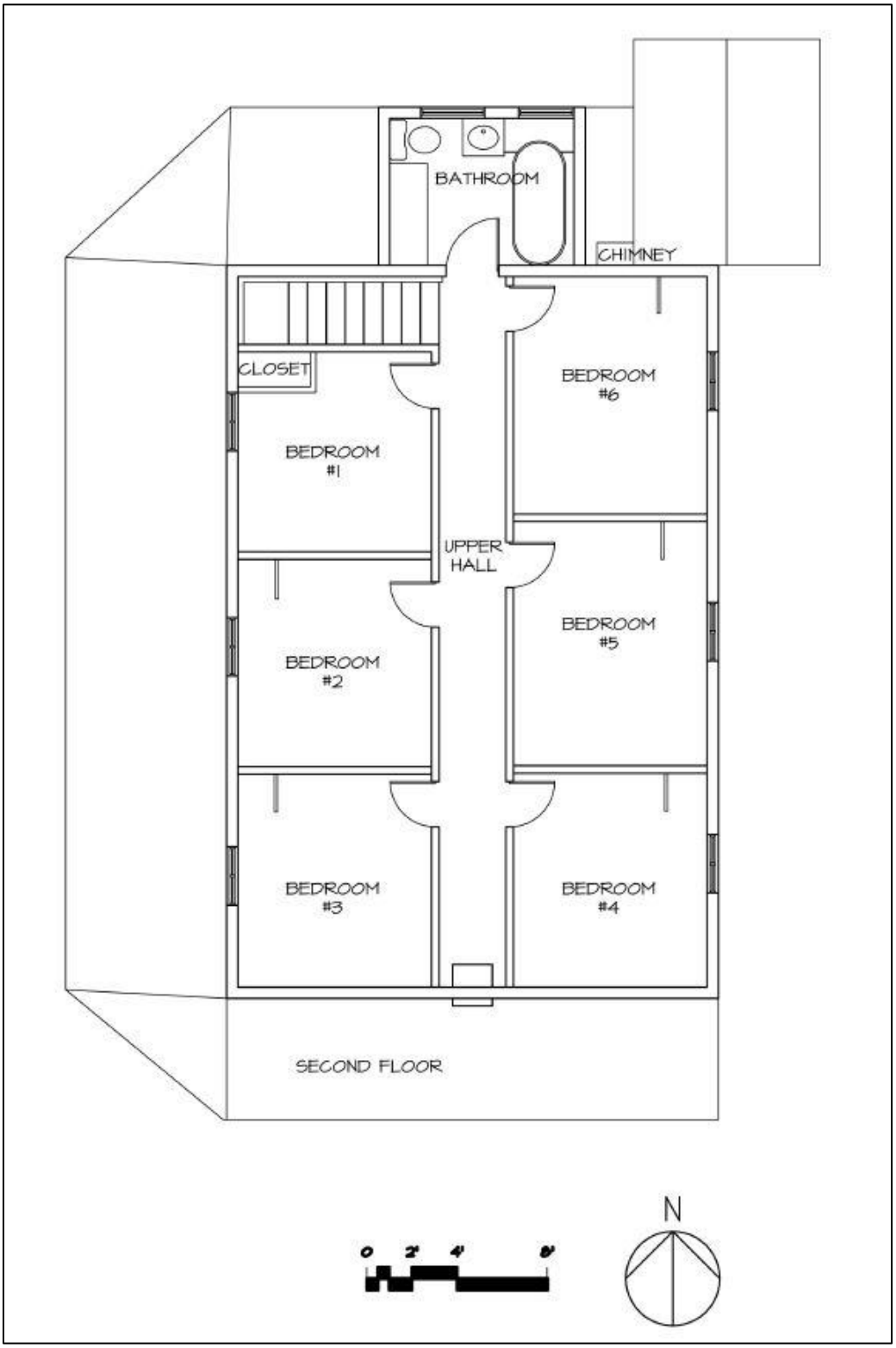


Figure 9. Wink's Panorama, Second Story, Floorplan, 2007. Courtesy of SLATERPAULL Architects, *Winks Lodge, Historic Structure Assessment*, August 2007, 15.

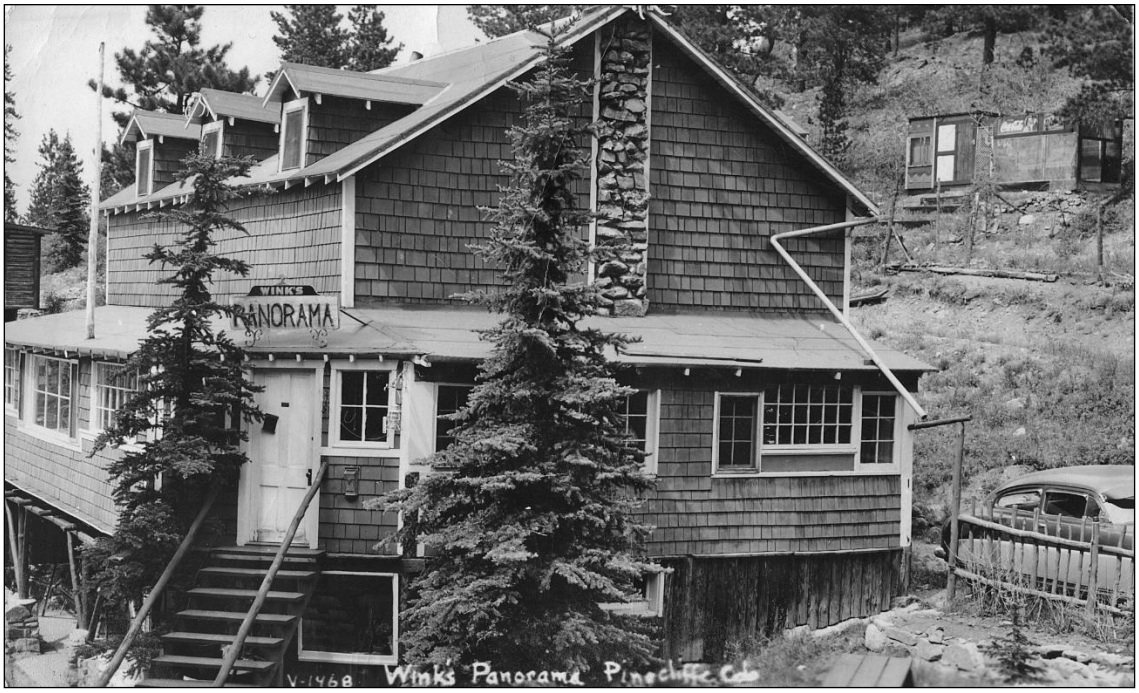


Figure 10. The south and west walls of the lodge are shown in this ca. 1956-61 postcard, Rocky Mountain View Company postcard, number V-1468. The shed in the upper right was not part of the Wink's Panorama operation. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Gary Jackson, photograph collection, Denver, Colorado.



Figure 11. This September 1957 photograph shows two women standing by the incinerator north of the lodge, with the privy to the right. The two-story building in the background is not part of the Wink's property. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.



Figure 12. Members of the Tucker family pose in the parking area west of the lodge in this circa 1950s photograph. In the background to the left are the lodge privy, incinerator, a meat smoker, and laundry drying on the clothesline. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.



Figure 13. Guests are shown in this view enjoying the picnic area down the hill west of the lodge. The stone barbecue is at the far right. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.



Figure 14. The lodge's enclosed porch was used as a dining area for guests, shown in a circa 1950s this view south-southwest. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.



Figure15. A man and child, possibly visiting from Pennsylvania, pose in the parking area west of the lodge in this circa 1948 photograph. Courtesy of Western History and Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado.



Figure 16. Kansas City, Missouri, visitor Kathryn Wilkins poses on the entrance steps to Wink's Panorama in this circa 1960 photograph. Courtesy of Joyce (Wilkins) Herndon, Chicago, Illinois.

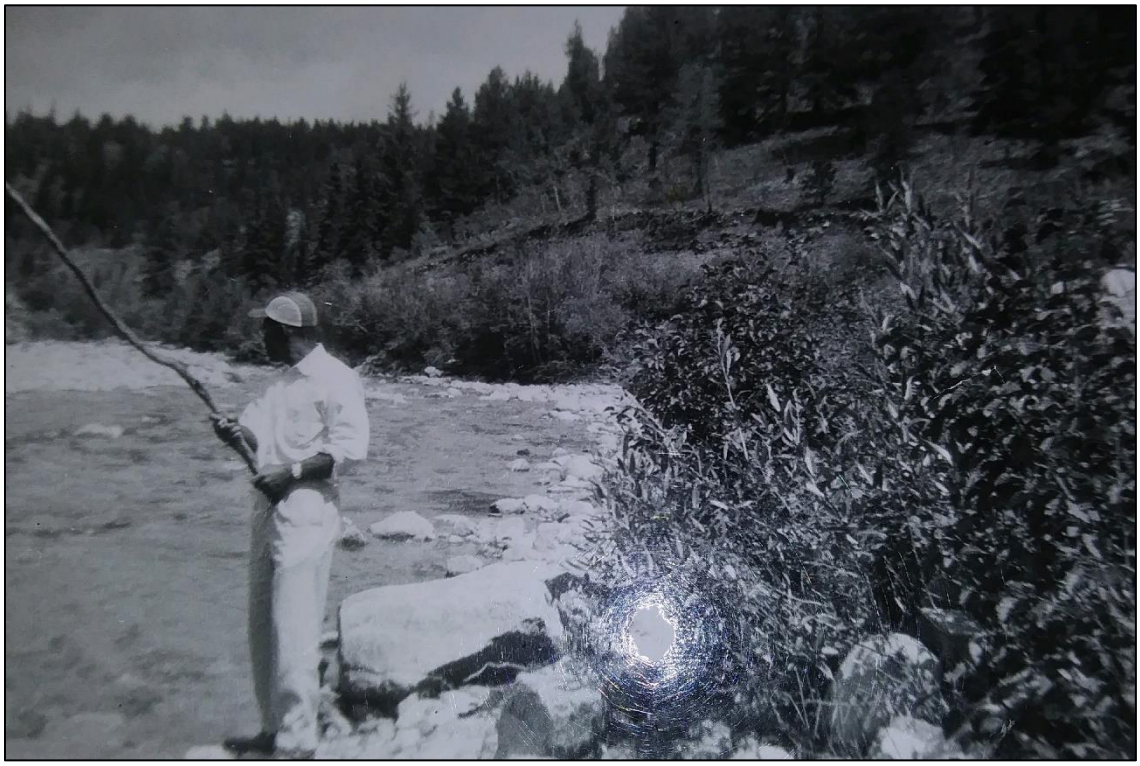


Figure 17. Kansas City, Missouri, visitor Frank Wilkins stands on the bank of South Boulder Creek near Wink's Panorama in this circa 1960 photograph. Courtesy of Joyce (Wilkins) Herndon, Chicago, Illinois.



Figure 18. Obrey Hamlet is shown here with his third wife, Melba, circa 1950s-early 1960s. Courtesy of Jess E. DuBois, *Lincoln Hills*.

Photograph Log

Name of Property: Wink's Panorama
City or Vicinity: Rollinsville vicinity
County: Gilpin
State: Colorado
Photographer: Thomas H. Simmons

Photo 1. Overview of Wink's Panorama from Winks Way. View east. Date: June 2020.

Photo 2. Terraces north of lodge with privy, incinerator, and clothesline, with lodge to right. View northeast. Date: June 2020.

Photo 3. Overview from picnic area. View southeast. Date: October 2018.

Photo 4. Picnic area and barbecue. View northwest. Date: June 2020.

Photo 5. West elevation of lodge. View east. Date: October 2018.

Photo 6. Lodge entrance stairs with west elevation to left and south elevation to right. View northeast. Date: June 2020.

Photo 7. South elevation of lodge with carport to right. View north. Date: October 2018.

Photo 8. East elevation of lodge with privy to right. View northwest. Date: October 2018.

Photo 9. East and north elevations of lodge. View southwest. Date: October 2018.

Photo 10. North elevation of lodge with incinerator in foreground. View south. Date: October 2018.

Photo 11. North and west elevations of lodge. View southeast. Date: October 2018.

Photo 12. Interior of lodge, living room. View southeast. Date: October 2018.

Photo 13. Interior of lodge, porch/dining area. View south. Date: October 2018.

Photo 14. Interior of lodge, second story hall. View south. Date: October 2018.

Photo 15. Interior of lodge, guest room second story. View northwest. Date: October 2018.

Photo 16. Incinerator. View northwest. Date: October 2018.

Photo 17. Privy, front (south) and east elevations. View northwest. Date: October 2018.

Photo 18. Barbecue. View west. Date: October 2018.

Photo 19. Stationary automobile engine (left) and shed. View east-southeast. Date: June 2020.

Photo 20. Chicken coop and run. View east-northeast. Date: June 2020.

Photo 21. North spring box (left) and south spring box (right). View east-northeast. Date: June 2020.

Photo 22. Honeymoon Cottage, front (north) and east elevations. View west. Date: October 2018.

Photo 23. Honeymoon Cottage, front (north) and west elevations. View south. Date: October 2018.

Photo 24. Honeymoon Cottage, interior. View southwest. Date: October 2018.

Photo 25. Honeymoon Cottage privy. View west. Date: October 2018.



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Photograph 2. Terraces north of lodge with privy, incinerator, and clothesline, with lodge to right. View northeast. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, June 2020.



Photograph 3. Overview from picnic area. View southeast. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



Photograph 4. Picnic area and barbecue. View northwest. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, June 2020.



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Photograph 6. Lodge entrance stairs with west elevation to left and south elevation to right. View northeast. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, June 2020.



Photograph 7. South elevation of lodge with carport to right. View north. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



Photograph 8. East elevation of lodge with privy to right. View northwest. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



Photograph 9. East and north elevations of lodge. View southwest. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



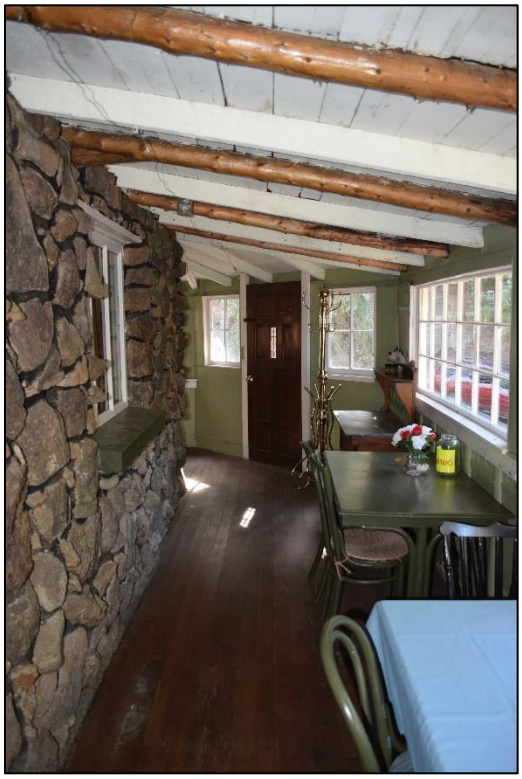
Photograph 10. North elevation of lodge with incinerator in foreground. View south. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



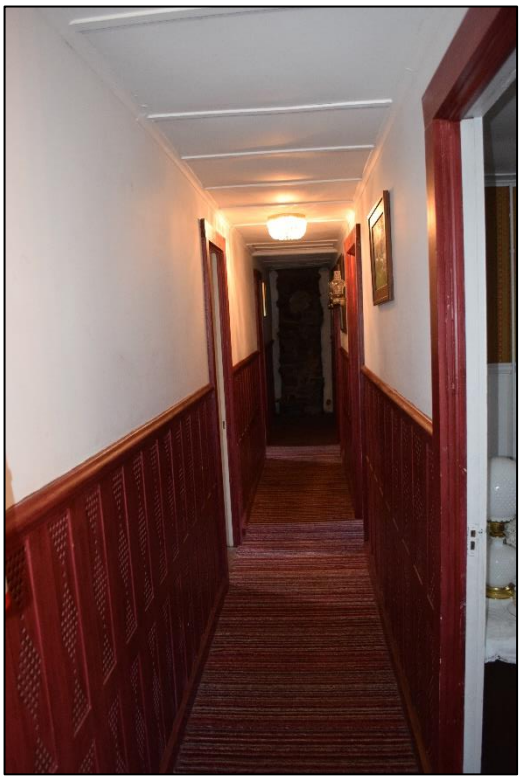
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Photograph 13. Interior of lodge, porch/dining area. View south. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



Photograph 14. Interior of lodge, second story hall. View south. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



Photograph 15. Interior of lodge, guest room second story. View northwest. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



Photograph 16. Incinerator. View northwest. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



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Photograph 22. Honeymoon Cottage, front (north) and east elevations. View west. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



Photograph 23. Honeymoon Cottage, front (north) and west elevations. View south. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



Photograph 24. Honeymoon Cottage, interior. View southwest. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.



Photograph 25. Honeymoon Cottage privy. View west. Photo by Thomas H. Simmons, October 2018.